Survey of race relations in South Africa: 1983

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# Survey of race relations in South Africa: 1983

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vii

CONTENTS
OVERVIEW ............................................ 1
POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS ......................... 7
THE NEW CONSTITUTION ................................. 71
POPULATION ........................................... 99
THE ECONOMY .......................................... 106
EMPLOYMENT ......................................... 122
LABOUR RELATIONS .................................. 176
THE MEDIA ........................................... 208
SOCIAL SEGREGATION ................................. 220
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING ......................... 228
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COLOURED AND INDIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN AFRICANS</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICAN REMOVALS</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOMELANDAFFAIRS</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEALTH</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL WELFARE</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUSTICE, POLICE AND PRISONS</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY MATTERS</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEFENCE</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL POLICY</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CHURCHES</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPORT</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983 LEGISLATION</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT INDEX</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix

DETAILED CONTENTS

OVERVIEW ........................................... 1

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS .............................. 7

White Politics ....................................... 7
National Party ...................................... 9
Progressive Federal Party .......................... 15
New Republic Party .................................. 19
Conservative Party .................................. 22
Herstigte Nasionale Party .......................... 25
Afrikaner Broederbond ................................ 26
South African Bureau of Racial Affairs .......... 27
Afrikaner W eerstands beweging ..................... 28
Coloured Politics .................................... 29
Labour Party ........................................ 29
People's Congress Party ............................ 34
Freedom Party ...................................... 34
Other Organisations ................................ 35
Indian Politics ..................................... 36
South African Indian Council ....................... 36
National People's Party ............................. 39
Democratic Party .................................... 39
Natal Indian Congress ................................ 40
Transvaal Indian Congress ............................ 41
Reform Party ........................................ 42
Black Politics ...................................... 43
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African National Congress</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azanian People's Organisation</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Forum</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan-Africanist Congress</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Black Alliance</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student, School and Youth Organisations</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees/Exiles</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE NEW CONSTITUTION</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of South Africa Constitution Act</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Debate on the Constitution Bill</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referendum Campaign</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results of the Referendum</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question of African Political Rights</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POPULATION</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homelands</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration and Emigration</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race Classification</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE ECONOMY</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Investment</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctions</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Budget</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPLOYMENT</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Living</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages and Incomes</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Active Population</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manpower Profile</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workseekers, Migrant Workers, Commuters</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decentralisation</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business Development Corporation</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Workers</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sector</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions of Employment</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Health</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Deaths in Detention .......................................... 555
Security Trials ........................................ ......... 557
Political Violence ...................................... ........ 567
DEFENCE .................................... 575
Defence Amendment Act ................................ ....... 575
Conscientious Objection ........................................ 577
Defence Personnel and Military Services ....................... 578
Arms and Equipment ....................................... ....... 580
Expenditure ..................................................... 582
SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL POLICY ....................... 585
SADF and Neighbouring States .............................. 585
SA and the SADF .............................................. 587
Lesotho ............................................. 590
Zimbabwe ............................................. 593
Mozambique ............................................... 595
Angola ......................................................... 598
US Policy ......................................................... 599
British Policy .................................................. 599
SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA ......................... 602
Internal Developments ...................................... 602
Plan for a State Council .................................. 603
Multi-Party Conference .................................... 604

Economy and State Administration .......................... 605
Action against Dissidents .................................. 607
Warfare .................................................. 610
Casualties ................................................. 610
Conscription ................................................ 610
Border Incidents ............................................ 610
Incursion of Guerrillas .................................... 611
Operation Askari .......................................... 612
Conflict in Angola .......................................... 613
International Developments ................................. 616
UN Activities ............................................... 616
Cape Verde Talks ......................................... 618
UN Secretary-General's Role ................................ 620
SA's Disengagement Offer .................................. 623
THE CHURCHES ........................................ 626
Individual Churches ...................................... 626
Ecumenical and Interdenominational Organisations ....... 632
Attitudes of the Churches to Political Issues ............. 636
SPORT ................................................... 638
Policy ....................................................... 638
International Pressure ..................................... 639
Facilities .................................................... 640
National Co-ordinating Bodies ............................. 640
The political development that dominated 1983 was the introduction of a new constitution for South Africa, the main feature of which was to incorporate Indians and coloured people (but not Africans) in a new tricameral parliament. The office of State President would become an executive one into which the duties of the Prime Minister would be absorbed.

The ruling National Party threw a great deal of energy into winning white acceptance for the new constitution in a referendum on 2 November. The small New Republic Party also urged the electorate to vote 'yes', but the official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, called for a 'no' vote. So did the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, but for different reasons. The (banned) African National Congress (ANC) called on the white electorate to vote 'no', as did Inkatha, which mounted a public campaign against the constitution. The (coloured) Labour Party, while objecting to the exclusion of Africans, nevertheless said it would participate in the new coloured chamber. Opposition to the constitution by blacks saw the birth of the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) - a broad grouping of community, women's, students', religious, sporting, and other organisations. A second body, the National Forum, open to blacks only, was also established to oppose the new constitutional arrangements.

Notwithstanding the almost universal opposition of Africans to the new constitution, the Prime Minister secured a two-to-one endorsement for it in the referendum. It was evident that large numbers of white people normally opposed to the National Party supported it on this issue in the belief that the new constitution was a 'step in the right direction'.

The ANC continued its attacks on targets in South Africa. A bomb exploded in a car parked in a busy street outside South African Air Force headquarters in the centre of Pretoria on 19 May, killing 19 people and injuring 217. This was the most serious such incident ever to occur in the country.

South Africa continued to dominate the southern African subcontinent, both militarily and economically. The nine black-ruled member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) accused South Africa of practising aggression against some of its neighbours, in particular Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe, and trying to 'destabilise' them. The Prime Minister reiterated that his government was determined not to allow neighbouring states to be used as springboards for guerrilla incursions into the country. Talks were held between South Africa and various neighbouring countries on the question of cross-border security. The United States helped facilitate some of these in accordance with its policy of 'constructive engagement' to reduce tension in southern Africa. The year ended with ministerial-level talks in Swaziland.
between South Africa and Mozambique, security being among the issues discussed. (Further rounds of talks culminated in a meeting between the two countries' heads of government near Komatipoort on 16 March 1984 at which a non-aggression treaty, the Accord of Nkomati, was signed.) It was widely believed that one of the major factors leading to the talks was the poor state of the Mozambique economy, in particular the havoc wrought by a combination of severe drought and sabotage conducted by rebels suspected of having South African backing.

International negotiations for a settlement of the South West African/Namibian dispute based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) continued. South Africa remained committed to a demand for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before a settlement in Namibia could be achieved. It conveyed this forcefully to the Secretary-General of the UN when he visited Cape Town in August. The South African Defence Force continued striking at bases of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Angola. One major strike, 'Operation Askari', was launched in December and lasted until January 1984. At the same time, however, South Africa offered to withdraw troops from Angola for 30 days from 31 January 1984 on condition that Angolan, Cuban, and SWAPO forces would not exploit the situation. (This proposal was subsequently put into effect.) In the meantime, another attempt to form an internal political alliance in South West Africa/Namibia was launched with the founding of a 'Multi-Party Conference' in which several internal parties participated.

The Defence Amendment Act made provision for national servicemen to apply for religious objector status and for the establishment of boards for religious objection. The number of publicly-known detentions increased during 1983 by 159% in the 'independent' homelands and 31% in the rest of South Africa, but most banning orders were allowed effectively to lapse. The functioning of the commissioners' courts - which try pass-law offenders - was strongly criticised, but the establishment of a small claims court welcomed. Overcrowding of prisons continued to be a serious problem. Six warders at the Barberton prison were found guilty of assault after the death of three prisoners there.

South Africa's estimated population (including all ten of its homelands) was 31,1m in mid-1983, 73,05% of it accounted for by Africans. The science committee of the President's Council warned of 'a disastrous and uncontrollable' population explosion in South Africa if steps were not taken to stabilise population growth. For the second year in a row, South Africa recorded a negative growth rate, real gross domestic product shrinking by about three per cent (the decline in 1982 having been 1,2%). The year opened with a gold price of $450, but ended with a price of $381. However, the average gold price for the year was $424, which was higher than the 1982 average of $376. The rand declined against the American dollar by 11,6% to $0,82, reaching its lowest level ever. A very serious drought caused a decline of 21,8% in agricultural output, which dropped to its lowest level in ten years. As a result, total agricultural exports declined and South Africa had to import large quantities of maize. The net loss in foreign exchange thus incurred.
was about R1.5bn. The authorities had initially predicted a surplus on the current account of the balance of payments of about R1bn (against a deficit of R3.2bn the previous year), but 1983 ended with a surplus of only R275m, which was partly the result of a premature upsurge in imports during the year. In a bold move on 7 February, the authorities lifted exchange controls on non-residents. This prompted the sale by foreigners of about R1bn worth of shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, but the resulting capital outflow was substantially counterbalanced by inflows of foreign loan capital, so that the net outflow of capital unrelated to reserves was about R300m.

OVERVIEW
There was renewed pressure in the United States for American firms to withdraw from South Africa, and a number of legislative measures seeking to restrict American economic dealings with the Republic were being considered in Congress as the year ended. Progress was made in reducing South Africa's high inflation rate, which for the year as a whole was 11%. Although this was the lowest rate of increase since 1978, the country's inflation rate remained substantially above those of her main trading partners, prompting anxiety about the declining price competitiveness of South African exports. Government expenditure continued to run above the budgeted amount, prompting criticism that the authorities had once again failed to discipline themselves in this respect. Plans to phase out separate taxation for Africans were finalised with the aim of taxing Africans on the same basis as whites, coloured people, and Asians with effect from 1 March 1984. Despite the economic recession, SA continued to suffer from a shortage of skilled manpower. Unemployment continued to increase as major industries retrenched large numbers of workers. In the mining industry a union organising African miners was involved in wage negotiations with the Chamber of Mines for the first time. An accident which caused the death of 68 miners at the Hlobane colliery focused attention on the accident rate on the country's mines. Membership of registered trade unions continued to increase, and there was a particularly sharp increase in the number of unions open to all races. Moves to form a new federation of emerging unions continued, but progress was slow. The industrial court handed down a number of judgements in favour of workers and trade unions. Several employers thought it was going too far and usurping their prerogative; they began exerting pressure for its wings to be clipped, their complaints finding a sympathetic ear in official quarters. After having lagged behind 1982 figures for most of the year, the number of strikes increased dramatically in December, with the result that the 1983 total of 336 strikes made it one of the most strike-prone years since the Second World War. The authorities in the Ciskei continued to detain trade unionists, some of whom were first detained by South African security police and then handed over to them. The Ciskei also banned a trade union. The government continued to remove coloured and Indian families under the Group Areas Act. Since the commencement of the Act, 36 times more coloured families than white, and 17 times more Indian families than white, have been
moved. In October the Minister of Community Development warned Indian and
coloured families living illegally in 'white' areas that legislation would be
introduced to deal relentlessly with all group areas offenders, including owners
who let their property to racially disqualified people. The Promotion of Local
Government Affairs Act made provision for the establishment of a co-ordinating
council and municipal development boards to allow different race groups to
cooperate on local government issues.
The government, having excluded Africans from the proposed new tricameral
parliament, appointed a special cabinet committee to investigate the position of
urban Africans, and also offered them an upgraded form of local government
through elected local authorities. However, only 21% of the potential electorate
voted in the first series of elections for the new authorities, which were held
towards the end of the year.
The authorities continued with the strict enforcement of influx control as part of
their policy of confining urban residence and employment rights to a limited

OVERVIEW
number of Africans. As a result, pass arrests continued to rise. However, a
number of court decisions lessened the severity of influx control enforcement in
certain respects. Several leading businessmen criticised the pass laws. The
housing shortage in 'white' areas and the homelands continued to be a problem
and to lead to the emergence of backyard shacks and squatter camps in the urban
areas. Numerous raids were conducted against these squatters, the western Cape
and the east Rand being the areas most frequently raided. The government
proceeded with its policy of handing over responsibility for African housing to
individuals and the private sector and launched a year-long sale of 350 000 state-
owned houses at reduced prices. It also continued with the upgrading of township
infrastructure, the electrification of Soweto being almost completed and steady
progress being made with the electrification of a number of other townships.
Tension emerged between various groups of African businessmen over white
participation in commercial undertakings in African townships. Some favoured it,
but others felt that since Africans could not trade in 'white' areas, whites should
not be allowed to trade in African areas. Controversy surrounded the
recommendation of the Welgemoed Commission (which examined transport in
South Africa) that the operation of mini-buses and kombis should be outlawed
because they compete with bus services and licensed taxis.
The policy of removing Africans from 'white' areas to the homelands was
condemned by the official opposition and other organisations. A national research
project on relocation claimed that at least 3 500 000 removals had taken place
since 1960, and that more than 1500 000 were still due to take place. There was a
public outcry when Mr Saul Mkhize, leader of the Driefontein community in the
Transvaal, which was to be moved, was shot dead on 2 April by a policeman
during a protest meeting. His death caused the US government to attack the
removals policy. Strong protests were voiced over plans to move all 'squatters'
and eventually all African residents from the three established African townships
in Cape Town to a new resettlement area called Khayelitsha, about 40km from the city.

The leaders of KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, and the Transkei took part in a series of unity talks aimed at promoting a South African federation and blocking the government's proposed confederation of South African 'states'. The participation of the 'independent' Transkei was seen as being of particular significance in that the delegates called for the 're-unification of those whom apartheid divides' and 'a greater South Africa based on non-racialism and democracy'. Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, founded a 'national cultural and liberation movement' called Ximoko Xa Rixaka. About R173m was set aside for homeland consolidation, and the government announced its consolidation proposals for KwaNdebele (due to become 'independent' in early December 1984), Bophuthatswana, and QwaQwa. The proposals regarding KwaNdebele resulted in a land dispute, the inhabitants of Moutse and nine Nebo farms expressing opposition to plans to excise them from Lebowa and make them citizens of the proposed 'independent' homeland.

The continuation of the drought during 1983 had a very damaging effect on the homelands as well as on white agriculture: hundreds of thousands of people required food aid to survive the winter, and large numbers of cattle and livestock belonging to homeland farmers died. The drought pushed a steady tide of people to the cities.

The government's new package of decentralisation incentives, which came

OVERVIEW

into effect on 1 April 1982, continued to arouse considerable interest among local and foreign investors. In June the government allocated R142m for the development of towns in the homelands. A new regional development agency, the Development Bank of Southern Africa, was formally established on 1 September.

In the Ciskei, workers commuting between Mdantsane and East London staged a bus boycott in protest against fare increases. The Ciskei authorities and vigilante groups were accused of using brutal methods in their efforts to break the boycott, which began in July and continued for the rest of the year. There were also allegations of counter-violence by people in Mdantsane, and reports of a plot by his half-brothers to overthrow him led to President Lennox Sebe's cutting short a visit to Israel in July to return to the Ciskei. About fifteen high-ranking officials, including the president's half-brother Charles, then head of state security, were detained.

Expenditure on education for all race groups continued to increase. In November, the government released its White Paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa setting forth its responses to the report of the main committee of the Human Sciences Research Council's investigation into education (the De Lange Committee). While the white paper accepted many of the committee's recommendations, the government rejected the proposal that education be controlled by a single ministry. Education would be administered in accordance with the new constitution as both an 'own' and a 'general' affair. The government's renewed commitment to segregated education caused dismay.
among many educationists. The 1983 African matriculation results were once again very poor, only 48.3% of the candidates passing. The coloured and Indian matriculation results showed a substantial improvement, however. Controversy surrounded government proposals for a 'quota system' for the admission of students to universities established for race groups other than their own. After much protest, the government decided not to implement the quota provision, but said it would reconsider the issue if this became necessary. Unrest at African educational institutions increased in 1983 after two years of relative calm. Financial constraints continued to prevent any substantial improvement in the country's health care system and the burden was increasingly thrust on the individual, the community, the private sector, and homeland health authorities. The major proportion of the budget continued to be allocated to curative medicine, while preventable diseases such as malnutrition, tuberculosis, and cholera remained endemic among the African population. The drought aggravated the already severe incidence of malnutrition; tuberculosis was reported to claim ten lives daily; and a measles epidemic in Port Elizabeth's townships resulted in the death of at least 237 people. South Africa was reported to have one of the highest infant mortality rates (90 infant deaths per 1,000 births) in relation to national wealth in the world. A striking imbalance in favour of whites in the provision of health services for the different race groups continued to exist. Social welfare services were reported to be in a state of crisis due to inadequate state subsidies and a growing reliance on dwindling resources from the public. Facilities and grants for Africans remained particularly inadequate. Pensions for all race groups continued to be low, ranging from a monthly maximum of R57 for Africans to R152 for whites after increases in October. In addition, African pensioners had to contend with administrative backlogs and lengthy pension queues. The opening of social facilities to all race groups again proved to be a controversial issue. A decision by Randburg's town council to open facilities after a sur-

6 OVERVIEW

vey had indicated that a majority of white residents would support such a move, was criticised by an opposition group Which disputed the survey's accuracy. Another survey showed that 50% of the people in South Africa were opposed to the immediate integration of beaches. Although it was reported that censorship of publications was becoming less stringent, the government rejected the Progressive Federal Party's appeal for a relaxation of the censorship of political literature. As an alternative to the introduction of further legislation to control the press, a new Media Council to monitor the press was established. Journalists' trade unions voiced their dissatisfaction with this step, which they saw as a further erosion of the freedom of the press. The English-language press was sharply divided on which way to urge whites to vote in the constitutional referendum. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was again accused of bias in favour of the government, particularly during the referendum campaign. At the end of the year,
Bophuthatswana launched a television channel (‘Bop-TV’), broadcasting into certain parts of the common area. The international sports boycott of South Africa was breached when two ‘rebel’ West Indian cricket teams visited the country.

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
(NO TE: Some political organisations in South Africa are racially exclusive by choice, others as a result of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, No 51 of 1968. Yet others are non-racial. Organisations that are non-racial are dealt with in this chapter under 'Black Politics', since the majority of their members are black, the term 'black' being used to encompass people officially classified as coloured, Indian, and African.)

In November, the constitutional committee of the President's Council ruled out the possibility of a separate dispensation for the Griquas, one of South Africa’s smallest minority groups, and recommended that they continue to be regarded as part of the coloured population group under the new constitutional system. Rejecting all Griqua land claims as invalid, the committee recommended the buying of farms for use by Griquas in Griqualand East, the establishment of a Griqua community in the white town of Campbell in Griqualand West, and the purchase of business sites in Kokstad for use by Griquas. The committee also asked for an investigation into the system in terms of which coloured farmers have to obtain a permit to buy any agricultural land from whites.

The council's committee for community relations recommended that all population groups, including Africans, should serve on the government's relations committees, control of which should be transferred to the council. Previously the committees were confined to white and coloured people. Mr Nic Treurnicht, the chairman of the committee for community relations, said that Africans and Asians should serve 'when the need arose', although he did not want to 'open the question' of whether Africans should be represented on the President's Council itself: since the committees dealt solely with promoting intergroup relations, the involvement of Asians and Africans did not imply 'political representation'.

White Politics
By-elections
During the second reading of the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill in parliament in February, a clash occurred between Mr S P (Fanie) Botha, Minister of Manpower, and Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party (CP), over the government's reforms in the field of industrial relations, for which Mr Botha had been responsible. Dr Treurnicht unexpectedly responded to a challenge by Mr Botha, who said he 'lacked courage'. As a result Mr Botha was forced to resign his Soutpansberg seat to fight a by-election against Mr Tom Langley, member of the head committee of the CP, who resigned his Waterkloof seat for the purpose. Dr Treurnicht at the same time resigned his seat of Waterberg.

WHITE POLITICS
which he had been elected to represent while still a member of the National Party (NP). The three parliamentary by-elections were held on 11 May, two provincial by-elections being held on the same day.
Attempts by the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the CP to form a pact to oppose the NP in the by-elections did not succeed. The HNP wanted to divide the contested seats on a 50-50 basis with the CP, while the CP offered to share the seats on the basis that it would contest the parliamentary seats, and the HNP the provincial seats.

However, in March, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, announced that the HNP would withdraw from the Soutpansberg by-election in order to give the CP a straight run against the NP. Mr Marais said that the only consideration of the HNP in withdrawing was to facilitate the removal of Mr Fanie Botha, who was 'totally opposed to everything the HNP stood for'. Mr Langley, the CP candidate, welcomed the decision. In a 78,36% poll in the Soutpansberg by-election Mr Botha (NP) received 6 100 votes, a majority of 621 over the 5 479 received by Mr Tom Langley (CP). Mr Botha was returned to his seat with a greatly reduced majority, having won it in the 1981 general election by a majority of 3 647.

Despite opposition from within his own party, Mr Marais announced that the HNP would contest Waterberg. He said that there were major differences between the HNP and the CP, and that they would not be cleared up until the electorate had a choice between the three Afrikaner parties. In a 78,47% poll in Waterberg, Dr Treurnicht (CP) received 5 706 votes, a majority of 1 894 over Mr Eben Cuyler (NP), who received 3 812. Mr Jaap Marais (HNP) polled 2 639 votes. Dr Treurnicht had previously held Waterberg for the NP, his victory for the CP constituting the first electoral victory for that party since its formation in 1982.

NP support in Waterberg dropped from 58% in the 1981 general election to 31% in the 1983 by-election.

In Waterkloof, Mr Org Marais (NP), received 6 917 votes, a majority of 1 951 votes over Mr Tertius Spies of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), who received 4 966. Mr K Botha (CP) received 2 887 votes and Mr K Viljoen, New Republic Party (NRP), 312. The percentage poll was 80,39%. The NP and the PFP both increased their support in numerical terms over the 1981 election, by 191 votes and 80 votes respectively. The NRP lost support, obtaining 912 fewer votes than in 1981. The PFP expressed disappointment at not winning the seat.

In the provincial by-election in Carletonville, Mr J Jooste of the NP received 4 749 votes, a 1 359 majority over Mr F van Vuuren (CP), who received 3 390. Mr R J Grobler (HNP) received 1 673 and Mr J F van der Merwe (NRP) 723 votes. The percentage poll was 67,4%. The combined NP and HNP vote was higher than the NP vote, which, observers said, reflected the extent of right-wing support within the working class mining and rural communities. In comparison with the 1981 election, NP support dropped from 52% to 45%.

In Malmesbury, Mrs J J de Swart (NP) became the Member of the Provincial Council (MPC) for the area in March, her nomination being unopposed.

Commenting on the by-elections, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that while the NP had made some decisive gains it was obvious that the electorate remained deeply divided on the government's proposed constitutional plans. Political observers noted that the conservative leanings of the rural electorate were once again confirmed, and said that it was among these voters that right-
wing parties would make their largest gains. Thus the NP would have to look to
the urban areas for support for its reform policies. Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert,

NATIONAL PARTY
leader of the opposition, said that the results of the by-elections indicated the end
of two-party conflict in SA. The government would have to decide whether it was
going for old-style confrontation politics or for negotiation politics, either with its
'reactionary right-wing' opposition or with a progressive reformist opposition.3
Supporting this view, Dr Hermann Giliomee, a Stellenbosch academic, said that
the by-elections showed that Afrikaner unity was 'irrevocably destroyed' and that
the Prime Minister would have to seek support from groups who believed in real
reform.4 Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, temporary leader of the CP, said that the by-
elections had proved that the CP and the HNP had the combined power to oust the
government.

After these by-elections the state of parties in parliament *as as follows:

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<th>Elected</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Natal OFS</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transvaal OFS</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>14</td>
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After the MPC for Middelburg (Transvaal) resigned earlier in the year, a
provincial by-election was held on 2 November. The NP won the by-election,
polling 6 271 votes against the CP's 4 647. The HNP polled 2 028 votes. The
percentage poll was 58%. The combined CP and HNP vote was thus higher than
the NP's.6

Constitutional Referendum
In May, the government introduced legislation instituting a new constitution for
SA, which was assented to by the State President on 22 September. On 2
November a referendum was held among whites on the issue (see chapter on The
New Constitution).

National Party (NP)
The main challenge facing the National Party (NP) government in 1983 was
convincing the white electorate to accept its constitutional reform plans. While
rightwing groups wished instead to maintain the status quo, liberal groups
believed that the reforms did not go far enough, and black opinion-moderate as
well as radical-rejected the plans outright. In his new year message, the Prime
Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that the government had taken important steps to
introduce orderly reform, while not losing sight of the principles of 'self
determination and collective responsibility'. An outstanding feature of 1982 was
the large measure of consultation among leaders of the various population groups,
hisaid.7 In the no-confidence debate in parliament Mr Botha gave the
government's guidelines for 1983 as: maintaining economic stability in
collaboration with the private sector, promoting peaceful co-existence, maintaining civilised Christian standards, and combating 'communist and terrorist' onslaughts and subversion. Mr Botha charged that the official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), encouraged negative overseas publicity by its constant criticism of government policy. Negative criticism also played into the hands of the 'psychological

NATIONAL PARTY

cartoon campaign' of the Soviet Union. Referring to a speech in June on American policy towards southern Africa by Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr Botha denied that his government had any 'hidden agenda' for change. He welcomed Mr Eagleberger's qualified approval of the SA government's proposed constitutional reforms.0 During the parliamentary debate on the new constitution, the NP emphasised that since 1977 it had followed a new approach which had laid the basis for the 1983 constitutional proposals. The essential element of the 1977 plans 'joint decision-making on matters of common interest and separate decision-making on own affairs' - was contained in the 1983 proposals. 11 Responding to claims by the Conservative Party (CP) that the proposals envisaged a 'mixed' government and 'power sharing', Mr Botha said this process had started in 1977 when many CP members were themselves members of the NP and had accepted it.

In February Mr Botha announced in parliament that a special cabinet committee had been established to investigate the constitutional position of Africans living outside the homelands. In March he announced that a referendum would be held among whites on the new constitution. In April, as the May by-election approached, he said that the referendum could not be held while the drought persisted. In August, however, he claimed that 'climatic conditions, and prospects in large parts of the country had improved', and thus allowed him to announce the referendum, to be held on 2 November. Speaking on referendums for the Indian and coloured groups, Mr Botha said these could be held, but not on the same day as for whites, and 'different questions would have to be asked'. These groups had a choice to accept either the status quo or the new system of co-operation with whites. The coloured people could also choose the road of boycott or the Indians could join Africans in KwaZulu. After the white referendum, Mr Botha said he would be guided by the 'leaders' in the Indian and coloured communities on whether to call referendums or elections (see chapter on The New Constitution). During the debate on the new constitution the government maintained its viewpoint that Africans had a separate constitutional path to follow in the homelands, which provided separate territorial areas and governing structures for them. Government spokesmen claimed that Africans had accepted the system of self-government in the homelands 'of their own accord' and that the four 'selfgoverning independent states' had been granted independence 'at their own request.' Mr Botha said that a basis for 'democratic' government would be found in a liaison between urban blacks and homeland governments, and in a confederal structure between a common SA and the homelands. During the latter part of the referendum campaign, government spokesmen repeatedly emphasised
that African constitutional development enjoyed the highest priority in the government's plans. They accused the PFP of creating an 'exclusion psychosis' by making repeated accusations that Africans were excluded from constitutional negotiations or decision-making. Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Corporation and Development, said shortly before the referendum, that a 'yes' vote was not a vote against black political advancement, and he was aware that African people had political aspirations above local government level. Mr Botha undertook to continue negotiations with African leaders to find 'new and imaginative forms' of constitutional justice and equity for all South Africans. Ruling out majority rule, he said the government was prepared to consult African leaders to achieve a system in SA which would make it possible for them to achieve their own independence, 'develop and educate their own people' and share in the development of

NATIONAL PARTY
SA's economy, while at the same time maintaining the security of whites. Mr Botha said there was 'no limit to the potential for black constitutional, economic and social development' under the new constitution, provided blacks showed the capacity. Whites had a duty and commitment to support this process of development. 13

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said that the inclusion of 'totally voteless' Indian and coloured people to participate in central decision-making marked a major constitutional advance for SA. Indian, coloured, and white people shared a common destiny, had to develop a 'national unity', and could be regarded as a single nation when it came to securing self-determination for the future. Mr Heunis said that the NP was not prepared to 'walk the path of Africa' with all groups sitting in one parliament. He was aware that there were coloureds, Indians, and PFP members who wanted Africans in the same parliament but he did not apologise for drafting a constitution that would maintain the security of whites.14 The Prime Minister said that the history of Indian and coloured groups was different to that of Africans, who were constitutionally more advanced, and that the concept of independent states for the Indian and coloured groups was 'impractical and immoral'. He rejected the official opposition's view that the constitution had been 'foisted' on them: it was a result of consultation over a long period with Indian and coloured political leaders. 15 Mr Nak van der Merwe, Minister of Health and Welfare, said that it was essential that the balance of power in SA should remain in white hands. The issue was not power sharing, but sharing responsibilities and maintaining white security.16 In various speeches, the Prime Minister said that only after political rights were extended to Indian and coloured people would they feel 'a national pride' and be able to be conscripted into the South African Defence Force (SADF). A resolution at the Transvaal National Party congress called for Indians and coloured people to share the 'defence burden'.17

Mr Botha made repeated calls for Afrikaner unity during the year, including a strong appeal to members of the CP to 'come back to the National Party'. He accused Dr Treurnicht, leader of the CP, through his association with right-wing
groups, of doing a disservice to Afrikanerdom. Mr Botha emphasised, however, that Afrikaner unity at the expense of a united SA was unacceptable.8 During the year, the government also repeatedly stated that separate development would continue. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education, said that it was a misrepresentation to contend that 'separation, differentiation, or self-determination' of communities were being 'thrown overboard' in the new constitution. They were maintained by the fundamental distinction between 'own' and 'general' affairs. Mr Botha assured Nationalists that schools and residential areas would remain segregated under the new constitution. 'No one is being asked to accept integration', he said; the whites' maintenance of their way of life depended ultimately not on laws but on 'their will to be themselves'.19 Mr Botha said that separate town and urban councils formed the basis of the new constitution. He also reaffirmed that the Group Areas Act would remain in force.

Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport Affairs, in a speech that was attacked by the PFP, said that the government spent R831 on each white pupil and only R81 on each black pupil. In September, the Prime Minister announced that the government had allocated R200m for 15 000 houses to alleviate the backlog of houses for the middle and lower income group whites. It was envisaged that 7 000 houses would be provided before the end of the year.20

NATIONAL PARTY
In October, Mr Pen Kotze, Minister of Community Development, after a visit to Mayfair, Johannesburg, said that Indians living in white areas illegally should 'go back to where they come from', and warned that severe legislation would be introduced in the next parliamentary session to deal 'relentlessly' with all offenders. During the furore that followed, the Prime Minister described Mr Kotze as a 'fine minister' and expressed full confidence in his abilities to undertake his duties. During the parliamentary session, the government rejected opposition requests to allow all MPs to bring 'guests of colour' into the parliamentary dining room. The opposition objected to the fact that only the Speaker, cabinet ministers, and the leader of the opposition could take African, coloured, or Indian guests into the parliamentary dining room.

The Prime Minister rejected the view that the rejection of the constitution would force the government 'back to the drawing board', and said that SA 'could not live by the drawing board all the time'. He said that if the constitution was rejected, the government would stay in power since a referendum was not a general election. Mr Botha dismissed PFP and CP alternatives to the constitution as 'mirages in the desert'. The former would lead to a unitary state with black majority rule, and the latter, with its aim of coloured and Indian homelands, was retrogressive. Mr Heunis said that under the government of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd it had been accepted that Indians were a permanent part of the population, and that the coloured people were part of a 'single state community' with whites, and could never be regarded as a single nation. The implementation of coloured and Indian homelands was too expensive and would lead to 'violence and revolution.'21 Dr Koornhof said the constitution had shortcomings, but that the country 'cannot come up with anything better right now.' Addressing the Transvaal National Party
congress in September, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said that while the electorate might not agree with every clause in the constitution, it had to decide whether to accept what it offered or throw SA back into deadlock. People who believed in the same principles as the NP had to be forged into a powerful group to stand together against the onslaught that faced the country. A consequence of a 'no' vote would be 'to create chaos and create an atmosphere for the real enemies of SA to sow their seeds of dissent.'22 If there was a 'no' vote there would be 'a chorus of conflicting claimants to victory'. The CP, the PFP, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), and the United Democratic Front (UDF) would all claim victory, and chaos would result. Meeting in October, the Cape National Party congress noted the need to share political rights with Indians and coloured people if white political rights were to be maintained, but called on the government to resist all pressures to include Africans in the first tier of government.23

NP spokesmen strongly attacked Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, for sharing platforms with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, during the referendum campaign and for bringing 'blacks into white politics'. Mr De Klerk said that whites could fight each other, but they should not enter into partnership with people 'who ought not to be present in the white political arena'.

Political observers claimed that the 66% majority in the referendum in favour of the constitution indicated overwhelming support for the NP on the constitution, and that it need no longer be so concerned with appeasing the right-wing. They said that the NP would have difficulty finding reasons for not introducing more meaningful reform for those who had voted 'yes' as a gesture of support for NATIONAL PARTY it, and that the result confirmed the potential support of English-speaking whites and business leaders for the NP. At the same time they pointed out that the government faced two major challenges: to convince the Indian and coloured communities of the acceptability of the constitution, which would lose all credibility if it were rejected by the people for whom it was intended; and to provide an acceptable constitutional solution for the African people, whose rejection of the new constitution was overwhelmingly stated during the referendum campaign.24

In April, Dr Koornhof announced that 31 farms bought from white farmers for a sum estimated at R10m for the consolidation of Venda would be resold to whites. Opposition parties attacked the NP for reversing the land deal, and said that it was a 'transparent' attempt to bolster Mr Fanie Botha's chances in the Soutpansberg by-election in May, since the issue of land going to Venda had become a major issue. Dr Treurnicht accused the NP of 'playing football' with land for election purposes, and Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, said that the NP was attempting to 'buy votes'.25 In the same month the CP and PFP called for a parliamentary select committee to investigate allegations that Mr Fanie Botha had been instrumental in writing off a debt of R1 143 000 for the Njelele irrigation scheme without disclosing his personal involvement. Mr Sarel Hayward, Minister of
Environment Affairs and Fisheries, described the charges as a 'gross misrepresentation' and said that the attack by the CP was an election 'gimmick' before the by-election. The government rejected the call for an inquiry. In October, Brigadier Johnny Blaauw, a retired fighter pilot, demanded almost R300 000 from Mr Botha, alleging that when he was Minister of Mines he had promised him two diamond prospecting concessions in return for R300 000. In November Mr Botha, who had retained his seat in the by-election, resigned from the cabinet, saying that the allegations against him and possible legal action could lead to 'undeserved and unfair embarrassment' for the government. He later resigned as MP for Soutpansberg, vice-chairman of the NP in the Transvaal, and chairman of the NP in the northern Transvaal. The Prime Minister accepted his resignation with 'regret'.

Because of Mr Botha's resignation the cabinet was reshuffled in November. Mr Pietie du Plessis, formerly Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, was appointed Minister of Manpower; Mr Barend du Plessis, formerly Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, was appointed Minister of Education and Training; Mr Louis Nel, formerly Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, was made Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Ben Wilkens, MP for Ventersdorp, was made Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs. The Prime Minister said that further cabinet changes would be made in 1984 to meet the demands of the new constitution.

In September, Mr Hennie van der Walt, Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, resigned his post. In November, claims totalling more than R200 000 were made against him in the Pretoria Supreme Court by three prominent inhabitants of Mafikeng who alleged that farmers and businessmen in the western Transvaal had invested money with him in return for six-monthly interest earnings of between 17% and 18%. After the first year of the scheme, the investors had ceased to get refunds and interest payments promised to them by Mr van der Walt.

In September, SA's former Prime Minister and State President, Mr B J Vorster, died at the age of 67. In March, Mr Vorster, speaking at the University of Pretoria, denied that the term 'power sharing' was ever implied in the NP's 1977 proposals, and said that he continued to reject power sharing. He warned that the coloured people and Indians involved in the new constitution were committed to a unitary state with one man-one vote, and said that if Africans were given a stake in the new constitution it would be the 'deathknell' for SA. Mr Vorster, however, did not give explicit support to any party.

The Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said during the year that they had had meetings with southern African leaders and other leaders outside SA. Mr P W Botha said that he could not reveal the identity of some of the leaders he had met as this would be in neither country's interest. While he was keen to meet foreign leaders who were interested in SA, he found that the 'preconditions set to meetings and attempts at bargaining' unacceptable. In December, Mr Pik Botha said that he had met the representatives of eight
governments in Europe to discuss southern Africa and developments in the region. Several meetings between SA representatives and representatives of neighbouring states were held during the year, notably a ministerial-level meeting between SA and Mozambique in Swaziland just before Christmas (see chapter on SA's Regional Policy).

The activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information (renamed the Department of Foreign Affairs in December) came under severe criticism from opposition parties. The PFP charged that the department's literature outlining the government's constitutional proposals was NP propaganda, and also criticised a television programme in which three of SA's ambassadors, Dr Brand Fourie (Washington), Mr Marais Steyn (London), and Mr Neil van Heerden (West Germany), maintained that the outside world would welcome a 'yes' vote. Mr Colin Eglin (PFP) said that it was a 'disgraceful abuse' of state power.

Opposition spokesmen also claimed that SA's foreign policy was determined by military people. Parliament and not the State Security Council (SSC), the South African Defence Force (SADF), or the Minister of Defence should set the limits to the political objectives of the SADF, they said. Professor Deon Geldenhuys and Dr Hennie Kotse of the Rand Afrikaans University and Professor Kenneth Grundy, a former fellow at the SA Institute of International Affairs, suggested that the council functioned as an 'inner cabinet'. Professor Geldenhuys and Dr Kotse claimed that because the Prime Minister was also chairman of the SSC, cabinet discussions of its decisions were bound to be inhibited because they carried his approval. Professor Grundy said that some people viewed the cabinet as having less of a central decision-making role than the SSC. He described the influence of the military in the SSC as 'decisive'. The Prime Minister dismissed these suggestions as 'fairytales' and said that SA's foreign policy was made by the cabinet under his chairmanship. However, because SA was 'a threatened country' the military played an important role in security advice.

Discussing the relationship between the business sector and the government, Mr P W Botha said that his government was having regular discussions with the private sector and had brought more of its representatives on to government-controlled boards. He said that the only way that SA could survive its isolation was for the private and public sectors to co-operate. Commenting on the growth of major corporations, he warned that an overconcentration of power in the hands of a few

PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY

was not in the interests of SA or of the private sector. Speaking at a business conference in Cape Town in October, Mr P W Botha said that SA was committed to the idea of private enterprise rather than collectivism. There was tremendous scope for the growth of the private sector, and the growth of the informal sector was 'testimony' to the increasing awareness of the profit motive among black
communities. He said the constitution was an attempt to move away from 'excessive centralisation'.

Emphasising the need for a strong economy, Mr Botha said that a sound economy together with 'military might and moral order' were the only ways SA would counter communism.

A Markinor poll in July showed that two-thirds of the white population supported the Prime Minister while only one-third of the black population had a positive attitude to his leadership. Black respondents gave as reasons for this, their belief that whites, including foreigners, were given jobs in preference to blacks, that Mr Botha did not fulfil his promises, that apartheid and discrimination still existed, that unemployment was too high, and that people had too little money.

Progressive Federal Party (PFP)

In the no-confidence debate in February, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition, said the abortive Seychelles coup illustrated the government's incompetence and the dangers of destabilisation, the land issue involving Ingwavuma and KaNgwane its extreme arrogance, discussions between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Chief Kaiser Matanzima on a possible black federation the collapse of its homeland policies, and the constitutional guidelines the inadequacy of its constitutional reform. He said that the government's constitutional proposals had united black resistance and polarised blacks and whites. Dr Slabbert asked how the government hoped to achieve success with constitutional reform if it alienated black moderates such as Chief Buthelezi.

Constitutional development was a major issue for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) during the year under review. Dr Slabbert outlined the PFP's views on reform: it must not undermine the right of citizenship of any South African, exclude any group from constitutional bargaining on racial and ethnic grounds, maintain any racially discriminatory measures in the way of any person's economic progress, or maintain social deprivation among groups in the areas of education, welfare, housing, and transport. The responsibility of the state in looking after the welfare of people should be non-discriminatory. Dr Slabbert added that he believed that constitutional reform was not possible without the complete abolition of both influx control and forced removals. Africans were permanent members of the urban metropolitan environment and were entitled to citizenship, he said. Suggesting that the government was attempting to constitutionalise National Party (NP) policy, Dr Slabbert said a more acceptable approach to arrive at a new constitution based on consensus and democratic principles would be for the government to make a declaration of intent stating its intention to negotiate with representatives of all population groups to develop a constitution providing for equal citizenship for everyone irrespective of race or ethnicity. It should obtain a mandate from the party and the electorate to invite other leaders to negotiate such a constitution, create a climate conducive to negotiation by removing such obstacles as the Group Areas Act, form a multi-racial commission of inquiry to demonstrate realistically how to get rid of inequality in education, and then call a constitutional conference where political leaders who had been freely chosen.
could negotiate and bargain.

In May, the federal executive of the PFP unanimously endorsed a decision to oppose the government's constitution bill. It said that the government had ignored the crucial problem of black/white relations by excluding blacks. The new constitution also entrenched race discrimination, provided dictatorial powers for the executive president, contained 'built in domination' over all groups by the NP, and gave the opposition parties an ambiguous role. A call by Mr Harry Schwarz for a 'free' vote to allow PFP members to vote as they wished without risking expulsion from the party was rejected. Dr Slabbert said that no one in the party had suggested a 'yes' vote or given any support to the constitutional proposals. Dr Alex Boraine denied reports that there was discord but said that there had been differences of opinion on party strategy in the referendum campaign. Dr Slabbert warned, however, that he expected his public representatives to support the PFP's campaign against the constitution.

In campaigning for a 'no' vote, the PFP's major objection to the new constitution was the exclusion of Africans and the policy of depriving them of SA citizenship. Dr Slabbert also criticised the constitution for failing to address the major problems of SA, which included black housing, job creation, urbanisation, and rural African poverty. Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, had himself pointed out the constitution's intention was not to address these problems, Dr Slabbert said, adding that a 'no' vote would tell the government not to waste time with 'artificial and useless constitutional experiments' but to get back to the real problems facing SA. Other PFP spokesmen contended that a 'yes' vote would be constitutionalising apartheid and accepting pass laws, homeland removals, and the break-up of family life through the migrant labour system. Dr Slabbert emphasised that the manner in which African SA citizenship was settled would determine the prospects and extent of violence in the country. Mrs Helen Suzman warned that a 'yes' vote would undermine the credibility of moderate black leaders who abhorred violence. Dr Boraine said that acceptance of the constitution would guarantee an escalation of political violence and the border war. Black youth would become more militant, more white youths would leave the country 'in despair' and black trade unions would spend more time on political issues. Addressing businessmen, Dr Slabbert said that a 'yes' vote would give ideological momentum to anti-free enterprise movements among the politically conscious black group, and lend credibility to the argument that there was a correspondence between capitalism and apartheid. He said that while the preamble to the constitution said that a national goal was to further private initiative and effective competition, the constitution explicitly said 'no blacks allowed'. Mr Alf Widman said that far more worrying than the possibility that a 'no' vote would damage the country's image abroad, was that a 'yes' vote could be economically disastrous if black trade unions decided to take action in response to what they might interpret as support by their employers for the NP plan. The PFP rejected the notion that Indian and coloured people in SA would be involved in genuine power sharing under the new constitution. It also rejected the claim that the government had negotiated with Indian and coloured leaders on the new constitution; 'at best' the government had
informed certain parties about its plans, the PFP said. The party's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart said that Indian and coloured people were being included as 'junior partners' in the new constitution. While they would have some say in the legislative process in SA, 'the pillars of apartheid philosophy'- the Population Registration Act, the Group

PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY
Areas Act, and the Separate Amenities Act-were retained. Mr Tiaan van der Merwe said that the new constitution made Indians and coloured people 'second class citizens in constitutional terms', and that the potential for conflict among the three houses of parliament was great because Indian and coloured groups who had agreed to participate in the constitution had repeatedly stated that their first task was to 'reform the constitution before they attempted to reform society'. Certain Indians and coloured people were being co-opted into the process and execution of apartheid. Mr Douglas Gibson said that the major difference between the NP and CP was that the NP wanted to co-opt these groups, while the CP felt that whites were quite capable of maintaining white domination without assistance. Dr Slabbert said that people who believed that there existed a 'hidden agenda' for constitutional reform were being misled. He believed the Prime Minister when he said that there was no such agenda.43 PFP spokesmen pointed out that many voters, particularly English-speaking people, would vote 'yes' because they believed that they were performing some kind of patriotic duty and stopping right-wing growth; or that the government would come up with a better plan in the future; or that the plan was so unworkable in the long run that it would give way to more generous reform; or that a 'no' vote would halt the process of reform and be seen as support for the status quo. The PFP said that such voters were confusing the government's rhetoric with the actual provisions of the constitution. The need was to force the government back to the drawing board to provide a more workable and equitable constitutional dispensation. Mrs Suzman said that the forces for change-economic forces, urbanisation, and international pressure-would remain notwithstanding the result of the referendum. Mrs Suzman added that blacks in SA would settle for nothing less that a unitary state with one-man one-vote, 'which was exactly what they should get'. She said SA had a good chance of surviving a one-man one-vote system.44

During the referendum campaign Dr Slabbert addressed a large group of business leaders invited to hear him by Mr Harry Oppenheimer, one-time MP for Kimberley and former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation. Mr Oppenheimer, a long-standing PFP supporter, subsequently announced that he would reluctantly be voting 'no' in the referendum. Inkatha and the PFP held a number of joint meetings to oppose the constitution. Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane, and Chief Buthelezi shared platforms with PFP members of parliament. Mr Swart also spoke on the constitution at a Shaka Day rally organised by Inkatha in Durban. Chief Buthelezi and Dr Slabbert issued a joint statement opposing the constitution. At a PFP meeting in Rosebank, Johannesburg, four days before the referendum, Chief Buthelezi said that any hope that justice and peace would still prevail in SA was embodied for black SA
by Dr Slabbert and his supporters. ‘People like yourselves will remind us all to do everything in our power to moderate the harsh black political forces which will emerge after a “yes” vote,’ he said. Dr Slabbert rejected ‘with contempt’ allegations by Mr Heunis that he was trying to intimidate voters or that he was trying to canvas votes outside the white electorate by involving blacks in ‘white politics’. Referring to attacks by the Prime Minister on his involvement with the PFP in the referendum campaign, Chief Buthelezi said no amount of ‘sabre-rattling’ by Mr Botha would frighten him.45 Mr Dave Dalling charged that the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was biased in its coverage of the referendum debate in favour of the NP and thus had broken an undertaking given to the PFP to report the debate fairly.46

PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY
The PFP claimed that the SABC had taken a 'secret and final decision' to destroy the 'no' vote campaign. Two Afrikaans newspaper companies, Nasionale Pers and Perskor, decided not to accept PFP advertisements. They said their policy was not to publish advertisements of a propagandist nature that were in conflict with their editorial policy.47

At the end of the referendum campaign, Dr Slabbert said that the government had rejected at least three possible steps in the right direction which would have softened the opposition's attitude to the constitution bill despite its shortcomings. These were: a timetable for removing statutory race discrimination; a declaration of intent on black citizenship; and a test of coloured and Indian opinion in the same way as white opinion was being tested. Instead the government had repeatedly stated that there was no possibility of a change in citizenship status of Africans, and that Africans could negotiate their future within the policy of separate development and apartheid.48 Dr Boraine claimed that the referendum campaign had spelled the demise of the New Republic Party because it had totally identified with the Nationalists in their support for a 'yes' campaign.49

After the National Party's victory in the referendum, the PFP rejected as 'spurious' a challenge by the Labour Party to resign its seats in parliament and not take part in the new system. Dr Boraine said that there was a fundamental difference between being part of a parliament where there was a constitutional opportunity for an official opposition in the white house to become the 'government of the day' and being part of the coloured house where there was no such possibility.50 Dr Slabbert said he accepted the result with 'regret' but would support participation in the new constitution if it received the co-operation and support of coloured people and Indians. His fundamental objections and fears remained, but if the government interpreted the result as a mandate to initiate reform it was the duty of the opposition to support this momentum. Dr Slabbert said two possible reasons why many PFP members had voted for the constitution were fear of an increase in right-wing support and the belief that it was 'a step in the right direction'. He pointed out that the government would do immeasurable harm if it implemented the constitution before determining the extent of coloured and Indian support for it.5 Dr Slabbert said that the alternative to participation in the new constitution was to abdicate all hope for peaceful, non-violent change in SA.
Participation did not mean support, since he believed that the PFP had taken the correct position in the referendum. Two major challenges facing the PFP were to keep the black constitutional debate alive, and to continue the struggle for civil liberties and the removal of statutory discrimination. Mrs Suzman said it was vitally necessary to use parliament to obtain information and to hold ministers accountable for their omissions. A resolution by the PFP federal executive to participate in the constitution 'on a constructive basis' without derogating from the party's fundamental principles was approved by the federal congress in November.

The PFP congress approved a revised set of principles as part of its revised constitution. These included full and equal citizenship rights for all South Africans without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, religion, or sex; the sharing of political rights by all citizens without the domination of one group by another; a democratic constitution for SA negotiated and agreed upon by the representatives of all sections of the people; an open and free society, free from statutory apartheid; and the right of all South Africans to maintain and develop their religious, language and cultural heritage. A resolution adopted unanimously by the congress praised the role Chief Buthelezi had played during the referendum campaign, his steadfast commitment to peaceful change and the way in which he had highlighted the 'injustice and dangers' inherent in the exclusion of Africans from the proposed system. Other resolutions adopted by the congress deplored the alleged misuse of police power to force NP policy on many South Africans who had been deprived of their SA citizenship, and the use of 'proxy forces' in the form of 'security services' of 'supposedly independent homelands' to suppress political opposition. There was much speculation before the congress that splits would emerge in the PFP over the manner in which its referendum campaign had been conducted, and that the 'idealists' would refuse to participate in the new tricameral parliament. The speculation seemed unfounded when the party confirmed that it would take part in the new parliament.

In December, the PFP rejected a charge by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, supported by the United Democratic Front (UDF), that the party had lost its integrity by deciding to participate in a constitution 'which erodes all efforts at establishing democracy'. Dr Boesak said that the PFP had made itself 'irrelevant' by betraying the 'noble ideals' it had displayed during the referendum campaign. Mr T Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, said that the PFP should have left parliament and joined extra-parliamentary structures. Mr Brian Bamford, acting PFP leader, said that to leave parliament would be to give up the PFP's best platform. While he understood the 'anger of the black people' he said that they should 'pick their enemies more carefully'.

New Republic Party (NRP)
The leader of the New Republic Party (NRP), Mr Vause Raw, said a secure and peaceful future for SA required constitutional reform supported by moderates of all races, a strong economy to remove social and economic imbalances and
discrimination, a social structure providing human dignity and opportunity for all, the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the individual under law, and international respect and co-operation. Mr Raw identified six areas of positive change that his party would strive for: negotiations with Africans to achieve an agreed accommodation within the constitutional structure; entrenchment of the principle that all parties should participate proportionately in central government; retention of the elective system of provincial government with increased powers and necessary adaptations to provide inter-racial responsibility; final decision-making to be made at national level and not in separate chambers; safeguards against the misuse of presidential powers or manipulation of the executive system to achieve authoritarian power; and a negotiated agreement on a clear division of powers regarding 'communal' and 'intimate' affairs, instead of leaving it to the arbitrary decision of the president.

Mr Raw said that the NRP held the best prospect for slow and evolutionary change without exacerbating racial conflict. It had played a role far in excess of its strength by its input in President's Council's recommendations and the government's constitutional proposals. The NRP saw itself as the bridge between the moderates and the coloured people and Indians and believed that it would become the 'mouthpiece' of moderate opposition, while the Conservative Party (CP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) would represent 'the fringes of opposition'. Mr Ron Miller, Natal NRP leader, said that he foresaw an increase in party membership.

After the poor showing of the NRP in the Waterkloof and Carletonville by-

NEW REPUBLIC PARTY
elections in May, there was speculation that the eight NRP members of parliament would leave the party and find a new political home, or that the NRP would join the NP. Mr Frank Martin, a senior member of the Executive Committee (MEC) of the Natal Provincial Council, attacked this speculation and said it had occurred through a 'malicious and premediated campaign' by the media. The NRP attributed its poor showing in the by-elections to its inability to match the resources of the other parties, its lack of press support, and the threat posed by the Conservative Party (CP), which had caused many NRP supporters to switch allegiances temporarily to the National Party (NP). Mr Raw said any unification between the NP and the CP would be 'disastrous' and would produce a totally paralysed government which would destroy SA.

In the no-confidence debate, Mr Vause Raw said that total rejection of the government's constitutional proposals would be a retention of the status quo. In May, the NRP decided it would support the government's constitution bill despite its criticisms thereof, since it was a serious start to the process of reform and would not increase 'conflict or destabilisation'. There would be a return to 'classical apartheid' if the CP came to power, and a black majority government if the PFP did. Mr Miller described the PFP as 'the white face of radical black power in SA' and said it was trying to impose a black veto on the legitimate and constitutional rights of whites, coloured people and Asians.
During the debate on the constitution in parliament, the NRP said it would monitor developments as they affected the provincial council system closely, bearing in mind the need for provision to be made for the inclusion of other population groups at this level of government as well. Later, during the debate on the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act, No 91 of 1983, in June, the NRP said it might withdraw its support of the constitution bill on the grounds that the government had broken its promise not to interfere with the powers of the provincial administrations without first consulting them. It had also given assurances that it would deal with the political aspirations of urban blacks at local government level. The local government bill showed that these assurances had been completely disregarded. Later in the debate, however, Mr Raw reaffirmed that the NRP would continue to support the constitution bill. Mr Claude van Wijk, a member of the NRP's federal council, said that the fundamental flaw in the constitution bill was the decision to exclude non-homeland blacks from decision making at central government level, and the NRP remained committed to the idea that a commission of inquiry should investigate the matter. Calling for a fourth chamber for Africans, Mr Raw said that Africans should be able to negotiate their future in the same way as coloured and Asian people. He said that the NRP was committed to a negotiated and agreed accommodation for all South Africans in a structure for joint decision-making, linked in a confederal relationship with independent and self-governing states. He accepted the government's assurance that it was committed to an on-going process of constitutional development of democratic political rights for Africans outside the homelands. The principle of joint responsibility with other race groups would be a catalyst for an equitable dispensation for urban Africans. Mr Raw pointed out however, that any constitutional development in SA must be acceptable to whites. This meant that a national convention was not an option at this stage. Mr Raw said that one of the fundamental principles of the NRP had been met with the inclusion of Indians and coloured people in decision-making structures in parliament. This heralded the end of exclusive 'white rule'. A rejection of the bill would not only be seen as 

NEW REPUBLIC PARTY
support for the status quo, but also as rejection of coloured and Indian leaders who had 'risked their political lives' in support for a new deal. In August, Mr Raw called on the NRP to vote 'yes' in the referendum. Speaking at the NRP congress, Mr Alex Anderson, NRP Transvaal leader, said that a 'yes' vote was 'a step in the right direction'. Sir de Villiers Graaff, NRP life president and former leader of the opposition, said that foreign investors would lose faith in SA if they saw that whites were not prepared to accept even 'the tiny steps' towards reform contained in the constitution. Mr Anderson denied that the NRP was moving closer to the NP and said that while they agreed with some aspects, there were still fundamental differences between the two parties. During the referendum campaign the NRP shared platforms with the NP. The NRP had refused to share any platforms where there was danger of the parties merging identities, however. The PFP attacked the NRP's referendum campaign as 'a disgraceful act of abdication'. Mr Peter Soal
(PFP) said that the NRP was prepared to 'hand over Natal' to NP policies which NRP voters had consistently rejected in general elections.65 The NRP leadership came under criticism from party members for supporting the new constitution without referring it to the party congress. Mr Nigel Wood, Natal vice-chairman of the NRP, resigned in May. He said he had been saddened by the steady drift of the NRP leadership 'towards the Nationalist camp' and could not support a constitution which excluded the majority of the people in the country.66 In the same month three NRP members were expelled, after publishing a pamphlet in which they discussed the major short-comings of the constitutional bill. One of them, Mr D Burden, a divisional committee chairman, alleged that people in the NRP were 'blatantly' supporting NP policy. In October, Mr Warwick Webber, former Natal leader of the NRP, was expelled from the party after he had published an advertisement calling for a 'no' vote. A PFP spokesman accused Mr Anderson of dragging the referendum debate to its lowest level by suggesting that Mr Gavin Relly, who had given qualified support to the constitution, and Mr Harry Oppenheimer, who had opposed it, were playing both sides of the debate to benefit the Anglo American Corporation. The NRP made repeated calls to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, not to threaten whites over the outcome of the referendum. Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal NRP leader, said that while he sympathised with the frustration of black leaders, their exclusion was to a degree their own fault because they had not taken the opportunity to participate in the black council originally proposed by the President's Council. Sharing a platform with Mr Renier Schoeman (NP), Mr Watterson attacked Chief Buthelezi for stating that violence might be necessary in SA in order for African people to achieve their political aspirations. He said that whites had a right to know whether the chief was going to 'encourage the killings or whether he was opposed to them'.67 Mr Watterson described a speech by Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport Affairs, in which he said that the constitution would entrench white power and rejected the idea of a fourth chamber for blacks, as 'stupid'. Welcoming the referendum result, Mr Raw emphasised that while the NRP had co-operated with the NP for a 'yes' vote it would remain a separate party with differences in policy and principle. He foresaw the NRP emerging as the country's 'responsible' opposition party with 'the remnants of the PFP and CP withering on the right and left'.68 In December, the NRP announced that Mr Frank Martin would contest the by-election in Pinetown, near Durban, for the parliamentary seat made vacant by the death of Mr Harry Pitman (PFP). The NP said it would not be fielding a candidate.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY
Conservative Party (CP)
Speaking in the no-confidence debate, the Conservative Party (CP) leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, described 1983 as 'the year of the white man's political struggle for life or death'. He said the CP rejected the government's new constitutional policy because it departed from the policy of separate development, destroyed the full right of self-determination of the whites, broke down the sovereignty of the white parliament, and did not carry a mandate from the white
The CP criticised the power that would be vested in 'the dictatorial State President' and said that the minimum demands of the white, coloured, and Indian houses were irreconcilable, which would lead to increased racial conflict. Power-sharing 'had failed everywhere in the world' and the new constitutional system was 'too cumbersome' to work, the CP said.

The CP's Transvaal provincial congress resolved to appoint a committee to investigate whether separate development was more costly than integration. The congress also urged the government to give the highest priority to the settlement of Africans in their own national independent states, and the establishment of commuter services to and from black states for blacks working in white areas. The congress attacked the judgement of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on migrant workers' rights in the Rikhoto case (see chapter on Urban Africans) on the grounds that it would lead to an influx of people into urban areas, which would lead to the 'physical destruction of separate development'. The delegates were urged to boycott companies and firms advertising their wares in multi-racial films on television. Other motions at the congress called for a return to racial segregation at all levels of SA life and criticised integration in the SA Defence Force (SADF), the 'increasing reluctance' of the government to implement influx control, and the proposed quota system allowing a certain number of students from other races to enrol at white universities (see chapter on Education).

The CP also reaffirmed its commitment to separate homelands for Indian and coloured people. Dr Treurnicht said that ethnicity was a fact in SA politics which could not be ignored and that SA was not homogenous. The aim of the CP was to create 13 states in SA—one each for whites, Indians, and coloured people, and 10 for blacks—thus allowing each group the right to self-determination. The Group Areas Act should be more strictly enforced. At a rally during the Soutpansberg by-election, Dr Treurnicht warned the Prime Minister not to regard coloured people and Indians as his allies and described them as the 'fifth column of Africans in the proposed parliament'. Dr Treurnicht assured these groups, however, that the victory of CP policy would not mean that 'injustice would be heaped upon them'. At the Natal CP congress Dr Treurnicht said that there was no morality in the government's policy of 'throwing together'—whites, coloureds, and Indians but excluding Africans. He declared that the CP refused to be governed by people other than their own race, but at the same time did not want to dominate Indians and coloureds.73 The CP Transvaal congress resolved to undertake a campaign to persuade Indian and coloured people that the government's plan was impractical.74 Dr Treurnicht said that a group of coloured people in the western Cape had already asked to meet the CP. Describing the group as conservative, he said they had taken a stand against 'liberalism and Buthelezi-ism'.75 Although no borders were demarcated for coloured and Indian homelands, it was suggested that the coloured homeland should be in the western Cape, and the Indian homeland north of Durban. During the parliamentary session Mr Frank de Roux said that the CP would abolish African trade unions in white areas when it
came to power. Mr Roux said that equal pay for equal work worked in the interest of the African worker, and said that the government's labour policies were causing increased racial tension. The CP called for a policy of selective immigration among skilled and semi-skilled workers from Europe to solve the labour shortage rather than the training of African workers.76

In referendum speeches, Dr Treurnicht said that if demands for participation by Africans and for changes in the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts were met, they would lead to black domination, complete integration, chaos, and the end of white rule in SA, 'as had occurred in Rhodesia'. These elements of conflict inherent in the constitution made it 'totally' unworkable.77 Describing the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and Mr P W Botha as 'bedfellows', Dr Treurnicht said that Indian and coloured people would force their way to a unitary state. Since the policies of the National Party (NP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) were 'so similar' there was a possibility that they would form a coalition if the NP failed to get a majority in the next election. The CP rejected the Prime Minister's slogan 'adapt or die', because adaptation in these circumstances for the white minority meant 'adapt and die'. Dr Treurnicht said that the NP was using the excuse of the communist onslaught to legitimate its constitutional policy. He said that the CP recognised the onslaught, but it was irresponsible to say that criticising the government was playing into the hands of the communists.78 He also called on all 'freedom loving' Afrikaners to reject a decision by the executive council of the Afrikaner Broederbond to support the constitution. Dr Treurnicht, a former chairman of the Broederbond, accused the council of deserting whites.79 During a rally during the Soutpansberg by-election campaign, Dr Treurnicht delivered a large portion of his speech in English in an apparent attempt to gain support from the large number of English-speaking voters in that area. The CP argued that Christian values and principles in the new constitution would no longer be a consideration in central decision-making processes because non-Christians would have a say in the country's management. In parliament, Dr Treurnicht implied that there would be a 'violent white backlash', if the government proceeded with its plans.

A hostile relationship continued between the CP and NP throughout the year. While the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, made overtures to 'nationalists' in the CP to return to the NP, he also made many attacks on the CP and its leader, Dr Treurnicht, particularly for allegedly misrepresenting NP policy. In October, Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, warned that the government would not allow public servants' political views to sabotage government policies. Professor Willem Kleynhans, a political scientist at the University of SA, said it was clear that the government was concerned about a CP 'fifth column' in government departments, which could obstruct the carrying out of the new dispensation.8

Replying to challenges by the Prime Minister for the CP to clarify its relationship with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Dr Treurnicht said that no ties existed, and that the CP had not asked the AWB to vote for it in the by-elections. He emphasised that the CP did not believe in violence as a political weapon. Allegations of collusion between the AWB and the CP occurred after speakers at
CP meetings hinted at violence as a political method if persuasion failed and because of the presence at CP meetings of executive members of the AWB.81 Professor J van Tonder of the University of Potchefstroom suggested that there were undertones of violence in CP statements, which were 'intentionally' or 'unintentionally'

CONSERVATIVE PARTY
encouraging violence. He cited speeches by Dr Treurnicht in which he repeatedly warned 'that the Afrikaner people had taken up arms previously when its freedom was threatened'. Dr Connie Mulder, CP supporter and former cabinet minister, reportedly encouraged voters to reject the new constitution rather than having 'to do it with a gun in a few years' time'.82 Referring to the May by-elections, Dr Treurnicht said there were attempts to secure a working relationship with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), but that the HNP had called off negotiations. He described the HNP as 'completely' inflexible, and said that their demand for a complete 50-50 division of seats in the by-elections was unacceptable. The CP's offer that it would contest the Waterberg, Waterkloof and Soutpansberg parliamentary seats, while the HNP could contest the provincial seats of Carletonville and Malmesbury was unacceptable to the HNP. Despite the fact that the HNP did not in the event contest the Soutpansberg by-election, the NP retained the seat, albeit with a drastically reduced majority. In Waterberg, despite the fact that the right-wing vote was split between the CP and the HNP, the CP defeated the NP and Dr Treurnicht was returned to parliament as its first elected representative (having previously held the Waterberg seat as an NP member.) In Carletonville the combined vote of the HNP and CP was higher than that of the NP, which was seen to indicate the potential growth of the right wing. Professor D J Geldenhuys said that while the by-election showed a certain swing to the right, he was not sure whether it was going to become a nation-wide phenomenon. He noted that the CP was gaining support in working-class rural and mining communities. The CP rejected a request by the HNP that it withdraw from the Middelburg (Transvaal) by-election in November in exchange for HNP co-operation in the referendum held on the same day. Dr Treurnicht said that each party should establish its own support in the referendum. The CP lost the Middelburg by-election, gaining 4 647 votes against the NP's 6 271. Together with the HNP's 2 028, the right wing scored a majority. Observers have said that the CP's influence is illustrated by its presence in right-wing organisations. Two of its supporters defeated government supporters in seats on the executive of the influential Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK). Professor Carel Boshoff, past president of the Broederbond, was one of these. CP support in the Broederbond is said to be growing to 50% country-wide and about 70% in the Transvaal. In July, Professor Boshoff resigned as chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), after he had approved a SABRA report which criticised the constitution and made recommendations closely in line with CP policy.83 Professor Kleynhans said the Broederbond could no longer speak for a 'united Afrikanerdom'. In October, 10 000 people attended a massive Volksfees rally in
Johannesburg at the Ellis Park Stadium held to celebrate Afrikaner culture. While CP supporters insisted it was not a political event, Dr Treurnicht was the main speaker, and many of the participants wore garments with CP emblems and slogans.84

After the referendum, Dr Treurnicht said that the CP did not accept the result as the final choice of people who wanted to maintain their freedom. Instead the struggle to undo the constitution had begun, and the support for the 'no' vote would provide the basis from which 'the freedom of whites would be won again'. He was convinced that 600 000 of the nearly 700 000 'no' votes were in support of the CP. He said that the dangerous implications of the constitution would come to light when it was implemented. On the possibility of an amalgamation of the CP and the HNP, Dr Treurnicht said that he was in favour of a combination of conser-

HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY

vative forces in SA, and that consultation would have to take place. Despite policy differences and personality clashes it was possible that the CP and HNP would join forces, he said.85 The former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, spoke at a meeting in March at the University of Pretoria, at which Dr Treurnicht and several other prominent CP members were present.

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)

In February, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), announced that his party would not continue talks with the Conservative Party (CP) unless it agreed to divide contested seats on a 50-50 basis. The CP offered to share the five by-election seats in May on the basis that it should contest the Transvaal parliamentary seats of Waterberg, Soutpansberg and Waterkloof, and the HNP the provincial seats of Carletonville (Transvaal) and Malmesbury (Cape). Mr Marais turned this down and said he saw no reason why his party should not contest all five seats, but he came under serious criticism from some senior HNP members for contesting the Waterberg election, which they saw as a battle between the National Party (NP) and CP. Some threatened to join the CP if Mr Marais persisted with his attitude.86 In the Lichtenburg constituency 17 members left the HNP to join the CP in protest against the Waterberg election stand by Mr Marais. However, Mr Marais said that the HNP had a right to fight the Waterberg by-election since it had been the focal point of the HNP's campaigning.

Mr Marais told a Pretoria audience that the government had become 'the tool of the US' and that SA had become an 'American colony'. He said the NP had co-operated with the USA to allow 'communism to spread over SA'. Money that was granted to black states at low rates of interest should be spent on strengthening SA's military power and to set up a nuclear facility to enable the SA Defence Force (SADF) 'to go in once and for all and take out all the terrorists.' He accepted that the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) was also concerned about SA but felt that the HNP could not associate with the AWB because 'it was creating the climate for a possible transition to the undemocratic process of violence'.87 In Ellisras, Mr Marais accused the government of not wanting to win the war against the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), and said General
Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, wanted to win time for SA to implement his policy of 'multi-racialism'. If the HNP came to power it would give young white couples large housing concessions if they had four children within the first ten years of marriage, Mr Marais said.88 Mr Marais' manifesto during the byelection in Waterberg stated that his election to parliament would be 'the single most pointed indication that the Nationalist government no longer had the support of Afrikaner volk'. The manifesto claimed that Mr Marais had followed the path of the former Prime Minister, Mr J G Strijdom, of 'Afrikaner volk and white civilization in SA' without compromise. It also said that the HNP stood for 'apartheid in the sense that the volk had always understood it.'

The congress in September urged the government to ensure that 'strategic' installations such as power stations and dams were erected as far away as possible from neighbouring states and homelands. The Armaments Corporation of SA (ARMSCOR) should halt the export of strategic weapons to neighbouring black states, the congress added. It also condemned the government for failing to react to the threats from neighbouring black states and asked it to withhold food supplies and other basic commodities from them if they allowed themselves to be

AFRIKANER BROEDERBOND

used as springboards for attacks against SA. Delegates also expressed disgust at the 'enforced integration' of the SADF. Other motions called on the church to take a stand against the erection of casinos in neighbouring states and homelands. The immediate reinstatement of job reservation, and for the banning of black trade unions.90

Twenty-four delegates at the congress, claiming to represent 20% of the delegates, announced that they were resigning from the HNP to join the CP. Mr Marais said that he had set two prerequisites for co-operation with the CP: it should withdraw from the Middelburg provincial by-election in November and publicly distance itself from the NP's 1977 constitutional proposals.

The HNP rejected the government's constitutional plans and urged the electorate to vote 'no' in the referendum. Mr Chari Hertzog, an executive member of the HNP, said that Indians and coloured people had no right to be included in the government and that the NP was trying to achieve a unitary state with one-man one-vote. He said violence and bloodshed would occur if there were black majority rule.91 The HNP congress declared that the new constitution would lead to an entrenched dictatorship for the State President, and that Christian values and norms could not be maintained in a governing system in which Hindus and Moslems shared control.92 The HNP's official publication, Die Afrikaner, said that the support of Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, for the constitution showed the alliance between the NP and 'leftist money powers'. It said that the government was defensive about its association with 'big money' and that Mr Harry Oppenheimer's support for a 'no' vote was an attempt to save it further embarrassment. 9

Describing the referendum results as 'a little more favourable to the NP than anticipated', Mr Marais said that the HNP would continue through the parliamentary system 'to undo the new constitution'. If the HNP won seats in the next general election, it would participate in the new constitution with coloured
people and Indians. Mr Marais ruled out any possible alliance with the CP, and said that the CP's failure to co-operate with the HNP in the referendum and to withdraw from the Middelburg by-election showed 'poor political judgement', and cast doubts on its political motives. In December, the HNP said that it favoured a resumption of talks and co-operation with the CP on the Soutpansberg parliamentary by-elections, to be held early in 1984. The HNP said that the most practical course to follow would be to have one organisation with uniform propaganda, otherwise each party would have to conduct its own campaign, involving a doubling of costs. 'Real co-operation and trust between the HNP and CP can only be achieved through equal partnership and recognition of the true principles of nationalism,' an HNP statement said. CP and HNP nominees failed to reach agreement on co-operation and it was decided that each party would nominate its own candidate. Talks between the parties would continue, however.

Afrikaner Broederbond (AB)
In February, Dr Willem de Klerk, former editor of Die Transvaler, defended the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) but admitted that conclusions reached during secret Broederbond discussions 'led to the influencing of authorities and leaders in society'. Accepting that the Broederbond had a 'biased' and 'secretive' image, Dr de Klerk suggested that this should be countered by the issuing of public statements more often. Rejecting suggestions that the Broederbond manipulated leading figures influential in government, he said that the organisation did not become involved in the decision-making of other institutions. It upheld the 'basic democratic principles of political rights, justice and freedom', and domination of one group of people by another was unacceptable. The Broederbond view was that discrimination was 'untenable', that association of peoples in equal co-existence was essential, and that joint responsibility in decision-making on matters of mutual concern was the 'key to a future dispensation'. Dr de Klerk denied that the Broederbond practised nepotism, and said that it had a great potential to influence the Afrikaner in a 'realistic, balanced and contemporary manner'.

Major splits occurred in the Broederbond over the government's constitutional proposals. In July its chairman, Professor Carel Boshoff, resigned because of his association with a South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) report which rejected the proposals. Professor J P de Lange, rector of Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), was appointed chairman. Observers predicted a major split in the Broederbond along party political lines, with National Party (NP) supporters following Professor de Lange, and Conservative Party (CP) supporters following Dr Boshoff. In July, Die Burger estimated support for the constitution within the Broederbond at 60%. In August, Professor de Lange openly supported the new constitution in a declaration he signed with 19 other academics. In October, on the eve of the referendum, secret Broederbond documents were leaked to the press. They showed how the government's proposals would entrench apartheid, that there were no plans to include Africans in the new structures, and
that they would be accommodated in the homelands and independent states. The documents also reportedly showed that the new constitution was the culmination of a 'master plan' drawn up by the Broederbond in 1976 to secure Afrikaner rule, and that the Broederbond was closely involved in the planning and evolution of the new constitution. In July 1978 the Broederbond privately circulated a document which said that the new constitution must be made so attractive that the coloured people would abandon all claims to representation in the white parliament, that the discussion of 'general affairs' should be conducted in such a way that whites maintained a majority say, and that the 'Westminster' system should be changed in such a way that it depended not on power-sharing but on 'a practical adjustment within the framework of separate development'. In 1981, the Broederbond rejected the idea of coloured and Indian homelands.

Two prominent members of the Broederbond resigned after the publication of this document. One of them, Professor Carel Boshoff, accused Broederbond leaders of putting the interests of the NP above those of the Afrikaner. He said that the Broederbond's support for the new constitution conflicted with its own constitution, which excluded involvement in political differences which divided its members. Mr J L de Bruin, a Gereformeerde Kerk Minister, predicted that a rival 'national Christian Afrikanerbond' would come into being in the near future. He too resigned from the Broederbond.

South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA)

In June, a secret report by the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) was leaked to the press. The report, entitled A New Constitution for the RSA: SABRA Guidelines 1983, rejected the government's constitutional proposals, describing them as 'farcical and impractical' and claiming that they would not regulate conflict in SA but stimulate it. The report also advocated that 'separate geographical spheres of jurisdiction' for Indian and coloured people be established. As a re-
to the forces of Islam, and it would become a base for spiritual terrorism.' The AWB members were not 'racist' but 'white Christians' who wanted to maintain what was theirs. At a meeting addressed by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in Waterkloof, AWB members heckled and an AWB member was ejected from the hall. At the end of the meeting, Mr Botha announced that he would instruct the Minister of Law and Order to investigate the activities of the AWB.102 Reacting angrily to this, Mr TerreBlanche said that the government should instead investigate the affairs of Mr Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower, and members of the President's Council who had 'leftwing connections'. At a meeting in Nylstroom, Mr TerreBlanche warned that conservative South Africans would take the country back by force when it collapsed because of the new constitution. The AWB would never allow white sovereignty to be relinquished to a 'coloured government' and to 'anti-Christians'. He charged that Islam and not communism, was 'the greatest threat to the world' and said that the Afrikaner would fight to death to protect what was his, and that 'blood would flow'. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, described the AWB image as 'alarming', and said that the organisation's aims included: total opposition to Jews, the English, and the democratic political party system in SA; the creation of a one-party state with only selected Afrikaners having the vote; and a coloured homeland. Various AWB members were charged during the year with terrorism and for the illegal possession of arms, ammunition, and explosives. Among them were Mr TerreBlanche, Mr David Botes, and Mr D Viljoen, members of the AWB executive. Some of the charges included planning to sabotage multi-racial hotels and the President's Council chamber in Cape Town, and to assassinate certain black politicians. One accused said in his evidence that he believed that he was right when he stole dynamite from the mine at which he worked, because the Bible said 'we are allowed to steal from heathens'. A state witness said that the accused had collected nails to scatter on the road to the Sun City hotel in Rustenburg, because he believed gambling was anti-Christian. Another accused said that their plan to infect Sun City with syphilis germs was a 'joke'. He said that for him 'integration was a horror'.103 In his evidence Mr TerreBlanche said that 'communists and leftists' had 'planted' arms and ammunition in the boot of his car to incriminate his organisation, and destroy him. Members of the AWB were given sentences varying from two years suspended for five years, to 15 years (see chapter on Security Matters).

COLOURED POLITICS

Organisation

During the year three parties representing coloured people—the Labour Party, the Freedom Party, and the People's Congress Party—had meetings with the government to discuss its constitutional proposals, which involved, inter alia, restoring the parliamentary franchise to coloured people (although on a basis different from that of the previous coloured franchise). After the white referendum on the proposals on 2 November, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that he would continue negotiations with coloured leaders with a view to
being advised whether to test coloured opinion on the constitution through a referendum or in an election. There was, however, widespread opposition to the constitutional proposals within the coloured community, most of the campaign being co-ordinated through the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In March the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) released the results of a survey entitled 'The perceptions of adult coloureds and Indians of sociopolitical change on the basis of the government's proposals for constitutional reform'. Six hundred and twenty-three coloured people in the Cape between the ages of 18 and 64 were interviewed, among the findings being that 42% were uncertain about whether or not to accept the proposals; 40% felt that they should be given a chance; 20% rejected them completely; 13% felt that they should be rejected because they excluded Africans; 42% said they would participate in elections for representatives in the proposed coloured parliamentary chamber; and 62% said that their leaders should negotiate with the government so that the communities could benefit from the new deal. Of those interviewed, 28% regarded 'communism' as the greatest danger facing SA, 10% the National Party, and 8% 'black power' (African majority rule). The Prime Minister was chosen by 38% as the best leader for the country in 'these politically difficult times', while 7% said they would prefer a coloured leader, and one percent an African leader. Several coloured leaders rejected the findings of the survey and accused the HSRC of attempting to canvas support for the government's constitutional proposals.

Labour Party (LP)
Meeting in Eshowe in January, the congress of the Labour Party (LP) voted overwhelmingly in favour of participating in the government's proposed new system, nine of the 300 delegates voting against. The congress declared that the party believed in the effective participation by all South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed, in all levels of government, and that it did not regard the guidelines of the National Party (NP) as the solution to the constitutional requirements of the country because they excluded the great majority of South Africans and entrenched ethnicity. The party reaffirmed its demand for a one-man, one-vote system within a unitary state (although, it said, this was negotiable).

In an address to the congress, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and chairman of the South African Black Alliance (SABA) -of which the LP was also a member-urged the LP to reject the proposals since acceptance of them would place the future of black unity in jeopardy. Mr H J (Allan) Hendrickse, leader of the LP, replied that no constitutional arrangements which did not include Africans could be regarded as final, or a guarantee for peace and security. On the other hand, there was no single strategy for social change in SA. Mr Hendrickse emphasised that the LP saw itself as a constituent part of the black community and would not be 'intimidated or brow-beaten' by radical, irrational, and irresponsible elements in the black community or by the government. Mr Hendrickse said that the fact that the Prime Minister had been prepared to split his own ranks to give coloured people the vote showed he was genuinely interested in reform.2 Mr David Curry, chairman of the LP, said that black leadership should
be 'grateful' to the LP because it had made the first breakthrough into parliament for blacks. He claimed that the majority of coloured people expected the party to speak to the government from a platform where 'the world would have to listen'. Mr Curry warned those who denigrated the coloured people for being within the system, to face 'reality'. The LP held the 'key to change in SA' and would force the pace of change by participating in the new system. Mr Curry called on LP members to use available platforms, even if they were government-created, to work for their political goals. According to the LP leadership the party had moved from the politics of protest to negotiation and affirmative action. The 'boycott strategy' failed to draw a distinction between people who wanted to cooperate with the government and those who participated in the interests of 'the liberation struggle' and democracy. People who attacked those who used government platforms confused strategy with policy.

A number of prominent LP members at the January congress spoke against the constitutional proposals, however. Among them was Mr Norman Middleton, Natal LP leader, who said that coloured people would have less political power in the new coloured chamber than they had had in the defunct Coloured Persons' Representative Council. The proposals would also entrench racial discrimination. In protest against the LP's decision, Mr Middleton and two other executive members, Mr Sam Solomon, former Transvaal leader, and Ms Louise Boesak, chairwoman of the Carnarvon branch, resigned. Mr Solomon called the party's acceptance of the proposals a 'stab in the back of Chief Buthelezi'. Mr Middleton said the LP did not have a mandate from the coloured people to enter negotiation, and Ms Boesak felt that the proposals were a violation of the party's constitution. A few days later, Mr Mohamed Dangor, Transvaal deputy leader, Mr Eric Lucas, Natal deputy leader, Mr A Solomon, national treasurer, Mr George du Plessis, an executive member, Mr D Solomons of SWA/Namibia, and Mr M Isaacs, secretary of the Cape Peninsula region, also resigned from the party. However, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, welcomed the Labour Party's decision, and said that the government was impressed with the positive attitude with which the 'greater majority' of coloured people had approached the issue. Both the US and the British government welcomed the LP stand and said that it indicated a process of positive change in SA.

Within the black community, the LP faced widespread condemnation. Chief Buthelezi said that while the coloured people were part of the black community, they had ties with both blacks and whites and therefore their role should be one of reconciliation. Acceptance of the proposals would lead to violence, he said. The Labour Party was subsequently suspended by SABA, following which it resigned.

The Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), representing 22 civic associations in the western Cape, said that the LP's decision represented the views of only a tiny fraction of the 'so-called coloured community'. Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said that the LP's decision would mean that 'apartheid would cease to have a white face' and that coloured
people would become 'junior partners' in it and share responsibility for the creation of homelands and the resettlement of people.9 The South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU), the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), and the General Workers' Union (GWU), reacted with anger to the LP decision and said that the unity built up between workers of different races was being undermined.10 The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, said that the LP had chosen to be on the 'side of the oppressor rather than on the side of the oppressed'. The executive committees of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee said that the LP members would benefit financially from participation, and that they were 'shocked and disappointed that the LP could participate in a subsidiary and collaborative role in government institutions. "I In February the LP embarked on a nation-wide campaign involving about 30 meetings to explain its decision to participate in the new constitution. In Stellenbosch and Vredenberg in the Cape, Mr Hendrickse and Mr Curry were confronted by angry crowds who called for Dr Allan Boesak as their leader. Responding to suggestions that participation in the new parliament would lead to conscription, Mr Curry said that coloured youths were already joining the army, and that many had to be turned away because of the lack of facilities. In Vredenburg, more than 120 members of the Food and Canning Workers' Union virtually took over a meeting called by the LP and stated that workers had never given it a mandate to negotiate with the government on its behalf. An LP meeting in East London was attended by 1500 people- among them 200 hecklers who accused the LP of 'selling out'. Mr George du Plessis-one of the LP members who resigned after the January congress decision -warned the party not to hold meetings in the Transvaal because they could lead to violence. Mr Curry described the statement as 'intimidation'. At a meeting in Eersterus, Mr Hendrickse gave his assurance that 'the LP would never accept conscription until we have a new SA in which all people are free and equal citizens'. He said that the LP was in a position to change the situation in SA, but that if it failed it would come back to its constituency. Mr Hendrickse also said that the coloured people had no cultural traditions of their own and were not a race but a 'conglomeration', and it was thus their 'calling' to be the catalyst in the growing polarisation between whites and blacks. 12 Violent clashes occurred between LP supporters and opponents at some of the meetings. At Reiger Park police armed with machine guns arrested 12 youths and in Eldorado Park teargas was used to break up fighting. Mr Jac Rabie, then Transvaal leader of the party, reportedly said that the LP was forming a military wing to deal with 'opponents who disrupted meetings'. Those who suggested a boycott of the constitution were 'communists', he said. Mr Curry denied that the LP was considering the formation of a military wing, however.

One main theme at meetings in the Transvaal was that coloured people as a group should look to their own self-interest before looking to the needs of other communities. Mr Don Mateman, an executive member of the LP in the Transvaal, said that Africans did not need coloured leadership and that coloured people
LABOUR PARTY

would have to 'fight on their own'. Mr Miley Richards, another prominent LP member, said that the coloured people were situated between whites and Africans, and suffered rejection from both. Mr Rabie said that when coloured farmers were evicted from the Kat River settlement in the eastern Cape, no African leaders objected; moreover, coloured pensioners had suffered great hardship when their residential area, Protea, was declared an African area. At all the meetings in the Transvaal, a minority of those present passed a motion of confidence in the party. 13 In April, the LP announced that it had cancelled all further public meetings. Speaking during the white parliamentary by-elections in the Transvaal in March, Mr Hendrickse warned that attempts to appease the right wing could jeopardise the government's constitutional plans. He said he was alarmed by statements by the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, that Indian and coloured members appointed to the cabinet would have to live in their designated areas. In October, Mr Pen Kotze, Minister of Community Development, said after visiting the Johannesburg suburb of Mayfair that additional legislation would be introduced in 1984 to provide for further action against transgressors of the Group Areas Act. Mr Hendrickse replied that the LP would pull out of the new constitutional system if the government tightened the act, but he also said that the issue had 'nothing to do with the referendum for whites'.14 In October Mr Hendrickse rejected a one-man one-vote system in a unitary state, favouring a federal formula instead. He said he believed in a geographic federation, free of apartheid and discrimination, where the inhabitants of each federal structure governed themselves according to their natural resources, needs and desires. Mr Hendrickse said that the LP had not gone against earlier decisions, because it had always made it clear that the concept of a unitary state solution was negotiable.5 Meeting in the same month, the LP national executive expressed concern that, to most newspapers, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), removals were always seen as affecting Africans, while no protest was made about the removal of coloured people from 'the heritage of their forefathers'. 16

The national chairman of the LP, Mr David Curry, resigned his post after the first session of the LP national executive in October. He refused to say why, other than that he wanted to play a fuller role in the Association of Management Committees (ASSOMAC), of which he was president. He said that he would remain a party member. The LP leadership refused to comment on his resignation. Immediately prior to his resignation, Mr Curry called for a more concerted attack on apartheid, and had suggested that the LP had become 'too conciliatory' towards the government. Others suggested that there was a power struggle between Mr Hendrickse and Mr Curry, and that Mr Curry had very strong support within ASSOMAC, which would give him a strong power base.7 In November Mr Hendrickse reaffirmed his rejection of coloured conscription until all South Africans were full participants in the society. He said that the LP could not condemn all those who were fighting against the South African Defence Force (SADF). Not all those who fought against the SADF were communists but
were there because of immense frustrations, since they believed there was no peaceful solution to SA's problems. Mr Hendrickse was reacting to a call from Mr Curry that a referendum was imperative since coloured people faced conscription under the new constitution.18

Mr Hendrickse called for a 'yes' vote in the white referendum and said that

LABOUR PARTY
reform generated its own momentum; once the new constitution was implemented it would be 'politically impossible' for SA to remain static. 19

At the beginning of the year, Mr Hendrickse said that although he would welcome a referendum among coloured people on participation in the new constitution, he would not make a formal request for one because he believed that there was 'overwhelming support' for his party in the coloured community.20 In April, however, after meetings with the Prime Minister, Mr Hendrickse claimed that it had been decided to hold a referendum in the coloured community, and that he would participate in the constitution even if there were only a 51% majority vote. Addressing a conference organised by the SA Institute of Race Relations in July, Mr Hendrickse said that if more than 50% of the coloured people voting in a referendum said that the LP should not participate in the new constitutional system, he would not do so. On 13 November, Mr Hendrickse met Mr Heunis to discuss whether to hold an election or a referendum to test the support of the coloured community. He also appealed for the appointment of a coloured or Indian person to a major cabinet post 'to give credibility to the reform initiative'.21 After the meeting, Mr Hendrickse said that while the LP had previously been in favour of a referendum, there had been much subsequent questioning about whether this was necessary. He claimed that the LP had experienced a 'phenomenal increase' in membership since the white referendum. Discussing a possible boycott of an election Mr Hendrickse said that groups such as the UDF were 'not a force to be reckoned with'. Discussing whether the LP would attempt to remove measures abhorrent to the Indian and coloured communities immediately it was in the parliamentary system, Mr Hendrickse said this would be expecting the National Party (NP) to capitulate on 'two cornerstones of policy- race classification and the Group Areas Act'. In the transition period, he hoped there would be no more proclamations or prosecutions under the Group Areas Act. He said he was sure that the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act would in time 'disappear'.22 A final decision on whether to request a referendum or election would be made at the LP congress in January 1984.

Observers claimed that the LP had been in a state of decline and had shed much of its support, particularly in the western Cape, to the UDF. This was allegedly illustrated in certain local management committee elections where LP members stood for election and extremely low polls were recorded. Some observers said that it would be difficult for the LP to attract even five percent support in an electoral contest of any kind, while former LP members said that the LP enjoyed about 20% support in the coloured community. Mr Hendrickse denied that the LP was declining and said in October that 26 branches of the party had been
established in the past three months; 16 in the Transvaal, five in the western Cape, and five in the eastern Cape. He also claimed that the LP had wide support in rural areas in the Cape. In October, the LP national executive called on all PFP members of parliament to resign their seats and not take part in the new parliamentary system. It demanded that the PFP cease its 'paternalistic' attitude towards the coloured people and also asked African leaders in the homelands, who condemned the LP's decision to participate in the new parliament, to resign, since their 'exclusive black' governments did not accommodate coloured people and Indians. In the same month, Mr Hendrickse said that there was no fight between the PFP and the LP, and that they would support the PFP strongly if it came to power. Mr Hendrickse rejected the Conservative Party's idea of a coloured homeland; coloured people were integrated with whites, particularly in the econ-

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS PARTY

om sphere, he said. The LP also rejected any contact with the CP after a suggestion by the CP that it would meet Indian and coloured communities to convince them of the viability of its homeland plan.

People's Congress Party (PCP)

In January, the Congress of the People (COPE) was renamed the People's Congress Party (PCP) at a conference in Knysna attended by 200 delegates. Mr Pieter Marais and Mr Morris Fynn were elected Cape Town and Durban leaders respectively. Mr Marais, a member of the the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, rejected the government's proposed new constitution because it made no provision for a bill of rights, while the President's Council with its white majority could 'bulldoze' any legislation in the event of a party deadlock. Also, the built-in white majority in the electoral college would ensure that the president was white. The party conference called on the government to declare ultra right-wing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) undesirable, since they posed a threat to racial peace. Mr Marais forecast a membership boost of 30,000 for the PCP in 1983.

At the end of January, the PCP held a public meeting in Wentworth, Durban, at which about 150 people unanimously passed a vote of no confidence in the Labour Party. The meeting requested the immediate withdrawal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, to give people the freedom to join the political party of their choice. Mr Marais described the Labour Party's decision to accept the proposals for constitutional reform as a 'joke' and implied that it had accepted them for personal financial gain. Mr Fynn criticised the South African Indian Council (SAIC) for accepting the constitutional proposals. He also criticised blacks who had accepted the homeland policy. All races should get together as one nation and act in the interests of the country, Mr Fynn said. However, in September, the PCP adopted a more conciliatory attitude to the Labour Party. It did not see itself as in opposition to the Labour Party, but complementing its role.

In March and November the PCP held meetings with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis. Mr Marais
subsequently said that acceptance of the new constitution would show that coloured and Indian people were recognised as permanent parts of South African society and that the government was committed to progressive reform. A 'no' vote would halt the process of reform altogether. Mr Marais accepted that the proposed reform was inadequate and saw African exclusion as 'regrettable', but said that coloured and Indian representatives would push for greater reform once they were in parliament.8 Mr Marais called in December for 'aggressive participation' in the constitution in order to improve living standards in the coloured community.9

Freedom Party (FP)
In January, Mr Gerald Blignaut, national secretary of the Freedom Party (FP), said that the party accepted the government's constitutional proposals with certain reservations. Welcoming the Labour Party's decision to accept them, he warned against those who would enter the new parliamentary system in order to destroy it. This would mitigate against coloured political advancement, he said. In February, Mr Blignaut said that the Labour Party (LP) should stop claiming that it represented the opinion of all coloured people. Mr Blignaut also announced

FREEDOM PARTY
that his party had cancelled public meetings which were to have started that month. He denied that this was because of the disturbances at LP meetings.3" In June the FP national leader, Mr Charles Julies, said that the party had decided to use local management committees as platforms. The LP used civic platforms very effectively, gaining control of the management committees, he said.3' After a joint meeting between the FP and the People's Congress Party (PCP), Mr Julies denied that the two parties had merged. He said that preliminary discussions had been held, and a plan of action adopted, but no agreement on a merger reached.32 Mr Julies said that the Prime Minister had considered the interests of all race groups in SA and had moved the country away from segregation to peaceful coexistence. He said his party would encourage a 'yes' vote if referendums were held among the Indian and coloured people. He attacked Chief Gatsha Buthelezi for 'interfering' in the political lives of Indians and coloured people, which groups, he said, were capable of working out their own futures. While the constitution did not meet all the aspirations of coloured and Indian people, a 'no' vote would halt the process of reform.33 After the white referendum, Mr Julies said that the government had a mandate from white voters and should implement the new constitution. Describing a referendum for the coloured people as 'costly and wasteful', he said the government should nominate people for the first five years to the new parliament from the major coloured parties, and that only after this should elections be held.34 In December, Mr Blignaut resigned because of business commitments. Mr Louis Hollander, northern Cape leader of the FP, and the national organiser, Mr Anwar Tiry, also resigned from the party.

Other Organisations
The most significant new non-racial political body to emerge in 1983 was the United Democratic Front (UDF), which in the Cape has about 100 affiliates, most of them in the coloured areas. A major affiliate of the UDF, is the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), which has 22 affiliates, and which has undertaken
campaigns on civic issues, and been a major participant in the anti-constitution campaign. Another UDF affiliate, the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), formed during the year under review, has 36 affiliates, including the Inter Church Group, which has 235 branches all over the Cape. The Disorderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill Committee, formed in 1982 to oppose the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, was renamed the Cape Action League (CAL) in August. Its affiliates were four civic organisations and the Cape Western Youth League, which has five affiliates. One of the activities of the CAL has been to establish workers' clubs. It has also continued its campaign against the constitution. The Federation of Cape Civic Associations, which also launched a campaign against the new constitution, has not affiliated to the UDF or the CAL. In rural areas, the traditional base of the Labour Party, new organisations independent of the Labour Party were also formed, among them civic associations in the districts of Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Knysna, and Worcester. In May, an ad-hoc Transvaal Anti-President's Council Committee was established in the coloured areas in Johannesburg to organise against the constitutional proposals. The committee was publicly launched at a meeting attended by 500 people in Coronationville, Johannesburg. Professor Ismail Mohammed was unanimously elected chairman. The committee is affiliated to the UDF.39

INDIAN POLITICS
Indian Politics
A survey conducted for the Durban City Council by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in March showed that 29% of the 449 Indian respondents supported the South African Indian Council (SAIC), 21% the local affairs committees (LACs), and 17% the Natal Indian Congress (NIC). Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the SAIC, was named by 35% as the most popular leader while 14% felt they could not name anyone as leader of the community. The survey was conducted in Chatsworth, an Indian township near Durban.1 Professor Jerry Coovadia of the NIC argued that there were limitations to interpreting political events on the basis of an opinion survey, especially in a repressive society such as SA. In March the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) released the findings of a survey on 'The perceptions of adult coloureds and Indians of socio-political change, on the basis of the government's proposals for constitutional reform.' Altogether 1247 Indians in the age group between 18 and 64 were interviewed. The survey showed, inter alia, that 42% of Indians were uncertain whether or not to accept the proposals; 48% felt that they had a possibility of being workable; 20% rejected them completely; 41% felt that they would lead to power-sharing among coloured people, Indians, and whites, while 25% felt they would not do this; 57% would participate in elections for representatives to the tricameral parliament; 14% felt that the proposals should be rejected because they did not make provision for Africans; 40% would choose the present Prime Minister to lead the country through 'these politically difficult times'; 11% would choose another white leader; 10% would choose an Indian leader; and 1% would choose an African leader.
Questioned on what they regarded as 'the greatest danger to South Africa', 26% of the respondents identified African majority rule, 16% communism, and 11% the National Party. Political observers criticised the HSRC survey, noting that only 0.16% of the Indian population was interviewed, which was said not to be representative. The HSRC was considered by many persons as part of the 'state machinery' and not entirely objective, they claimed.2

South African Indian Council (SAIC)

In 1983 the South African Indian Council (SAIC), a statutory body, had 45 members, of whom 40 were elected and five nominated. The executive committee consisted of Messrs Amichand Rajbansi (chairman), B Dookie, A G Joosab, R Bhana and S V Naicker. The National People's Party (NPP) formed the majority party, the only other party represented being the Democratic Party (DP).

In January, Mr Bhana welcomed the Labour Party's decision to participate in the government's proposed new constitutional arrangements, and said that the SAIC would be guided by this. He attacked Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, for suggesting that Indians and coloured people would become enemies of Africans for accepting the constitutional proposals, and claimed that Chief Buthelezi was 'working for the SA government himself'. Mr Rajbansi said that the constitutional proposals should be given 'a fair trial', that it was strategic to participate in order to get changes, and that 'the voice of protest' was better heard within parliament than outside it. He emphasised that the SAIC would not make a decision until Indian opinion had been tested through a referendum or scientific survey.3 On the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, Mr Rajbansi said the

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had said that this would best be dealt with in the Indian house and joint standing committees in the tricameral parliament. During a debate in the SAIC, Mr Rajbansi said that conflict in SA would be removed only when black aspirations were met. While some SAIC members gave qualified support to the constitutional proposals and felt that rejecting them was shutting off all possibility for negotiation with the government, others felt that the exclusion of Africans and the lack of any significant powers for the Indian house made them unacceptable. The Democratic Party completely rejected the proposals and said that the SAIC was representative of only 10% of the Indian community and therefore had no mandate to make decisions on its behalf. The debate ended with no decision being taken and a call for a referendum on the issue for the Indian community.4

In April, the SAIC expressed disappointment at a statement made by Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Internal Affairs, that the abolition or revision of the law preventing Indians from living or working in the Orange Free State (OFS) was not under consideration. Mr Rajbansi said that if the constitutional proposals were to be accepted, it was necessary to allow Indians to reside anywhere in the country.5 In its evidence to the select committee on the constitution bill, the SAIC expressed reservations about the division between 'own' and 'general' affairs, the excessive powers of the president, the method of electing him, the role of the official opposition, and the exclusion of Africans. In August, Mr Rajbansi said
that the SAIC executive committee had considered the proposals and still felt that its 'ultimate aim' was a unitary parliament representing all race groups. However, they were aware of the need for practicality 'at this stage' and that a unitary parliament would not be achieved 'overnight'. A plenary meeting of the SAIC gave qualified support to the new constitution but emphasised that this did not imply full endorsement. The SAIC recommended increasing the size of the Indian house in the new parliament from 45 to 60.6

In September, an SAIC delegation visited Chief Buthelezi, who said that Africans would see any SAIC endorsement of the constitution as deeply prejudicing the relationship between the two communities. He asked Mr Rajbansi to state his position unequivocally. Chief Buthelezi said it was 'nonsense' for those participating to say that they would work for the political future of Africans from within the new parliament.7 Mr Rajbansi said that the eventual aim of the SAIC and the KwaZulu cabinet was the same—a non-racial SA, with participation for all groups in all levels of government and achieved through a process of peaceful, evolutionary change on the basis of negotiation. Mr Rajbansi claimed he was being 'inundated with calls from Indians to participate'. After the meeting, Mr Rajbansi said that the possibility of the SAIC's accepting the government's constitutional plans was 'very remote'. Chief Buthelezi said that Mr Rajbansi had told him that he (Mr Rajbansi) would lose a lot of members if he came out against participation, and had said that he felt 'cornered by forces pressing him to participate in the new constitution'.8

Various organisations attacked the SAIC for allegedly making confusing and contradictory public statements. Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary for the United Democratic Front (UDF), said it was not representative of the Indian community, and that Mr Rajbansi had deliberately made contradictory statements because he was aware that if he openly supported the proposals he would not be able to carry Indian opinion with him. This view was supported by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC).

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL
At the end of September, Mr Rajbansi said the SAIC would ask the government not for a referendum but for an opinion survey among Indians. If a referendum were held, the UDF, the NIC, and other 'anti-SAIC' bodies would call for a boycott, which would not allow for a proper assessment, he said.' During the white referendum campaign, Mr Rajbansi said that if whites voted 'yes', he would recommend that the Indian community follow suit. In an atmosphere 'devoid of emotion' he was confident it would. After the white referendum Mr Bhana said that holding an Indian referendum would be 'time wasting', and that calling for the immediate abolition of the Group Areas, Mixed Marriages, and Immorality Acts would force a deadlock and defeat the whole purpose of getting into parliament. He said the SAIC was in favour of 'grey, racially mixed, residential areas'. He did not anticipate problems arising because only people 'of a particular class' would be living there. 10

In mid-November, the SAIC invited about 2 000 Indians to a meeting in Durban which the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, addressed. Welcoming Mr Botha, Mr
Rajbansi said that the large audience proved that the Prime Minister had more support than the main Indian opposition, the NIC, and the UDF. He challenged the NIC to a public debate on the question of army conscription and said of an NIC pamphlet which suggested that he said 'yes' to the constitution because he wanted Indians to be conscripted, that it contained 'lies'. Mr Rajbansi added that he would support conscription when political rights were extended 'to the people and not only the politicians'. 11 Mr Botha told the meeting that Indians were being given the opportunity to become 'joint architects' of their future. He said the Indian communities in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda had experienced problems. Nowhere outside India had any Indian community reached the kind of constitutional recognition that was now being offered. This was a great advance on the policy of repatriation that the government had advocated in 1961. Mr Botha claimed that support for the constitution did not mean exclusion of other 'peoples' from constitutional development. He outlined five options which he saw as facing the Indian community regarding the new constitution: acceptance out of conviction and belief in the sincerity of whites; participation in order to destroy it; rejection in favour of 'maintaining the status quo' with all its problems; rejection 'in favour of aligning with a black nation such as the Zulus'; and rejection for radicalism, which, he warned, would lead the Indians into a cul-de-sac. Mr Botha said he did not want to prescribe to the Indians which option they should choose, and that they and their leaders would have to advise the government whether they favoured a referendum or a general election. 12

At the end of November the SAIC decided to give the constitutional proposals 'a fair trial'. Mr Rajbansi said its approach was pragmatic. Like the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the SAIC did not approve of the constitution, but had decided to work within it to bring change. The use of the 'reactionary platform' of the new constitution was one way of achieving it. A decision had to be taken on whether a referendum was to be called but he foresaw problems since many Indians did not have the necessary identity documents. 3

Earlier in the year, at the SAIC’s April meeting, Mr Rajbansi complained that various promises made by cabinet ministers had not been fulfilled. He cited assurances that such matters as housing and prosecutions under the Group Areas Act would be investigated, and warned that if the situation continued the SAIC would have to espouse 'one man, one vote'. In November, Mr Rajbansi met Mr Pen Kotze, Minister of Community Development, to discuss the sale of houses in NPP.

Cato Manor, the rezoning of Clairwood, and the eviction of Indians from Mayfair in Johannesburg. Other matters that the SAIC discussed included the resettlement of Indian traders displaced by the Group Areas Act and the entry of foreign Indians to SA, particularly women married to Indian South Africans. Two contentious issues involving the SAIC were the delegating to it of powers over Indian education and social welfare. Social welfare organisations, teachers' organisations, and community and political organisations protested. The Teachers' Association of SA, representing about 50 000 teachers, rejected any collaboration with the SAIC on the grounds that it was a government-created body with no
professional skills in education. A row ensued between the SAIC and the NIC after the SAIC reported a group of doctors to the SA Medical and Dental Council because they had signed an advertisement opposing its takeover of education.

Various welfare organisations, among them the Durban Indian Child and Family Welfare Society and the Social Workers’ Federation, rejected the proposed takeover of welfare services by the SAIC. They said that such a move would disrupt the prevailing partnership between the state and community volunteer movements and disunite the community, which had already rejected the SAIC.

The SAIC rejected a motion by Mr E Abramjee to refuse to accept responsibility for Indian welfare services, on the grounds that welfare services should be integrated and that the SAIC did not have the professional skill in welfare (see chapters on Education and Social Welfare).

National People's Party (NPP)

With 34 of the 45 seats, the National People’s Party (NPP) is the majority party in the South African Indian Council (SAIC), and decisions taken in the SAIC largely reflect its views. The leader of the NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is also chairman of the SAIC. In January the NPP laid down certain conditions for participation in the government's proposed new constitutional arrangements, among them the removal of discriminatory legislation and of restrictions on the movement of Indian people. Although these conditions were rejected by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Rajbansi said that the NPP would continue to negotiate with the government for political changes.

During debates in the SAIC, a suggestion by Mr Rajbansi after a meeting between the SAIC and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that the SAIC might not accept the constitutional proposals was met by angry reaction from NPP members who said that Mr Rajbansi’s views were not representative of the majority view in the NPP. The NPP welcomed the white referendum result, some members suggesting that a general election for Indians should be called instead of a referendum. In December Mr Rajbansi said that he expected the NPP to take at least 23 of the 40 elected seats in the Indian house in parliament.

Democratic Party (DP)

The Democratic Party (DP) had four members on the South African Indian Council (SAIC). In February, the DP expressed disappointment over its meeting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and declared that it could not accept the government's proposed new constitution. Mr J B Patel, leader of the DP, said that the proposals did not meet the aspirations of the black people in SA, and had created a schism by deeply dividing the various races, thus preventing harmony and racial peace. While the DP could not accept the proposals it would continue to negotiate with the government for a more acceptable dispensation. Although the DP said that it could not reveal what Mr Heunis had said to it, Mr H Cassim, deputy leader of the DP, said of the meeting that 'prescriptive politics were still the order of the day'.

Reacting to statements by Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport Affairs, that Indians and coloured people serving in the new parliament would have to stay in racially
separated group areas, Mr J B Patel said that no genuine Indian leader would accept a position in the new cabinet if he still had to put up with petty apartheid and discrimination. 19 In November, Mr Cassim said that comments by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the progress made by the Indian community were far greater than anywhere else in the world outside India were unwarranted. He said that the progress the Indian people had made was due largely to their own initiative. Mr Cassim added that his party was still committed to rejecting the proposals.20

Within the SAIC, the DP tried to block activities which it felt would discredit the SAIC in the community, for example the handing over of Indian education and social welfare to the SAIC.

Natal Indian Congress (NIC)

Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), said that the greatest threat of the government's constitutional proposals was their potential to destroy black unity: Moreover, the new security legislation would make it more difficult to mount an offensive against the 'new dispensation' similar to that which was launched during the anti-South African Indian Council (SAIC) campaign in 1981. Because of this, progressive democrats would have to find new methods to fight the state's plan while at the same time maintaining maximum unity.21

The NIC unanimously rejected the constitutional proposals. Professor Jerry Coovadia, an executive member, denied speculation that the NIC would put up 'boycott candidates' to fight elections and then resign, so causing the tricameral parliament to fail. In a joint statement, the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (TASC) and the NIC rejected the proposals on the grounds that they were aimed at fragmenting black unity built through a joint struggle of oppressed people, that the lot of the SA majority would not improve through participation, that the Group Areas Act would remain, that the bantustans would continue to lend credibility to apartheid ideology, that pass laws would be more ruthlessly applied, that exploitative wages and better working conditions would continue and be aggravated by the recession, and that repressive action such as detentions and bannings would also continue. The statement alleged that the SAIC did not represent the Indian people and therefore should not take part in the new system. It said that Indians in SA had never taken sides against the African people and did not intend to do so at this stage. The joint executives of TASC and the NIC reiterated their commitment to the attainment of a society based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.22

Reacting to a statement by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the SAIC, that he was prepared to try the new constitutional system because he believed in change 'by the ballot box rather than the bullet', Mr Mewa Ramgobin, an NIC member, said that Mr Rajbansi had chosen a fake 'ballot box' and that Indians would be forced 'to fight against their African brothers' on the border and even inside SA. Mr Ramgobin described Mr Rajbansi as the 'junior partner' of Mr P W
Botha, the Prime Minister, and said it was clear that the government planned to manipulate sections of the Indian and coloured communities in order to gain acceptability for its constitutional plans. Some 18 000 pamphlets advertising an NIC meeting to be held in Durban on the same day as the Prime Minister's meeting in November with Indians invited by the SAIC were allegedly confiscated by security police while being printed. In protest against the Prime Minister's meeting with Indians a placard demonstration was organised by the NIC outside the city hall. Forty-four of the protesters were arrested, while a large number of sympathisers who stood with them were dispersed by police with dogs. Among those arrested were prominent political activists, including Mr Ramgobin, Professor Fatima Meer, and Messrs Zac Yacoob, George Sewpersad, and Yunus Mohamed. The protesters were charged under section 47 of the Internal Security Act, which deals with illegal gatherings, and were released on bail of R200. At the NIC meeting of several thousand people at the Orient Hall in Durban, Mr Ramgobin said that Mr Rajbansi was committing SA to civil war since acceptance of the constitution would mean conscription.

The NIC participated in various community issues, including a campaign against the takeover by the SAIC of Indian education and social welfare. The NIC also played a prominent role in the Natal region of the United Democratic Front (UDF) with Professor Jerry Coovadia, and Messrs Yacoob, Ramgobin and Paul David being on the executive of the Natal UDF. Two meetings called by the NIC and other organisations to mourn the death of a former prominent member of the African National Congress (ANC), chairman of the SA Communist Party, and TIC leader, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, were banned in September.

Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)

At first congress of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (TASC), in January 1983, it was noted that the TASC had been established with a limited and prescribed role. It had launched a successful boycott of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) elections in 1981 (see 1981 Survey pp 20-21), managing to reduce the poll to 10%. The congress said that there was a need to consolidate 'the victory and gains' made during the anti-SAIC campaign with the establishment of a more permanent political organisation. The TASC congress accepted a decision to revive the TIC (which had existed in the 1950s as part of the Congress Alliance) in order to organise the Indian community against apartheid and it responded to a call by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, to form a broad front of organisations all over the country to respond nationally to the constitutional proposals and the 'Koornhof' Bills (see chapter on Urban Africans).

The TIC was officially inaugurated in May at the Ramakrishna Hall in Lenasia, at a meeting attended by about 800 people. The meeting was chaired by Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of TASC, with Dr N Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association and Mr Zac Yacoob of the National Indian Congress (NIC) as guest speakers. A revised constitution for the TIC, which was accepted by an overwhelming majority, was adopted.
majority, extended membership to all who agreed with the aims and objects of the organisation. Among these were: to strive for a united, democratic, non-racial SA on the basis of universal, adult suffrage; and to strive for equal economic, political, social and educational freedoms for all its inhabitants. The constitution allowed for the formation of branches of the TIC throughout the Transvaal. Dr Jassat was elected president. The revival of the TIC was criticised by black consciousness groups, which accused it of being an ethnic body. The TIC replied that it was a 'people's organisation', as shown by its history of participation in the Congress Alliance, the Congress of the People, and the Defiance Campaign, and by its adoption of the Freedom Charter. The physical separation of people had imposed limitations and because of this, they were forced to organise in separate communities, the TIC said. The TIC's major campaign has been against the new constitution, which it regarded as 'undemocratic, entrenching apartheid and fragmenting the unity of Indian, coloured, and African people'. The TIC also participated in a UDF campaign against local authority elections in African townships towards the end of November.

In March, 10 students distributing Anti-SAIC News were detained overnight; a meeting to commemorate 16 June was banned; the first in a series of planned meetings during the white referendum campaign to be held in Laudium, Pretoria, was banned; and a meeting to commemorate the death of a past president of the TIC, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, was also banned. A TIC newsletter, The Congress Register, a poster, and various pamphlets were also banned. At a Group Areas board hearing to discuss whether part of Mayfair in Johannesburg should be declared Indian, the TIC rejected the Group Areas Act and said it was the major cause of the housing crisis. After Mayfair East was declared an Indian area in December, the TIC said the timing of the move indicated that the government was trying to co-opt the Indian community in order to make the constitution more acceptable. This move would benefit affluent landlords to the detriment of Indian and coloured rentpayers, it said. In December, Dr Jassat said it was a 'foregone conclusion' that Indian and coloured people would be conscripted if they accepted the constitution.

Reform Party (RP)
The Reform Party (RP) claimed a membership of 4000. In February, it unanimously resolved to reject the government's constitutional proposals on the grounds that there was no evidence or declaration of intent that the government would remove discriminatory laws. Africans were excluded and this meant an 'outrageous slap in the face' for the majority of the population, the RP added. Moreover, acceptance of the proposals meant entrenching apartheid and accepting third class citizenship. Mr Yelman Chinsamy, leader of the RP, described the Labour Party decision to participate as a serious setback 'to the black struggle for freedom in SA'.

In the same month, although an application to hold a South African Black Alliance (SABA) rally in a stadium in Durban was refused, SABA went ahead with the rally in defiance of the ban. Mr Chinsamy, and Chief Buthelezi being the main speakers. Mr Chinsamy is a co-chairman of SABA, which, according to its
chairman, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was founded as a result of an initiative by Mr Chinsamy in 1978. Some 8 000 people attended the rally. In an address to a SABA

BLACK POLITICS

conference in May, Mr Chinsamy said that Indians and coloured people were given only the 'trappings of power' in the new constitutional deal, which endorsed the country's most objectionable laws, such as the Population Registration, Group Areas, Immorality, and Mixed Marriages Acts, as well as influx control laws. He said that the racial ratios in the tricameral parliament meant that Indians and coloured people could never outvote white Nationalists.29

During the year under review the RP participated in a series of 'black unity' talks which also involved Inkatha and the governments of several other homelands, the National African Federation Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), the Interdenominational Ministers' Association of SA (IDMASA), and the Urban Councils Association of SA (UCASA) (see chapter on Homeland Affairs).

Among the resolutions taken by a SABA meeting at Richards Bay in October was one calling on all whites to reject the government's proposed constitution in the referendum on 2 November.

In December, Mr Chinsamy said that he was under 'tremendous pressure' from the Indian community to stand for election for the tricameral parliament because of his political experience.

Black Politics

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, claimed that financial aid given to the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) by the United Nations (UN) exceeded R6m a year. A report that the Swedish government funded the ANC and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) by about R10m a year was confirmed by the Swedish ambassador to SA, Mr A Helleryd, who said that the money was for 'humanitarian' purposes only and would be discontinued if used for other purposes.2 On the eve of the British general election in June the British Labour Party said that if it came to power it would give material aid to the ANC, PAC and SWAPO, and would support mandatory UN sanctions against SA.3 In September, the World Council of Churches made contributions to South African exile movements through its special fund to combat racism. SWAPO received R114 000 for 'humanitarian and legal aid', the ANC R54 000 to help refugees from apartheid, the PAC R54 000 for 'information services' to counteract SA propaganda, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) RIO 000 to 'assist black workers in obtaining their lawful union rights'.4 In December, the UN General Assembly allocated an additional R4m to various UN projects on South West Africa with the specific aim of 'exposing and denouncing the collusion of the US with certain other western countries and Israel with SA'.

African National Congress (ANC)

In April, four Dutch teachers left for Tanzania to teach at the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, which is said to have more than 400 pupils from
preprimary to secondary level and aims to prepare an educated group to take over essential functions 'after the liberation of SA'.

South African Defence Force (SADF) action against ANC members in neighbouring countries continued (see chapters on Defence and on South Africa's Regional Policy). After a SADF raid on Maseru in December 1982,

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana reaffirmed that they would not allow ANC members in their countries to possess 'weapons of war', but would continue to support SA refugees. Various ANC members were asked to leave or to leave neighbouring countries which feared SADF attacks. Father M Lapsley, Anglican chaplain at the National University of Lesotho, was asked to leave by his church on the grounds that as an ANC member he was vulnerable to SADF attacks, thus making the position of the church very precarious.

Various ANC members, fearing for their safety, left Swaziland and Lesotho, most going to Maputo. One observer claimed that 100 ANC members left Maseru and 17 Swaziland. Mozambique and Swaziland said that the SA government should look for ANC bases in SA and fight its wars within its borders, not in 'small and defenceless' neighbouring countries.

Professor Michael Clough of the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, said that SA's demands for Mozambique and Zimbabwe to curb ANC guerrilla activity were problematic: both countries had very long borders with SA and it was difficult to prevent people from infiltrating across into SA; while they might agree not to permit ANC bases (which they did not have anyway), the carrying out of sabotage in SA did not need large-scale bases, and small bases might exist unbeknown to them; and both countries' governments had come to power as 'liberation movements' and therefore saw themselves as part of the general effort to 'liberate' Africa.

An SA policeman, Warrant Officer Jacobus Martinus Kok, jailed for two years in July 1982 in Botswana for trying to bribe a local policeman to spy on the ANC, was freed less than a year later and allowed to return to Pretoria. It was said that Warrant Officer Kok was pardoned by the Botswana President, Mr Quett Masire, after negotiations between the two governments.

Two men holding British passports, Mr D McConigle and Mr P Martin, were handed over by the Lesotho government to the British High Commission in Lesotho after allegedly spying on the ANC. Lesotho police headquarters announced that the men were found in possession of documents indicating that they were spying for 'another country' by watching the movements, and the homes of ANC refugees in Lesotho, and by monitoring the security situation in the country.

In September, the Minister of Information in Lesotho, Mr Desmond Sixishe, said that of the 509 political refugees in Lesotho, 296 were members of the ANC. In Lesotho, a large rally was held on 9 December, which was declared a holiday, to commemorate the 42 people who had died in the SADF raid on Maseru a year previously. The Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, said that neither the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, nor Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, could be regarded as 'terrorists': they were respected leaders of the SA people. In September, three people were shot dead in Swaziland at a housing estate which
housed ANC members. Two of them were Swazi nationals, but the identity of the third, a woman, was not known. It was apparently suspected that one or more of those shot was providing information to the South African Police about ANC members."

In November, two alleged members of the ANC, Mr Keith McFadden, a Swazi citizen, and Mr Zwelakhe Nyanda, a South African, were shot dead in Mbabane by two unidentified gunmen. Newspaper reports have suggested that Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, brother of one of dead, who is reportedly a military commander in the ANC, was the real target of the assassins. Other suggestions were that the deaths arose out of the strife within the ANC. Three ANC members in Mbabane, Mr J Motsamai, Mr M Mokoena, and Mr L Bosigo, were sentenced to

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
250 days' imprisonment or a R250 fine after being found in possession of weapons. In northern Swaziland, villagers at Mhlagatane arrested an ANC member after they discovered he was in possession of a machine gun and three hand grenades. Commending the villagers' action, a police spokesman called on members of the public to help in tracking down 'these suspicious characters wielding guns in the kingdom'.

In the year under review the ANC continued its attacks on targets in SA (see chapter on Security Matters). In May, Mr Tom Lodge, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, said estimates of the size of the ANC's armed wing, Umkonto we Sizwe, varied between 2 000 and 8 000. He said that the higher figure would represent a reasonable proportion of people who had left the country since 1976. An SADF spokesman said that the higher estimates were a 'gross exaggeration', while the Rabie Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation (which reported in 1982) gave a figure of 1400.

Statistics compiled by the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies in September showed that since 1977 the ANC had undertaken 210 instances of political violence, killing 52 people in the process - 13 of them policemen, 5 alleged collaborators and 33 civilians - and injuring 286. Property was damaged 80 times. Statistics given by Captain J Coetsee in a security trial in October disclosed that 47 people had died in 197 acts of political violence in the past eight years. In the same period, according to Mr Lodge, the ANC lost nearly 100 men and women as a result of cross-border SA raids, security force action inside SA against insurgents, and in neighbouring countries. In May, a car bomb exploded in Pretoria outside the SA Air Force headquarters and opposite a building which housed military intelligence personnel. Nineteen people died in the explosion and 217 were injured. Suggestions were made that this marked a change in ANC strategy and that it would now aim at 'soft' (eg civilians, shopping centres) rather than 'hard' targets such as military installations and government buildings. Professor H W van der Merwe, Director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies, suggested there was a 'dramatic escalation' of what was formerly a low-level insurgency campaign. Government sources warned that the war in SA did not 'begin and end at the borders' and that SA was involved in a revolutionary low-profile war which could be converted to a conventional war 'in an instant'. Mr C Coaker, lecturer at the London School of Economics, claimed
that the younger guard within the ANC, who had left SA in 1976, were winning a battle with the older guard of the 1950s and 1960s, who were strongly opposed to violence involving civilians. It was also suggested that the Pretoria blast was a reprisal for a SADF raid on Maseru in December 1982. In December the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said that a new tactic by the ANC was 'to assassinate public figures and to destabilise public meetings'. The new trend was highlighted when a man was arrested with activated explosives near a hotel where the Prime Minister was staying in Pietermaritzburg and by the bomb explosion in a Hillbrow synagogue before an address by the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen.

Opposing views were that the ANC had not initiated indiscriminate violence but was continuing its campaign of 'armed propaganda' designed to draw attention to itself and to win support. Many attacks were thus on targets which are generally unpopular such as rent offices, police stations and administration boards. Professor Gwendolen Carter of Indiana University (USA) claimed that the ANC was more concerned with 'winning hearts and minds' than scoring military victories.14 Mr Lodge advanced several reasons for regarding the ANC campaign as still one of armed propaganda: ANC strategists know that it does not have the resources to make serious inroads into the functioning of SA's economy and state apparatus; the ANC's major concern is to have a broad-based movement and it therefore does not want to alienate potential supporters through indiscriminate acts of violence; and the ANC leadership's view is that the military functions of the organisation should not predominate.15

The ANC itself denied that there was a change in strategy. At the end of 1982, a source close to the ANC said that it had enough military and security targets to keep it busy for a long time and did not need to attack civilians.16 Another source said that it had to be accepted that the ANC was entering a war, and that civilians could not escape the consequences, although the ANC would not make them primary targets. Soon after the Pretoria blast the ANC warned that this represented an intensification of its military campaign against 'white minority' rule. The ANC did not immediately accept responsibility for the Pretoria blast. Subsequent reports indicated that the ANC admitted responsibility, claimed that the attack was directed at military installations and military personnel and regretted the loss of civilian life. Sources reportedly close to the ANC claimed that the blast indicated the success of the ANC's establishment of internal bases for attacks. In November, a Star report observed that the ANC was hampered by two major problems: the success of the SA Police (SAP) in infiltrating its internal movement with agents; and the quality of information that came out of SA and the ability of the ANC in exile to evaluate it. This had led to the ANC's becoming a 'secretive and highly centralised' movement.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, appealed to all black South Africans to help eradicate the ANC. Referring to a bomb explosion at the administration board offices in Bloemfontein in February, he said that the board was a symbol of upliftment, not of oppression, as Mrs Helen Suzman had
suggested. He said that black and white people in SA should stand together to fight 'this common enemy'\textsuperscript{17} An SADF magazine, Paratus, claimed that the ANC encouraged its sympathisers to infiltrate SADF commando units with a view to later turning their training and weapons against the SADF. \textsuperscript{18}

During the hearings of the Eloff Commission into the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, claimed that the activities of the SACC helped bolster the image of the ANC. This was illustrated, he alleged, by Bishop Desmond Tutu's 'sympathetic' response to the jailed ANC leader, Mr Mandela, SACC reaction to SADF activities in the Matola and Maseru raids, and the SACC presence in a neighbouring country at a meeting of SA refugees which was attended by the ANC, PAC and SWAPO.\textsuperscript{19} The Rev Peter Storey, then president of the SACC, claimed in his evidence that most black SA Christians were sympathetic to the military actions of the ANC, believing that violence could be justified in certain circumstances.\textsuperscript{20}

The secretary general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, was a speaker at the Sixth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in August. Seven other members of the ANC also attended.\textsuperscript{21} In July, an application by The Star to publish an interview with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo was refused by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange. In September, the PAC and the ANC refused to be interviewed by the SABC in London for a television programme on political violence (broadcast on 30 October).

\textbf{AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS}

An ANC request for a powerful radio transmitter to beam programmes to SA was circulated to all UN agencies during the year. The application was supported by a panel of the UN Decolonisation Committee, along with a recommendation that member governments should meet the ANC's request for transmitters, a printing press, portable projectors, telex machines, and movie cameras.\textsuperscript{22} In September, Yugoslavia gave the ANC equipment for the establishment of a 'Radio Freedom' station in one of SA's neighbouring states. In October, the Australian government announced that while it did not condone the armed struggles of the ANC and SWAPO it would allow them to open information offices in Australia in order to circulate information there about the 'repulsive' political system in SA. At the Commonwealth summit in New Delhi in November, the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, said Australia would be prepared to meet demands of the ANC and SWAPO for full economic sanctions against SA if the rest of the world supported the move.

In April, Chief George Matanzima, Prime Minister of the Transkei, accused the opposition Democratic Progressive Party of being an 'agency of the banned ANC'. He said that he did not disagree with the goals of the ANC, but with its methods, particularly the use of violence.\textsuperscript{23} The President of the Ciskei, Mr Lennox Sebe, accused the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) of being a front organisation for the ANC, thus suggesting why his government had detained SAAWU and General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU) trade unionists. SAAWU denied the allegation, saying it did not 'sanction activities which were outside the scope of trade unionism'.\textsuperscript{24}
During the year, various historical events in which the ANC had been a participant were commemorated. Among them were meetings on 25 and 26 June in several centres to mark the 28th anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter. Speakers included representatives of the Congress of SA Students (COSAS), the Federation of SA Women (FEDSAW), SAAWU and GAWU. At least 5,000 people attended these various meetings. On 8 and 9 August, the 1956 march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria by 20,000 women protesting against the pass laws was remembered at mass meetings: in Johannesburg three meetings - called by FEDSAW, the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and the Black Students' Society at the University of the Witwatersrand - had a total attendance of 2,000; in Durban 500 people met at St Anthony's Hall; and in Cape Town the United Women's Organisation held a series of locally-based meetings attended by about 3,000 women. In September, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, former member of the revolutionary council of the ANC and chairman of the South African Communist Party, died in exile in London. Meetings in Johannesburg and Durban to mourn his death were banned.

In October, according to newspaper reports, the ANC called on the white electorate to vote 'no' in the referendum on the proposed new constitution on 2 November. A 'no' vote would be an 'act of rejection' of the apartheid system, and would unite the white group with the majority of people in the country, who rejected the constitution. General Malan said that the ANC call was aimed 'to increase polarisation in order to create a climate for revolution'. Mr le Grange claimed that the ANC was planning violently to disrupt the referendum.

Responding to statements by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, that Inkatha might be 'forced into a marriage of convenience with the ANC and PAC' after the acceptance by the white electorate of the new constitution, the ANC said that it was considering Chief Buthelezi's statement, but 'did not regard it as a priority' (see below). Subsequently an ANC spokesman said Chief Buthelezi should disassociate himself completely from 'bantustan institutions' before it would consider his call for 'a marriage of convenience'.

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

In February, AZAPO held its annual conference, which was attended by 350 delegates from 15 'black consciousness' organisations and 150 observers at the Edendale Lay Centre in Pietermaritzburg. A former detainee, Mr Lybon Mabasa, was elected president, and two former Robben Island prisoners, Mr Saths Cooper and Mr Muntu Myeza, were elected vice president and general secretary respectively.26 The conference rejected the President's Council's constitutional proposals and supported the formation of a broad front of organisations to resist them. This led to the formation of the National Forum in June (see below). The main speeches dealt with issues such as race and class, collaboration by blacks and the division of SA into mini-states. Mr Myeza acknowledged that some whites had 'rebelled against and reneged on their class', but dismissed them as a force for change. Mr Cooper called for principled unity among black people,
while Dr Neville Alexander claimed that ethnic organisations were sowing the seeds of a future civil war.27

AZAPO severely criticised the decision to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) on the grounds that ethnically-based organisations were directly in line with the government's apartheid policy and harmed the cause of black unity. Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC committee, rejected the criticism, saying that while AZAPO claimed to be against ethnicity, it excluded whites. In July, Dr A Asvat, a member of the AZAPO Health Committee, was evicted from his surgery in Mochaeneng, where he had been practising for 10 years. AZAPO condemned his eviction as a 'politically motivated act of victimisation' directed at the community he had been serving.28 In August, Mr Mabasa attended the World Council of Churches Assembly in Vancouver. Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, AZAPO's publicity secretary, said that the aim of the trip was to clarify the position of the National Forum committee to international personalities and organisations.29 Mr Mabasa said that his trip highlighted the 'political prejudice' that existed, since only the viewpoint of the African National Congress (ANC) was known all over the world. Moreover there was a misconception that because AZAPO was adopting a race/class analysis of SA society, it was moving closer to the ANC. Meetings called by AZAPO on 10/11 September to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the death of Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, were banned in Johannesburg and Soweto. A mass rally in Soweto and 11 other meetings had been planned. About 450 people attended the first meeting of Black Consciousness Week in Bosmont, Johannesburg. Three other meetings each attended by about 300 people were held in Soweto, Lenasia and Dobsonville. Speeches dealt with issues such as 'Black Theology and Black Consciousness', 'Comparison of the Freedom Charter and Azanian Manifesto', and 'Black Consciousness versus Ethnicity and Multiracialism'.30 A meeting in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth was attended by 1 000 people.

In an interview with Capital Radio, Mr Mabasa and Mr Cooper said that if black minority groups accepted the new constitutional dispensation, AZAPOAZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION might have to review its 'philosophical' position. Expanding on this, Mr Cooper said that if Indians and coloured people became partners in 'the ruling establishment', the black consciousness movement, which stood for the unity of all black people, would have to re-evaluate its position.3 In December, Mr Cooper said that AZAPO was strong enough to face any challenges posed by constitutional changes. The AZAPO Congress in January 1984 would work out its response to the threat posed by the 'new deal' to the policy of black solidarity, he said.

At the national council meeting of AZAPO in Cape Town, attended by 150 delegates from nine regions, it was decided to intensify AZAPO's campaign against the forthcoming elections under the Black Local Authorities Act. All branches would undertake campaigns against the 'sham reform'. AZAPO would not involve itself in the forthcoming referendum on the constitutional proposals, and it dismissed advising whites on how to vote as futile. Regarding relations with
the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Mkhabela said that AZAPO welcomed consultation with 'all organisations of the oppressed and exploited'.

In October a mass rally organised by AZAPO in Soweto to commemorate the banning of black consciousness organisations in 1977, was banned. Mr Mkhabela said that 'thousands of people' arrived at the Regina Mundi venue to attend the rally. To circumvent the ban, an alternate meeting, attended by 500 people, was held at Sharpeville. An AZAPO meeting in Durban was prevented from continuing when supporters arrived to find the venue surrounded by policemen. AZAPO held a joint meeting with the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Johannesburg to mourn the death of five people during a clash between students and Inkatha youth at the University of Zululand. It also held other meetings and called for 'black solidarity and unity against divisive forces such as Inkatha'. In October, the AZAPO branch in Port Elizabeth, in a plea for unity, called for a joint meeting with other organisations opposing the government's constitutional proposals and the African local authority elections. Affiliates of the UDF rejected the move, saying that there was no disunity among non-racial organisations in Port Elizabeth and said that all local trade unions, women's, sports, and youth organisations would fight these issues under its banner. Mr Peter Jones, a former member of the banned South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and a member of AZAPO, said that the view that the UDF was nationally representative of oppressed people was incorrect. AZAPO was the only national political organisation in SA. There were other representative groupings in SA, but none of them was 'national'. In November, AZAPO held meetings in various centres in Soweto to encourage people to boycott the elections under the Black Local Authorities Act. Mr David Thebehali, 'mayor' of Soweto, attacked black consciousness groupings as a 'bunch of irresponsible and dishonest people' who did nothing for residents (see chapter on Urban Africans). In December AZAPO demanded the resignation of a president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, after he had allegedly made offensive remarks about Indians in an SABC television programme (Mr Gumede contended later that the SABC had taken his remarks out of context). At the end of the year AZAPO attacked 'so-called radical white students' in the National Union of SA Students (NUSAS).

Mr Cooper said that since the National Forum meeting in June, several AZAPO members had been questioned by security police, who, he claimed, were attempting to link AZAPO to banned organisations. He said that AZAPO was an independent body and not a front for any organisation. The SAP said it could not comment on routine investigations. In October, the security police seized Mr Ma-

INKATHA

bas'a passport, but subsequently returned it. Mr Cooper had an application for his passport refused in the same month. In December, security policemen raided the AZAPO offices in Johannesburg, and confiscated copies of pamphlets, documents and posters. Mr Cooper claimed that the raid was an attempt by the state to obstruct AZAPO's drive against black local authority elections.

Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe
The administrative secretary of Inkatha, Mr Zakhele Khumalo, claimed that Inkatha's membership had risen from 375,000 to 750,000, organised in 2000 branches. Emphasising the democratic nature of Inkatha's structures, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha president, said that the most important unit in Inkatha was the local branch. The supreme decisionmaking body was the annual general conference, whose delegates were elected at branch level.

Inkatha emphatically rejected the SA government's constitutional plans (see chapter on The New Constitution). Chief Buthelezi said that because the proposed new parliament excluded the majority of South Africans, it was a direct act of aggression 'against them. The National Party was constitutinalising its own party's policy, he said. Meaningful change would come about in SA only through negotiations with Africans to gain their acceptance for constitutional plans. One way to achieve this would be to have a national convention of all representative groupings to work out SA's constitutional future. While Inkatha believed in a unitary state, Chief Buthelezi was prepared to look at a federal formula for SA based on geographically determined units. Inkatha was against ethnic politics and ethnic divisions and because of this would not accept homeland independence. Chief Buthelezi called on the leaders of 'independent states' within SA to join together to oppose the proposed new constitution for SA. Inkatha's campaign for a 'no' vote in the referendum was severely criticised by the National Party (NP) and the New Republic Party (NRP). Inkatha shared platforms with the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and warned that a 'yes' vote would force it to rethink its strategy. Chief Buthelezi criticised the business sector for not getting a commitment from the Prime Minister to move away from a confederal solution for SA. He described the confederal idea 'as permanent white domination over 87% of the land and the wealth in it'. He said a 'no' vote would force the government 'back to the drawing board' to provide a more acceptable plan for reform. After the government's victory in the referendum, Chief Buthelezi warned that the trade union movement would be deeply politicised by the new constitution and that he could not negotiate with the government within its framework.

Relations between Inkatha and the external mission of the ANC were once again in the news. In April, Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha was a threat to the ANC because it (Inkatha) was 'the largest liberation movement in SA'. This was in response to the discovery of two arms caches at Ulundi, capital of KwaZulu and headquarters of Inkatha. A joint meeting of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and Inkatha's central committee condemned the ANC for wanting 'to eliminate by violent means' Inkatha, its base at Ulundi, and Chief Buthelezi. It accused the ANC of being jealous of Inkatha's success in taking over the initiative in black SA politics. Chief Buthelezi suggested that certain groups within the external mission hoped that if they rejected Inkatha, people in SA would do so as well. This had not happened, since Inkatha's membership had doubled since 1980. The ANC
denied that it had any plans to sabotage either Chief Buthelezi or Inkatha, saying that its targets were government installations that were used 'for repressive measures against the people'.36 At Inkatha's ninth national conference, Chief Buthelezi said that the ANC and the National Party were 'strange bedfellows' since the ANC's increased counter-violence was a 'godsend to the warmongers of Pretoria'.31

At a prayer meeting at the Jabulani Stadium in Soweto in May, attended by about 10 000 people, Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha was rooted in the ideals of the ANC as propounded by the founding fathers in 1912. Inkatha and the ANC had the same goals - to bring about non-racial democratic government in SA but differed on strategy. Inkatha's choice of a non-violent strategy was pragmatic; it did not believe that armed insurgency could precipitate change in SA, because the SA government was too powerful. Inkatha had never condemned the external mission of the ANC for opting for the armed struggle. Chief Buthelezi added that if 'the people at any time are forced to take the option of violence, I am not afraid to lead them as the people's options are my options.' He would 'start by recruiting my own sons before recruiting other people's children', and had told his three sons that if armed struggle were ever forced on SA blacks, one of them would have to join him.

Referring to the attitude of those working in exile in the ANC external mission, Chief Buthelezi told the mass rally that they were sent there 'to do a job of work' which would never be accomplished if they pitted themselves against real political developments inside the country. He saw their function as 'not to dictate to us from the capitals of the world' but to hear what black South Africans within SA wanted, and to articulate this to the world community.38 An article by Chief Buthelezi in Inhlabamkhosi (Clarion Call) - the official magazine of the KwaZulu government - suggested that the ANC and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) should join blacks inside SA in a 'multi-strategy' campaign against the government's proposals. Within this approach the external mission of the ANC would have an invaluable role to play, he said. After the government's victory in the referendum, Chief Buthelezi suggested a 'marriage of convenience' between Inkatha and the ANC and PAC in exile 'even if we differ on strategy'. He said that a senior Inkatha central committee member and KwaZulu minister had had talks in October with top ANC and PAC members in Mozambique and Botswana at the two banned organisations' request. Speaking in the KwaZulu legislative assembly in November, Inkatha's general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, criticised the OAU struggle. Dr Dhlomo said that in the future Inkatha would rule SA and the ANC would form 'a minority opposition group'. It was unfortunate that Africa had recognised 'only those movements which have chosen the armed struggle as the vehicle for liberation, whether or not that struggle was viable or effective', he added. After the ANC's external mission had condemned the alleged role of Inkatha in a violent incident at the University of Zululand at the end of October (see chapter on Education), Chief Buthelezi said the abuse it hurled at Inkatha was perhaps 'the final nail in the coffin of our co-operation.'

In May, Chief Buthelezi appointed Ms Reina Steenwijk as a full-time representative in Amsterdam, with the aim of presenting Inkatha's policies to
Western Europe. Ms Steenwijk said that her office would direct its campaign at governments, trade unions, industry, the church, media, and the general public. Later in the year, after a visit by Chief Buthelezi to the Netherlands, the Dutch government announced that it recognised Inkatha as having legitimacy equal to that of

INKATHA
the ANC in exile. It requested Inkatha to submit an application for development funds.

At the Jabulani rally, Chief Buthelezi read out a letter he had written to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koomhof, attacking the government for attempting to portray African municipal rights and 'homeland' rights as substitutes for a say in the government of the country as a whole. The letter emphasised that he saw community councils in Soweto as no more than local governing bodies. To be told now, through an official government document, that they were part of the justification for the exclusion of Africans from parliament made it difficult for him to encourage his people to support them.

In September, Chief Buthelezi announced that Inkatha would not take part in elections for urban black councils in November. Speaking at an anti-community council election rally in Evaton, Mr Mboshwa Nhlapho of Inkatha said that organisations such as the UDF, AZAPO, the National Forum, the ANC, and the PAC should strive to unite against apartheid. The infighting within organisations could only benefit the 'oppressor', and retard the struggle of the black people. Mr Ambition Brown, secretary of the Orlando East branch of Inkatha, threatened to resign from Inkatha after its move to boycott the community council elections. He said he would stand as a candidate for local authority elections because he believed that black local authorities would increase rights for urban Africans (see chapter on Urban Africans).

Resolutions at the ninth general conference of Inkatha in Ulundi in June included condemnation of the Labour Party's decision to co-operate with the government's constitutional plans and of the tendency towards 'internecine' attacks within the black oppressed groups. The conference also called for abolition of apartheid laws, rejected rent increases in townships, and instructed branches and regions to initiate grass-roots projects to 'enhance self-reliance and self-help.' At a Shaka Day meeting of 25,000 people in Umlazi, Chief Buthelezi warned that strikes could break out in Natal if whites voted 'yes' in the referendum on the new constitution. If the government did not listen to the voice of blacks, then nonviolent pressure would have to be used (eg consumer boycotts and strikes). Chief Buthelezi, who has supported foreign investment in SA, said that approval of the constitution could force him to reconsider his stand. PFP and other leaders shared the platform with Chief Buthelezi in Umlazi and at other meetings. The Transkei government lifted its ban on Inkatha, in force since 1979, and subsequently held talks with Inkatha officials. In August, 17 Inkatha members, including Chief Buthelezi, visited Maseru at the invitation of the Lesotho government. At a meeting there, Chief Buthelezi said that SA had tightened
control at the Lesotho border and had attacked Mozambique, Lesotho and Angola because they ‘did not toe the apartheid line’.

In March, the Inkatha youth brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) re-established contact after a rift over the move by the SA government to incorporate Ingwavuma into Swaziland. In July, members of the ASB and the youth brigade agreed at talks in Pretoria to form a joint committee to tackle special projects. An Inkatha speaker at the ASB congress, Mr S Nxumalo, warned that blacks could resort to violence unless whites showed a willingness to share political power, while another, Mr M Zondi, defended Inkatha's participation in the KwaZulu legislative assembly on pragmatic grounds.42 In August, the sixth annual youth brigade conference passed various resolutions which commended the setting up of ties with the youth in Lesotho, condemned the divisive

INKATHA role of the external mission of the ANC, rejected the new constitutional dispensation and the Labour Party's participation in it, reaffirmed its commitment to nonviolence, and condemned the destabilisation of southern Africa by SA.

Responding to remarks made by Mr S Cooper, national convener of the National Forum, that Inkatha was a 'collaborationist' organisation that chose to work within government-created structures, the conference said that these remarks reflected his organisation's 'political bankruptcy' and that it should rather direct its energy against the 'racist regime' of the government. Noting the emergence of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the conference said that the UDF could not be a substitute for a genuine grass-roots movement.43

With reference to the formation of the UDF, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha welcomed all moves to establish black unity in SA. But he added that if the UDF were really committed to unity it would have joined with others rather than establish itself as 'Johnny-come-lately heroes'. Nor was history created by 'forming committees and getting the audience to clap'. The 'politics of rhetoric' shone through the UDF's declaration, while the UDF was 'two or three steps away from the daily lives of ordinary people' and in 'real danger of becoming only a paper organisation'. Chief Buthelezi said at Imbali (Pietermaritzburg) on 16 December that 'the UDF appears to be rapidly losing an historic opportunity of establishing unity.' It should be aware that 'it too will come to nought without Inkatha support,' because 'Inkatha is the largest black political constituency ever created in the history of this country'. He said he had written to Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, inviting him and his executive 'to come to Ulundi to explore with us the extent to which the goals we have in common demand a synchronising of black strategies and tactics.' At the time (November) of writing this letter, however, the UDF had circulated a 'scurrilous pamphlet' about him. After a denial by Mr Gumede, Chief Buthelezi said he would send him a communique substantiating the allegation.

On several occasions during the year Inkatha was accused of being involved in acts of violence, among them the incident at the University of Zululand at the end of October in which five people died (see chapter on Education), but which Chief Buthelezi alleged had been instigated by otheys. Also in October, Chief
Mhlabunzima Mapumulo of Mpumalanga was allegedly assaulted by Inkatha youths outside the KwaZulu legislative assembly for refusing to join the organisation (see chapter on Homeland Affairs). In a violent clash between youths at Lamontville and the Inkatha youth brigade in October, four people were killed (see chapter on Urban Africans). A UDF meeting in Hammarsdale in Natal was prevented from continuing after Inkatha members allegedly attacked UDF supporters, burnt a bus and damaged cars outside the meeting. Chief Buthelezi said this violence was tragic but added that the government's new constitutional system would cause a 'dramatic heightening of inter-organisational conflict'. Inkatha members and sympathisers were being radicalised and angered by the new constitution as much as UDF affiliates' members. The recent violent incidents were not of Inkatha's making, but provoked, he said. The tragic incident at the University of Zululand arose out of a misconception that 'Inkatha was an easy option and the only organisation to attack in order to gain acclaim'. Chief Buthelezi attacked the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) and black consciousness groupings, alleging that they had intentions of committing acts of violence against him and Inkatha. If people wanted to fight 'dirty' Inkatha would do so as well. It would adopt the harsh attitude of 'a political eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'

**NATIONAL FORUM**

Eventually, however, the 'phase of competitive aggression between black organisations' would pass, Chief Buthelezi said.

National Forum (NF)

On 11/12 June 800 blacks representing about 100 organisations met at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, following a resolution at the AZAPO Conference in February which called for a common front among black organisations against the government's constitutional proposals.

The meeting was convened by a National Forum (NF) committee whose members included Mr Phiroshaw Camay of the Council of Unions of SA, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, and Mr Tom Manthata, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten.4 Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the National Forum, said that the NF was launched in response to the crisis facing the oppressed and exploited black masses. With individuals and groups being coopted by the government for its 'new constitutional deal', the need for the NF was obvious. Moreover, there was a lack of organisation among blacks in SA to mobilise them for liberation. Mr Cooper called for principled unity; closer alliance of all relevant organisations could not include elements of the 'ruling class', he said. Mr Cooper emphasised that there was no ideological precondition to being invited to participate in the NF and he believed that differences in ideology were being unnecessarily played up.45

Speakers at the conference included Bishop Tutu, Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Dr Neville Alexander of the SA Council for Higher Education (SACHED), and Mr Mabasa of AZAPO. Bishop Tutu urged blacks to forget their ideological differences and work together on a common programme of agreed objectives. Dr Alexander criticised the formation of ethnic organisations
within the black community and said that 'middle class and aspiring bourgeois elements seized control of such ethnic organisations to enhance their own positions'. The President's Council proposals should not be analysed and acted upon by Indian and coloured people only, but they should be fought on the basis that they affected all 'exploited and oppressed' people. On the question of whether there was a race or class struggle in SA, he said the class struggle against capitalist exploitation and the national struggle against racial oppression became 'one struggle under the general command of the black working class and its organisation'. For Mr Mabasa the basic premise of unity was the rejection of liberal involvement and ethnic organisations. However, it would be naive for the NF to think it could achieve unity among blacks in SA; at best it could work towards fostering black solidarity, group cohesion, and unity within 'the liberation movement'.

The NF appointed four commissions whose reports were integrated into the 'manifesto of the people of Azania'. This manifesto, which is due to be reviewed at the second meeting of the NF in April 1984, was adopted by the conference. It included a set of fundamental principles, among them anti-racism and anti-imperialism; non-collaboration with the oppressor and his political instruments; independent working-class organisation; opposition to all alliance with ruling-class parties; and the paramountcy of worker interests. It demanded popular control of the means of production, distribution and exchange; free and compulsory education; state provision of housing and health; the land to be wholly owned and controlled 'by the Azanian people'; the abolition of resettlement, group areas and PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS forced removals; and a unitary Azania into which the homelands had to be reintegrated.

Mr Cooper said that the manifesto was a natural development of the 1955 Freedom Charter and the 1976 Black People's Convention. However, he expressed serious reservations about the Charter's focus on the preservation of racial groupings and recognition of minority rights. The NF's criticism of the Freedom Charter drew a strong response from its supporters. For example, Mr Curtis Nkondo, a former AZAPO president, said that the charter could not be regarded as 'outdated' since none of its demands had yet been met. He attacked the manifesto on the grounds that the existence of two documents could confuse the masses, who might regard them as being in competition. Mr Nkondo said that only 'the ruling class' would benefit from this.

Resolutions adopted at the NF conference condemned the 'murder' by the SA government of three ANC members executed in June after being convicted of high treason, the 'illegal' occupation of Namibia by SA, and SA's 'destabilisation' efforts in Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. The conference also called for 16 June to be commemorated in an appropriate manner. Regarding the campaign against the constitution the NF felt that mobilisation should occur through 'conscientising' action such as door-to-door campaigns, workshops and pamphlets, while the possibility of launching a national newspaper should be investigated.

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At the time this Survey went to press, the NF had not yet released a list of the organisations that attended its conference.

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

In April, a former United Nations officer, Mr Bertel Wedin, was found not guilty of stealing documents from the PAC offices in London. The prosecution had alleged that Mr Wedin had been recruited by a SA security agent, Major Craig Williamson, to spy on southern African guerrilla organisations, and that a sketch plan of the PAC office had been found in Mr Wedin’s house. Mr Wedin denied that he had spied for SA, saying that he had gathered information as a freelance journalist.5"

The ANC and PAC both applied for membership of the Non-Aligned Movement of Afro-Asian nations. At the movement's meeting in Delhi, India, the matter was left in abeyance since the rules of the organisation allow for only one member per country.52 Observers suggested that the PAC was trying to counter the ANC's international image and support by making visits to and establishing offices in places where the ANC was already established. In July, the president of the PAC, Mr Nyati Pokela, made his first formal visit to Mozambique, with the aim of obtaining diplomatic recognition for the PAC from the Mozambican government on the same basis as the ANC.

Referring to a statement by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in November that a senior member of Inkatha's central committee had held talks with the PAC in Botswana at the PAC's request in October, a PAC spokesman said he was not aware of the meeting. With regard to Chief Buthelezi's suggestion after the referendum result of 2 November of a 'marriage of convenience' between the PAC, the ANC, and Inkatha, a PAC spokesman said that any link with Inkatha was 'just not on', as long as Chief Buthelezi remained leader of a 'dummy institution' like the KwaZulu legislative assembly. In December a group of PAC guerrillas left Lesotho for Mozambique to be resettled elsewhere in Africa. The men were

SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE

among the SA exiles whom the SA government had wanted moved from Lesotho (see chapter on SA’s Regional Policy).

South African Black Alliance (SABA)

In February, a major split occurred within SABA ranks when the Labour Party was suspended because of its decision to participate in the SA government's constitutional proposals. SABA said that the Labour Party, which later withdrew from the alliance, had deliberately failed to take SABA into its confidence and that participation amounted to collusion with the National Party.53 SABA rejected the Labour Party's claim that it would speak on behalf of the African majority. It resolved to allow all members of the Labour Party who rejected the Labour Party's decision to have associate membership of SABA. Other resolutions passed at the meeting reiterated SABA's complete rejection of apartheid and of the 'independence' of homelands as a solution for SA, commended initiatives to encourage dialogue with President Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei to promote black unity, and condemned the forced removal of Indian
and coloured families from white areas in Johannesburg, saying that this reflected the state's inability to provide housing. 54

Although a prayer meeting called by SABA in February was banned by the Chief Magistrate of Durban, Mr F W Hyland, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, more than 8 000 people defied the ban and attended. In his speech at the meeting, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chairman of SABA, warned that Africans would see Indians and coloured people as their 'enemies' in the same way as they saw whites, if these two groups accepted the government's constitutional plans. 55

In June, SABA held a meeting in Stanger attended by 4 000 Indians and Africans. A resolution read at the conference paid tribute to the 'mature, cool and perspicacious' manner in which the Indian community had reacted to the government's proposals. Speaking at the meeting, Mr Y S Chimsamy, leader of the Reform Party of SA, a member of SABA, said that his party had rejected the new deal as it endorsed the country's most objectionable laws, such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, influx control, and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. The meeting noted with regret the Labour Party's decision to withdraw from the alliance. Constituent members of SABA were also given a mandate to take part in 'black unity' talks initiated by Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa and President Kaizer Matanzima of Transkei. 56

Apart from Inkatha and the Reform Party, SABA also represents the Inyandza movement led by Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Executive Councillor of Kangwane, which claims a membership of 125 000.

Addressing about 15 000 people at a SABA prayer meeting at Eskihawini, near Richards Bay, in October, Chief Buthelezi said SABA was 'the hand of friendship we hold out to our Indian and coloured brothers to join us in the struggle' (see chapter on Homeland Affairs). As long as Indians and coloured people stood with Africans in SABA, they would not feel betrayed by the whole of these communities. Political responsibility demanded that the inevitable African backlash against the Labour Party's betrayal of them by throwing in its lot with 'white baasskap and apartheid' needed to be minimised, he said. Mr Chinsamy, at whose request to Chief Buthelezi SABA had been founded, warned that Indians and coloured people must be aware that if they accepted the constitution they would be ostracised by the African population. Any decision taken by the South

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Indian Council (SAIC) on the constitution would not be the decision of the whole community. Resolutions at the meeting condemned Prime Minister P W Botha for his role in the introduction of the constitution, noted with regret his remarks that if Indians did not accept the constitution they would be forced to join KwaZulu, and called on the Indian community to reject his 'intimidation tactics'.

United Democratic Front (UDF)

In January, a steering committee was set up to establish the United Democratic Front (UDF) following a call by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at the Transvaal Anti-SAIC congress, for progressive forces to unite in resistance to the government's constitutional plans. Between
May and July, general councils of the UDF were established in Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape.

At the regional UDF meetings, discussion focused on the government's attempts to counter mounting resistance to apartheid by creating its new constitutional plan and introducing the three 'Koornhof Bills' (the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, the Black Communities Development Bill, and the Black Local Authorities Bill - the last two of which are now law). Mr A Gumede, president of the Natal UDF, said that the government's plans were an admission that the present constitution had failed to preserve apartheid, and that the National Party was threatened by the unity of the people. The aim of the UDF was to achieve maximum unity among all 'democratic peace-loving people', because the main thrust of the government's plans was to divide people while continuing to entrench apartheid. Citing the history of opposition to the government's plans as seen in the Anti-South African Indian Council campaign in 1981, the disbanding of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council in 1980, and the anti-pass campaign of the 1950s, Dr Boesak said that 'the politics of refusal needed a united front'.

At a press conference in early August, the national interim executive of the UDF emphasised that while it articulated the viewpoint of a broad cross-section of people, it accepted that 'the main burden of exploitation and discrimination' fell on the working class. The main thrust of the organisation should be towards the participation of working people. At a later press conference the western Cape UDF secretary, Mr T Manuel, said that the Freedom Charter was not the basis for UDF unity. Maximum unity was desired, but not with those who worked 'within the system'.

On 20 August, the UDF was launched nationally when 1000 delegates, representing some 575 organisations, met at Mitchells Plain near Cape Town. (A list of organisations represented is contained in the footnotes to this chapter.) The delegates came from community/civic bodies, trade unions, sporting bodies, women's and youth organisations. The meeting passed various resolutions which condemned British and US 'imperialism', demanded the repeal of the Group Areas Act, and expressed solidarity with all those who had been resettled. Other resolutions supported workers in their fight for a fair share of the wealth they produced and condemned the migrant labour system. Messages of support come from SWAPO, the UN Committee against Apartheid, the Norwegian Council for southern Africa, the Danish and Irish labour movements, the General Workers' Union (GWU), the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU), and other organisations.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
The UDF conference adopted a declaration which stated as its aim the creation of a united democratic SA, free of bantustans and group areas and based on the will of the people. The need for 'unity in struggle through which all democrats regardless of race, religion or colour shall take part together' was recognised. The government's constitutional proposals were rejected as creating 'yet another undemocratic constitution' for SA. The 'Koornhof Bills' were rejected as seeking
to deprive African people of their birthright. The conference also claimed that in the present ‘apartheid state’ there would be no end to the unequal distribution of land, wealth and resources. The conference also alleged that the government would co-opt ‘false leaders’ within the black community to control the people through the proposed tricameral parliament and community councils and that repression would continue. Unequal education, low wages, and attacks on trade unions would persist, while urban dwellers would be divided from rural people, the employed from the unemployed, while the homelands policy would be strengthened.

The UDF pledged to organise community, women’s, students’, religious, sporting and other organisations; to build and strengthen these organisations; to consult with people regularly to represent their views; to educate people about the ‘coming dangers’; and to ‘unite in action’ against the constitution and the ‘Koornhof Bills’ and other day-to-day problems of the people.59

The patrons elected by the conference included Mr Hassan Howa, Mr Nelson Mandela, Ms Helen Joseph, Ms Frances Baard, Mr Dennis Goldberg, Ms Martha Mahlangu (mother of Solomon Mahlangu), Mr Johnny Issel, Dr Beyers Naude and Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa. The elected presidents were Mr Archie Gumede, a prominent activist in the 1950s and chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Ms Albertina Sisulu, prominent activist in the FEDSAW in the 1950s, and Mr Oscar Mpetha of AFCWU. Mr Popo Molefe, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, was elected national secretary. Other elected officebearers had been involved in such organisations as the SA Students’ Organisation (SASO), the Black People’s Convention, and the Natal Indian Congress.

A UDF rally at the Mitchells Plain Civic Centre after the conference was attended by 10 000 people. The main speaker, Dr Boesak, referred to criticisms of the UDF from certain groups because of its inclusion of whites and said ‘we must not let our anger become the basis of blind hatred of all white people’. He added that not all white people had supported apartheid.60 Mr Gumede said that democratic progressive organisations were interdependent and could not act in isolation. The UDF was prepared to link with organisations not present at its establishment.

Presenting the SA problem as one class oppressing another, Mr S Ndou, president of the General and Allied Workers’ Union (GAWU), emphasised the need for ‘powerful mass-based political organisations capable of waging a political struggle on behalf of all oppressed and exploited’.61

As a front rather than an organisation, the UDF does not make policy for its affiliates. Thus the affiliates take up UDF campaigns in ways suited to their own activities and constituencies. The UDF said that national political activity would succeed only if there was strong local organisation. Because the UDF is a front, the voting power of its affiliates is not proportional to their membership. Instead, all affiliated groups have an equal say and decisions are made by consensus.62

Regional UDF activities in the Transvaal have included workshops and meetings at Kagiso, Eldorado Park, Bophelong, Katlehong and Noordgesig on the Black Local Authorities Act and the constitutional proposals; assisting in the
setting up of new organisations (eg the Huhudi Youth Organisation and the Vaal
Residents' Organisation); a campaign with trade unions to aid detainees; and
protests against reported repression in the Ciskei.63 The western Cape branch of
the UDF called for a boycott of Ciskei government bus companies operating from
Cape Town to the Ciskei and a ban on money sent to the Ciskei government from
the western Cape.
On the eve of the UDF's national launch, bogus pamphlets announcing its
cancellation were distributed, while two UDF meetings, including the launch in
East London, were banned. In October the UDF obtained an urgent Supreme
Court interdict against the banning of a rally in Rondebosch under the Internal
Security Act. Various UDF members were detained or arrested on minor offences,
particularly during the week preceding 29/30 October. Forty supporters in Cape
Town were arrested during a car cavalcade, and charged under the riotous
assemblies section of the Internal Security Act. In Johannesburg, 12 people were
arrested and detained and their placards and pamphlets confiscated. At a placard
demonstration against the reported repression in the Ciskei, six members of the
UDF were detained and questioned by security police for four hours. Mr Terror
Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, was detained briefly by security police in
Durban in October. He claimed that they were considering serving a banning
order on him, and had told him that 'if he didn't stay out of the UDF, he would
find himself back in jail.' They also allegedly accused him of association-with
COSAS and AZASO, which they claimed were 'ANC front organisations'. In
Johannesburg, the UDF offices were raided, and in Krugersdorp, 6000 UDF
pamphlets were confiscated. In a letter to the Prime Minister on the eve of the
referendum, Mr Gumede and Mr Mpetha protested against the banning of
meetings held to discuss the constitution and the harassment of UDF members.
The UDF disputed that the meetings would 'endanger peace' and condemned 'the
undemocratic attitude of the government'. It reiterated its call for the release of
political prisoners, and for a national convention of all the country's leaders.
On the weekend of 29/30 October, the UDF held mass rallies in Johannesburg,
Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth. The Johannesburg and
Pietermaritzburg meetings were attended by about 3 000 people each, while in
Cape Town, cultural events, and meetings were held in five centres around the
city. Vigils and placard demonstrations were also held in four townships in
Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg. At the meeting in Port Elizabeth, Mr Lekota
said that Africans would reject a fourth chamber, because they did not want to be
part of a government which had 'silenced the people's leaders and driven others
into exile'. The UDF rejected the white referendum as 'racist' and said that it
would not recommend whether white voters should vote 'no' or not participate.
Rather it would continue with its campaign to discourage a constitution which did
not include all SA's people.
In September the UDF launched a campaign against the elections under the Black
Local Authorities Act (see chapter on Urban Africans). At a rally in Soweto
attended by 1000 people Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Media Workers'
Association of SA (MWASA), said that the Koornhof Bills and the Black Local
Authorities Act were 'devised by Pretoria as a final solution to the African
problem'. A vote for the councils would be a vote for the entrenchment of apartheid, and the separation of urban from rural people, while rents would be high and wages go towards maintaining government-created structures.

Welcoming the 10.7% poll in the Soweto elections, the UDF said that the crisis in SA would deepen unless the government heeded its demands.

The major non-racial trade union grouping in SA, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), which has nine affiliated unions, rejected overtures to join the UDF, as did several unions, who pointed out that their members supported a large number of political organisations, and that siding with one would cause divisions. Moreover their prime responsibility at this stage was to unite worker organisations by building a strong federation. However, they emphasised that members of their unions were encouraged to take part in progressive community organisations opposed to the new constitution and to apartheid laws. In an interview with the Financial Mail, Mr Molefe claimed that there were about 2m people affiliated to the UDF, and that strongest support came from the urban areas, where people were more politicised. The UDF had began a programme to organise in the rural areas, he said. It was not only involved in 'protest politics' but challenged the state by providing an alternative analysis of what was happening in SA.

The UDF, some of whose affiliates also belong to the National Forum (eg the Council of Unions of SA and the Soweto Committee of Ten), has claimed that it does not see itself as a rival to any other organisation, and that it discusses the possibility of joint action on certain issues, with bodies like AZAPO.6" The UDF participated in various meetings to mourn five people killed in clashes at the University of Zululand in October (see chapter on Education). A joint meeting of AZAPO and the UDF in Johannesburg alleged that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha were responsible. The Rev Frank Chikane, a UDF office-bearer, claimed that the incident was a decisive act that showed that Inkatha was going to side with the 'oppressor'. He also attacked 'white liberals' who believed Inkatha was going to bring about 'political salvation'. Responding to a call by Chief Buthelezi to discuss black unity, the UDF said that the invitation had been referred to the national executive. Mr Gumede said that he was concerned about the intolerant attitude of Inkatha supporters to those who supported opposing political ideologies and that Inkatha 'seemed to think it had the exclusive right to champion the cause of the black struggle'.

Responding to reports that the ANC supported the UDF, Mr Lekota said the two organisations could never be affiliated because the one was illegal and had a strategy encompassing violence while the other was committed to non-violence. However, ANC support was welcome as was that of others opposed to apartheid. The Cape Western Youth league and the Cape Action League said that because the UDF organised across classes, it could not defend the interests of the working class. They also attacked the ethnic composition of its affiliates. The leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr P Marais, alleged that he was assaulted by two UDF
supporters who called him a 'lackey of the SA government'. Mr Les du Preez, a member of the President's Council, described the UDF as being led by 'evil people' who did not have good intentions for the coloured people. Within two major Muslim organisations, the Islamic Council of SA and the Muslim Judicial Council, splits occurred over affiliation to the UDF. Responding to some of the criticisms, Mr Lekota said that the UDF brought together all those who were economically, politically and socially oppressed, since exploitation went beyond the boundary of race. However, oppression did not affect black workers only, but also intellectuals, small traders, the peasantry, and many others.

In December, the UDF held its first national conference in Port Elizabeth. Mr Gumede said that for the UDF to succeed in the eastern Cape there was a need for greater unity among the coloured and African people. Mr Lekota said that although the Labour Party was strong in certain areas in the eastern Cape, the UDF would launch a massive campaign against the constitution and conscription in the coloured community. A major issue for discussion at the conference was the UDF's attitude to proposed referendums on the constitution in the coloured and Indian communities. The three options considered were whether to boycott, vote 'no' or allow each region freedom of choice. The conference was unable to reach a decision and regions indicated that they wanted to consult their membership. Regional councils would make recommendations to the national executive which would then make a decision at its meeting in Pretoria on 21 and 22 January 1984. The UDF unanimously accepted that if elections were held instead of referendums, it would call for a boycott.

The UDF is to start a national campaign in January 1984 to collect one million signatures against the constitution, and local campaigns against conscription for all races and forced removals.

In December, a furore broke out when it was claimed that Mr Gumede said in an SABC-TV interview that Indians thought 'in terms of pecuniary gain' and were not people who appreciated 'the value of concepts such as democracy'. The UDF had attempted to stop transmission of the SABC programme through a court interdict, but was unsuccessful. Mr Gumede denied that he had attacked the entire Indian community, and said that he was referring to those Indians who were going to participate in the new dispensation. He denied that his position as president was threatened. Professor Jerry Coovadia, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), said that Mr Gumede's remarks were 'unfortunate' but he refused to condemn them and said that the blame must be attributed to the 'fundamental and unquestioning bias of the SABC'. Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the South African Indian Council (SAIC), said that Mr Gumede's remarks 'bordered on racialism, and insulted the Indian community'. AZAPO accused Mr Gumede of being 'tribally orientated' and said that having associated only with the merchant class in his 'sectinal politics' he was unaware that the majority of Indians were working-class.

YOUTH ORGANISATIONS
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Student, School and Youth Organisations
In December 1982, representatives from twelve universities attended a three-day General Student Council of the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO). A joint session of AZASO and the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) said that a major campaign for 1983 would aim at helping students to develop a greater understanding of education. The AZASO council passed resolutions condemning the Maseru raid, the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, and the takeover of Indian education by the SA Indian Council (SAIC). The outgoing AZASO president, Mr Joe Phaahla, said that AZASO differed from AZAPO in that the former adopted a class analysis of society. However, it was willing to co-operate with AZAPO to rid SA of apartheid. Mr Phaahla emphasised that students were not in the forefront of the struggle for change, being subordinate to organisations of the people. At the third annual AZASO conference, in Cape Town in July, Mr Tiego Moseneke, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr Abba Omar, an honours student at the University of Durban-Westville, were elected president and vice-president respectively. Six hundred students, representing 14 colleges and campuses, attended. Resolu-

YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

tions affirmed commitment to the Freedom Charter and to working within the UDF. The conference was addressed by Mr C Nkondo, former president of AZAPO, Mr S Montsitsi, former president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, Dr Boesak and two former members of the banned South African Students' Organisation (SASO). The congress decided that the Education Charter campaign, which would set guidelines for a democratic education system, would be AZASO's main project for the next year. In September, the AZASO branch at the University of Durban-Westville was banned by the university authorities for being a 'political organisation'. At the University of the Witwatersrand, AZASO won the majority of votes in the Black Students' Society elections, and the Black Students' Movement at Rhodes University affiliated to AZASO after AZASO won a referendum on the issue. In December, Mr Moseneke claimed that AZASO had branches at 14 campuses and seven colleges.

More than 80 pupils representing some 30 branches attended the national council of the Congress of SA Students (COSAS). The council planned to strengthen regional committees, to improve inter-branch contact and produce a quarterly newsletter. Mr Shepard Mati was elected president and Mr L Johnson general secretary. Mr Matoma, national organiser, clarified COSAS' non-racial position: while whites could not participate in COSAS because the law did not allow that in terms of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, COSAS' aim was the achievement of a non-racial democratic SA. Mr Matoma claimed that COSAS, which faced repression from the state and from school principals, aimed at an education system which served the majority rather than the present 'exploitative capitalist economy'. COSAS claims 44 branches nationally, with the western Cape having the largest number. Four or more pupils can form a branch. A spokesman emphasised that COSAS aimed to build organisation around issues affecting students, rather than concentrate on issues
affecting the community. A joint statement by COSAS and AZASO reaffirmed 'total and uncompromising opposition' to the government's constitutional proposals and called for unity to fight them, the UDF being regarded as the best vehicle for such unity.

Three COSAS members, Messrs A Mokone, V Mapekula and R Nkosi, were convicted in April under the Internal Security Act for furthering the aims and objects of the ANC and sentenced to between two and three years' imprisonment. The court found that they had made contact with the ANC in Botswana and been instructed on how to form an ANC cell.70

Following a resolution passed by a COSAS conference in May 1982 that youth organisations should be established to cater for young workers and the unemployed, twenty new youth organisations were launched, among which were the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), made up of 20 youth organisations; the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO); the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO); the Alexandra Youth Organisation (AYCO). These have said their aims are to unite youth in their areas and link up with youth in other areas; create a spirit of trust and responsibility among members; respond to youths' cultural, economic and political aspirations; and organise youth whether they are workers or unemployed. The Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) was inaugurated in Pietersburg in July at a conference addressed by a former SASO executive member, Mr S Moodley, and the president of AZAPO, Mr Mabasa. Mr K Lengene, president of AZASM, said that its establishment was a reaction to the movement of AZASO

**REFUGEES/EXILES**

from black consciousness to non-racialism, AZASM adopting a 'black consciousness' stance. In a policy document, AZASM recognised AZAPO as the 'authentic overt liberation movement' for black people, pledged support for the formation of black consciousness-oriented trade unions, and recognised the importance of community projects as a viable and effective method of promoting self-awareness and self-reliance.7

Refugees/Exiles

In January, 17 SA exiles in the Mawelawela Refugee Camp in Swaziland staged a walk-out after the camp was photographed by two SA journalists. They were part of a group of 26 who had been rounded up by Swazi police in the previous month and who feared an SADF attack on the camp. In February, the Deputy Prime Minister of Swaziland issued a notice ordering all refugees to apply for identity cards by the end of that month. The UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), which estimates the number of refugees in Swaziland at 7 500, had recommended this system of identification as a means of ascertaining the correct number.72 In June, Swaziland's Deputy Prime Minister ended speculation that refugees might be issued with deportation orders by announcing that they would be allowed to stay as long as they abided by the country's asylum conditions. The speculation arose when the Swaziland government raided ANC members near Manzini and confiscated arms caches. Two ANC members were arrested.73

About 100 SA exiles left Lesotho after the SADF raided Maseru in December 1982. The Lesotho Minister of Foreign Affairs said his country would continue to
offer asylum to those fleeing 'Bantu education'. The government had refused to form a refugee camp to control resident political exiles.74 An SA exile, Mr M Mabala, who had been in exile in Lesotho since 1979, was gunned down by three unknown persons in Maseru in March. In August, Lesotho appealed to the international community to restrain SA from pressurising it to remove about 3 000 SA exiles living there. It said SA had stated on several occasions that the exiles in Lesotho constituted a threat to SA security and had demanded that they either be returned to SA or expelled to other countries. A Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement said that Lesotho was a signatory to the UNHCR and for this reason it would not return refugees to SA.75 At the end of August a senior official of the UNHCR met senior government officials in Lesotho to discuss the political future of refugees. At the beginning of September, 22 SA exiles, many of them members or sympathisers of the ANC, left Lesotho. The 22 were part of a group of 68 whom the SA government had demanded be expelled from Lesotho (see chapter on SA's Regional Policy).76

In March, Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, defended the Reagan administration's plan to provide R10m for military aid to Botswana. He said many of the refugees who fled to Botswana from neighbouring territories were armed, and the Botswana authorities needed help to control the situation.77 In June, two prominent SA exiles, Mr Marius Schoon and his wife Jeanette, who had lived in Botswana since 1977, left the country on the advice of the British government. The International Voluntary Service, which employed the Schoons, said that their association with the ANC endangered their lives, and the lives of other volunteers.78 In 1982, the Botswana police commissioner, Mr Z Hirschfield, alleged that a SA exile, Mr P Lengene, had been kidnapped in Botswana and taken to SA by SA security police. In July, three men

REFUGEES/EXILES
alleged to be SA security police were jailed for six years each in the Gaborone High Court for kidnapping Mr Lengene and taking him back to SA.79

Radio Botswana claimed that local residents were being offered a 'large amount of money' to spy on SA refugees. Two SA exiles were seriously injured in a bomb blast in Xipamanine, Maputo. A Radio Mozambique broadcast said that the house where they were sleeping was totally destroyed. In November, Tanzania launched a family planning programme to limit population growth among its 200 000 refugees from Burundi, Zaire, Malawi, and SA. The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Rashid Mohamed, said the 'alarming birth rate' in the refugee camps was due to a lack of recreational facilities.

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POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
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Regional Committee, Rand College. Congress of SA Students (COSAS) branches
at Soweto, Pretoria and Alexandra. National Union of SA Students; and Student
Tuition Society at Wits. YOUTH- Kagiso Youth League, Benoni Youth League,
Benoni Student Movement, Alexandra Youth Congress, Lenasia Youth League
Netball Association, Lenasia Youth League, Bosmont Youth Organisation,
Saulsville Atteridgeville Youth Organisation, Lutheran Church Youth League,
Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO), Young Christian Students (YCS) - Pretoria;
Central; and Transvaal, Time to Learn, Reiger Park Youth Movement, South
African Council of Churches (SACC) Youth Desk.
WORKER - SA Mineworkers Union, Municipal and General Workers Union,
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Committee, Federation of Resident's Association, Sendane Civic Association,


POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
Residents Association, Umlazi Residents Association, Commuters Association, Committee of Concern - PMB, Committee of Concern - Wentworth, Committee of Concern - Verulam, Phoenix Working Committee, Newlands East Residents Association, Cato Manor Residents Association, St Wendolins Residents Association. WOMEN - Kwamashu Women's Group, Durban Women's Organisation, Natal University Women's Organisation. RELIGIOUS - Young Christian Students Pietermaritzburg, Nazareth Baptist Church, Isilindo: United Congregational Church, Church of the Nazareth. POLITICAL - Release Mandela Committee, Natal Indian Congress, Democratic Lawyers Association, Anti-South African Indian Council Committee, DESCOM - PMB, DESCOM DBN, United Democratic Front at Western Areas, North Coast, Merebank, Pondoland Unity Movement, OTHER ORGANISATIONS- Social Workers Forum, Pietermaritzburg Child Welfare Society, Claremont Advice Office, Zamani Ladysmith Club, NAMDA, Natal Health Workers Association, UKUSA (Newspaper). WESTERN CAPE: STUDENT-AZASO branches at University of Cape Town (UCT), University of Western Cape, Western Cape Regional Committee, NUSAS UCT SRC, COSAS (eighteen branches in the Western Cape), Muslim Students Association. WORKER - Media Workers Association (MWASA) Western Cape, Railway and Allied Workers Union (RAWU). YOUTH: Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) branches: Hout Bay Youth, Ocean View Youth, Lavender Hill Youth, Steenberg Youth, Lotus River/Grassy Park Youth, Wynberg Youth, Landsdowne Youth, Crawford Youth, Hanover Park Youth, Rocklands Youth, Portlands Youth, Westridge Youth, Eastridge Youth, Lentegeur Youth, Tafelsig Youth, Silvertown Youth, Heideveld Youth, Bonteheuwel Youth, Kensington - Facreton Youth, Belhar Youth, Belville Youth, Elsies River Youth, KTC Youth, Gugulethu Section 1 Youth, Gugulethu Section 2 Youth, Gugulethu Section 3 Youth, Gugulethu Section 4 Youth, New Crossroads Youth, Mau Mau Nyanga Youth, Zwelitsha Youth, Zwelintembuva Youth, Nyanga (Old Section) Youth, New City Youth, Mbekweni Youth, Worcester Youth, Zimele Seqe (Paarl) Youth, - Inter Church Youth - 235 Church youth groups throughout Western Cape. CIVIC - Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) affiliates Lavender Hill Residents Association; Steenberg/Retreat HAC; Hout Bay Action Committee; Kensington-Facreton Ratepayers and Tenants Association; Avondale Tenants Association, Ravensmead Residents Action Committee; Lotus River/Grassy Park Residents Association; Belville South HAC; Bonteheuwel Residents Association; Hanover Park Residents Association; Kewtown Residents Association; Silvertown Residents Association; Schotshekoof Civic Association; Crawford Residents Association; Woodlands HAC; Westridge HAC; Worcester HAC; Valhala Park Civic; Belhar Civic; Manenberg Civic; Rylands Civic; Western Cape Civic Association -6 township zones. WOMEN - United Women's Organisation branches at Wynberg; Claremont; Observatory; Woodstock; Gardens; Athlone; Paarl, Stellenbosch; Ocean View; Worcester; Gugulethu, Langa; Kensington; Mbekweni; Kayamandi; Cloeteville; Zwelethembu; New Crossroads; Nyanga; Women's Front. RELIGIOUS - Ecumenical Action Movement, YCS - Western Cape, Association of Christian Students, Student Union for Christian Action (SUCA). POLITICAL -
United Democratic Front Regional Committees: Cape Town, Northern Suburbs; Southern Suburbs; Athlone; Mitchells Plain; Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester. OTHER ORGANISATIONS- DSC, Grassroots (Newspaper), Saspu National (Newspaper), Western Cape Traders Association (WCTA). STUDENT - COSAS - Eastern Cape, COSAS - Bloemfontein, Nusas Local Committee - Rhodes University, BSS - Rhodes University. YOUTH - PEYCO - Port Elizabeth Youth Council, Galvindale Youth (PE), West Coast Youth, Independent Youth Association (Bloemfontein), South7 Cape Youth, COSMOS, All Saints Youth (Oudtshoorn), Uitenhage Youth, Westville Youth, Congregational Youth - Oudtshoorn, St Blaiz Roman Catholic Youth - Mossel Bay, Saldanha Youth, Pelikan Ontspannings en Kultuur Organisasie - West Coast, Bloemfontein Youth Congress. WORKER - MACWUSA (Eastern Cape), Saldanha Food and Canning Workers Union, General and Allied Workers Union of SA (GWUSA) SAAWU - East London. CIVIC - Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation (PEBCO), Malabar Ratepayers and Tenants Association. WOMEN - PE Women's Organisation, West Coast Women's Organisation. RELIGIOUS- West Coast Muslim Association, West Coast Church Organisation, Moravian Church - Genaadendaal, Catholic Students Association - Transkei University, Black Reform Church of SA (ABRESCA), Broederkring. OTHER ORGANISATIONS - West Coast Traders Association, Border Region Delegation, UDF Interim Committee - Eastern Cape, South West District Primary Schools Sports Association. 59 Sowetan 24 August, Leader 26 August

60 Leader 26 August
61 Ibid
62 Ibid
63 UDF newsletter Volume 1 No 2
64 Daily Dispatch 30 August
65 UDF Newsletter op cit
6 Saspu National Volume 4 No 1

70 POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

THE NEW CONSTITUTION
During 1982 the President's Council presented three reports on constitutional reform (see 1982 Survey pp 1-4). These reports followed the National Party's 1977 constitutional proposals and the Schlebusch commission of inquiry in 1980. The majority of the President's Council's recommendations were accepted by the National Party in July 1982, and in May 1983 the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill was presented to parliament. In July a parliamentary select committee considered evidence on the bill, which was then debated in parliament in August. On 31 August the Minister of Constitutional Development and
Planning. Mr Chris Heunis, guillotined further discussion on the bill and on 22 September the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983, was assented to by the State President.

Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983

The State President

The State President will be both head of state and head of the government (so absorbing the duties of the prime minister). With regard to 'general affairs' defined as 'matters which are not own affairs of a population group'—he acts in consultation with his cabinet, over which he presides. On 'own affairs', the president acts on the advice of the ministers' council for the population group in question.

The president will be elected by a college of 50 white, 25 coloured, and 13 Indian members of parliament, his term of office being linked to that of parliament. He will not be a member of any house but will have the right to address parliament and to call a joint sitting of all three houses. He has the power to dissolve parliament at any time or to dissolve any house that passes a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet. He must dissolve parliament if all three houses pass motions of no-confidence in the cabinet or reject the budget. He is also bound to dissolve any house or reconstitute a ministers' council if such a house passes a motion of no-confidence in the ministers' council in question.

The president has the power to decide which matters are of 'common concern' to all three houses of the new parliament and which are of 'exclusive concern' to a particular house. Neither his decision nor the issues he took into consideration in reaching it can be questioned in any court of law. The president may add to the list of 'own affairs' contained in Schedule 1 of the Act, but he must consult the speakers and leaders of each house before declaring a matter 'an own affair', and the Supreme Court is empowered to 'inquire into and pronounce upon whether the consultation was adequate'. A bill introduced by one of the three houses of parliament must be accompanied by a certificate from the president that it deals with the 'own affairs' of the group represented by that house. The president's decision on whether or not a house may deal with a proposed law is final.

Bills dealing with 'general affairs' must be introduced in all three houses. In cases of disagreement between the houses, the president may call on the President's Council for advice or decision. No amendment to any bill of exclusive interest to one house may be successfully introduced by that house unless the president is satisfied that it is also of exclusive interest to that group.

Parliament

A white House of Assembly (178 members), a coloured House of Representatives (85 members), and an Indian House of Delegates (45 members) are provided for. The members of each house must belong to the particular race or population group, which, in its turn, cannot elect a member of another group as its representative in parliament. The directly elected members of the houses will be elected by voters of each population group on separate voters' rolls and in separate elections (which may, however, be held on the same day). The House of
Assembly will be made up of 166 directly elected, eight indirectly elected, and four nominated members. The present allocation of constituencies for the provinces is retained. The House of Representatives will have 80 directly elected (60 in the Cape, 10 in the Transvaal, and five each in Natal and the OFS) three indirectly elected, and two nominated members. The House of Delegates will have 40 directly elected (32 in Natal, six in the Transvaal and two in the Cape), three indirectly elected, and two nominated members. Each house of parliament will serve a five-year term; and a house that has been dissolved separately will hold elections only for the remaining term of parliament.

The basis for the functioning of the three houses lies in the distinction between 'own' and 'general' affairs. The act states that this is to ensure that the race groups retain control over their daily lives without interference from other groups. The constitution is built on the division of duties of government into 'own' and 'general' affairs, with a multi-racial cabinet to look after 'general affairs' and racially-based ministers' councils to govern 'own affairs'. The final say about what is to be a 'general' or 'own' matter lies in the hands of the State President, who has to take into account the importance of the issue for the particular race group, how it affects the group's identity, and whether it ensures 'maintenance of and furtherance of its way of life, culture, traditions and customs'. Once a bill has been passed, the specific division into 'own' and 'general' affairs will be fixed and may be changed only with the consent of a majority of each of the three houses. This is one of the areas where disputes will not be resolved by the President's Council.

'General affairs' are defined as matters which are not 'own affairs'. The following matters are among those assigned to one or other of these two categories:
- foreign affairs, defence, state security, commerce and industry, law and order, and African affairs are 'general affairs';
- social welfare of a specific group, including social pensions, is an 'own affair'. Policy on welfare norms and standards, control of welfare funds and the social work profession, as well as civil and military pensions, are 'general affairs';
- education at all levels pertaining to a specific race group, including sport within the official school context and school cadet training, is an 'own affair', subject, however, to any 'general law' on norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations, financing, salaries, and employment conditions;
- sport outside school is regarded as a 'general affair';

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
- where health matters pertain only to a specific population group, they are 'own affairs'. This includes hospitals, clinics, medical services at schools and for the poor, health and nutritional instruction, and registration and control of private hospitals. These issues where they affect more than one group, and all other health matters, are regarded as 'general affairs';
- community development for a specific group, such as housing, community and town development, rent control and squatter removal in a specific race group area, is an 'own affair'; 'general affairs' under community development includes norms, standards and income groups for housing finance, delimitation of group areas, and general prescriptions on rent control and squatter removal;
local government within a specific race's group area is an 'own affair' for that group, but local government matters affecting the interests of more than one group are 'general affairs';

- agricultural instruction and training, farm assistance and soil conservation, and weed control on land of a particular race group are 'own affairs', subject to general policy and legislation. All agricultural matters affecting the interests of more than one race group are 'general affairs';

- water supplies to members of a specific group are 'own affairs', including irrigation schemes, drilling for water for agricultural and local government purposes, and financial assistance for waterworks damaged by flood. All other water supply matters are 'general affairs'; and

- the appointment of marriage officers for a specific population group is an 'own affair' of that group, though it takes place in terms of general policy and legislation.

The President's Council

The President's Council consists of 60 members, 20 of whom are elected by majority vote in the white house, 10 by the coloured house, and five by the Indian house, while 25 members are appointed by the president. Of these 25, ten will be members of opposition parties (six from the House of Assembly, three from the House of Representatives, and one from the House of Delegates, nominated by the respective houses). The President's Council elects its own chairman. The duration of office of the President's Council is linked to the life of parliament. Wide powers, in some cases binding on the State President, are vested in the President's Council. The President's Council's functions are to advise the government on matters of public interest and to decide on disagreements among the houses referred to it. A government memorandum said that it was 'only realistic' to expect disagreements among the different houses of parliament. Insurmountable disagreements on general affairs should be resolved by a body such as the President's Council in which the three race groups were represented, the memorandum said.

Disagreements on general bills may occur when one or two houses pass a bill, while the remaining house or houses reject it; if two houses pass different versions of the bill while a third rejects it; if two houses pass the original bill while the third passes a different version of it; or when each of the three houses passes its own version of the bill. In any of these situations, the president may refer the matter to the President's Council for its decision, which will be final. Whichever version of the bill the council decides upon will be deemed to have been passed by parliament. The president may refer a bill in dispute to the President's Council for its advice. In this instance the council may make non-binding recommendations to the president for further action. Should the president accept these, he has to amend the original bill and again introduce it in parliament.

The Cabinet and the Ministers' Councils

THE CABINET
Three racially-based ministers' councils are responsible for the administration of affairs designated as the concern of a specific race group, while a multi-racial cabinet will make decisions on matters of general or common concern to all three race groups. The members of all these bodies are appointed by the State President. Ministers hold office for as long as he considers necessary and no minister may hold office for more than twelve months unless he is or becomes a member of a house of parliament.

The president presides at cabinet meetings. The cabinet includes: any minister appointed by the president to administer departments of state for 'general affairs'; any minister appointed to perform functions other than the administration of a department of state but designated by the president as a member of the cabinet; any member of a ministers' council designated by the president as a member of the cabinet. There is no limitation on the number of members the president may appoint to the cabinet. The ministers' councils are chaired by a member appointed by the president. Members are appointed to administer state departments for 'own affairs' while others may be appointed without portfolio. Cabinet members may be co-opted on to a ministers' council.

Joint Standing Committees

The constitution provides for joint standing committees of members of the three houses to consider legislation prior to its coming before parliament. Minority parties may, but need not, be represented. Details of the workings of the committees are vague; government sources said that it was for parliament to make the rules for its committees and that such matters could not be included in the constitution. The committees were introduced in an attempt to move away from the 'conflict' style of legislating, the intention being that they will promote consensus on matters of common concern to all three houses, before the measures are finally debated by them.

Finance

All state income will be paid into the State Revenue Fund, which will provide funds for both 'general affairs' and 'own affairs'. Individual houses will not be able to levy taxes or raise loans. The act specifies that finance is an 'own affair' in so far as the following are concerned: estimates of revenue and expenditure; the appropriation of money for the purposes for such estimates (subject to provision of general laws covering the appropriations); and levies authorised by general laws on services rendered by each house to members of its own race group. Any money raised from levies must be put back into the service from which it was raised; for example, school fees must go back to education. Each house will have its own budget, finances, and administration. The budget for the 'own affairs' of a particular population group may be introduced only in the house representing that group. Each cabinet minister handling 'general affairs' must explain his budget vote to all three houses. Each house must pass the general budget and its own budget, which means there will be four budgets and six budget debates. If a budget is delayed in any house, the president will have the power to set a time limit after which it will be deemed to have been passed. The levying of taxes and
the raising of loans are specifically excluded from the list of 'own affairs'. Taxation is a 'general' matter and must therefore be considered by all three houses. If they all do not all agree on the proposed manner of taxation, the matter can be referred to the President's Council and come into operation. A tax can therefore be imposed where only one of the houses has passed the measure. The same applies to the allocation of revenue.

Withdrawal from the Constitutional System
Provision is made for the tricameral parliament to continue working with diminished quorums and for legislative functions to continue even if one group withdraws totally from parliament. A house may be dissolved separately if it passes a motion of no confidence in its ministers' council or the cabinet, if it rejects its own or the main budget, or if its members withdraw from parliament. Parliament will be dissolved if motions of no confidence in the cabinet are passed in each house, or if all three houses reject the budget.

Africans
The constitution act provides that 'the control and administration of black affairs shall vest in the State President'.

Parliamentary Debate on the Constitution Bill
Introducing the constitution bill on 5 May, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that although SA society was complex, with a 'higher tension potential' because of 'its great variety and diversities', the people shared a common destiny. Constitutional reform thus far had ensured greater sovereignty, the granting of self-determination, and the recognition of the interests of minorities. The aim of the bill was to bring about reform in which each person and group would acquire an effective say in decision-making processes as far as they affected each group, without the values of that group being impaired. Although the bill contained fundamental principles to secure self-determination and co-responsibility, it was only a further stage in the evolution of constitutional structures and not a final 'blueprint'. The inclusion of Indians and coloured people in decision-making structures represented major constitutional progress for SA, Mr Heunis argued. He said that "a unitary state with one-man, one-vote would lead to minorities' being dominated by majorities and serious conflict among population groups, with disastrous consequences. Mr Heunis appealed to western nations to take cognisance of the heterogeneous nature of SA society, which required a different constitutional dispensation from that which applied in the west. He accepted that the bill did not provide a 'total' answer to SA's constitutional problems because it did not address itself to African constitutional development. African constitutional development was a high priority for the government, but because of the realities of multi-nationalism, Africans had 'a separate constitutional path to follow.' Asked whether the bill involved 'power-sharing',

CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE
Mr Heunis said that the terms 'sharing of responsibilities' and 'division of power' were more appropriate.
The official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), asked for the bill to be read 'this day, six months hence', the strongest form of parliamentary objection. Its major objections were: Africans were totally excluded; the dominance of the National Party was firmly entrenched; all existing discriminatory laws and practices remained, 'without a hint of change'; the new executive president would be an autocrat; the government had used this opportunity to constitutionalise its own policy rather than create a constitution for all; the constitution would lead to increasing polarisation between black and white and further fragment SA; the rule of law and the paramountcy of the judicial process were undermined; and the constitution reinforced apartheid and the structures of racial division. Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition, said after a review of the bill by a parliamentary select committee that it remained totally unacceptable and that the committee's amendments, being 'of a technical nature', did not remove the dangerous features of the original.

The Conservative Party (CP) voiced strong opposition by opposing the bill's first reading. It said that the major principle in the bill was political power-sharing and a mixed government for South African whites, coloured people, and Indians in one parliament and in one 'fatherland'. The CP believed that the present 'sovereign parliament' was exclusively for whites, and should remain so. It also said that the powers given to the State President and the President's Council would lead to a 'parliamentary dictatorship' by the National Party.

The New Republic Party (NRP) gave the first reading of the bill qualified support, emphasising that it had serious criticisms. However, the NRP believed that the bill was a positive start in a process of reform that lessened the possibility of conflict or destabilisation, which would increase if the CP or the PFP came to power.

While accepting that Africans were the majority, the NRP felt there would have to be 'lengthy negotiations' before they could be accommodated in a new constitution. It believed that this process had started with the formation of a cabinet committee to investigate the position of urban blacks (see below). After the sitting of the parliamentary select committee, the NRP supported the bill, and said that this support had to be measured against whether it was a step forward in the interests of coloured and Indian communities and SA as a whole.

Subsequently in the parliamentary debate, the PFP said that the bill did not address itself to the central question of black-white co-existence and that this was an insufficient basis for rejection. The PFP also asked the government to be more specific about the future of urban Africans, who were not interested in 'independence' and self-determination separate from the rest of SA. The government reiterated that Africans had 'their own constitutional path to follow' in the national states; Africans outside the national states would be accommodated in local government structures. The NRP suggested the creation of a 'fourth chamber' for urban Africans, but this idea was repeatedly rejected by the government.

The extensive powers of the President's Council were also criticised by the PFP, which claimed that the role and legislative power of parliament would be diminished since it would no longer be the sovereign law-making body under the constitution because decisions of the council would be binding on it. The NP
defended the council, saying that it would be an important link in the new process of government because various races were represented on it. The PFP attacked the wide powers of the president as well. The consultation with the ministers' councils

CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE

and the cabinet required when the president acted was not enough of a safeguard to prevent him from taking final and binding decisions on his own, the PFP said. Mr Heunis replied that the collective responsibility of the president and his ministers would be the same as that of the prime minister and cabinet in the existing constitution. While the new president would have more power than the existing president it was incorrect to compare the two. The offices of prime minister and president were being combined and it was more correct to ask whether this combination was more powerful than the present joint powers of the president and prime minister.

A PFP motion to include a bill of rights and a coconstitutional court to protect the rights of the individual was rejected, with the NP and NRP both voting against and the CP abstaining. The PFP argued that a constitutional court could act as the final authority for interpreting and enforcing the constitution and its conventions, pronounce on the validity of certain presidential decisions, and protect the rights of individuals and groups. Both the NP and the CP said that such a move would serve to 'politicise' the courts. The NRP said that courts should not be given the power to decide on the merits of political decisions because they would be 'flooded' with claims that the bill of rights contradicted discriminatory laws that the government would not repeal. Mr Heunis said that if a bill of rights were accepted the government would have to accept a unitary state on a one-man, onevote basis. The PFP's proposals rested on the false premise that human rights could be maintained in the same way in developing countries as in highly developed states and that courts were in a better position to rule on human rights matters than governments. The CP said that individual rights could be granted only if ethnic differences were respected.

The PFP argued that the distinction between 'own' and 'general' affairs served to entrench apartheid. Indian and coloured political parties had already raised objections to apartheid laws, for example, the Group Areas Act said, but the establishment of racially separate houses and racially separate ministers' councils reinforced racial separation and discrimination. There was no evolutionary process contained in the new constitution to reflect a shift away from the racial basis of the present constitution. Moreover, the racial basis of the budgetary procedures, and the financial dependence of the Indian and coloured houses on the decisions of a cabinet in which their representatives were bound to be a minority, could also lead to conflict. The NP responded that for the first time, Indian and coloured groups would have responsibility for decisions over their own affairs, and would share responsibility for matters of common concern. Opposition parties expressed great dissatisfaction about the lack of clarity regarding their role in the new constitutional system. The PFP pointed out that representation for minority parties in the more powerful structures such as the President's Council was small, and that in the multi-racial standing committees, it...
was vague. The government said that the success of the constitution depended on consensus, the achievement of which would have the highest priority. Among the instruments to provide it were the joint standing committees and the cabinet. Dr Slabbert said that consensus was unlikely while basic apartheid laws which the coloured and Indian houses would object to were seen as non-negotiable. On 31 August the government guillotined the debate on the constitution bill after 34 of the 103 clauses had been discussed. Some 200 amendments, put forward mainly by opposition parties, fell away. Forty-one government amendments were passed. Issues not fully discussed when the guillotine fell included the pow-

THE REFERENDUM

ers of the President's Council, finance matters, the repeal and amendment of laws, the list of 'own affairs', African affairs, and the dissolution of parliament. The guillotine motion was strongly opposed by the three opposition parties, which described it as 'disgraceful' and an attempt to 'bulldoze' and to 'gag' opposition. The Referendum campaign
The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, announced on 24 August that a referendum for white voters would be held on 2 November, the question to be put being, 'Are you in favour of the implementation of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983, as approved by parliament?' All white persons from the age of 18 were entitled to vote on production of an identity document at any polling station (normal voters' rolls thus not being used). Votes were to be counted on a regional basis, each region consisting of the constituencies which fell under the 15 regional offices of the Department of Internal Affairs.
The PFP and the CP announced that they would campaign for a 'no' vote, while the NRP said it would call for a 'yes' vote. Many organisations representing people not eligible to vote expressed strong views on the proposed new constitution and campaigned actively against it. Among them were the SA Black Alliance, six homeland administrations, the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the National Forum (see chapters on Political Organisations and Homeland Affairs). The SA Black Alliance, which had been formed in 1978 to oppose the government's plans to exclude Africans from parliament while including Indians and coloured people, suffered a blow when one of its members, the Labour Party, decided to participate in the proposed new tricameral parliament. The UDF, which grouped together a large number of groups, some of which followed the tradition of the Congress movement of the 1950s, was also formed in response to the government's constitutional plans.
Support for the Constitution
Calling for a 'yes' vote, Mr Heunis said that to secure peace the status quo could not be maintained and reform was thus necessary. But the institutions of government had to reflect the ethnic pluralism of SA society. Provision was thus made in the new constitution for group representation in various decision-making bodies; domination of one group by others was eliminated; self-determination for each group in respect of its own affairs would be fully realised; and co-responsibility would exist for matters of common concern to all affected groups. Mr Heunis added that a new dispensation could be successful only if it emerged
on the basis of consultation and negotiation. Extending 'political rights' to Indians and coloured people represented a major step forward in constitutional development in SA. The fact that the bill did not address itself to problems regarding African constitutional development did not imply that Africans were excluded from the process of negotiation and decision-making. Rather, they had a separate constitutional path to follow in the homelands, and in black local government structures. The constitution would lead to 'peace, stability, security' for all in SA and deflect possible violence. Mr Owen Horwood, Minister of Finance, said that a prerequisite for the new constitution was 'true national unity' between the English and Afrikaans language groups. Once that had been achieved, the future

THE REFERENDUM
of the constitution would be secure. The referendum was giving the English-speaking voter an opportunity to intervene in a decisive way in determining the future of SA, Mr Horwood said. The NRP supported a 'yes' vote because it saw three political options for SA: the present position of white domination, which, if continued unchanged, could lead to increased race polarisation and conflict; acceding to demands for 'oneman, one-vote' majority rule, which could signal the end of democracy, freedom, and human rights; and power-sharing, based on the recognition of group rights and operating through consensus and negotiation. The NRP supported the third option. Expressing support for a 'yes' vote, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said that even though his party would participate in the new 'tricameral' parliament, it rejected it as a final solution to SA's problems. The Labour Party believed in the effective participation of all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour and creed, at all decision-making levels in government. However, it believed that it could best advance its aims by participating in the new parliament. The parliamentary forum had to be exploited to put forward the case for a 'democratic and progressive' SA. The Freedom Party (also a coloured party) accepted the government's proposals as a 'starting point'. Noting that the proposals did not satisfy the ideals for the constitutional future of SA as expressed by the South African Indian Council (SAIC), Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the SAIC, nevertheless said that there were certain positive features with which the SAIC could not disagree, for example the bringing in of 'people of colour' to a previously white executive and legislature. He said that the SAIC would give the proposals 'a fair trial' and that it was strategic for it to participate and push for changes. 'The voice of protest would be better heard in a chamber than outside it', Mr Rajbansi said. At a parliamentary select committee hearing on the constitutional proposals, Mr Rajbansi and his SAIC delegation came out strongly in favour of a one-chamber parliament for all races, including Africans. Calling for a 'yes' vote, President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei said that it would be only a matter of time before Africans would be given 'some form' of political rights in SA, since a minority government could not stay in power 'forever'. The
'salvation' of SA lay in the protection of minority rights and a 'no' vote would lead to 'a ghastly confrontation and bloodshed in SA'. Foreign investors would also be pressurised to leave SA and this would lead to increased unemployment.6 The initiative for canvassing for a 'yes' vote within the business community was taken by a group of businessmen who set up a 'Reform Fund'. Prominent members of this group were Nedbank chairman Dr Frans Cronje, Rio Tinto chairman Mr Alastair Macmillan, former Gold Fields chairman Mr Adriaan Louw, and the former leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff. The group felt that a 'no' vote would adversely affect foreign investment and lead to a hardening of foreign attitudes towards SA, while a 'yes' vote would enable the government to continue with its process of reform.7 One hundred and thirty-five prominent businessmen, professional people, and academics publicly supported the campaign. Among them were Mr Sol Kerzner and Mr Dick Goss, managing director and chairman of Sun International, Mr Charles Fiddian-Green, chairman of Rennies, Mr Eric Ellerine, chairman of Ellerines, Mr Andreas Wassenaar, former chairman of Sanlam, and Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of SA (Uni a"8 Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, also called

THE REFERENDUM
for a 'yes' vote. Describing the new constitution as 'very flawed', he said it was a small improvement on the present situation. The Transvaal Chamber of Industries (TCI) called for a 'yes' vote on the grounds that a 'no' vote could damage overseas export markets. The TCI said that the call for a 'yes' vote from industry was made in the belief that political rights for blacks must be the next step.9 Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said that 'acceptance of the government's reform proposals would be acknowledged as a minor positive movement along the road to open mindedness'. A 'no' vote would be interpreted by SA allies overseas as a lack of commitment to reform and give SA's enemies reason to further 'smear SA'.10 A leading Natal industrialist, Mr Chris Saunders, chairman of the Tongaat-Hulett group, supported a 'yes' vote. Speaking at a function for 300 businessmen, Mr Saunders said that he had committed himself to promoting the constitutional proposals and that Mr P W Botha had showed enormous courage in the past five years. Mr Saunders warned that while he had committed himself to a 'yes' vote, there would have to be a strong declaration of intent on the part of the government to accommodate Africans in the constitutional process. He suggested that Natal 'because of its particular situation regarding the Zulu nation' might have to be given a much larger degree of autonomy to work out its own solution. For KwaZulu the new constitution was not a step in the right direction 'but a betrayal of democracy', Mr Saunders added.11 Describing the constitution as 'an exercise in futility because it excluded Africans', Mr Moses Maubane, managing director of the African Bank, said it nevertheless represented a significant shift in Nationalist policy and showed a willingness among whites to move towards power-sharing. If the constitution were rejected, the National Party would continue to govern as previously. Mr Maubane viewed the constitutional proposals 'as a step and not an end', and said urban blacks had to be accommodated in the power-sharing process.
Dr Anna Scheepers, outgoing president of the Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA) and president of the Garment Workers’ Union, and Mr Arthur Grobbelaar, general secretary of TUCSA, supported a ‘yes’ vote on the grounds that the constitution represented an important step towards further reform.

TUCSA itself was split on its attitude. A motion proposed by the Motor Industry Combined Workers’ Union (MICWU) at the TUCSA conference in September expressed concern about the bill’s entrenchment of ethnicity and the exclusion of Africans. Unions representing 296 000 workers abstained on a card vote on this resolution, 105 000 votes being cast for it and 51000 against (see chapter on Labour Relations). 12

Two hundred academics from Afrikaans universities all over SA supported a ‘yes’ vote on the constitution after a move by the University of Pretoria to canvass support for it. Nineteen other academics from seven Afrikaans universities signed a separate statement of support, and 68 academics from the University of SA declared their support, saying that their stand was in the national interest and did not indicate support for a particular political party. While the success of the constitution would depend on the finalising of the position of blacks, it would prevent conflict because it provided for negotiation between population groups.

The Teachers’ Education Society, a breakaway body from the Transvaal Teachers’ Association, supported the constitution. The president, Mr J R Lambson, said it was possible to achieve equal opportunity for all within a system that accepted separate educational identities for each race group. 13

The Sunday Times described the constitution as flawed but containing the

THE REFERENDUM

potential for evolutionary reform, and called on its readers to endorse it. The Daily Dispatch said that rejection would stop the progress that had been made in moving away from apartheid, while The Friend said the new constitution had glaring weaknesses but was ‘a thousand times’ better than the present system. The Natal Mercury gave a qualified ‘yes’ but said that this did not mean acceptance of all that the constitution contained. The Citizen said that a ‘yes’ would not be the end of reform, which would continue until an accommodation was reached with Africans. The Financial Mail said a ‘yes’ vote would hardly make the constitution bill any less of an ‘abortion’. However, it encouraged business to support the ‘experiment in improving race relations’ that the government had embarked upon.

Finance Week said that the constitution was ‘no magic wand’ but was preferable ‘to the institutional fossilisation of the present’ and on that basis alone deserved a ‘yes’ vote. Most Afrikaans newspapers supported the government's proposals.

Opposition to the Constitution from the Left

The PFP called for a 'no' vote because the constitutional proposals excluded Africans, and did not address themselves to the major problems of SA, which included black housing, job creation, urbanisation, and rural black poverty. They lacked legitimacy because they were not brought about through negotiation among accepted and recognised leaders. Moreover, said the PFP, the constitution was structured on race: this was illustrated by the racial separation of the houses of parliament, making voluntary political association across race barriers an
impossibility. It also entrenched apartheid policy because it was based on the Population Registration, Group Areas, and Separate Amenities Acts. Acceptance of the constitution would lead to increased racial polarisation and violence, and would provide fertile ground for extremism. The PFP issued a declaration which 'no' voters could sign, which put forward the reasons why the PFP called for a 'no' vote; this was done to distinguish the PFP from right-wing 'no' voters. Dr Slabbert said that the outcome of the referendum was firmly in the hands of English-speaking voters and would not be determined by either the NP or the CP.

Describing the English-speaking voter as having been 'politically impotent for a long time', Dr Slabbert appealed to this group not to think that they were performing some kind of patriotic duty in stopping the growth of the right-wing by voting 'yes', but rather to consider whether the constitution fulfilled their expectations for an equitable dispensation for SA.

Six heads of homeland administrations (Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Prime Minister George Matanzima of the Transkei, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane, and Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa), the (Indian) Reform Party, the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of SA (IDAMASA), and the Urban Councils' Association of SA (UCASA) rejected the constitution because it made racial divisions the guiding principles of the state, gave control of 87% of the country to the white minority, and excluded 72% of the population from the political process. A joint statement they signed argued that the only constitutional solution for SA was through a national convention where a constitution acceptable to all groups would be worked out.

Chief Buthelezi launched a major campaign for a 'no' vote through the media, mass rallies, and public meetings, at some of which he shared the platform

THE REFERENDUM

with the PFP. He said that his Inkatha movement was fully sympathetic to white fears and was prepared to negotiate effective safeguards for the white minority, but the government’s constitutional proposals maintained white domination. The tricameral arrangement, by excluding the majority of South Africans, was a direct act of aggression against them, Chief Buthelezi said. The distinction between 'own' and 'general' affairs was intimately tied to the 'white racist refusal to share power', he said. The constitution gave the State President a personal stranglehold over coloured and Indian affairs and guarded against 'all strategies and tactics' that the coloured and Indian houses might adopt. A 'yes' vote would be interpreted as a rejection of Africans by white SA and would lead to increased black anger, Chief Buthelezi argued. It would be a 'political death sentence' against 22m fellow South Africans. Businessmen planning to vote 'yes' were making a big mistake if they thought Dr Treurnicht was a greater threat to stability than 22m denationalised angry Africans. If whites voted 'yes', Africans would have to use non-violent pressure such as consumer boycotts and strikes to make their voice heard. They would be committed to the 'dismantlement' of the constitution. Chief Buthelezi also warned that approval of the constitution might force him to reconsider his support of foreign investment in SA. Chief Buthelezi pleaded for a
'no' vote from Natal, even if the rest of SA supported the constitution in the referendum. 'Natalians could not face the future together if whites endorsed the new deal', he said. A 'yes' vote in Natal would be a rejection of his goodwill and a rejection of his offer to negotiate a secure future for all Natalians. It would make it more difficult for him to oppose the more militant demands for strikes and boycotts. 15

The (Indian) Reform Party Leader, Mr Yelman Chinsamy, also rejected the constitution because Africans were excluded. '6

On 26 August, at the national launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF), 575 non-racial, but mainly black, organisations pledged to work actively against the constitutional proposals, which they rejected on the grounds that they were imposed on the people without genuine consultation; made race and ethnicity the only criteria for the right to take part in government; did not begin to redress the inequalities which had been the deliberate result of 'centuries of white domination'; perpetuated and consolidated economic and racial exploitation; and entrenched the apartheid state. A UDF resolution said that the only acceptable constitutional solution for SA was a non-racial, unitary state, 'undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations as formulated in the bantustan policy'. The UDF refused to advise people on whether to vote 'yes' or 'no', or boycott the referendum, saying that it rejected the entire process that led up to the referendum. 17 The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)-a UDF affiliate-rejected the constitution on the grounds that it was racist, divisive, and undemocratic, and did not remove economic and social inequalities. The genuine popular leaders of SA's 'oppressed people' had not been consulted, the TIC said, while the constitution entrenched authoritarianism and apartheid through a one-party 'military' state. It also retained unjust laws, including the denial of citizenship to Africans, and was designed to make Indian and coloured people 'junior partners' in a political system dominated by the National Party and for which these groups would be conscripted to fight.8

Another UDF affiliate, the Transvaal Anti-President's Council Committee (based in the coloured community), described the constitution as a state strategy to divide the growing unity of the oppressed and entrench economic exploitation, social inequality, and minority white rule

THE REFERENDUM

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) said that the idea that white opinion should be influenced to vote 'yes' or 'no' was a meaningless exercise. Moreover, to argue for or against the constitution ignored the questions of 'land dispossession, racism, and the struggles against the forces of imperialism in this country'. The National Forum (NF) rejected the new constitution, and said that 'it would hold in bondage the people of Azania in order to benefit a small minority of white capitalists, their allies, the white workers, and reactionary sections of the black middle class'.

Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said that while the Prime Minister's plans to include Indians and coloured people were courageous and represented an important step forward in National Party thinking, the government had failed to address itself to the critical question of
political rights for the millions of urban blacks as well as for rural dwellers who were unwilling to abandon their SA citizenship and had rejected the 'independence' offered by the government. While it was being argued that 'nothing was being taken away from blacks', they bitterly resented and condemned the introduction of a constitution without reference to their opinions. 'Further alienation' of blacks was too high a price to pay for the 'advantages' of coloured and Indian representation in parliament, Mr Oppenheimer said.19 Dr Zach de Beer, a director of the Anglo American Corporation, rejected the constitution on the grounds that it insulted blacks by asking whites 'to turn their backs on them, and swindled coloured people and Indians by bringing them into a parliamentary system in which they had no real power.' Rejecting the view that foreign businessmen would see a 'no' vote as a 'no' to reform in SA, Dr de Beer argued that with a 'yes' vote foreign businessmen would see after a few months that apartheid was as securely entrenched as before.20 Mr Tony Bloom, chairman of the Premier Group, said he could not support legislation which entrenched and institutionalised discrimination by excluding Africans. Describing the constitution 'as a step in the wrong direction', he said that he could not sacrifice 'deeply held moral principles for the sake of expediency'.2
Rejecting the constitution, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), said that any attempt to isolate Africans or deny them legitimate fundamental rights in SA was 'highly dangerous'. The constitution was 'shortsighted and ill-planned', he said, and it would generate confusion and social conflict in SA.22 Mr Wilby Baqwa, industrial relations manager at Barlow Rand, said that a 'yes' vote might create a situation where Africans were excluded from decision-making 'forever'. The government had not given any assurance as to when or if Africans were to be included. Even if 'minimal' provision was made for African inclusion, it should have been done at the outset.23
The emerging black and non-racial trade union movement, representing some 300 000 workers, rejected the new constitution. The largest non-racial black-dominated grouping, the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU), representing nine major unions and about 100 000 workers, described the proposals as 'undemocratic, racist, and anti-worker'-the last on the grounds that they divided workers. On 2 November, tens of thousands of FOSATU members in key industrial centres wore 'one-man, one-vote' stickers, and asked employers to state their views on the referendum, and whether they had supported the campaign for a 'yes' vote financially or in other ways.24 Mr Dave Lewis, general secre-

THE REFERENDUM

sary of the General Workers' Union (GWU), said that workers had thus far used the factory floor as a political base with great restraint but, if employers voted 'yes', might feel that their employers were siding with the government, and so decide to use their shop-floor power to achieve political rights. Mr Des East, chairman of the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union (MICWU), a Trade Union Council of SA affiliate, said that while his union was not 'anti-reform', it felt that there was 'a lot wrong' with the proposed constitution, particularly the
exclusion of Africans. The union was also worried about being 'locked into' an immutable system. In Mubatuba, Natal, 1,500 mill workers at Umfolozi Co-operative Sugar Planters Limited went on strike as a protest against the exclusion of Africans from the constitution.

Among educationists, the South African Federation of Teachers' Associations (SAFTA), representing about 18,000 white, Indian, and coloured teachers, condemned the constitution because it ignored the principle of a single ministry of education for all races as recommended in the De Lange report on education (see chapter on Education). The president of SAFTA, Mr D P Campbell, said that the constitution had failed to address the problem of unequal education, which was at the base of major political problems in SA. The Transvaal Teachers' Association (a SAFTA affiliate) described the constitution as a 'snare and delusion'. The president, Mr S Jacobs, said that teachers could not be party to a constitution which had been imposed on them and which consigned the majority of the population to the non-viable homelands and created 'degrading laws'.

The non-racial National Education Union of SA (NEUSA) also rejected the constitution. Professor G R Bozzoli, a former vice-chancellor and principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, called for a 'no' vote on the grounds that the constitution did not represent a step in the right direction, but only a change of procedure 'without a change of heart'. To accept a new constitution which disregarded 70% of SA was 'a crime against humanity', of the same magnitude as the crime of mass removals of people in the name of apartheid. 'I vote for a constitution that provides for elected members from the whole population, sitting together in a common debating parliament', Professor Bozzoli said.

A political scientist at the University of SA (Unisa), Professor Willem Kleynhans, said that a majority 'yes' would lead to far greater political and economic instability. Businessmen who supported a 'yes' vote had not considered this seriously, he said. The National Union of SA Students (NUSAS) called for a 'no' vote. A petition rejecting the constitution that was circulated among students collected 14,000 signatures. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), and various youth organisations such as the Cape Youth Congress Organisation (CAYCO) and the Soweto Youth Congress Organisation (SOYCO), rejected the constitution and affirmed that the only political solution in SA was in a unitary state with a one-man, one-vote system. They supported the UDF campaign against the constitution and pledged to work with it. The Inkatha Youth Brigade rejected the constitution.

Senior churchmen in the Methodist, Catholic, and Anglican churches called for a 'no' vote on the grounds that the government's constitutional proposals ran contrary to Christian teaching, were morally unacceptable, led to a greater separation and division of people of SA, and entrenched racial oppression and the apartheid state. Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said that the new constitution would keep unchanged basic apartheid laws such as mixed marriages, group areas, and racial classification. Apartheid was based on the belief that people who come from the same background could

THE REFERENDUM
not live together, and this went against all Christian teachings, he added.28

The South African Council on Sport (SACOS) called for a complete boycott of the 'racist referendum' and condemned the 'Nationalist' constitution. It said the referendum was being fought 'by racist ruling-class parties and their servile black junior partners', who faced a political, economic and social crisis caused by 'the rising tide of liberation that is sweeping SA'. Anyone who voted must clearly be part of 'the oppressive exploitive system'. SACOS demanded a completely democratic non-racial SA that was based on full and equal rights for all people.29

The Rand Daily Mail said that a 'no' vote would force the government back to the drawing board to work out a plan of genuine reform. It also said that an acceptance of the constitution would be seen as a 'ganging up' of whites against blacks in SA. Describing the constitution as 'half-baked and ill conceived', The Argus said that it did not allow SA to strike a bargain of true power-sharing. The Cape Times said a 'no' vote would help calm 'rising black anger' and keep open the option of negotiated constitutional development. The Natal Witness said that the constitution excluded blacks, reduced the role of the largely English-speaking opposition, and entrenched apartheid. The Sunday Express described it as a 'jerry-built contraption' and as an 'unworkable, undemocratic, and terribly foolish plan'. The Pretoria News said that at best the new constitution was wholly inadequate, at worst a 'Machiavellian design to place the National Party permanently in the driving seat with a multi-racial collection of passengers for cosmetic effect'.30

Mr Percy Qoboza, a leading African journalist and former editor of The World (which was banned in October 1977), said that solutions to SA's problems could not be found by white co-option of the Indian and coloured communities, but by providing real political participation for all people in SA. Moreover by refusing to talk to those people within the black community who still believed in negotiation, the SA government was 'killing off all our own moderates'.3

The director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, put forward five fundamental principles that a new constitution should embody: common citizenship and nationality; the right of all adults to have a voice in central political institutions, including parliament; a judicially-protected bill of rights guaranteeing political freedoms and habeas corpus; the elimination of racial discrimination and not simply its replacement, as was the government's intention, by discrimination on the basis of citizenship and nationality; and the rights of workers to collective bargaining. He said that the constitution did not further any of the first four principles, but deliberately undermined them. Instead of moving towards a common society, the constitution 'executes a constitutional U-turn and takes us further away from it'. Mr Kane-Berman noted that a major effect of the constitution would be to alienate and undermine conciliatory leaders in the black community such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.32

The Black Sash called for a 'no' vote, and said that this would force the Prime Minister to seek the support of reform-minded voters to combat the right-wing threat and thus he would have to move to 'real' reform. He would not be able to stop the process of reform, since the pressures for genuine change were increasing all the time. If he won the referendum he would have a constitution within which genuine reform was impossible.33
Opposition to the constitution from the Right

Calling for a 'no' vote, Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party (CP) said that the new constitution was 'political suicide'. The main objection of the CP was the basis of the constitution was political power-sharing in a mixed government for whites, coloureds, and Indians; this would deprive whites of their sovereignty. The CP completely rejected the notion that 'representatives of other nations can be co-governers of whites'. Dr Treurnicht claimed that the strong religious tradition of the Afrikaner was being ignored. Christian values and principles would no longer be a consideration in the central decision-making process because non-Christians would have a say in the government. The CP also rejected the wide powers of the President's Council and the State President. General Hendrik van den Bergh, former head of the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), speaking at a CP meeting, said that the government was scaring the people with the threat of the 'communist onslaught' on SA, but was making a total onslaught itself on South Africans with new constitutional proposals. He said the government was in a stronger position to handle the communist onslaught than previously, and that the constitutional proposals posed a greater threat than communism. The NP could not guarantee the country a secure future under the new constitution, General van den Bergh said.34

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), called for a 'no' vote, and said that whites would be forced to make concessions in the new tricameral parliament, which was governed by consensus. The new constitution had laid the basis for a total racially mixed society where 'the white man would have no place of his own'. The white parliament would not be able to agree on all issues with the coloured and Indian representatives and would be forced to make concessions on principles. Each group would fight to defend its own self-interest, and this would lead to racial strife and political instability. The inclusion of Indians and coloured people would eventually lead to the inclusion of Africans, and this would result in anarchy and chaos, as was being experienced in the rest of Africa. The HNP rejected the dictatorial powers of the president, and the 'religious intolerance' that would arise from the inclusion of non-Christians in government.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, warned that if the 'government capitulated and became another Angola or Mozambique' it would reclaim the country by force. Mr TerreBlanche said that the AWB would never allow white sovereignty to be relinquished to a 'coloured government'. He accused the National Party of giving away 'everything the white Christians had fought for' and appealed for unity among Afrikaners against its constitutional plans.35

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), under the chairmanship of Professor Carel Boshoff, rejected the new constitution, and said it would set South Africa 'on the path of racial confrontation instead of conflict regulation'. The major reasons for rejection were: the bill did not make adequate provision for the self-determination of nations; did not conform to the requirements of exclusivity
and equality; a policy of separate development with separate geographical areas was the only basis on which sound race relations could be built and maintained; the peaceful co-existence of the different groups with divergent and sometimes conflicting interests and aspirations, made it undesirable that whites dominated a growing majority of other nations and population groups; common existence in a common geographical area essentially made all matters common matters', and this would lead to the right of self-determination for whites, coloureds and Indians being broken down; and the powers of the president were too wide.36 Within the Afrikaner Broederbond there were splits on

THE REFERENDUM

whether to support the constitution.

A group of 148 prominent Afrikaans academics under the leadership of Professor P S Dreyer of the University of Pretoria rejected the constitution. The reasons given were that the model in the constitution, a racial federation based on racial classification, had never existed in history; the constitution ignored the demographic distribution of nations in SA and its consequences; the absence of a territorial base made it impossible to guarantee self-determination for each group; the constitution would promote conflict because each group would feel threatened by the lack of cultural safeguards; the democratic system in SA would be destroyed because of the wide powers of the president; and the constitution was 'dangerous and unfeeling' because it rejected the policy of separate development. The 148 academics came from all the Afrikaans universities and colleges in SA except the University of Stellenbosch. Afrikaans teachers and lecturers from 26 centres in the Transvaal rejected the new constitution as contrary to the interests of Christian National Education. They said that, for the sake of consensus and to ensure co-operation and goodwill of non-Christian members, the basis of all Christian Afrikaner religious life had been ignored. This could lead to Christian National Education's being replaced by the 'neutral education of freedom, equality and fraternity'. The provision of 'own affairs' in the new constitution would jeopardise the harmony and distinctive culture of the Afrikaner.37

A meeting of 220 ministers representing three major Afrikaans churches, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde, Nederduitsch Hervormde, and Gereformeerde, totally rejected the new constitution. The Rev Andrew Gerber, chairman of the meeting, said that they believed in the peculiarity of each nation and its right to continue its own identity and self-determination. He said the state had the responsibility to see that the basis of the Christian community should not be undermined. This would not be possible because the new constitution provided for power-sharing with Hindus and Muslims, who rejected the principles of the Bible. The new constitution would also cause greater conflict and division, and would make SA weak against the onslaught of communism. A guest speaker at the meeting, Professor Carel Boshoff, said it was not the intention to use their position to get a 'no' vote in the referendum. He said that after the implementation of the constitution even the coloured and Indian leaders would realise that the churches' criticism had been valid 38
Calls for abstentions and spoilt papers The Star suggested an abstention from voting, saying that a 'no' vote would be a rejection of those who were voting for reform and attempting to subject the National Party to the pressures of reform. It would block the reform initiative, however small, within the constitution. A 'yes' vote would mean support for entrenched apartheid and a constitution that automatically excluded all Africans from government in SA. Progressive 'no' voters would be indistinguishable from right-wing voters and 'ultra racists', while reform-minded 'yes' voters would be giving unqualified support to separate development and a constitution which increased racial polarisation. The proposed constitution lacked three fundamental prerequisites: consultation between all races; a guarantee of the rule of law; and the abolition of race discrimination. An abstention would be 'acting in concert' with 'the silent majority of black moderates' who did not have the vote, and would also constitute the 'clearest and most homogeneous' choice. The magazine Front-

REFERENDUM RESULTS
line suggested that voters should spoil their papers. A 'yes' vote would entrench apartheid and denationalise Africans. A 'no' vote would block a commitment to reform, however small it was. It would also reject those Afrikaners who were prepared 'to split their own ranks' and accept a move away from exclusive white rule. The three segments of the electorate were those who wanted the present reform, those who wanted less, and those who wanted more. The spoilt paper enabled those who wanted more to make a clear stand.39

The Results of the Referendum
Amid warnings by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that the African National Congress (ANC) would attempt to 'violently disrupt' the referendum, five bomb explosion, occurred in Johannesburg and Durban at railway stations, a bus depot and - black university residence in the week preceding it. No-one claimed responsibility for the explosions, however.40

The results of the referendum, in which the total number of eligible voters was 2 713 300, were as follows:

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<th>Area</th>
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<td>Beaufort West Bloemfontein</td>
<td>2250252019 221511 123783 53202 31256 113600 194396 34815 55486 50519 31403 60661 209763 105307 1360223 (65,95%)</td>
<td>7733 26960 71456 44442 15087 11426 60241 85554 17898 32321 20060 34827 25901 157433 80238 691577 (33,53%)</td>
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| Cape Town Durban East London George Germiston Johannesburg Kimberley Kroonstad Pietermaritzburg Pietersburg Port Elizabeth Pretoria Roodepoort Totals

| Yes | 22502 52019 221511 123783 53202 31256 113600 194396 34815 55486 50519 31403 60661 209763 105307 1360223 (65,95%) |
| No  | 7733 26960 71456 44442 15087 11426 60241 85554 17898 32321 20060 34827 25901 157433 80238 691577 (33,53%) |
Spoilt papers
93 331 1229
750 255 141
900 3906 110 189 366 247 208 1035
909
10 669 (0.52%)
Total votes cast
30328 79310
294196 168975 68544 42823
174741 283856 52823
87996 70945 66477
86770 368231 186454
2062469 (100%)
Seventy-six percent of the electorate voted. The 'yes' vote majority was 668 646. The only 'no' majority was in the Pietersburg area, in which there was a 52.39% 'no' majority. The percentage poll was higher than the 67% recorded in the general election of 1981, but not as high as the nearly 91% recorded in the 1960 referendum (on whether SA should become a republic).
Dr Dirk Laurie of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) drew conclusions from the results through an analysis of the referendum, recent by-elections, the 1981 general election, and opinion polls. His findings were that more than half of the PFP supporters voted 'yes'. Of the 34% of voters who voted 'no', only 10% were PFP supporters, the balance being right-wing voters. Forty percent of those who supported the PFP in 1981 stayed away from the polls, and of those PFP supporters who did vote, for every five 'no' votes there were seven 'yes' votes. Dr Laurie pointed out, however, that it could not be assumed that PFP members who had voted 'yes' and stayed away would not remain PFP supporters. Although there was a swing away from the PFP, its position was not 'as serious' as that of the CP. With the highest polls being recorded in areas where the CP was strongest, Pretoria and Pietersburg, Dr Laurie estimated that 90% of CP supporters went to the polls. If a general election were held, the CP would win no more than five seats. Dr Laurie noted that the Middelburg by-elections, held on the same day as the referendum, showed a swing away from the CP. The areas in which the NRP had the strongest support, Natal and Border, had the largest 'yes' majority. Dr Laurie said, however, that the NRP could lose support in the next election.

Referendum results

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that the referendum results had exceeded his 'wildest expectations' and showed that a clear majority of whites were in favour of national unity. Mr Botha again denied that he had any 'hidden agenda' to be implemented now that a 'yes' vote had triumphed. This theory had been created by people who do not want to read his programmes as announced, he said. As
regards the Indian and coloured people, Mr Botha said he would be advised by their leaders on whether to call elections or referendums to test their acceptance of the constitution.

The leader of the New Republic Party (NRP), Mr Vause Raw, said it was clear that SA had chosen 'peaceful, evolutionary, reform based on a group system to accommodate the plural nature of SA society, and had rejected exclusive white baasskap and a one-man, one-vote majority rule system.'

Two homeland presidents, Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei and Chief Patrick Mphephu of Venda, welcomed the result. Chief Sebe described the new constitution as 'a step forward for SA', welcomed the opportunity for Indians and coloured people to participate in government, and said foreign investment would also be encouraged by the 'yes' vote. He warned that change in SA had to be evolutionary and could not come 'all at once'. Chief Mphephu said that the 'yes' vote would contribute towards stability and progress in SA.45

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the South African Indian Council (SAIC), said that the referendum results showed progress in white thinking and a shift from apartheid. He said that within the new parliament the Indian and coloured houses would ensure that no new discriminatory legislation would be introduced in SA.46

The leader of the Conservative Party (CP), Dr Andries Treurnicht, said that the outcome of the white referendum was a victory for his party. He claimed that 600 000 of the almost 700 000 'no' voters were supporters of the CP.48

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), greeted the result 'with regret', and said that PFP voters who had voted 'yes' to support the process of reform were not defecting from the PFP. They would continue to support the party in future, he argued.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said that in the light of the 'yes' vote, KwaZulu and Inkatha had to reassess their non-violent stand, their attempt to seek co-operation with progressive elements in white society, and the role of local black councils. Chief Buthelezi said it was clear that the road to a negotiated future was closed. He said blacks could be heard only if they used their worker and consumer power. He indicated that Inkatha might form 'a marriage of convenience' with the

REFERENDUM RESULTS

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC).41

The United Democratic Front (UDF) dismissed the results of the referendum, because it did not address itself to the country's major political problems. The UDF said the major challenge was for black people to maintain a united stand. The implementation of the constitution would set the scene for 'vast and tragic conflict' and the government and those who supported its policies would have to take the responsibility for this. A UDF national conference in December was unable to arrive at a decision on its tactics if the government called referendums in the Indian and coloured communities. It referred the issue back to its regional councils, on whose recommendation the national executive would take a decision.
in January. If elections were called, the UDF would call for boycott. The president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Mr George Sewpersad, said that the referendum showed that the majority of white people were not concerned about the aspirations of black people. Large-scale unemployment, poor wages, malnutrition, inadequate housing, and the artificial land shortage created by the Group Areas Act would not be removed by the new constitution, he said. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) said that the results of the referendum proved that support for apartheid extended across white party lines. Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, its publicity secretary, dismissed the results as 'irrelevant' to black people and described the referendum as a ploy to give 'the white racist government some semblance of legitimacy and credibility'.

Businessmen largely welcomed the 'yes' vote, and felt it would dispel uncertainty among foreign investors about SA's political stability. Mr Hendrik Malan, chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, said that overwhelming support by the electorate for reform would increase opportunities for business and investment. Although a negative reaction could be expected from the country's African majority, this would be 'short-lived' as prospects for African advancement improved with the growth in the economy. Mr Tony Bloom, chairman of the Premier Group, said that there was no excuse for the government not to proceed with reform, and Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, felt that the Prime Minister could now work towards eliminating legal race discrimination as well as bringing about other changes. Economists at the major banks thought that the 'yes' vote would be welcomed overseas. The Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU) condemned the result as 'entrenching the present system'. It envisaged an increase in racial friction, and said that the result augured badly for SA's future. FOSATU's general secretary, Mr Joe Foster, said that FOSATU would continue to campaign against the constitution. Despite business and government views, political stability would never be assured until all people in SA were given equal political and social rights, he said.

Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Development Bank of SA, said that even before the acceptance of the constitution, the principle of achieving parity in the provision of public services such as education, housing, and health had gained wide acceptance. With the inclusion of Indians and coloured people in decisionmaking, these demands would become more insistent. The acceptance of the new constitution would further mean that the demands for reducing the differences between Africans and the rest of the population would also become 'increasingly difficult to resist'. The state would have to find additional sources from which the public sector could finance these services without cutting back on other services.

Dr Willie Breytenbach, senior planner in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, outlining his views on the development conse-
Breytenbach said that these groups would seek improvement in these areas 'rather than push ideologies to the top of the agenda'. Dr Breytenbach concluded that there would have to be increased state expenditure on basic and essential community needs.

The US government said that while it condemned apartheid and the denial of fundamental rights to SA's majority black population, the issue was how to encourage practical steps away from the apartheid system. The 66% 'yes' vote in the referendum was a reflection on the growing consensus within the electorate of the need to move towards more representative participation in the country's political process. It was the US government's hope that the SA government would use its mandate to address the problem of political rights for the SA black majority. Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary, expressed the hope that the referendum would facilitate progress towards constitutional arrangements 'acceptable to the people of SA as a whole'.

The question of African political rights

The fact that the new constitution was based on the continuing exclusion of Africans from the parliamentary franchise became a major issue in the referendum campaign, especially during the last few weeks. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) asked the government to be more specific on the future of urban Africans, who were not interested in independence and self-determination separate from the rest of SA. The New Republic Party (NRP) called for the creation of a fourth chamber for urban Africans, but Inkatha rejected the idea on the grounds that the constitution would still be built on 'racist' foundations.

Africans had been willing to seek incorporation into parliament under the old constitution but they would be committed to dismantling the new one. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) described arguments for the inclusion of Africans under the proposed constitution as 'ridiculous': the assimilation or integration of blacks into the system would not provide 'a way out of the grip of racism, land dispossession, and the forces of imperialism'. AZAPO rejected the concept of a 'racist' referendum. The United Democratic Front (UDF) rejected the exclusion of the vast majority of people from participation in the constitution, but emphasized that the inclusion of Africans in the proposed constitution would not provide an equitable dispensation for SA. The proposed constitution entrenched apartheid, and an acceptable dispensation could only be worked out with the participation of all representative groupings in SA. The UDF rejected the entire process that led up to the referendum, and the concept of a referendum for whites only.

Early in the year, a pamphlet called Guidelines for a New Constitutional Dispensation distributed by the Department of Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning asked the question, 'Why are blacks not included in the new dispensation?' The following answer was given: 'Blacks already have their own governments and administrations as, for example, in KwaZulu (where Zulu ministers attend to their own affairs), or in Soweto, where new councils with extended powers are to be established. Coloured people and Indians have no such political rights. The new constitution and parliament will make provision for all groups to participate in the government.
of the country. Denouncing the pamphlet, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said that the government's

AFRICAN POLITICAL RIGHTS

claim was 'like saying that because people have a vote in municipal elections or provincial councils, they need not have any say in the government'. In a letter on 17 January to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, Chief Buthelezi demanded that the statement be publicly withdrawn. He reiterated that the government would force his people 'to take up arms if it tries to foist on us a status of independence which we reject', and said that since community councils were apparently not just local government bodies but 'part of the substitute for excluding Africans from parliament' he would not be able to encourage his people to support them (see chapter on Urban Africans). The leader of the opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said the government's document contained disgraceful distortions.154

In a speech in January the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that accusations that the government's constitutional plans did not include Africans were not true because SA was 'on the eve of an exciting new set-up for black local authorities'. On 1 February the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, announced the appointment of a special cabinet committee to investigate all the outstanding problems affecting urban Africans. The committee, consisting of seven members, would consult homeland leaders, community councils, and other black representatives, but would be bound by the 'framework of National Party policy'.55 Dr Koornhof said the committee would negotiate with 'any leaders willing to co-operate in finding answers'.56 The government accepted the permanence of large numbers of Africans and would take account of this in constitutional planning. Fulfilment of African political aspirations beyond local management level had also to be tackled, Dr Koornhof said, but the creation of a fourth chamber for them in parliament was not 'achievable'.57 Mr Heunis, chairman of the special cabinet committee, said the government would look at the inclusion of African municipal areas in metropolitan bodies.58 In April another member of the committee, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education, said that no fourth chamber for blacks would be added to the envisaged three-chamber parliament.59 Dr Koornhof, also a member, said in May that all races would receive full political rights within 50 years.60 Mr Heunis said that African constitutional development had gained a momentum towards different and separate structures for African nations and that the government 'has no intention of departing from this course'.61 In June, Dr Koornhof said 'black leaders should give serious thought to the intricacies of our problems, should endeavour to see them in the right perspective, and should come forward with suggestions and ideas without hesitation'.62

At the end of June the Prime Minister denied that the government had a 'hidden agenda' for change in SA that went further than any plans announced so far. He was responding to a statement by the American under-secretary of state for political affairs, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, to the effect that the US government could not expect 'South Africa's would-be reformers to announce their game plan
and their bottom line to the world at large. Mr Botha said Mr Eagleburger had 'given rise to speculation and created expectations this government cannot meet'.63 Earlier in the year, Dr Alex Boraine of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) had said in the no-confidence debate in parliament that the 'hidden agenda' was being given by Nationalist verligtes to diplomats and overseas visitors. In an article in Rapport on 7 August Dr W J de Klerk said that he had 'thoroughly investigated' the 'hidden agenda' to involve Africans in parliament and had come to the conclusion that there was none, and that the African people

AFRICAN POLITICAL RIGHTS
would not 'move in evolutionistically' as a fourth chamber.64 In August the Prime Minister said in Bloemfontein at a youth congress of the National Party that he did not, within his or his children's lifetime, envisage an integrated parliament with a fourth chamber for Africans. For this reason African homelands were given the opportunity to take independence and eventually a confederation of states similar to the European Economic Community would be formed.65 Dr Slabbert commented: 'It is only those who wish to read their own desires and fancies into the Nationalist plan who harbour the fond delusion that somehow blacks inevitably will be included. The Prime Minister has again pricked this bubble.'

The leader of the NRP, Mr Vause Raw, said that he had heard the previous Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, saying the same thing about coloured people not too many years ago, but that the reality was that 'blacks cannot be excluded from constitutional reform'. The national chairman of the Conservative Party (CP), Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said he accepted that Mr Botha had made the remarks in earnest; however, the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, had similarly ruled out majority rule in his lifetime, but it had materialised.66

Dr P J Riekert, chief director of the Western Transvaal Administration Board and one of the government's longest-serving administrators of urban Africans, said in a book published in the second half of the year that African town councils set up under the Black Local Authorities Act (see chapter on Urban Africans) should be linked to the homelands and not serve as stepping-stones to African participation in the central government. Administering African townships as part of existing or future white, coloured, or Indian local authorities would irrevocably link blacks to the central government and not to the homelands, and this would be undesirable, Dr Riekert said.67

In an advertisement published on 4 September urging whites to vote 'yes' in the constitutional referendum on 2 November, the government explained that the new constitution 'does not include black nations because their constitutional development continues to progress along a different route'.68 Speaking in the third reading debate on the constitution bill in parliament in September, the Prime Minister said only 43% of the African population was urbanised and that the others were accommodated politically in the homelands. A process of constitutional development for blacks had been in progress since 1910 and this had led to their being more advanced constitutionally than were Indians and coloured people.69 Mr Botha repeated the government's commitment to accommodate urban Africans politically above the highest level of third-tier
government.7" At a press conference on 15 September the Prime Minister said
with reference to the special cabinet committee looking at the further
development of structures for urban African communities outside the homelands
that 'we admit there are structures which must come into being for consultation'.7
Later that month Dr Koornhof said that a 'yes' victory in the referendum would
hasten the process of reform and pave the way for further changes. If the
government could find a place in the decision-making process for coloured people
and Indians, it would be possible for whites and African leaders to find a new
dispensation for urban Africans. The following day Dr Koornhof said that a fourth
chamber of Africans was 'simply not possible' and that 'it would destroy the
process of self-government for blacks'. He added: 'You will have to create a
chamber for each of the ten black nations in South Africa and then one for each of
the four independent states'. Black constitutional development had started in the
Verwoerd era with the Bantu Authorities Act. Four states had subsequently
become independent and he was presently in-

AFRICAN POLITICAL RIGHTS

volved with negotiations on the independence of another, Dr Koornhof said. The
third stage was reached when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, announced that
a cabinet committee had been appointed to investigate the position of Africans
living outside independent and national states, and to determine what their
position would be in the new South African dispensation. 72
Following a declaration on 5 October in Johannesburg by Chief Buthelezi of
KwaZulu, President Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, Dr Cedric Phatudi of
Lebowa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of
Gazankulu, and a representative of Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane, in which they
rejected the constitution bill, the Prime Minister said on 7 October that the
government was dealing with the problem of urban Africans in a devoted way and
would continue negotiations with African leaders to find 'new and imaginative'
forms of constitutional justice and equity for all South Africans. Mr Botha added
that the government was prepared to talk to African leaders to carry out a system
which would make it possible for them to achieve their own independence,
develop and educate their people, and share in the development of SA's
economy.73 Later in the month the Prime Minister said that the government was
not closing its eyes to the position of Africans outside the national states, who had
come to sell their labour in the industrial areas. It had to provide housing, health
services, education, and local government for them, while a cabinet committee
had been appointed to look at their further development.74 Mr Heunis said that
the cabinet committee was trying to find ways of creating closer links between the
urban areas and the homelands. The African urban areas could become city states
with confederal links to the homelands.75 The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr
Pik Botha, also a member of the special cabinet committee, said that blacks were
'very much included in current governmental activities', among ther 'summit
meetings of heads of state and government' and the establishment of the
Development Bank of Southern Africa (see chapter on Homeland Development).
The idea of a 'constellation or confederation of states' was a 'future possibility,
which will be decided jointly by the whites, coloureds, Indians, and black peoples'.

Mr John Wiley, Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs and Fisheries, said:

'Do not be mistaken; there is no future for the black man in the parliament of
South Africa.' Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Internal Affairs and also a member
of the cabinet committee, said that the concept of a fourth chamber for Africans
was out as far as the National Party was concerned. It was, he added, 'political
nonsense' to suggest that Africans outside the homelands should be given political
rights outside their own tribal groups. In an interview with Leadership SA on
the eve of the referendum the Prime Minister said that economic necessity forced
the government to accept that there were permanent African communities outside
the homelands, which was why it was developing third-tier government systems
and structures for them. African local management structures should be allowed
to develop to a higher level than ordinary municipalities and have a bigger say in
controlling law and order and health services, for example. Mr Botha added that
he was looking for a formula or a method to accommodate urban African
communities in a 'confederal system' involving SA, the national states and the
independent states.

During the year, however, Chief Buthelezi and the leaders of five other
homelands, along with a number of black civil, religious, and business leaders,
held a series of talks aimed at blocking the government's proposed confederation
and promoting in its place the idea of federation (see chapter on Homeland Af-

AFRICAN POLITICAL RIGHTS

fairs). Among them was Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of
Gazankulu, who had earlier stated that confederation was not the answer 'since
one of its pre-requisites is the abdication of South African citizenship by blacks
before they can be admitted into such a system'.

Many businessmen appeared willing to back the Prime Minister in the referendum
on the assumption that he would thereafter tackle the question of African political
rights satisfactorily. For example, Mr Ted Pavitt, executive chairman of General
Mining Union Corporation (GENCOR) and president of the South Africa
Foundation, said shortly before the referendum that he was 'taking the
government on trust that it intends making some constitutional provision for
blacks at a later stage'. He said he had had discussions with members of the
government and had been assured that the new dispensation 'does not lower the
guillotine on the future inclusion of blacks'. Mr Pavitt added that he got the
impression from his discussions with the government that Africans had taken a
hard line and that that was why negotiations to include them had broken down.

The leader of the NRP, Mr Raw, claimed that Africans had rejected the chance to
take part in the constitutional process by refusing to serve on the black council
that was to have been a subsidiary of the President's Council. Responding to
allegations by the Prime Minister that he had on three separate occasions
'terminated discussions', Chief Buthelezi said that when Mr Botha had assumed
office he had pleaded that he be given a chance to exercise his own leadership
instead of being judged by his predecessors. Chief Buthelezi said he had entered
into negotiations with Mr Botha and had been prepared to pursue them until
sufficient common ground could be established for the issuing of a joint declaration of intent, which would include other African leaders as well. During these discussions the Prime Minister, without consulting African leaders, had announced the establishment of the President's Council (from which he excluded Africans) and the black advisory council. It was this action by Mr Botha that had terminated the discussions, causing Chief Buthelezi to reject the black advisory council. In doing so he had made an appeal for a moratorium on constitutional development 'until such time as we had found a basis for consensus between black and white about where this country should go'. The Prime Minister had rejected his conciliatory approach and had forged ahead 'with white unilateral decision-making' although he was now blaming Chief Buthelezi for breaking off negotiations.82 Mr Botha had also, as a 'punitive act', decided to excise the Ingwavuma district from KwaZulu and give it to Swaziland, 'thus making about 100 000 Zulus foreigners' (see chapter on Homeland Affairs).83

In a special referendum edition of Race Relations News published in October the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said that 8m of South Africa's 22m Africans had been denationalised through the granting of independence to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei. The continuing process of denationalising African people was as much a part of the government's programme of constitutional change as was the proposed new tricameral parliament for whites, Indians, and coloured people. They were two sides of the same coin. Referring to Dr Koornhof's statement that a fourth chamber for Africans was impossible because it would destroy the process of self-government for Africans, Mr Kane-Berman said: 'In other words, incorporating Africans into central political institutions would be incompatible with the continuing present policy of denationalising them. The present policy of denationalisation is in fact expressly designed to exclude any future possibility

AFRICAN POLITICAL RIGHTS

of incorporation.'

The special cabinet committee held its first post-referendum meeting on 7 November, one of the items discussed evidently being how African leaders should be consulted. It was reported that the Prime Minister had requested the committee to create a forum for continuing discussions with African leaders. 4

References

Laws repealed in part or whole by the Republic of SA Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number and year of enactment</th>
<th>Extent of rep</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>The whole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution Amendment Act No 9 of 1963</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured Persons Representative Council Act No 49 of 1964</td>
<td>The whole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>The whole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Laws Amendment Act No 29 of 1966</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution Amendment Act No 37 of 1966</td>
<td>The whole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution Amendment Act No 9 of 1967</td>
<td>The whole.</td>
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</table>
Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act No 52 of 1968  The whole.
General Law Amendment Act No 101 of 1969  Sections 20,
Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act No 87 of 1970  The whole.
Constitution Amendment Act No 1 of 1971  The whole.
South African Indian Council Amendment Act No 67 of 1972  The whole.
Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act No 99 of 1972  The whole.
General Law Amendment Act No 62 of 1973  Sections 22
Constitution and Elections Amendment Act No 79 of 1973  The whole.
Parliamentary Service Act No 33 of 1974  Sections 8, 9
Constitution Amendment Act No 48 of 1974  The whole.
lates to the Africa Con and the Col resentative The whole. So much of[ to the Repu Constitutio
Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act No 94 of 1976  The whole.
South African Indian Council Amendment Act No 123 of 1977  The whole.
Proclamation No R249 of 1977 Amendment of (1) the South-West Africa Affairs Amendment Act, 1949, (2) the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1961, and (3) the South-West Africa Constitution Act, 1968
Peal 23 and 24.
and 23.
land 10.
Schedule 3 as relates blic of South Africa n Act, 1961.
So much as relates to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1961.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION
South African Indian Council Amendment Act No 83 of
1978 The whole.
Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act
No 84 of 1978 The whole.
Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act
No 57 of 1979 The whole.
Constitution Amendment Act No 99 of 1979 The whole.
Pension Laws Amendment Act No 100 of 1979 Section 1.
Period of Office of Members of the South African Indian
Council Extension Act No 13 of 1980 The whole.
Republic of South Africa Constitution Third Amendment
Act No 28 of 1980 The whole.
Republic of South Africa Constitution Amendment Act No
70 of 1980 Sections 1 and 2.
Republic of South Africa Constitution Fourth Amendment
Act No 74 of 1980 The whole.
Republic of South Africa Constitution Fifth Amendment
Act No 101 of 1980 The whole, except sections 29,
30, 31, 32 and 33.
Republic of South Africa Constitution Amendment Act
No 40 of 1981 The whole.
South African Indian Council Amendment Act No 70 of
1981 The whole.
Republic of South Africa Constitution Second Amendment
Act No 101 of 1981 The whole, except sections 7, 8
and 9.
Elections Amendment Act No 104 of 1982 Sections 1 and 2.
(H25 Col 12962)
2 Hansard 3 Cols 6363-6 Hansard 15 Cols 7045-7269, Hansard 20 Cols 12469-
12912, Hansard 23 Cols
1118-11599, Hansard 24 Cols 11709-12406, various newspaper reports
3 Leadership SA Spring Vol 2 no 3 1983
1 Yes/No: P Lange: Lucas Publishing House, 1983 Cape Times 10 August,
Leadership SA Op cit
6 Daily Dispatch 29 October
7 Financial Mail 30 September I Star 20 October
9 Rand Daily Mail 7 October
10 Ibid
11 Mercury 18 October
12 Star 30 September, Financial Mail 30 September 13 Rand Daily Mail 28
September 14 Citizen 27 September
15 Star 7 October
16 Natal Post 21 May
17 UDFNews Vol I no 1
POPULATION
Official estimates of the population of SA for mid-1983 (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) were:

% of total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4 748 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2 765 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>870 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>17 741 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26 124 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the 4 987 998 Africans recorded as living in the four 'independent' homelands (see below) are included, the total African population is not 17741000 but 22728998. This pushes up the total population of SA from 26124000 to
Africans make up 73.05% of the comprehensive total rather than the 67.9% reflected in the narrower official census. The proportion of whites drops to 15.26%, coloured people to 8.88% and Asians to 2.79%.

The provincial breakdown of the population, based on the 1980 census, was as follows (the African homelands are excluded):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>644660</td>
<td>226520</td>
<td>112160</td>
<td>8124100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>496560</td>
<td>1358120</td>
<td>90180</td>
<td>664360</td>
<td>2609220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>1183980</td>
<td>1569040</td>
<td>2222120</td>
<td>31420</td>
<td>5006560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>319800</td>
<td>1549600</td>
<td>55560</td>
<td>-1924960</td>
<td>1924960</td>
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In a paper presented at a seminar organised by the Wits Business School in March, Mr J A Grobbelaar, Senior Economist at the Unit for Futures Research of the University of Stellenbosch, said that it was ‘rather unfortunate that all official statistics have, since 1976, become subject to political developments’. He noted that as homelands became ‘independent’ the Central Statistical Service in Pretoria ceased to publish statistics relating to them. This caused problems for market researchers, economists and demographers, ‘who are rather desperate for reliable vital statistics needed for population projections’.

Replying to a question in the House of Assembly, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning gave the following numbers of children born in the Republic in 1981:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>20882</td>
<td>20882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>699000</td>
<td>699000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The birth, death and natural increase rates per 1 000 of the population for 1980 and 1981 (excluding Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Birth Rate</th>
<th>Death Rate</th>
<th>Natural Increase Rate</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Figures for Africans are not available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Infant deaths</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>22713</td>
</tr>
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</table>
These figures exclude Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. The figures for 1980 in the above table differ slightly from those given in the 1982 Survey because they have been revised. The figures for 1981 in the above table are estimates.

According to a report on demographic trends in South Africa by the Science Committee of the President's Council, the average life expectancy of the different race groups in South Africa is as follows:6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average life expectancy in Africa is 49 years, for Asia 60 years and Latin America 64 years.7

The Science Committee's report on demographic trends said that in order to avoid 'a disastrous and uncontrollable' population explosion in SA, steps should be taken to stabilise the population growth by the year 2020. If by the year 2000 every woman in South Africa could be persuaded to have only two children, by 2150 the population would have stabilised at about 62 million. If every woman had 3 children by 2000, the total population in 2150 would be 450 million - and would still continue to grow. At present, every 1 000 white women gave birth to 963 girls who would grow old enough to reproduce. The comparable figure for Asian women was 1 278, and for coloured women 1 427. The estimated figure for African women was 2 500.

According to the report, if population growth continued unchecked, the inevitable consequences would be disease, poverty, social turmoil, devastation of the environment, paralysis of the economy, and urban and rural decay.

The report gave a 43-point plan for the implementation of an effective population control strategy. The committee's recommendations included the following:

* a national population planning council should be created to assist the state in developing and maintaining a national population programme;
* the total population should cease to grow by the end of the next century and the population should stabilise at about 80 million people;
* the socio-economic development of the 'less developed groups' should be promoted so that they would be equal to whites by the first half of the next century;
* fertility patterns of all race groups should be influenced to achieve an average of two children per mother as soon as possible, but not later than during the second decade of the next century;
* as an immediate short-term priority, as many children as possible, regardless of race, should be educated to a minimum level, preferably senior primary;
* health services should be decentralised in such a way that the masses could be effectively reached;
* recruitment of health workers, regardless of race, should be begun as
soon as possible with a view to the implementation of a population planning programme, and co-ordination should be achieved between health and education authorities for, inter alia, the effective communication of information on health, preventable child deaths, and family planning;
* priority should be given to economic development programmes focused on low-income groups in urban and, particularly, rural areas, and the programmes should focus strongly on fertility decline;
* the family planning programme should be extended, particularly to the underdeveloped, low-income areas of the country;
* a national economic development plan should be formulated to aid the population programme;
* the huge skills gap between white skilled labour and African unskilled labour should be narrowed as fast as possible;
" urbanisation should proceed in line with controlled population planning;
" housing standards should be reconsidered to provide more housing, not necessarily of a better quality, as a matter of urgency;
* a huge rural agricultural development programme with the introduction of appropriate local authorities should be set up to improve productivity and reduce impoverishment of the underdeveloped areas of South Africa;
* agricultural development of the 'national states', where population pressure was 'laying waste' the environment, should enjoy the highest priority.

Population of the Homelands

In response to a question in the House of Assembly, the Minister of Co-operation and Development gave population figures for all the homelands. The minister's

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION
figures were for 1980. The 1983 population figures below have been calculated by the South African Institute of Race Relations from the Bureau for Economic Research's estimate of a 2,5% annual population growth in the 'independent' homelands, and 2,7% annual population growth in the non-independent homelands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Independent' Homelands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>2 323 650</td>
<td>2 502 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>1 323 315</td>
<td>1 425 066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>315 545</td>
<td>339 808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>669 340</td>
<td>720 807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4 631 850</td>
<td>4 987 998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-independent Homelands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>512 000</td>
<td>554 602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kungwane</td>
<td>160 600</td>
<td>173 963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>156 260</td>
<td>169 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>3 408 200</td>
<td>3 691 785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>1 739 460</td>
<td>1 884 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>156 480</td>
<td>169 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6 133 000</td>
<td>6 643 306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is expected that the true population figures for the homelands are much higher as many Africans do not involve themselves in the census. In a statistical survey of the development of the four independent homelands, the Bureau for Economic Research (BENSO) stated that the population of these homelands had increased from 3.6 million in 1970 to 4.6 million in 1980, an increase of 27.8%, or 2.5% a year. This relatively high growth rate resulted in 59.1% of the population being 19 years old and younger. The report said that 3.9 million Xhosas, Tswanas and Vendas, or 48.2% of the de jure population of these three population groups, lived outside their homelands on a continuous basis.

Addressing a SAIRR meeting, Mr Charles Simkins of the University of Cape Town said that one-third of the people in the homelands now lived in resettlement camps outside traditional homeland rural areas and with an almost urban density. He said resettlement led to a ‘demoralised group of people with a general feeling of despair’ which in the long run would lead to disaster.

Immigration and Emigration

Migration figures for 1982 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Emigrants</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Net Gain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 832</td>
<td>45 784</td>
<td>38 952</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The country experienced a net gain in the following occupation groups:

**RACE CLASSIFICATION**

Professional, technical and related workers 4 918
Administrative and managerial workers 1 112
Clerical and related workers 2 851
Sales workers 951
Service workers 725
Agricultural workers 155
Production and related workers 7 114

Race Classification

According to the annual report of the Department of Internal Affairs, during the period July 1981 to June 1982 the department dealt with 1189 applications for race reclassification. The bulk of these applications were approved as follows:

Indian to White 1
White to Cape Coloured 3
Cape Coloured to White 722
Cape Coloured to Chinese 4
White to Chinese 15
Chinese to White 7
White to Malay 1
Malay to White 4
White to Indian 1
Indian to Cape Coloured 34
Cape Coloured to Indian 39
Indian to Malay 19
Malay to Indian 16
Other Asian to Cape Coloured 3
Cape Coloured to Other Asian 1
African to Cape Coloured 109
Cape Coloured to African 11
African to Other Asian 3
African to Indian 1
African to Griqua 3
Total 997

In July, there was controversy over racial classification when a 12-day-old baby was found abandoned near Pretoria. In order to classify the infant, named Lize Venter by the hospital staff looking after her, tests were carried out on a strand of her hair in a Pretoria police laboratory. As a result of the tests the infant was classified as a coloured person.

Although the police claimed that the baby's racial classification was necessary in order to assist their investigations, there was widespread criticism, both in principle and on scientific grounds. A member of the International Institute of Trichology, for example, described the testing as invalid, since no hair classification existed for coloured people.

THE IMMORALITY AND MIXED MARRIAGES ACTS
The Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts
Repying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Law and Order said that in 1982, 225 suspected contraventions of Section 16 of the Immorality Act (which prohibits sexual intercourse across the colour line) were investigated. As a result 182 persons were charged. 12
Between 1974 and 1982, 1916 persons were prosecuted under this section and 1586 persons were convicted. 13
Questioned in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice gave the following information relating to the number of cases under Section 16 of the Immorality Act that were referred to the Attorneys-General during 1982, and the number of persons who were prosecuted and convicted or were awaiting trial as at the end of 1982 under this section. 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>No. of</th>
<th>No. of</th>
<th>No. awaiting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attorney-General</td>
<td>referred</td>
<td>prosecutions</td>
<td>convictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grahamstown</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the appropriation debate for his department, the Prime Minister said that he did not believe that the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and Section 16 of the Immorality Act of 1957 were prerequisites for the existence and survival of white South Africa. Mr Botha said that during the past two years, he had held discussions with church leaders from various religious denominations on these two acts and had concluded that the churches had sharply divided standpoints on
them. Mr Botha also said that he was prepared to refer the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts to a select committee, and give the various church denominations and other people an opportunity to give evidence, if the parties undertook to approach the matter on a non-political basis. 15

At the end of June, the Minister of Internal Affairs announced that a Select Committee had been appointed to enquire into and report upon the necessity, the possibility and the desirability of amending the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act without prejudicing the fundamental objectives with which they were enacted and the principles contained in other existing laws which might be directly or indirectly connected with the two acts."

This announcement was subsequently gazetted in terms of Government Notice No 1934 on 2 September.

References
1 Statistical News Release p 1113 December 1983
2 Hansard 15 Q col 1348 and South African Statistics 1982 Central Statistics Services p 1.9
3 Hansard 8 Q col 819
4 Statistical News Release p 11.3 6 May
5 Ibid p 11.3 6 May and p 11.412 April
6 Quoted in the Cape Times 24 March
7 Ibid
8 Hansard 8 Q cols 778-782

POPULATION
13 Hansard 19 Q col 1604 14 Hansard3 Qcols 11-12 15 Hansard 11 col 5277-5280 16 Hansard 21 col 10661

THE ECONOMY
South Africa would record a negative growth rate of about 3% in 1983, according to the December Quarterly Bulletin of the SA Reserve Bank (real gross domestic product had also shrunk-by 1%-the previous year, the first shrinkage recorded since the Second World War). It was still too early to say whether a lower turning point in the business cycle had been reached, the bank added. Although there were signs in the second and third quarters of the year that the economic downswing might have begun to level out, the bank was uncertain whether these 'moderate recoveries' in non-agricultural real output and employment would be sustained in the fourth quarter. It noted that one of the main generating forces of economic growth - an increase in the demand for exports - had remained 'fairly weak', the surplus on the current account of the balance of payments during the first three quarters of 1983 being explained by the low level of imports rather than by a good export performance. The slight increase in mineral exports in the first three quarters of 1983 had been 'neutralised' by lower agricultural exports (the result of a drought that caused farming output to drop in the third quarter of the
year to its lowest level in 15 years and turn SA from a large net food exporter into an importer in 1983).

However, the Reserve Bank said, economic recovery was now in progress in the industrial countries and in time should be reflected in a marked increase in SA's non-gold exports. The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, said in November that the economy was moving towards a new growth phase, but that the exact timing and actual strength thereof were less certain. SA could not adopt a policy of deliberate reflation, but should await an export-led recovery. Mr Horwood said that the current account of the balance of payments would show a surplus of between R1bn and R1,5bn for 1983 (compared with deficits of R2,9bn in 1982 and R3,7bn in 1981). He announced that the import surcharge introduced in February 1982 would be finally abolished on 2 November.

Mr Horwood added that 'considerable success has been achieved in 1983 in curbing inflation'. Official statistics showed that the rate of increase in consumer prices was indeed slowing down. In the twelve months to the end of October the consumer price index rose by 10,7%, compared with 16% in the year to May. Also in the year to the end of October, the wholesale price index rose by 8%, its lowest 12-month rate of increase since mid-1972. The Reserve Bank said that it believed 'that the official policy aim of reducing the high rate of inflation is now beginning to show positive results'. In a speech at an anti-inflation conference in Pretoria at the end of November, Mr Horwood maintained that 'single-digit inflation appears within reach' but warned that the 'prize' might 'slip from our fingers' if fiscal and monetary policies were relaxed, particularly as the 'economic background to our efforts has recently darkened again'. He added: 'The gold price has declined sharply and the prolonged recession through the world shows only weak and scattered signs of an eventual upturn, so that our export markets remain stag-

THE ECONOMY

nant. Dependent as we are on foreign trade, we cannot borrow or spend ourselves out of recession, but must wait for an export-led recovery'.

In its October Economic Spotlight, Volkskas pointed out that SA's inflation rate had never once dropped to a single figure since 1974. The lowest average for a single year since then had been 10,9% (in 1978) and the highest 15,2% (in 1981). Volkskas said that between 1915 and 1917 the average annual inflation rate had been only 2,3% a year, but in the ten years after that had been just over 10%. Between 1975 and 1982 it had accelerated, averaging nearly 13% a year. During these seven years inflation had eroded the purchasing power of the rand by 57%, with the result that an article which cost R100 in 1975 cost R233,50 in 1982. A 1915 rand was worth only eight cents in 1982.

Mr Horwood said that 'the answer to the inflationary problem does not lie in generalised direct controls over prices, wages, dividends, interest, imports, capital movements, and so on'. More steps would be taken, he said, 'to counteract monopolistic practices and to promote competition, to improve training and education, and to avoid undue protectionism'. Other speakers at the conference referred to influx control as one of the structural causes of inflation, echoing a
view that had earlier been expressed at meetings of directors of the International Monetary Fund. (The inflation rate for calendar 1983 was 11%).
The Reserve Bank noted that the effective exchange rate of the rand had declined slightly during the first 102 months of 1983. It had appreciated slightly in the third quarter, but had depreciated in terms of all major currencies in October and November because of a further fall in the gold price. After averaging $376 an ounce in 1982 (compared with $613 in 1980 and $460 in 1981), gold peaked in mid-February at $511.50, and then dropped by the end of the month to $408.50. It maintained an average of $422 between March and September, but then dropped below $400 and down to $374.25 on 21 November - the lowest level since the price of $356.65 in August 1982. The rand, which at one stage had traded at $1.35, dropped to $0.8160 at the beginning of November, its lowest level ever against the dollar. Mr Horwood said that it would be unwise to base gold price expectations on the assumption of an average in 1984 substantially above the $400 average expected for 1983 as a whole, but he also said that 'everything points to a marked recovery of the gold price in 1984'.
Rising real interest rates were another feature of the SA economy in 1983, the Standard Bank Review noting that they were the 'highest ever'. Prime overdraft rate (the rate of interest paid by the best customers) was 18% at the beginning of the year, dropping rapidly to 14%, where it remained for some time before jumping in two steps to 16% in June, where it held for seven weeks before rising rapidly to 18% and then to 19% in the last week of October, with expectations of a rate of 20% by the end of the year. Rising interest rates at the same time as a falling inflation rate have the net effect that the cost of borrowing money rises.
The Reserve Bank reported that registered unemployment among white, coloured and Asian workers rose from 32,790 in December 1982 to 40,012 in June 1983, but dropped to 34,644 in September. Likewise, unemployment as a proportion of the economically active black population increased from 8.2% to 8.4% and then dropped to 8.1% in September. The Bureau for Economic Research (BER) of the University of Stellenbosch reported in August that although whites were feeling happier about the economy, Africans believed things were getting worse and saw little hope in the future. Consumer confidence among Africans had 'deteriorated substantially' and was 'apparently on a downtrend', the BER said.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT
It ascribed the divergence between black and white perceptions 'to the fact that any economic recession affects those in the lower income groups more adversely than those in the upper income groups'. In November the Standard Bank reported that the economic recovery had 'had a false start early this year', since when there had been 'a steady deterioration of fundamental factors in the economy'. Some indicators of domestic activity which had surged in the first half of the year receded in the second: increases in average per capita wages and salaries of whites had dropped to a level below the inflation rate, while the black segment of the market had been hit by a major decline in the number of workers employed. According to a report in the business section of the Sunday Times in August, South Africa's economic output had grown by 22% between 1975 and 1982, but
actual employment during that time had risen by only 11% in the non-agricultural sectors, as a result of which some 500,000 people who should have been absorbed in these sectors had not been. The resulting net addition to the unemployed and under-employed had not all occurred within SA, some of it having been transferred to neighbouring countries. The article said that there was a growing army of unemployed and under-employed, whose chances of ever gaining a decent standing of living were receding every day that the economy was growing at less than an average of 4% a year.

Foreign Investment

Foreign investment in SA has been shrinking in real terms during the past few years. According to the Reserve Bank, direct and non-direct investment was worth R16548m at the end of 1975 but by the end of 1981 had risen to only R32490m—a rate of increase slower than that of gross domestic product. There was a reported total disinvestment from SA of more than R1300m in the first half of 1983. Net sales of foreign-owned mining equities amounted to R720m of this, the balance being largely made up by the sale to SA purchasers of stakes in the Premier Group and Rennies Consolidated Holdings by foreign majority shareholders. (Foreign equity investors withdrew R300m in 1982.)

By far the most important reason for this substantial disinvestment was the abolition from 7 February 1983 of exchange controls on non-residents and the concomitant abolition of the financial rand market. Trading at a rate sometimes as much as 40% lower against the dollar than the ordinary commercial rand, the financial rand was a major disincentive to the withdrawal of funds from SA, since such withdrawals had to take place through the financial rand market. The abolition of exchange controls on non-residents meant they could withdraw their investment at the (higher) commercial rand exchange rate and so avoid this loss. At the same time, continuing exchange controls on SA residents (including companies) had the effect that they were generally unable to invest surplus cash abroad, so placing them in a position to purchase investments offloaded by foreigners. Political factors, among them the disinvestment campaigns of antiapartheid lobbyists abroad, are believed to have also played a role, although less significant than the economic factors, in the 1983 foreign capital withdrawals.

Mr Horwood announced further changes in the foreign exchange markets in August. He said these were designed to improve the technical functioning of the spot and forward foreign exchange markets in order to pave the way 'for the possible further simplification and relaxation of exchange controls when the time is judged propitious'. Among the new arrangements, which came into effect on 5 September, was that the Reserve Bank would in future pay the gold mines for their gold in dollars rather than in rands. The mines would be required to sell their dollars to authorised dealers within seven days of being paid.

Of SA's total foreign liabilities of R32490m, 55% was accounted for by EEC countries, 13% by the rest of Europe, 23% by North and South America, 2% by Africa, 4% by Asia, and the remainder by Oceania and international organisations. Of the total, 46% was direct investment and the remainder indirect.
SA investment abroad amounted to R13 460m at the end of 1981. The Prime
Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in November that foreign capital investment was
important to South Africa because it supplemented domestic savings to finance
investment, favourably affected the balance of payments, and often involved a
transfer of technological know-how and sometimes the immigration of managers
or highly qualified technical people.
The senior deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, said with regard
to the flow of funds to SA that continental Europe had become a major source,
with the US second. Britain, which had traditionally provided most foreign
investment, was making a much smaller contribution. A substantial part of new
foreign investment in recent years had taken the form of loans to public
corporations and the government, Dr Stals said.
United States (US)
US private direct investment in SA rose by 13.3% to $2 630m in 1981 and then to
an estimated $2 800m in 1982. Most of the increase consisted of a higher level of
retained earnings by American subsidiaries in SA. Capital inflows were thought to
have accounted for no more than $100m of new US investment during 1981 and
1982. US investors accounted for part of the decline in foreign ownership of SA
gold mining shares: Americans owned close to 30% of all SA gold shares in 1979,
but only 25.6% by June 1983. In a speech in November, SA Finance Minister
Owen Horwood cited an official American survey which showed that American
firms received an average 18% return on manufacturing investment in SA
compared with 12.6% elsewhere; in mining the figures were 25% and 13.7%
respectively.
Official US policy is one of support for continuing investment in SA, but
Congressional lobbies opposed to it became more vocal as disillusion grew over
the US administration's lack of progress in reaching a settlement in Namibia. In
outlining America's responsibilities in southern Africa, the US Under-Secretary of
State for Political Affairs, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, said that over the past
decade US corporations with subsidiaries and affiliates in SA had become a force
for change. Their activities had had a far greater impact than was commonly
recognised. Corporate initiative had helped bring about changes in SA labour law,
and the Sullivan Principles had significantly improved the position of South
African workers. Disinvestment by US firms would counter this positive effort
and proponents of corporate disinvestment were supporting a formula guaranteed
to assure America's irrelevance to SA's future.'
Opposition to the official policy was reflected in several bills presented to
Congress to curtail US investment or trade with SA. The first, an amendment to a
bill seeking to increase US contributions to the International Monetary Fund
(IMF), instructed the US director on the IMF board to 'actively oppose' any
request for loans from 'a country that practises apartheid' unless the Secretary of the
FOREIGN INVESTMENT
Treasury certified that the credit would: reduce the severe constraints on labour
and capital mobility; reduce other highly inefficient labour and capital supply
rigidities; and benefit economically the majority of the people of any country which practises apartheid. While the IMF is an independent body which operates under its own articles, its American director has about 20% of the vote because the US is the main contributor to its funds. Thus, support for, or opposition to, a loan by the Americans is a key factor in whether the loan will be granted or not. The proposed amendment was largely in response to a controversial R1 240m loan granted to SA by the IMF in 1982. The drafters of the amendment were influenced by an IMF report on SA which criticised restrictive government policy in the labour market. In November the Senate approved the IMF measure by 67 votes to 30, and the House of Representatives by 226 to 186. The bill, which authorises the American government to pay an extra $8 400m to the IMF, was considered too important to be vetoed just to stop the anti-apartheid clause, and President Reagan signed it. Mr Owen Horwood, SA's Minister of Finance, said that it was 'regrettable and ironic' that the clause had been included in the bill at a time when SA had done so much to remove constraints on labour and capital mobility. He also said that it would be a sad day for the IMF if purely political considerations led to its facilities being denied any member country in good standing which complied in letter and in spirit with all conditions laid down by the IMF and which operated absolutely within the fund's articles of agreement. Also before Congress was a proposed amendment sponsored by Mr S Solarz (Democrat) to the Export Administration Act. This sought to set employment standards for US companies with more than 20 employees in SA; prohibit US bank loans to the SA government except for educational, housing or health facilities on a non-discriminatory basis; and ban the importation of SA krugerrands. In 1982 US loans to SA totalled $623m, and the sale of krugerrands in the US amounted to $363m. A further proposed amendment to this act sought to reimpose export controls on computers to SA and on non-military sales to the SA military and police. These controls, imposed by the Carter administration, had been relaxed by the Reagan administration in March 1982. A third proposed amendment to the same act would prohibit new US investment in SA, but permit reinvestment of US funds earned there. It would also prohibit US investment in SA-controlled companies except where these investments were traded on securities exchanges.

All three amendments to the Export Administration Act were approved by the House of Representatives in October. However, they still had to be approved by a joint conference of senators and representatives. In September the US government, in the face of bitter congressional opposition, approved licence applications by seven US companies, amounting to $50m, to service SA's automatic installations at the Koeberg nuclear power plant. The 10-year contract involves the provision of technical assistance, supervisors, technicians and engineers to train SA personnel, make modifications to the plant and procure equipment and spare parts. The firms include Westinghouse, Babcock and Wilcox, Bechtel, and Fluor. The final go-ahead was held up pending the resolution of a congressional conflict over the Reagan administration's nuclear proliferation policy.
Action by church, student and other groups to curtail US investment in SA showed renewed vigour in 1983. Church groups, in co-ordination with the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), submitted 34 resolutions to US

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

companies concerning aspects of their loans to or investment in SA. Bankamerica, Crocker and Republic New York were asked to report on their lending to the SA government and state-owned corporations; Doyle Dane Bernbach International, First Chicago and Republic New York were asked to revaluate their roles in selling krugerrands. First Chicago and Continental Illinois agreed to stop selling krugerrands, of which the former had sold 70000 in 1979 and 44000 in 1982, having in the meantime stopped over-the-counter sales. Citicorp, North Carolina National Bank, Philbro, Morgan (JP) and Wells Fargo were asked to prohibit lending to the SA government or any of its agencies until it took meaningful steps to end apartheid. The Southern Co was asked not to continue buying SA coal, Perkin-Elmer and Westinghouse Electric to withdraw their investments, and Eaton, General Electric and Xerox not to expand their SA operations. Motorola, Standard Oil of California, Texaco and Xerox were asked not to sell products or provide services to the SA police and military forces until apartheid was abolished. Alcan, Control Data, Dresser Industries and Sperry were all required to report on various aspects of their operations, while the directors of the following companies were asked to adopt the Sullivan Principles on employment practices for their operations in SA: Allis-Chalmers International, Amax, American Home Products, Baxter-Travemol Labs, Dun and Bradstreet, Eaton, Foster Wheeler, Ingersoll-Rand, International Flavors and Fragrances Inc and PepsiCo. Sears Roebuck agreed not to sell SA krugerrands and to prohibit its subsidiary, Dean, Witter, Reynolds, from participating in SA loans and bonds.

Increased pressure was also placed on various states to introduce legislation controlling investment in SA by US universities and companies. It was believed that anti-investment lobbyists could receive a more sympathetic hearing by state bodies than at shareholder meetings. Despite strenuous objections by the Ford Motor Company and the University of Michigan, Michigan gave all state universities 15 months to sell shares, valued at more than R50m, in companies operating in SA. Massachusetts passed a bill barring public pension fund investment in companies doing business in SA, the disinvestment, involving some R110m in the medium term, to be accomplished over three years. The possibility that state laws calling for disinvestment could be contrary to the US constitution was raised by Mr John Chettle, director of the SA Foundation's Washington office, as the constitution states that foreign policy and the regulation of foreign commerce are the prerogative of the federal government. Local government bodies also considered the issue. The Philadelphia City Council passed a bill outlawing investment of the city's pension funds in, or granting loans to, companies doing business in SA or Namibia, while the Columbia City Council was debating a disinvestment bill, whose proponent cited analyses indicating that divestiture could be implemented with no adverse effect
on the earnings of pension funds. In November, Washington DC's City Council unanimously passed a bill to ban all municipal investment in American companies and banks doing business with SA. The bill instructed the city's pension fund managers to sell R70m worth of shares in 31 companies and the city treasurer to close accounts in banks that had outstanding loan transactions with SA. Opposition to the bill was expressed by a Republican congressman who introduced a resolution against it in the house of representatives, where it was to be considered for approval by a congress committee.

By June 1983, 146 American-owned or affiliated businesses in SA were signatories of the Sullivan Principles, while 142 had not become signatories. In its

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

sixth report, for 1982, the Arthur D Little Co, which monitors the compliance of US signatories with the Sullivan Principles, stated that 93 signatories, covering 155 subsidiary companies, had replied to questionnaires on their progress. Twenty-nine had failed to submit a report. Of those who replied 79% were wholly owned by their US parents, signatories held more than 50% of the equity in another 7%, while the US parent did not have a majority equity in the remaining 14%. Those reporting employed a total workforce of 69013. Arthur D Little found that 32 signatory companies were making good progress (category I), 38 making progress (category II), while 37 needed to become more active (category III). Sixteen of the companies in the last category had not met one or more of the basic requirements. There was increased pressure in the US for companies to achieve a category I or II rating as an alternative to disinvestment, and this requirement was embodied in Connecticut law. The report also stated that the signatories were generally giving more attention to supporting community development programmes outside the workplace than they had in the past. Both the level of contributions and the range of projects had increased significantly since the fifth report. However, the report said that more attention needed to be given to the training and advancement of blacks at the workplace, while there was also a widening in the already large wage gap between white and black employees. The basic requirements for the rating of signatories changed in late 1982. The requirement that signatories should join the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) as evidence of commitment to community development activities was made optional. A further more important requirement was that the quantitative data in the signatories' reports be subject to audit by the signatories' own accounting firms. This was instituted in response to requests by shareholders and interested parties that the data be verified.6

In July the Rev Leon Sullivan, author of the principles, stated that he supported the proposed amendment to the US Export Administration Act which would make compliance mandatory. Voluntary support for the code was not achieving results quickly enough, he claimed. The 142 US companies, representing 20% of American investment in SA, which had yet to become signatories, should be subject to immediate disinvestment actions by stockholders, institutions, pension funds, government bodies and other fiduciaries.7 while the onethird of the signatories who were receiving 'failing grades' should be pressurised by
stockholders into improving their performance. Mr Fred Ferreira, Ford SA's industrial relations director, said that endorsement of the principles by SA companies could aid organisations opposing disinvestment legislation in the US.8

United Kingdom (UK)
A total of 1 200 UK companies have holdings in SA, but only a small proportion of these are significant. Direct British investment in SA grew from £4 000m in 1978 to £5 000m in January 1982, and indirect investment from £3 000m to £6 000m, mainly because of the sharp improvement in industrial share prices and ploughbacks of retained earnings. The British stake accounted for almost 50% of total foreign investment in SA. Recent months have seen a trend of disinvestment of British capital from SA. The most obvious factor was the abolition of exchange control on non-residents, although political motives and pressure from the disinvestment lobby may have played a part. Associated British Foods (ABF) sold its 52% stake in the Premier Group to a consortium of SA companies for R337m.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT
ABF's managing director disclosed that he had been a reluctant seller, but that the price offered had been too good to resist. The Premier sale - believed to be the biggest ever disinvestment from SA - was followed by the sale by Jardine Matheson, Hong Kong, of its controlling interest in Rennies Consolidated Holdings. The buyer, Old Mutual, paid more than 80% above the previous market price of the share. Other moves included the purchase by Kohler of the controlling interest in DRG (SA) from DRG of Britain for R24m and the offer by Prudential Assurance (UK) of a third of its SA interests to local investors and institutions. Metal Box was considering the rationalisation of its SA assets with those of Nampak. Vickers UK sold Vickers SA and its subsidiaries to Valard, a SA company.

The London Borough of Southwark moved its account with a turnover of approximately $100m a year from Barclays to another bank in protest against Barclays' presence in SA. However, SA's credit rating with British banks remained sufficiently high for them to continue lending funds to SA. Fifty-seven loans amounting to $1 756m had been granted to SA between January 1979 and July 1982 by 181 banks based in 18 countries. Britain was the prime lender, with Barclays, the main lender, involved in loans worth $347m. This was augmented in December 1982 when SA Transport Services raised a five-year DM100m bond issue, the participating British banks being Hill Samuel, European Banking Company (14% owned by Midland), Hambros, and Kleinwort Benson. In January 1983, Hill Samuel also arranged a $200m syndication loan for ESCOM for ten years.9

In a booklet published in June, the United Kingdom-SA Trade Association (UKSATA) argued against disinvestment from SA. UKSATA said that the SA market was attractive to foreign investors because of its relatively high profitability and its stability. Investment in SA was more profitable than in most areas of British overseas investment. Disinvestment would result in large losses for Britain, since disposal prices would be low, while the effects in SA would be
negligible. If they were material, however, they would have the effect of slowing economic growth and injuring Africans the most.

The British Department of Trade revealed that despite the existence of the EEC Code for subsidiaries of European companies in SA, 2 000 Africans employed by British companies in SA were paid below the poverty datum line in 1981 compared with 1000 in 1980.10 The British Embassy in SA stated that the British government remained committed to the code, which it believed incorporated good basic principles for sound industrial relations and for improving the prospects of unskilled workers in SA. British subsidiaries in SA were regularly visited to discuss aspects of the code as it related to their activities.

Towards the end of the year a conference aimed at encouraging economic disengagement from SA and organised by Christian Concern for Southern Africa was told by two main speakers that it was impracticable to withdraw pension fund investments from companies involved in SA. 'For large pension funds it is impossible not to invest in companies which have direct links with SA,' said Mr Ken Thomas, a pension fund trustee. The best that trade unions could do was try to ensure that companies they invested in complied with the EEC code.

West Germany

According to the Financial Mail (FM) direct West German investment in SA rose

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

from DM154m in 1969 to DM799m in 1982 (about R360m). The important thing was thus not so much the size of German investment - although West Germany is the third largest investor in SA after Britain and the US - but its rate of growth. The FM said: 'Until recently, the interest in SA has come from the heavyweights -names such as Bayer, Volkswagen, Hoechst, and Siemens. These are all companies which have been content to plough back a large percentage of profits with an eye to SA's long-term potential. But with relaxation of SA exchange controls a discernible change is taking place. Investors with much smaller West German bases are now nibbling at SA. Slater Hoy, a Euro-SA company specialising in forging investment links and in which Nedbank has a substantial interest, reckons that 20% of German companies which look at the SA market eventually invest here, usually with a local partner.'

In addition to 300 West German companies with direct equity investments in SA (which employ some 50 000 people), there are another 5 700 German firms represented in SA on an agency or distributor basis. While direct German investment is currently put at R360m, the total German stake in SA, including indirect investment, is put at between R2 750m and R3 000m.

The Netherlands

In June the Dutch parliament passed a motion agreeing to the future drafting of legislation banning investment in SA's defence industry and obliging Dutch companies to abide by the EEC and the International Labour Organisation codes for multinationals in SA. The Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, agreed to appoint a commission of politicians, employers and trade unionists to report on possible courses of action. The decision was supported by the Christian Democrats and the Labour Party but not by the Liberal Party. It was based on a
compromise introduced by a Christian Democrat, Mr Jan Nico Scholten, who supports total sanctions against SA.12

Sweden

Swedish subsidiaries employed approximately 3 545 people in SA in 1981, with turnover of about R270m (the figures for 1980 were 3 335 and R235m respectively). The companies with the highest turnover in 1981 were Delfos and Atlas Copco, with a turnover of R70,5m (R61,8m in 1980); Sandvik with R60,0m (R49,8m); SKF SA R55,0m (R47,2m); Fagersta R34,2m (R31,3m); Alfa-Laval SA R13,5m (R12,9m); and Barseco R12,5m (R10,4m). The figures for the remaining eight companies were all below R10m for both years. The largest employer was Sandvik, with 850 employees, followed by Atlas Copco, with 766.

In the early 1980s investment in SA accounted for some 2 500 jobs in Sweden.13

In a booklet on Swedish investment in SA published in 1983, the International Council of Swedish Industry stated that Sweden's SA Act, which came into force on 1 July 1979 and which banned new investment in SA, should never have been introduced. Restrictions on Swedish investment in SA, it argued, stunted the subsidiary's development and precluded the creation of the economic scope needed to improve the conditions of African employees. Reasons for Swedish companies remaining in SA were that 'today the prospects of a democratic change in SA are good' and that 'the blacks are becoming an indispensable part of modern production in SA and the country's majority population is in the process

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

- much more forcibly than earlier - of organising itself and making its voice heard. By weakening its influence in SA, Sweden would find itself in an impossible situation when African majority rule came about.

Answers to a survey by more than 1 000 Swedes at the end of 1981 and again at the end of 1982 on how Sweden could best improve conditions in SA are given below:14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Give economic support to the destitute in SA</td>
<td>38% 35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support armed liberation movements</td>
<td>7% 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better employment conditions to be offered by Swedish subsidiaries in SA</td>
<td>49% 48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden's participation in international boycott organised by the UN</td>
<td>29% 37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unilateral severance by Sweden of all ties with SA</td>
<td>3% 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sweden's duty</td>
<td>9% 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other measures</td>
<td>3% 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubtful, don't know</td>
<td>9% 4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: The total sum exceeds 100 percent since some interviewees opted for more than one alternative. Interviewees were given cards which showed the six options.)

In giving SKF (SA) permission to proceed with a R837 000 programme to replace equipment and improve employees' facilities, the Swedish government was accused of breaking a four-year embargo on investment in SA. 5 In a rush deal a
Swedish company, Flyzt, supplied ESCOM with pumps worth R2m for its emergency scheme to channel water to its eastern Transvaal complex in the face of the severe drought. The company was the only one able to supply the pumps on time.

South Africa

Speaking to West German businessmen during an overseas visit Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, stated that the ‘vast majority of black South Africans did not agree with those who argued for disinvestment in SA’. He pressed, instead, for a dramatic increase in investment, arguing that if SA ‘is to progress politically and socially it can only do so if sound economic growth patterns persist over the next generation or more’. Chief Buthelezi added, however, that industrialists should link their investments with pressure for change in SA. The South African Council of Churches (SACC), at its national conference in June, called on its member churches to practise a form of ‘local disinvestment’ by ending dealing with organisations or businesses which practised apartheid. This followed a call from the president of the Methodist Church, Dr Khosa Mgojo, for churches to cease renting property to businesses which practised discrimination.

In June the International Organisation of Employers (IOE) expelled the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (SACCOLA). The IOE’s rules state that an employer organisation may not be a member if it is not also a member of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) unless the IOE’s council votes otherwise by a two-thirds majority. SA had withdrawn from the ILO in 1964, thus opening the way for its expulsion from the IOE.

TRADE

The table below details SA’s foreign trade for 1981 and 1982:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Import</th>
<th>1981  (Rm)</th>
<th>1982  (Rm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>2 681,6</td>
<td>2 160,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>2 652,7</td>
<td>1 962,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2 614,6</td>
<td>1 852,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1 877,1</td>
<td>1 772,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1 772,0</td>
<td>1 687,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Africa</td>
<td>1 687,1</td>
<td>1 687,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1 415,5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1 412,4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
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</tr>
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<td>372,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>925,5</td>
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<td>Canada</td>
<td>1 157,4</td>
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<td>Sweden</td>
<td>424,3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>27,5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
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<tr>
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<td>84,7</td>
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Japan became SA's biggest export market for the first time in 1982, proving that efforts over the past decade to diversify SA's trade links beyond Europe and North America have proved successful. The UK moved into second place in 1982, with the US, the prime export market in 1981, falling to third place. SA's sales to Japan consisted mainly of coal, maize, sugar, ferro-alloys and iron ore. The more than doubling of exports to Israel was due to bigger coal shipments to that country. The drop in US-SA trade was accompanied by a swing from a surplus in favour of the US to a deficit of $40m in the first three months of 1983. The strong dollar appears to have persuaded SA businesses to switch from US to British and West German suppliers. West Germany remained SA's largest foreign supplier. Some four-fifths of German exports to SA consisted of capital goods, the bulk of the increase in 1982 being accounted for by power station equipment, chemicals and machine tools.

Divergent views emerged regarding appropriate trade policy in the current international economic climate. Certain industrialists argued that the favourable conditions provided by the recent economic recovery in leading industrial countries should be used to reverse protectionist trends in SA. The contrary view was that SA would place itself at a serious disadvantage if it did not protect its domestic industries against competition from foreign exports. 17 The view was also voiced that SA was becoming reliant on importing essential foods as a result not only of the drought but also of the government's economic policies and administrative bungling. Because of the drought, the maize surplus had been converted into a shortfall, but the resulting problems had been aggravated, it was claimed, by the government's policy of keeping the rand at a higher international exchange rate than was warranted by its internal value. A spokesman for the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) said that the point had been reached where it was often cheaper to import food than to grow it locally. 18

SANCTIONS

In June the five principal Democratic presidential candidates in the US, Messrs Walter Mondale, John Glenn, Gary Hart, Alan Chanston and Ernest Hollings, said they would consider introducing economic sanctions against SA to force Namibian independence and the dismantling of apartheid. Their views contrasted sharply with the official US policy of 'constructive engagement'. Sanctions could include an embargo on SA air traffic to the US, a tightening of export controls, and a ban on the transfer to SA of all nuclear-related materials or technology. Closer involvement with African South Africans as an alternative to sanctions was also mooted. 19

After a meeting with the UK foreign under-secretary, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Archbishop Trevor
Huddleston, said that the British government stood by its belief that sanctions against SA 'would not work'.

In April a UN conference on Namibia in Paris called on the UN Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against SA on the grounds that SA was continuing to obstruct decolonisation. It castigated the US for the same reason.

In June the UN's assistant secretary-general, Mr James Jonah, stated that it was time that the international community took positive action against SA's racist policies by imposing economic and military sanctions on the country. He stated that 'oppressed SA blacks were getting impatient, particularly when the regime is doing all in its power to create division among the oppressed peoples in the country by its new constitutional proposals'.

Later in the year, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid called for 'effective measures' to isolate SA until it complied with UN resolutions. The committee quoted a declaration of the 1981 Paris conference on SA: 'Sanctions provided under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, universally applied, are the most appropriate and effective means to ensure SA's compliance with the decisions of the UN.'

Lesotho's Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, said that despite the SA raid on Maseru in December 1982 his government still supported dialogue with SA and opposed economic sanctions since Lesotho's economy was so intertwined with SA's that it would be suicidal to support sanctions.

Early in December the United Nations General Assembly voted by 124 to 16, with 10 abstentions, for mandatory sanctions against SA, including an oil embargo. The UN also attacked some western countries, notably the US and Israel, for increasing political, economic, and military 'collaboration' with the Pretoria government.

Commenting on an earlier UN General Assembly resolution, which called for sanctions against SA over the Namibia issue, the SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in December in London: 'If they want to institute sanctions, let them go ahead - it might be a good thing for them to find out who they will really hurt in southern Africa. We have roughly now, I think, up to a million foreign workers who cross our borders to look for work. And we are surrounded by neighbouring states who make use of our infrastructure - ports, railways, airports, clinics, medical services and job opportunities. A country like Lesotho, for instance has 1401000 workers in South Africa earning 40% of the Gross National Product. So if that is what the United Nations wants to do, then let them just go straight ahead.'

The Budget

The Budget for 1983/84 was neutral, the primary objective being to curb inflation. Mr Owen Horwood, the Minister of Finance, rejected calls for stimulation of the economy, higher rates of increase in money supply, lower interest rates and some depreciation in the rand. Such measures, he held, would have the effect of increasing the rate of inflation, harming the balance of payments, weakening the currency, reducing net foreign reserves, and damaging SA's overseas credit rating.

Mr Horwood said that the current situation called for a fiscal-monetary policy mix
that provided for continued restraint on government spending, a relatively small budget deficit before borrowing, and effective control over the money supply. Mr Horwood budgeted for a deficit before borrowing of R2,1bn. Representing 2,4% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), this was larger than the 2% deficit that he had promised the IMF when he applied for a R1,24bn loan towards the end of 1981 to help SA finance its international trade deficit, but it compared with a rate of 2,8% in 1982/83 and an average deficit before borrowing over the previous 20 years of 3,4% of GDP.

Mr Horwood budgeted for a 10,3% rise (in money terms) in government spending, to R21,8bn. The previous year he had also budgeted for a modest increase, but the final rise was about 16,4%, because of over-spending by the defence and other departments. The two main items in respect of which he budgeted for spending increases in 1983/84 were education and defence. Education was allocated a total of R3,4bn, an increase of 13%. The vote for African education in 'white' areas was R561m and that for white education R725m, representing increases of 17,9% and 14,9% respectively. Defence was allocated R3,1bn, a 15,9% increase. The total sum allocated for security (including the defence, justice, police, and prisons votes) was almost R4bn, an increase of some 16,7% on the 1982/83 figure. One of the biggest increases (24% to R250m) was for the improvement of conditions in the public service.

At the end of November Mr Horwood said that government spending was running over budget by a 'worrisome margin.' This arose from an extra R500m on drought relief, R400m more on defence, and R500m for additional loan financing. As a result the budget deficit before borrowing was running substantially above the originally estimated figure of R2,1bn. 'In these circumstances', Mr Horwood said, 'it becomes necessary to look critically at both the tax structure and the incidence of taxation.' He added that he was reluctant to raise taxes 'just at this moment', but that the prospect could 'certainly not be left out of account'.

Other features of the budget were: the abolition of the five percent loan levy on individuals; a subsidy of 20% on the monthly interest payments of first time homebuyers for a new home; and an increase in social pensions for all race groups. The budget was condemned by the PFP, which accused the government of failing to solve the country's greatest problems— inflation and unemployment.

TAXATION

Taxation

The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, announced during his budget speech that the phasing out of separate taxation for Africans had been completed and that as from 1 March 1984 all taxpayers in SA would be taxed on the same basis in terms of the Income Tax Act (No 58 of 1962). Delays had occurred in achieving this within three years as planned, as the minister had had to reach agreement with homeland leaders, who had the right to impose taxes on their own 'citizens'. This right would be retained. The Department of Inland Revenue would collect taxes outside the homelands, homeland authorities doing so within their own boundaries. Arrangements would also be made for his department to train tax officials in the homelands and to render assistance in administering taxes in these
areas if required. The minister said that as tax payments, especially PAYE
deductions, could not be identified on ethnic lines and since the yield to the
homelands under the Income Tax Act would be less than under the Black
Taxation Act (No 92 of 1969), an arrangement would be proposed to ensure that
they would not be worse off from 1 March 1984 than before. Payments would be
increased annually at a rate equal to the increase in the total income tax collected
from individuals in SA outside the homelands. Mr Horwood said that, with few
exceptions, African taxpayers would pay less tax after 1 March 1984.
The official opposition welcomed the move, but expressed disappointment that
separate taxation for married couples, which had existed under the Black Taxation
Act, had not been incorporated into the Income Tax Act.26
The Commissioner for Inland Revenue, Mr Mickey van der Walt, said at a
Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce (JCC) meeting in December that most
Africans would be paying less tax under the new system. Previously African
taxpayers were unable to claim rebates. With reference to customary marriages,
Mr van der Walt said 'when a man legally has more than one wife and they all
have an income, we regard the first woman he married as his wife. Her income is
aggregated with her husband’s. For tax purposes the others are regarded as single.’
Mr van der Walt added that the homelands had adopted SA’s tax act, so that the
rates were similar. Contract workers from the homelands working in the 'white'
areas would be taxed at source. Mr van der Walt said that all African employees
except domestic servants and farm labourers would have to submit information on
the IRP2 form for record purposes. The exact details regarding the taxation of
these two groups had not been finalised at the time of writing. People earning less
than R8 000 per year would not have to submit returns, but would be taxed
automatically. Mr van der Walt said that all employees should be issued with an
IRP5 form (indicating the amount of tax their employer has deducted from their
pay and paid on their behalf under the PAYE system) at the end of the tax year or,
if they left the firm's employ during the year, on the last day of employment. The
practice of issuing forms only at the end of the year was wrong when an employee
had left during the year, he said. 'Some employees move around a lot and the form
may never reach them, which means they will lose out,’ he added.
The Manpower and Management Foundation of SA expressed the fear that the
new system 'has the potential to be as disruptive and explosive in terms of
industrial relations as the pension issue was' (see 1981 Survey p 210). Several
employers at the JCC meeting voiced fears that black employees would resist the
new system. They asked the government to advertise it to take the pressure of
them. Mr van der Walt said that their fears were exaggerated, however. Similar

TAXATION
fears were expressed by employers at seminars organised by the Natal Chamber
of Industries in December. They were worried that if they convinced workers to
accept the new deal on the basis of existing tax tables, and the government
decided to increase taxes in the next budget, deductions would alter. Workers
would then accuse the personnel and industrial relations departments of
misinforming them. They could not very well sell the idea that some African
taxpayers would be better off under the new system if, when rates went up, they were not. Mr van der Walt said that his department was using many avenues to inform African workers of the new dispensation.

In 1980/81, R89 478 368 was collected from 2 022 501 African taxpayers as compared with R152 287 455 from 2 550 404 Africans in 1981/82, the decline in the number of tax-payers being due to the homelands' progressively taking over the taxation of Africans within their territories.

The number of white, coloured and Asian taxpayers per income category for the 1980/81 financial year, the latest for which information was available, was as follows:27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income category (R)</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss</td>
<td>14 302</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>48 222</td>
<td>11 065</td>
<td>5 386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1000</td>
<td>66099</td>
<td>16 862</td>
<td>7 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 001- 2 000</td>
<td>64 610</td>
<td>44 359</td>
<td>13 933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 001- 3 000</td>
<td>88 202</td>
<td>55 599</td>
<td>21 488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 001- 4 000</td>
<td>109 433</td>
<td>42 576</td>
<td>22 393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 001- 5 000</td>
<td>102 794</td>
<td>32 217</td>
<td>18 515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 001- 6 000</td>
<td>93 020</td>
<td>23 503</td>
<td>13 950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 001- 7 000</td>
<td>85 132</td>
<td>16 310</td>
<td>10 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 001- 8 000</td>
<td>81 671</td>
<td>11 677</td>
<td>7 854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 001- 9 000</td>
<td>80 228</td>
<td>8 584</td>
<td>5 382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 001- 10 000</td>
<td>79 881</td>
<td>6 096</td>
<td>3 856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 001- 12 000</td>
<td>154 734</td>
<td>7 398</td>
<td>4 715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 001- 14 000</td>
<td>137 531</td>
<td>3 725</td>
<td>2 688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 001- 16 000</td>
<td>109 545</td>
<td>1 759</td>
<td>1 654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 001- 18 000</td>
<td>79 320</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>1 031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 001- 20 000</td>
<td>54 523</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 001- 22 000</td>
<td>36 464</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 001- 24 000</td>
<td>24 791</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 001- 26 000</td>
<td>17 146</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 001- 28 000</td>
<td>13 205</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 001- 30 000</td>
<td>9 931</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 001- 40 000</td>
<td>23 965</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 001- 50 000</td>
<td>8 722</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 001- 80 000</td>
<td>7235</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 001-100 000</td>
<td>1 258</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 001-150 000</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 000 and over</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>593 569</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143 249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>283 998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TAXATION
Revenue accruing to the state from the taxation of individuals and companies in each province for 1981 and 1982 was as follows:28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>432 840 889</td>
<td>652 692 834</td>
<td>380 788 435</td>
<td>523 887 445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>220 418 088</td>
<td>336 942 382</td>
<td>300 151 501</td>
<td>395 248 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>95 029 686</td>
<td>139 851 978</td>
<td>32 537 350</td>
<td>41 999 742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>1 342 613 387</td>
<td>2 034 422 975</td>
<td>1 704 103 226</td>
<td>2 160 487 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 090 902 050</td>
<td>3 163 910 169</td>
<td>2 417 580 512</td>
<td>3 121 622 703</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sales Tax Amendment Act, No 95 of 1983, incorporated the present rate of general sales tax (GST) of six percent. This was necessary because the government notice in terms of which GST had been increased from five to six percent from 1 September 1982 was due to expire in July. The PFP opposed the measure. Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP) said that GST flourished on inflation. The PFP's view was that sales tax should be reduced and also that it should be lifted from essential foodstuffs, thus according relief to poorer groups, who are hardest hit by inflation and have to spend a greater percentage of income on essentials. 29

References
1 Eagleburger L, Southern Africa: America's Responsibility for Peace and Change 23 June 1983
2 Rand Daily Mail 8 October
3 The Corporate Examiner January/February Vol 12 Nos 1-2 1983
4 Rand Daily Mail 5 January, Sowetan 14 January
5 Star 7 April
6 Sixth Report on the Signatory Companies to the Sullivan Principles November 1982
7 Eastern Province Herald 11 July
8 Financial Mail 27 May
9 End Loans to SA, Newsletter, 24 March 10 Star 11 April
15 Star 30 March
16 Rand Daily Mail 8 June
1 Financial Mail 22 September IS Star 16 July
19 Rand Daily Mail 28 June 20 Citizen 28 February 21 Rand Daily Mail 30 April
22 Star 11 June
23 Rand Daily Mail 18 June 24 Ibid 4 April
2 Hansard 9 col 4200 26 Ibid col 4246
27 Hansard 5 Q col 528 29 Hansard 21 col 10379

EMPLOYMENT
The Cost of Living
Between October 1982 and October 1983 the consumer price index (CPI) rose by 10.7%, the lowest rate of increase in five years, and well below the peak of 16.5% reached in May 1982. Except for October, when it was 10.4%, the CPI for the
lower income group was higher than the composite index during each month in 1983. However, despite the decline in the composite CPI, the final figure for the year was a relatively high 11%, more than two and a half times the average for the US, Britain, West Germany and Japan. Food price increases helped push up the overall rate of inflation for the major part of the year. Canned goods recorded an overall price rise of 18.8%, while sugar rose in price by 7.5% and maize by 9.6% - this last contributing to a rise of some 10% in the price of dairy products.

Some relief was provided from 1 March by a drop in the price of petrol of 1.6 cents and a further reduction of four cents from 1 September, setting the price at 59.6 cents per litre for premium up-country. The price of diesel was cut by one and then by 4.4 cents and that of household paraffin by 1.5 and five cents.

The Minister of Agriculture said that in 1982/83 the bread subsidy had totalled R181968823, the maize subsidy R82949983, and that for butter R3 210 716. The amount for bread exceeded the budgeted figure by R21 968 223. The Department of Agriculture, however, could not account for the excess expenditure.

The Institute for Planning Research of the University of Port Elizabeth calculated the monthly Household Subsistence Level (HSL) for an African family of six persons and that for a coloured family of five persons as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>African HSL % increase</th>
<th>Coloured HSL % increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benoni</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boksburg</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brakpan</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brits</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germiston</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King William's Town</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krugersdorp</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>WAGES AND INCOMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peddie</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springs</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wages and Incomes

According to a report of the National Manpower Commission (NMC)3 experience elsewhere indicates that the introduction of a national minimum wage (NMW) could cause production and employment to slow down, which would be unacceptable because of SA's high unemployment. It would also distort the workings of the market and affect the geographical mobility of labour. Too high a minimum wage in urban areas could accelerate the influx of workseekers. However, the commission added that a case could be made for a partial system of minimum wages to counteract the imperfections of the free market and help increase the productivity of the less skilled worker. It could also strengthen his 'motivation to participate in the capitalist system'. In SA, where economic property was limited largely to the white population group, the fact that wages remained unchanged for a prolonged period could contribute to dissatisfaction not conducive to orderly economic progress. The report made the following recommendations:

(a) a general NMW system should not be introduced;
(b) the existing partial system of minimum wage determinations should be retained;
(c) with regard to the Wage Act,
   (i) section seven should be amended so that the Wage Board takes into consideration the socio-economic development policy and objectives of authorities, and the current and expected wage position in the country;
   (ii) the Wage Board should be empowered to undertake investigations of its own accord and periodically review the general wage position and trends in those industries falling under it;
   (iii) a review should be undertaken after three years to ascertain whether the Wiehahn Commission's recommendations regarding the Wage Board had been effective;
   (iv) wage determinations should be revised every two years;

WAGES AND INCOMES

(v) a greater distinction should be made in wage determinations between different categories of labour and more use made of job evaluation techniques;
(vi) the desirability of placing the statutory wage determination machinery on a more decentralised basis should be investigated; and
(vii) the staff of the Wage Board should be supplemented to enable it to execute these recommendations effectively.

In its white paper the government associated itself with the NMC's view that the present minimum wage policy 'is in principle satisfactory' and, in general, accepted its recommendations.

During the year the Wage Board issued minimum wage determinations in the catering trade (No 428), cold storage and small goods manufacturing (No 429), and in the meat trade (No 430). Certain categories of workers whose conditions of work are not covered by industrial council agreements fall under wage determinations. Since 1981 there has been no sex discrimination in the minimum wage rates laid down. Although many non-unionised workers, notably in agriculture and domestic service, are not covered by wage determinations, the number protected has increased over the past ten years, as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Determinations</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>490 162</td>
<td>111 310</td>
<td>57 726</td>
<td>17 063</td>
<td>304 063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>470 865</td>
<td>65 840</td>
<td>54 110</td>
<td>17 697</td>
<td>333 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>568 761</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>570 430</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut provided the following estimates of average annual earnings (excluding earnings in kind) for the different races for 1979-1982 in the non-agricultural sectors (excluding private services, for example architects, doctors and lawyers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Average earnings (R)</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change (on previous year)</td>
<td>11,9</td>
<td>17,1</td>
<td>22,0</td>
<td>16,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Real earnings (R)</td>
<td>5 027</td>
<td>5 202</td>
<td>5 541</td>
<td>5 617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change in real earnings</td>
<td>-1,3</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change in employment</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>2,7</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Average earnings (R)</td>
<td>2 524</td>
<td>3 042</td>
<td>3 714</td>
<td>4 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change</td>
<td>10,2</td>
<td>20,5</td>
<td>22,1</td>
<td>18,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Real earnings (R)</td>
<td>1 630</td>
<td>1 718</td>
<td>1 816</td>
<td>1 874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change in real earnings</td>
<td>-2,7</td>
<td>5,4</td>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>3,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change in employment</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>-5,2</td>
<td>3,1</td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WAGES AND INCOMES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Average earnings (R)</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>21,1</td>
<td>22,4</td>
<td>24,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Real earnings (R)</td>
<td>2 152</td>
<td>2 277</td>
<td>2 413</td>
<td>2 632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change in real earnings</td>
<td>-1,9</td>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>6,0</td>
<td>9,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage change in employment</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>4,7</td>
<td>4,7</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Average earnings (R)</td>
<td>3 331</td>
<td>4 032</td>
<td>4 934</td>
<td>6 162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Average earnings (R) 1878 2267 2738 2890
Percentage change 14.7 20.7 20.8 5.6
Real earnings (R) 1235 1297 1336 1242
Percentage change in real earnings 2.0 5.0 3.0 -7.0
Percentage change in employment 0.8 3.0 4.2 0.2

The PE Remuneration Service gave the following figures for median wages per race group per skill for 1981-1983. The figures in parentheses give percentage differentials, with whites in each category assigned the value of 100.

Median pay by race group at different levels of skill (Rand per month)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Race group</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>465 (100)</td>
<td>651 (100)</td>
<td>964 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>325 (70)</td>
<td>483 (74)</td>
<td>722 (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>283 (61)</td>
<td>430 (66)</td>
<td>571 (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>251 (54)</td>
<td>362 (56)</td>
<td>505 (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>510 (100)</td>
<td>770 (100)</td>
<td>1156 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>413 (81)</td>
<td>584 (76)</td>
<td>961 (83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>345 (68)</td>
<td>520 (68)</td>
<td>692 (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>296 (58)</td>
<td>453 (59)</td>
<td>588 (51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>589 (100)</td>
<td>797 (100)</td>
<td>1407 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>428 (73)</td>
<td>681 (85)</td>
<td>1187 (84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>383 (65)</td>
<td>618 (77)</td>
<td>990 (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>351 (56)</td>
<td>524 (65)</td>
<td>849 (60)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Service concluded that the gap between unskilled white and black employees, particularly Asians, had widened over the past year. This was in sharp contrast to a significant narrowing in the semi-skilled and skilled areas.

In January the Director-General of Finance, Dr Joop de Loor, told the President's Council Economic Affairs Committee that although 1979 figures showed SA's annual average per capita income as R2 080, this hid the large inequalities between the different race groups. The figures show clearly that the incomes of the country are altogether too low to meet the expectations of the underprivileged in a new dispensation, he said. SA's biggest economic problem was to raise the

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
incomes and product of the black population.

The claimed average household income of the various race groups is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Professor Jill Nattrass, head of Natal University's Development Studies Unit, Indian incomes grew fastest between 1971 and 1981, recording an average annual increase of 6.5%. The figure for whites was 1.5%, that for coloured people 3.4%, and for Africans 5.5%. Professor Nattrass found that an increasing share of spending power was being concentrated in the hands of SA's blacks, with this group earning 40% of total personal income compared with 26% ten years ago. Between 1960 and 1970, the increase in black consumer spending accounted for 26% of the annual growth of the consumer goods market, by 1973 35%, 1975 41% and currently 48%. She stated that the influence on certain sectors of the economy such as food, clothing, furniture, electrical goods and transport was substantial. The increasing wealth of the black communities was the result of higher average wages, increased skills, and advancement into better-paid jobs. Blacks had moved from the lower-paid agricultural and construction sectors to jobs in the mining, manufacturing and commercial fields. The proportion of blacks outside the homelands employed in agriculture had thus dropped from 27% in 1970 to 15% in 1980, while the proportion of black technical and related workers had risen from 4.6% to 7.2% and of professional people from 10% to 18.5%. Whites still dominated the administrative and management levels, filling 91.7% of all jobs there. Professor Nattrass stated that if current trends were to continue Africans must receive adequate education and training, more jobs must be created by an expanding economy and workers be increasingly unionised to ensure smooth labour relations. Conversely, growing unemployment could have a detrimental effect and could, in the absence of legitimate avenues for political expression by Africans, lead to growing social unrest.

Economically Active Population
The Department of Statistics supplied the following figures for the economically active population as at June 1982:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 986 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>943 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>270 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>5 784 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8 983 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures exclude Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) and are not comparable with the table in the 1982 Survey, which included the Ciskei. Figures for these areas for 1982 were not available at the time of writing.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
In 1980 the economically active African population for the TBVC countries was 1062879, the 'white' areas 967700, and the non-independent homelands 4478 120, giving a total of 6 503 699.

The NMC report for 1982 gave the following information regarding the economically active population (EAP) per race group for SA as a whole from 1951-1980 and estimates to 2020:8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of persons by population group (000s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The economically active African population will thus grow by 155.2% between 1980 and 2020, the Asian by 116.7%, the coloured by 101.3%, and the white by 37.8%. This highlights one of the main problems facing SA - the need for an intensive programme of job creation to absorb population growth and keep down unemployment. An analysis of the geographical distribution of the economically active population in 1980 shows that the highest proportion (93.1%) was employed in 'white' SA, with a smaller proportion (6.9%) in the homelands. Of those employed in 'white' SA, the highest proportion was in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area: 31.3% (or 29.1% of the total). This demonstrates the extent to which economic development is mainly confined to 'white' SA, the PWV areas having the lion's share. The Cape Peninsula followed, with 8.6% of the total. Then came KwaZulu, Durban/Pinetown, and Port Elizabeth. The government's decentralisation programme is an attempt to alter this distribution, particularly as this is essential for the success of its homelands policy. The table below gives a breakdown of the economically active population according to place of work:

Geographical distribution of the economically active population 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A11groups</td>
<td>Africans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(000)</td>
<td>(000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 'White' SA</td>
<td>8 064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWV</td>
<td>2 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE/Uitenhage</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Peninsula</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban/Pinetown</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Homelands (non-independent)*</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8 666</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (Includes Ciskei, which has since become 'independent'.)

MANPOWER

The Manpower Profile

According to a Manpower Survey (No 14) of the Department of Manpower, 5,5m people were employed in 1981 in the non-agricultural sectors (excluding domestic workers), compared with 5,2m in 1979. The breakdown per sector and level of skill was as follows:

Sector

Mining
Manufacturing Electricity, gas and water Building and construction Commerce
Transport and communication Miscellaneous services and finance General
government
High-level manpower
1981
9 589
83 290
7 686 18 862 77 054 44 136 149 932 276 078
Middle-level manpower
1981
75 731
359 075
16 919
101 414 436 461 230 051 215 668 118 226
Total 666 627 1 553 545 5 502 932
Most people in high-level occupations were employed in general government, and
comprised mainly nurses and teachers. Most middle-level employees were sales
staff in the commercial sector, while manufacturing was the biggest single
employer of labourers. Whites accounted for about 75% of high-level manpower.
Most Africans in high-level jobs were teachers and nurses.
Shortages
Despite the economic recession, SA continued to suffer from a shortage of skilled
and semi-skilled manpower. In 1981, 187 897 (3.3%) of 5 695 623 posts in the
nonagricultural sectors were vacant, compared with 114 681 (2.1%) of 5 373 727
posts in 1980 and 99 260 (1.8%) of 5 388 675 posts in 1979. Of the 1981
vacancies, 41.7% were in the general government sector followed by 15.1% in the
transport sector and 11.9% in manufacturing. The breakdown of vacancies per
occupational group given below clearly shows the extent of the skills shortage in
1981:11
Occupation
Engineers Scientists Technicians Medical practitioners Nurses Other paramedical
Lawyers Educationists Other professional
Number of vacancies
2 796 1 552 9 275 1 469 9 235 1 836
214
5 209 7 144
Vacancy rate (%) 13.3 12.9 9.8 6.9 11.0 12.7 2.7 2.7 7.1
Total professional 38 730 7.1
Total manpower
1981
759 109 1 489 350
78 964 447 426 760 974
498 413 622 493 846 203
ARTISANS AND APPRENTICES
According to Dr Karl Hofmeyr of the Unisa School of Business Leadership, SA's manpower profile was 'bottom heavy', with one manager to every 52 employees. In the UK and the US, the ratio was one to 15. Dr Hofmeyr said that the small number of African managers in SA was due, inter alia, to 'oddities of perception (by others), a prevalence of stereotyping, the wrong sort of training, and restrictive legislation'. SA's 'policy of separation' had meant that Africans had grown up in a different culture. The African manager lives elsewhere and does not interact with white people on a social or informal basis', he added.

The government's Central Statistical Services, in considering reasons for the under-utilisation of production capacity during the first nine months of 1982, said that the shortage of white labour was a less severe problem than in 1981. In 1981 about 13% of the under-utilisation of production capacity was attributable to the shortage, but the figure dropped to 9,2% in 1982. The shortage of black skills was responsible for about five percent of the under-utilisation in 1982. The National Manpower Commission (NMC), in its report for the year ending 31 December 1982, concluded that the drop was mainly a cyclical phenomenon and that in the next growth phase manpower shortages would become more serious.

### Artisans and Apprentices

The numbers of new apprenticeship contracts registered during 1982 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aerospace</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>1 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal mining</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond cutting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity supply</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosives and allied industries</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government undertakings</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellers and goldsmiths</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RRS-F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Local authority undertakings**

- Metal Mining
- Motor Printing SA
- Transport Services
- Sugar manufacturing and refining
- Tyre and rubber

**ARTISANS AND APPRENTICES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 894</td>
<td>1 577</td>
<td>1 567</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**African Total**

| 5 517 | 1 639 | 2 211 | 545 |

| Total | 10 659 | 2 219 | 878 | 741 | 14 497 |

The biggest increases over 1981 occurred in the automobile (66,3%) and electrical supply (66,1%) industries. The table below gives comparative statistics showing the lowest (in 1978) and highest (in 1982) levels over an 11-year period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry/Trade</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aerospace</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile</td>
<td>d N. Tvl</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PE an Building)</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal mining</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond cutting</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosives</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and allie</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>takings</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government undert</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>418</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain milling</td>
<td>miths</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>1.Tvl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellers</td>
<td>2970</td>
<td>2936</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and goldsr</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities</td>
<td>2358</td>
<td>1423</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Mining</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Printing SA</td>
<td>Sugar manufacturing</td>
<td>Tyre and rubber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices newly indentured by industry</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d N. Tvl</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takings</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>418</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miths</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tvl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2970</td>
<td>2936</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>561</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2358</td>
<td>1423</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>540</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ces</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>1 017</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g and refining</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 363</td>
<td>8 254</td>
<td>11 967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Africans have until recently been barred from serving apprenticeships in the 'white' areas. But the Wiehahn Commission (which reported in 1979) recommended that this barrier be removed, as a result of which steadily growing numbers of Africans are being indentured: 82 in 1980, 495 in 1981, and 741 in 1982. This has led to a decline in the shortage of artisans, a trend expected to continue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of apprenticeship contracts in operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>119 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ARTISANS AND APPRENTICES
over the next few years. The table below indicates the increase in the total number of apprentices since a low point in 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry/Trade</th>
<th>Number of apprenticeship contracts in operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aerospace</td>
<td>1 639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile</td>
<td>2 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>1 647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal mining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond cutting</td>
<td>1 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity supply</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosives and allied industries</td>
<td>1 647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food (Butchery)</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>2 517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government undertakings</td>
<td>6 379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>5 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellers and goldsmiths</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities (N. Tvl)</td>
<td>4 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>3 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>264 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor</td>
<td>113 467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA Transport Services</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar manufacturing and refining</td>
<td>1 91 297 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typewriters and office machines</td>
<td>1 647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyre and rubber</td>
<td>1 647</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to an advertising supplement in The Citizen on 30 November, a new trade, Fine Optics, was registered in July 1983. It was pointed out in the supplement that 'new technological bases had to be created in SA industry in order to neutralise' the arms embargo imposed by the United Nations in November 1977. The fine optician was said to be part of a professional team sharing responsibility for providing the SA Defence Force with optical systems, among them night observation equipment and sights. The Eloptro plant of Kentron, a subsidiary of the Armaments Corporation of SA (Armscor), said that training took place over a period of four years or, in the case of apprentices with NIII certificates, two and a half. Productivity
In a publication for the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) Dr C Meth of the Economics Department, University of Natal, questioned the basis on which productivity is generally calculated by government statisticians. Using a different formula, he claimed that labour productivity had increased by much more than official statistics had indicated and that SA's average growth rate from UNEMPLOYMENT

1970 to 1980 had been 5.93%pa and not 3.58%pa. He said that the value of mining output had risen from R1 924m in 1970 (constant 1975 prices) to R7 525m in 1980, and claimed that the Central Statistical Services figure of R3 893m in 1970 was an underestimate. Dr Meth contended that the unreliability of official estimates was revealed by their revision in November 1982, showing that the average growth rate in manufacturing from 1970 to 1979 had been 4.99%pa and not 2.64% as previously estimated. He said that real average wages in manufacturing had grown by 2.03%pa while output per worker had grown by 2.28%pa (constant 1975 prices) indicating that despite two recessions during the decade the output per worker in this sector grew faster than the average wage. He said that despite the fact that SA had enjoyed a twenty-year period with average growth rates in excess of 5.5%, unemployment and poverty remained critical. Unemployment was not a result of the demand for higher wages as claimed by the National Productivity Institute (NPI). Nor did the solution to this problem lie in extracting more production per worker. Rather, he argued, the lack of jobs was a result of the domination of the economy by monopoly corporations. Workers, he stated, should use this information to claim a greater share of the benefits of rising productivity.

Job Reservation

The last remaining statutory work reservation determination, No 27, applying to the mining industry, was abolished during 1983, bringing to an end job reservation allowed for in terms of section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act (now the Labour Relations Act).

Unemployment

Despite manpower shortages at skilled and semi-skilled levels, SA still faced a problem of insufficient jobs in relation to population growth. The chairman of the Corporation for Economic Development, Dr J Adendorff, stated that the annual increase in African workseekers would rise from 230 000 to 360 000 by the turn of the century, requiring an estimated 6m work opportunities to be created by then, ie a minimum of 1300 work opportunities per day. If the present population ratio between the homelands and 'white' SA was maintained about half the jobs would have to be provided in the homelands. If this demand was not met, labour unrest and a lowering of living standards would follow. Dr Adendorff added that at least R1 200m a year would have to be spent in the homelands merely to prevent worsening unemployment. The unemployment situation worsened as the economic recession continued. Some academics estimated the total unemployed at 2.5 to 3m. Government figures, though much lower, also showed an increase. Criticism was again voiced.
about the government's various methods of collecting unemployment statistics. Firstly, registered unemployment figures (given below) do not accurately reflect unemployment because there is no compulsion on persons to register. Secondly, the criteria for calculating unemployment for the current population surveys (also given below) are criticised as being so narrow that many persons whom other researchers would consider to be unemployed are excluded (see 1978 Survey for a more detailed criticism of government statistics). Thirdly, the statistics do not cover 'independent' homelands, where there is large-scale unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Johannesburg
Cape Town Durban Pretoria Port Elizabeth Bloemfontein East London Kimberley George
31/12
1 17 44 74
46 21 10
7
Total 5 51
Registered unemployed in each inspectorate area18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/81</td>
<td>31/12/82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>1 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10 109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures reveal particularly sharp increases in unemployment among whites in Johannesburg, coloured people in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, and Asians in Durban. The total registered unemployed for these groups in June 1983 was 39 569, a 41% rise in six months. According to the Current Population Survey (CPS) for the coloured population, unemployment increased by 4 000 between January 1983 and June 1983. The figure for the latter month, 74 000, represented a 54.2% increase over June 1982. This is shown below:

(000)

EAP*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>January</th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>981</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

March 1982 946
The government's Current Population Survey (CPS) on African unemployment showed an increase of 26,000 from January to July. Comparative figures for the end of each quarter for 1982 and 1983 are given below:

(000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EAP</td>
<td>5,445</td>
<td>5,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>5,056</td>
<td>5,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed as % of EAP</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(As from May 1982 the Central Statistical Services revised its sample and adjusted previous sample results to render them comparable. Thus the figures here do not tally with those given in the 1982 Survey.)

UNEMPLOYMENT
(000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EAP</td>
<td>5,089</td>
<td>5,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>5,146</td>
<td>5,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed as % of EAP</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

January March
(As in the case of the statistics for coloured people these tables have also been revised.)

The homelands have been particularly affected by unemployment, with the figure for 1980 being 800 940 or 27,5 % of their economically active population. Dr Alex Boraine, official opposition spokesman on labour matters, said that the present level of unemployment was of great concern. The problem was compounded by deeply-felt political grievances caused by a highly unequal distribution of income. In August, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, appealed to employers and employers' organisations to 'exercise great caution so as not to aggravate the unemployment problem'. He said that there was a deep recession, which went hand-in-hand with declining employment levels, and that this, coupled with the high rate of population growth, had increased unemployment substantially. Mr Botha said that the country could not afford an excessively high rate of mechanisation, which would not necessarily lead to higher productivity but would create unemployment among unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In November Mr Botha said that the government was to spend nearly R27,5m to create jobs for more than 40 000 unemployed people in the short-term. Long-term measures were also being considered, and a government white paper would shortly be released on the question of unemployment and policy measures to fight it.

In 1982, on a recommendation from the NMC, the Department of Manpower established three training schemes for the unemployed at Boithusong (Bloemfontein), Emthonjeni (Port Elizabeth) and Apex (Benoni). (Qualifying criteria were given in the 1982 Survey.) Since September 1982 to date, 148 Africans and 18 coloured people had been trained at Boithusong, of whom only 17 Africans had been placed in employment. At Emthonjeni the numbers trained were 259 Africans, 94 coloured people and nine whites. A total of 154 passed the course, 56 failed, 38 dropped out, and 86 were placed in employment. The remainder were still undergoing training. From 9 August to 30 September 1982, 57 Africans and two coloured people were trained at the Apex centre, with 43 Africans, six coloured people and one white undergoing training at the end of September. All the centres reported problems in placing the trained workseekers in employment. Dr Alex Boraine (PFP) said that the government had not devoted enough time and money to job creation. He believed that the following should be undertaken to alleviate unemployment: encouragement of a labour intensive economy, especially in urban areas; encouragement of the informal sector; and abolition of any law that restricted the mobility of labour, thus affecting its employment.19 Mr Ron Miller (NRP) said that labour-intensive employment incentives similar to those instituted during the great depression of the 1930s should be introduced.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE
Unemployment Insurance
The rise in unemployment led to increased payouts from the state's unemployment insurance fund in 1982. Details compared with other years were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of contributors: Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Total contributions (R million)</th>
<th>Benefits paid out (R million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>110 665</td>
<td>3 580 849</td>
<td>85,5</td>
<td>82,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>117 514</td>
<td>4 141 000</td>
<td>110,1</td>
<td>88,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>120 210</td>
<td>5 084 228</td>
<td>126,1</td>
<td>120,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Unemployment: 38,2 - 34,5 - 52,8
- Illness: 19,9 - 23,1 - 28,4
- Maternity: 17,2 - 22,2 - 29,0
- Payments to dependants of deceased contributors: 7,5 - 8,8 - 10,5

Amount in fund as at 31 December (R million): 218,4 - 253,2 - 272,8

In 1982, 268 000 workers claimed benefits. Of these 149 000 received ordinary unemployment benefits, 61000 maternity benefits, 45000 illness benefits, and 13000 death benefits. Although R32,1m more was paid out in benefits during 1982, the fund showed an increase in its reserves of R18,6m over the same period. The Director-General of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, said in December that more than R200m had been paid out in unemployment insurance benefits in 1983. 'There has been a considerable increase in the numbers of applications for unemployment benefits on account of the decline in economic activity, and the drought,' Dr van der Merwe said. The figure he cited evidently included other benefits paid out from the unemployment insurance fund.

Criticisms of the functioning of the unemployment insurance fund was again expressed. One complaint was of lengthy delays - sometimes of more than six months or even a year - in the payment of benefits to unemployed persons. Dr Boraine claimed that the 'excuses' given for the delays - that the computer had broken down and that there was a shortage of manpower - were inadequate. Mr Miller called for an investigation into the administration of the fund. The Minister of Manpower said that a special sub-committee to investigate the causes of delays had met on four occasions by April. Various measures had been instituted and further measures would be introduced to improve the position in those district offices of the department where delays were occurring. The minister said that the unemployment insurance board was considering improving benefits, and was also considering benefits for women who adopted babies.

A research group which examined the workings of the fund recommended that two assistance schemes for the unemployed should be established: an unemployment insurance scheme similar to the present one, but with improved benefits; and a subsistence scheme providing for people who have never worked before and those who have utilised all their benefits under the main scheme. Among its other proposals was that certain categories of people currently excluded from the fund be included, for example domestic and farm workers. The group also suggested that people losing their jobs be allowed benefits for a maximum of one year (not six months as at present) and thereafter qualify for the
subsistence allowance; the amount of benefits be increased from 45% to 60% of a person's

WORKSEEKERS, MIGRANT WORKERS, COMMUTERS
wages; a thorough investigation be undertaken into the way in which the fund is
run, in particular the way in which officials treat applicants; that employers'
contributions be increased on a rand for rand basis; that the state contribute an
amount larger than its present annual R7m; and that the government allocate
more money for training unemployed people.22

In 1982 legislation was passed enabling contract workers from 'independent' homeland who had ceased to belong to the SA Unemployment Insurance Fund to
again be included for administrative purposes by agreement between the SA government and the homeland governments concerned, providing the latter
established their own funds. In March 1983 the Minister of Manpower announced
that Transkei, Ciskei and Venda had established funds which would begin to
operate on 1 May. (Bophuthatswana had established its own fund in 1977.) All
contract workers from the four 'independent' homelands would be regarded as
contributors to the SA fund during their period of service. Their contributions
would then be transferred to the funds of their respective homelands, and they
would have to apply for benefits in the homelands. Employees already
contributing directly to the Bophuthatswana fund were to cease those
contributions and, instead, pay them into the SA fund. The General Workers'
Union and the SA Allied Workers' Union opposed the provision that workers had
to return to the homelands to receive their benefits. They said that workers should
be entitled to claim benefits where they wished. These and other unions held talks
with the Director-General of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, on the issue.2

Africans in urban areas and rural (including homeland) areas are no longer
required to register automatically as workseekers in terms of the Black Labour
Act (No 67 of 1964) on becoming unemployed. They now register voluntarily in
terms of the Guidance and Placement Act (No 62 of 1981). Recent figures are,
therefore, not comparable with those for 1981. In 1982 the number of African
workseekers who registered ranged from a high of 62 067 in February to a low of
35 439 in December. The drop can be accounted for by the slack period over
Christmas.24 However, workseekers from rural areas wishing to work in urban
areas still have to register before they can take up work in these areas.
The Minister of Manpower gave figures for the number of African workers from
'white' areas, 'independent' homelands, and foreign countries who were registered
at 30 June 1983 in each category of labour defined in the regulations made under
the Black Labour Act of 1964. The figures include migrants and commuters as
well as citizens of the various territories who are living in 'white' SA. Percentage
changes over June 1982 are given in parentheses.25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Mining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TBV Transkei Bophuthatswana Venda</td>
<td>419 018(-0,6) 58 913 (-6,3) 82 914(0,1) 12 934(-3,1)</td>
<td>170 067(-5,2) 177 206(-3,6) 68 543 (-8,1) 6776(-9,2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statistics on migrant labour tend to vary according to the source and to different methods of calculation and presentation. The NMC gave the following comparative estimates for the number of migrant labourers (including miners) per homeland, both 'independent' and non-independent (figures for 1982 or 1983 were not available at the time of writing):

Statistics on migrant labour tend to vary according to the source and to different methods of calculation and presentation. The NMC gave the following comparative estimates for the number of migrant labourers (including miners) per homeland, both 'independent' and non-independent (figures for 1982 or 1983 were not available at the time of writing):
The number of commuters - African people who live in a homeland but commute to work in a 'white' area daily or weekly - was given by the NMC as follows:

**Malawi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number (With Change)</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3762</td>
<td>-13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>16 969</td>
<td>-13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1 234</td>
<td>-12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>-2.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WORKSEEKERS, MIGRANT WORKERS, COMMUTERS**

Frontier commuters employed in the 'white' areas 1977-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Bophuthatswana</th>
<th>Venda</th>
<th>Ciskei</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>7 100</td>
<td>148 200</td>
<td>4 500</td>
<td>34 600</td>
<td>567 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>8 600</td>
<td>151 800</td>
<td>5 600</td>
<td>36 200</td>
<td>616 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>8 900</td>
<td>155 400</td>
<td>5 600</td>
<td>37 100</td>
<td>664 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>9 000</td>
<td>161 200</td>
<td>5 700</td>
<td>38 100</td>
<td>700 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>9 100</td>
<td>162 200</td>
<td>5 700</td>
<td>38 400</td>
<td>739 700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of migrant workers (excluding miners recruited by the Chamber of Mines) and commuters requisitioned by administration boards from the various homelands in 1982 was as follows (a breakdown of the 1981 figures appears in the 1982 Survey):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Lebowa</th>
<th>25 942</th>
<th>39 766</th>
<th>28 350</th>
<th>2 061</th>
<th>63 164</th>
<th>36 440</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>13 110</td>
<td>11 230</td>
<td>6 323</td>
<td>4 026</td>
<td>22 450</td>
<td>5 685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>1 100</td>
<td>1 300</td>
<td>3 500</td>
<td>5 900</td>
<td>8 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of migrant workers in the various homelands in 1982 was as follows:28
Of the total of 1 346 825 workers requisitioned in 1982, 788 277 were migrants and 558 548 commuters. The West and East Rand boards had no commuters, nor did the Western Cape board. The numbers of commuters in other board areas were as follows: Central Transvaal 75 234; Eastern Transvaal 6 043; Northern Transvaal 36 905; Highveld 77 678; Western Transvaal 41 331; Orange Vaal
Research indicated that the labour recruiting function of the tribal labour bureaux, which have evidently not been operating efficiently, has been increasingly taken over by the administration boards. The resulting centralisation of labour recruitment at particular points has exacerbated the problems of workseekers from remote districts as it has effectively excluded them from access to jobs. Preliminary figures on migrant labour for 1982 were supplied by some of the homelands. Of the 357 057 workers recruited from the Transkei in 1982, 186 545 came through the bureaux and 170 512 through recruiting organisations. Of the latter, 124 562 were recruited by The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), the recruiting aim of the Chamber of Mines. There were 28 district labour bureaux in the Transkei. Those at Lady Frere and Sterkspruit recruited 24 201 and 26 638 workers respectively, all the others recruiting between 2 000 and 10 000 workers each. There were eighty-nine labour agents (compared with 227 in 1979), of whom 66 were Transkeian citizens. The estimated total cash earnings based on nine 25-day months at R120 per month - of migrant workers from Transkei were R307m in 1979, slightly less in 1980 and 1981, but R386m in 1982. The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that there were 23791 African contract workers in the Cape Peninsula in 1982 as opposed to 19391 in 1981 and 17 119 in 1980. Some 509 applications to employ Africans in the western Cape were refused in 1982. The 1982 Survey dealt with procedures for the deportation of blacks to the 'independent' homelands. In further clarifying these, the minister stated that citizens of 'foreign' states were deemed to be illegally in 'white' SA if they did not comply with the provisions of the agreements between the governments of SA and the countries concerned relating to the movement of citizens across common borders. Persons contravening these provisions were deported in terms of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act (No 59 of 1972). Before 'repatriation' took place, the minister claimed, the consent of the governments of the territories concerned was obtained and it was ascertained whether they would accept those to be deported. With regard to the rights of contract workers in rural areas, the minister said that the consent of organised agriculture and of the landowner was required before such workers could leave the farms and be employed in a prescribed area, which consent could be refused. The minister added that the admission of African workers to rural areas was also controlled by section 10 (1) (d) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (1945), in terms of which permission for such admission had to be obtained from the labour officer, who was entitled to lay down conditions under which such admission could be allowed. The same rules governed minors whose fathers and fathers' employers had given their consent, the minister said. Controversy broke out over an amendment to the West Rand Administration Board's 'call-in' forms issued to migrant workers setting out conditions.
with which they have to comply when taking up work in urban areas. The amendment stated that migrant workers may not bring their wives and families with them to the board's area, and that if they attempted to do so, their contracts would either not be registered or they would be immediately terminated. WRAB's director of manpower said that the clause had been in existence since 1969 in some areas and for five years in others, but because of a 'slip-up' had not been included on the form. The clause was designed, he said, to ensure that when a person 'was introduced to an urban area in a work category for which there were no local work-seekers, he did not add to overcrowding or squatting by bringing his family along.' However, legal opinion had it that nowhere in the Black Labour Regulations for 1965 and 1968 did provision for such a clause exist.

The Ciskei's Minister of Manpower said that his government was to introduce 'disciplinary camps' run on military lines for migrants who broke their contracts 'without good reason'.

Metal unions strongly condemned a move by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (SEIFSA), taken after consultation with the Department of Cooperation and Development, to alter migrant workers' contracts so that they could be retrenched with a day's notice. This step was taken after the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU) had successfully threatened legal action against employers for retrenching migrants without due notice. Legal advice had shown that migrants could not be retrenched in mid-contract, contracts being usually of 12 months' duration. The department's replying circular to SEIFSA said that it had 'no objection' to the contract period's being changed from 12 months to 'an initial probationary period of one month' and 'thereafter to be continued on a daily basis with one day's notice required to terminate the contract'. SEIFSA advised members to consider changing contracts to avoid 'any possible problems with retrenchment during the contract period'. Unionists alleged that SEIFSA's move proved that employers could change influx control practices if they wished to and that they tightened them when employer interests were threatened. A SEIFSA spokesman defended the move, saying that the recommendation was to ensure that all employees (urban and migrant) were on an identical basis as far as the termination of a contract was concerned. Prior to the move, only workers with permanent urban rights could be employed on a daily basis, while migrant workers were on a fixed term contract. FOSATU replied that SEIFSA had forgotten that migrant workers do not enjoy the same privileges as urban workers. 'Losing a job for a migrant means being shipped to the homelands where both poverty and drought reign supreme,' it said.

In June, Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr E R Sekhonyana, claimed that many of the 80 000 Basotho contract mineworkers in SA were coerced into making monthly donations of R20 to buy arms for the Lesotho Liberation Army. Mineworkers were threatened by politically active fellow workers to make the payments with the connivance of junior officers in the SA security forces. Mr J Imrie, public relations manager of the Chamber of Mines, said that the Chamber had no knowledge of the alleged racket.34

For the implications of the Rikhoto judgement for migrant workers see section on pass laws in the chapter on Urban Africans.
Decentralisation
In 1982 the Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism announced improved

DECENTRALISATION
incentives for employers to decentralise their businesses (see 1982 Survey p 91).
Between April 1982 and 31 March 1983, 861 applications were made for the
expansion and establishment of decentralised industries, of which 55 were
rejected, 29 held over, and the following approved:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions approved</th>
<th>Number of applications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape (Region A)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape/western Transvaal/Bophuthatswana (B)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS/QwaQwa/ThabaNchu (C)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape/Ciskei/southern Transkei (D)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal/KwaZulu/northern Transkei (E)</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Transvaal/KaNgwane/parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu (F)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Transvaal/Venda/parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu (G)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWV/KwaNdebele/a part of Bophuthatswana (H)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expected employment opportunities
to be created
5 290
2 332 5 528
7 032
32 924
3 566
7 021
1 649
Total 777 65 342 2 459,7

Although these categories include the independent homelands, none of the figures
are exclusively in respect of these areas.35 Of the projected jobs, 4 545 would be for whites, 6 435 for coloured people, 4314
for Indians and 50 049 for Africans. Isithebe (in KwaZulu) accounted for the
single highest number of applications (13,5%), with East London (6,6%),
Pietermaritzburg (6,4%), Atlantis (near Cape Town, 5,9%), and Phuthaditjaba
(QwaQwa, 4,1%) also being favoured.36 Fifty-five of the approved applications
were of foreign origin, involving a total investment of R143,Om and 13 895
employment opportunities. The Republic of China accounted for 29, the UK for
81, the US for seven, West Germany, Israel and Zimbabwe three each, and the
Philippines and Australia one each. The sectors for which approval was given and
the investment expected are:

Food and beverages Textiles
Wood and wood products Paper and paper products Chemicals etc Non-metallic
mineral products Basic metal Fabricated metal products Other manufacturing
Number
Investment
ROOO
208 134 345 119
85 575
909 499 565 447
30 024
1 117
192 051 122 789
Total 777 2 459 755

Capital investment
R(m)
147,9 39,3 56,8
200,8
909,6 957,5 103,5
44,3

DECENTRALISATION
The success of the new incentives may be determined by comparing these figures with those for 1981, when, although more applications (855) were approved, there was a lower capital investment (R903,7m) and fewer (28 831) anticipated employment opportunities.

Various adjustments to the incentives were introduced during 1982/83, among them: short-term incentives, eg labour incentives and interest and rental subsidies, to be paid quarterly instead of annually; a simplified incentive scheme for small and informal industries involving special interest and rental subsidies drawn up jointly with the independent homelands; a revision of relocation costs for foreign industrialists; and incentives for industrial points not included in the new scheme but which had previously been granted concessions. During a parliamentary debate on the Industries, Commerce and Tourism Vote, Mr A Savage (PFP) claimed that many non-political reasons had been given for the present decentralisation policy, but that none stood up to close analysis. Regarding the incentives, he said that the government was making the private sector an offer it could not refuse. This was, however, a misallocation of money.37

Region D, to be given top priority, had attracted only R200m worth of investment in 1982, compared with an aggregate of R2,3bn in other regions. However, since the announcement of the revised incentives, a swing towards investment in the area was noticeable, according to Mr Duggie de Beer, chairman of the decentralisation board. (Areas in order of priority according to the most favourable incentives were as follows: D, then E, G, A, B, C, F, H.)

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning released a draft guide plan for the industrial development of Bloemfontein and its environs in an attempt to reduce large-scale unemployment in nearby QwaQwa and Bophuthatswana. This included the development of a 150-300ha industrial area to the east of Bloemfontein to provide about 15 000 industrial jobs in the next 20 years; higher-density living and intensification of land use on smallholdings.
surrounding Bloemfontein; limiting the present African township to 100 000 people; and the development of Botshabelo township, previously known as the Onverwacht resettlement camp.

Physical Planning Act, No 88 of 1967

Section three of this act lays down a ratio of 2.5:1 African to white workers in factories in certain metropolitan areas. Applications during 1982 for the establishment or extension of industries in areas affected by the provision were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Transvaal</th>
<th>OFS</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>Cape</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications submitted</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1 078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications approved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) establishment</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) extension</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications refused</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) establishment</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) extension</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The report of the Board for the Decentralisation of Industry for the year ending 31 March 1983 said that the provision allowing for the employment of African youths aged 16 to 20 years in factories over the approved quota had been extended. However, only six applications, for the employment of 168 African youths, had been received in 1982. An investigation was still under way into the introduction of indirect fiscal control measures to be applied in the metropolitan areas to replace section three. These would be aimed at recovering the costs of infrastructure and other public services. The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in November that the recommendations of the Reikert Commission (1979) to investigate the true social infrastructure costs of the PWV area had been accepted. He said that an effort would be made to shift the burden of these costs from the general taxpayer to the real users of the services.

The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC)

In its annual report for the year ending 31 March 1982 the SBDC stated that since its inception it had received 1162 applications for loans, totalling more than R78m. A total of 242 applications, amounting to R13m, had been granted and 445, totalling R36m, refused. Other applications had lapsed or been withdrawn. In 1982 it had granted 188 loans totalling R1.2m. The loans were for manufacturing, R5.4m; trade, R2.9m; service industries, R2.7m; catering, R1m; construction, R747 000; professional services, R428 000; and commercial buildings, R225 000. The upper ceiling for loans granted by the corporation was R2 000. The main criteria in allocating loans were full-time employment in the venture and ability to repay. Ms Vanessa Watson of the University of Cape Town's Urban Problems Research Unit criticised the second criterion as it discriminated against the smallest operators. Hawkers, for example, might have no assets and, therefore, would be excluded. The SBDC established, on an experimental basis, a new special mini-loan programme for the
informal sector. Assistance was provided to 64 applicants in the first month of its existence.

Property development projects costing R9 120000 were completed by the corporation during the year. These comprised five shopping centres, four industrial parks, three factories or expansions to factories, and one hotel. A further 27 projects were in various stages of completion. In total the corporation owned 129 development projects, 74% of which were for industrial and 26% for commercial purposes, the total book value being R45m. Business space was provided for 660 small business undertakings involving the employment of an estimated 11 600 persons, 75% in industry and 22% in commerce. Eighty-two were situated in coloured areas, 22 in white areas, seven in African urban areas, five in Indian areas and 12 in 'open' industrial areas.

A draft bill, the Close Corporation Bill, was drawn up to simplify the operation of small businesses. The bill's architect, Professor S Naude of the Department of Mercantile Law at Unisa, stated that its purpose would be 'to provide a simpler and less expensive legal form for the small entrepreneur, designed with a view to his needs and without binding him with legal requirements that are not meaningful in his circumstances'. Certain criticisms were made of the bill, including its definition of a close corporation, and of the widening of the definition of an accountant to include professions 'which in the opinion of the Minister (of Commerce and Industry) would qualify its members to conduct the duties of an accountant under this act'.40 It was felt that this latter provision could take the responsibility of accounting from the hands of the accountancy profession.

MANUFACTURING

Employment by sector

SA's biggest employer as at June 1983 was the manufacturing industry, encompassing almost 1,4m employees. This was closely followed by the government sector (including transport services and post office employees), with 1,2m employees, and commercial agriculture, with an estimated 1,2m. Trade and services and the mining sector were the next largest employers, with 754 900 and 702 578 workers respectively. The secondary sector the most severely affected by the recession was the manufacturing industry, with a 5,5% (81700) decrease in workers from June 1982 to June 1983. Precise information is not available on the extent to which the recession affected the agricultural industry, although it was widely expected that the drought would reduce the number of jobs on farms. The construction industry showed a 4,7% decrease in employment and the mining industry a 17,6% drop (150611 workers) from 1981 to 1982. In the government sector, transport was the worst affected, with an 11,3% (31 424) decrease in workers.

Manufacturing

The number of people employed, their average monthly wages in June 1983, and the percentage changes since June 1982 were:4'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>316 100</td>
<td>-3,5</td>
<td>1 429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chemical

The average monthly numbers employed in 1982, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over 1981 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>36 000</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>1 401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>9 700</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3 400</td>
<td>3,0</td>
<td>799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>57 300</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>106 400</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were no official wage negotiations in the chemical industry in 1983, as the 1983 wage increase was set during 1982. A chemical technician received R641 per month until 30 June and R705,10 thereafter. Other categories received wages as follows: artisans R128,80 and thereafter R141,70 per week; grade one and two employees R66,55 and R73,20 thereafter; and a grade three employee R65 and R71,50 thereafter. A watchman received the same wage as a grade one employee.

The Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) won a back pay claim of R26 000 against Chesebrough Ponds International (Wadeville) because the company had not been paying the rate for the job to 80 of its 250 workers. It also won an in-house wage agreement with the Rolfes company at Elandsfontein, bringing the minimum wage to R1,70 per hour, and negotiated a 22% wage increase with Henkel.

In its annual report, Shell stated that an increasing number of African employees were moving into more senior job levels in the company. In 1977 there were 32 African employees in the category for new graduates, but by January 1983, 128. The target for 1985 was 185. Minimum monthly salaries at 1 March 1983 (including bonuses) ranged from R396 in Johannesburg to R374 in other areas.

Clothing

The average monthly number of workers employed in 1982, their monthly average wages, and the percentage changes over 1981 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6 800</td>
<td>-1,4</td>
<td>1 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>47 000</td>
<td>3,2</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>27 800</td>
<td>-3,5</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>34 800</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116 400</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clothing industry was hard-hit by the recession. The Transvaal was particularly badly affected, with employment decreasing from 22 223 in January to a low of 18425 in August. In the Cape it dropped from 59085 in January to 57213 in June, rising to 58 248 in August, and in Natal from 43 819 in January to
a low in May of 41 596, rising to 42 019 in July. The exceptions were the western Cape and the OFS, where employment rose from 2 156 in January to 3 214 in June. Figures for the eastern Province were unavailable.

In November trade unions and employers in the clothing industry agreed on an informal 'code of practice' laying down procedures for retrenchment. Retrenchment was regarded as the simultaneous reduction by 10% or more of the workforce of the same establishment due to adverse economic conditions. The employer would notify his workers and the trade union concerned in writing two weeks before retrenching. He would grant them two hours a week at normal rates of pay for the purpose of seeking new employment during the two weeks' notice period. Compensation would be paid at the following rates: 0-5 years service, none; 5-10 years, 1 weeks' wages; 10-15 years, 2 weeks' wages; 15-20 years, three weeks' wages; and 20 years or more 4 weeks' wages. If an employee qualified for a long service bonus he or she would not receive compensation. Redundancy was defined as the dismissal of employees because of technological changes, and such employees would not be entitled to compensation.

In terms of an industrial council agreement signed in 1982 clothing workers in the Transvaal received wage increases in January and July. Foremen and women earned R150 a week from July, qualified machinists R69,50, nightwatchmen R45, and general workers R37. Beginner machinists received no increase on their rate of R27 a week in July. Workers in the eastern Province clothing industry received

**FOOD INDUSTRY**

an across-the-board increase of 7,5% from 1 July. This brought foremen and women up to R122 a week, qualified machinists up to R43,68, watchmen up to R44,92, and learner machinists up to R25,20. A further five percent increase was promised for January 1984. Workers in the millinery industry in the OFS, northern Cape and Transvaal received a five percent increase in wages from 6 May. Natal's 55 000-strong Garment Workers' Industrial Union instituted an enquiry into alleged widespread racketeering in the clothing industry. Workers had claimed that certain supervisors and chargehands in some factories were demanding money or gifts in exchange for job security.44

Food

The average monthly numbers employed in 1982, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over 1981 were:45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>25 400</td>
<td>2,4</td>
<td>1 174</td>
<td>18,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>27 200</td>
<td>-1,8</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>28,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>16 200</td>
<td>-1,9</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>27,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>116 100</td>
<td>-0,8</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>23,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>184 900</td>
<td>-0,6</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>19,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>7 900</td>
<td>3,9</td>
<td>1 210</td>
<td>15,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>4 900</td>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>30,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>16,7</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>15,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>23 900</td>
<td>-17,0</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>25,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The closure of Premier Biscuit's plant at Springs in July led to the retrenchment of 400 workers, who received one week's wages for every year of service. The Food and Beverage Workers' Union, representing the workers, threatened legal action if the company did not negotiate the placement of workers in other Premier firms. The company agreed to allow the union's auditor to investigate its books.

As a result of negotiations between the Fosatu-affiliated Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU) and management, workers at C G Smith's Noodsberg and Umzimkulu Mills were granted a 13% increase at the lower levels and a 7,5% increase at the higher grades. The food allowance was increased to R50 and R45 respectively and would not be consolidated with the wage increase. The SFAWU also won an in-house wage increase at Tongaat Milling, bringing the minimum weekly wage to R32. In negotiations with the sugar industry in 1983 the National Union of Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employees won increases of 7,5% across-the-board on minima, with the food allowance of R40 remaining the same as in 1982. The latter amount was to be added to the monthly wage after the increase and the total wage would form the basis for future increases. The new agreement allowed for shop stewards and union officials to serve on the body negotiating wages. In addition, workers received a R2-a-year service allowance. The SFAWU also won a 30% increase for workers at the Isando factory of T W Beckett, bringing wages there to a minimum of R2 per hour (giving a weekly minimum wage of R90 per week as against R68 previously), while workers' night shift allowances were increased from R1,80 to R2 per night.

The monthly numbers employed and average monthly wages percentage changes over 1981 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>37 400</th>
<th>-10,3</th>
<th>566</th>
<th>20,7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The closure of Premier Biscuit's plant at Springs in July led to the retrenchment of 400 workers, who received one week's wages for every year of service. The Food and Beverage Workers' Union, representing the workers, threatened legal action if the company did not negotiate the placement of workers in other Premier firms. The company agreed to allow the union's auditor to investigate its books. As a result of negotiations between the Fosatu-affiliated Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU) and management, workers at C G Smith's Noodsberg and Umzimkulu Mills were granted a 13% increase at the lower levels and a 7,5% increase at the higher grades. The food allowance was increased to R50 and R45 respectively and would not be consolidated with the wage increase. The SFAWU also won an in-house wage increase at Tongaat Milling, bringing the minimum weekly wage to R32. In negotiations with the sugar industry in 1983 the National Union of Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employees won increases of 7,5% across-the-board on minima, with the food allowance of R40 remaining the same as in 1982. The latter amount was to be added to the monthly wage after the increase and the total wage would form the basis for future increases. The new agreement allowed for shop stewards and union officials to serve on the body negotiating wages. In addition, workers received a R2-a-year service allowance. The SFAWU also won a 30% increase for workers at the Isando factory of T W Beckett, bringing wages there to a minimum of R2 per hour (giving a weekly minimum wage of R90 per week as against R68 previously), while workers' night shift allowances were increased from R1,80 to R2 per night.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86 000</td>
<td>135 500</td>
<td>-2,2</td>
<td>22,2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>374</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>19,1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 000</td>
<td>7 400</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td>37 800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-21,3</td>
<td>-3,9</td>
<td>16,1</td>
<td>-13,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 406</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>410</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17,1</td>
<td>14,8</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77 800</td>
<td>77 700</td>
<td>-7,9</td>
<td>21,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>821</td>
<td>704</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 700</td>
<td>15 700</td>
<td>3 300</td>
<td>37 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,2</td>
<td>-0,6</td>
<td>-5,7</td>
<td>-1,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 334</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>416</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15,4</td>
<td>20,4</td>
<td>26,1</td>
<td>24,2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79 700</td>
<td>79 700</td>
<td>-0,3</td>
<td>18,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>704</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>18,7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between November 1981 and May 1983 employment in the metal industry declined by 15% (70 000 workers) as a result of the recession. Although gross output was down on the 1981 peak it continued to exceed R10bn, one third of total manufacturing output. Mr J Nelson, SEIFSA's president, said that the downturn in the industry was the worst since the great depression in the 1930s.

METAL INDUSTRY
Retrenchments were a major cause of labour disputes. For example, about 260 workers at Litemaster Products downed tools because the company had allegedly not followed retrenchment procedures laid down in an agreement with the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU).

An attempt by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA) to defer wage negotiations in the industry until October by extending the currency of the industry's legally-binding wage agreement for six months was strongly opposed by the unions in the industry. SEIFSA's director, Mr Sam van Coller, stated that any increase in employers' costs would jeopardise their ability to keep individual employees in work. At a meeting of the industrial council for the metal industries in March, unions tabled demands for an average 14% pay increase, and for redundancy and lay-off pay to be included in the industry's agreement for the first time. Employers maintained their view that there should be no negotiations until October. The meeting was attended for the first time by MAWU, which had applied for membership of the council. It demanded a 40% increase in minimum wages, to R90 per week, and a R18 across-the-board increase. SEIFSA responded with a pay offer of three percent to workers at the top of the scale and five percent to those at the lower level. This was regarded by the artisan unions as an 'insult'. However, at a final meeting in May most unions accepted under protest a settlement of a five percent (21 cents per hour) rise for the highest-paid and seven percent (10 cents an hour) for the lowest-paid workers. MAWU, however, declared itself dissatisfied with the increases and refused to sign the agreement. Its request that settlement be delayed until it had consulted its members was refused; the union then considered, declaring a dispute with SEIFSA. It later announced that it had independently won wage increases.
from several Natal firms which exceeded the seven percent increase. The union reported, however, that other factories were refusing to negotiate with it. It threatened to take action against Scottish Cables; W C Camerons (Natal), a subsidiary of Barlow Rand; Dunlop Tyre (Durban); and Prestige SA. Subsequently W B Camerons and Prestige SA agreed to negotiate, leading to increases of 24% at the former and Prestige's agreeing to a starting wage of R90 a week. In October MAWU also resolved a dispute, which had led to several strikes, with Barlow Rand's plant at Kew, with the minimum wage at the plant being set at R2 per hour as from January 1984 and guaranteed minimum increases of 31 cents or 32 cents an hour for all workers. A deadlocked wage dispute between the union and the giant Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation was referred to the Minister of Manpower for the establishment of a conciliation board. MAWU was pressing for a minimum wage of R90 a week, nearly 40% above the current minimum, and had rejected Highveld's offer of a 10 cent-an-hour increase for lower-paid workers. Although SEIFSA announced that it was opposed to private negotiations, the SA Boilermakers' Society, in a surprise move, also announced that it would seek pay talks with individual metal companies to try to win larger increases. The union said it objected not only to 'inadequate' rises but to the unsatisfactory and cumbersome procedures of negotiation which had produced them.48

Motor

The National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of SA (NAAMSA) gave the following figures for the numbers employed in the industry in June 1983. Comparative data for June 1982 are also given:

**MOTOR INDUSTRY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>June 1982</th>
<th>June 1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14,031</td>
<td>14,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>23,977</td>
<td>23,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asian</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>9,349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49,508</td>
<td>47,498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motor companies were adversely affected by the recession, especially in the first half of the year, but thereafter prospects improved. Retrenchments occurred as some companies cut back on production because of the recession, or because their models were proving unpopular, or because they were reorganising their production process. In the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area, General Motors retrenched 120 workers in January, while its plant operated on a four-day week for the first half of the year. Volkswagen laid off 206 workers in February and worked a four-day week from June. The Ford Motor Company resumed a five-day week in July after having worked a four-day week earlier. In the Pretoria area, Datsun Nissan retrenched about 100 workers in January, while Sigma scaled down its production for about three weeks in February/March, leading to 700 workers being laid off, with a further reduction of 341 workers in September. Retrenchments also occurred in certain motor component industries. For example SKF laid off 28 employees in April, its fourth retrenchment in 14 months,
bringing the total laid off to 100. The company expected to retrench a total of 296 workers because of rationalisation and the economic recession.

The industrial council agreement for the eastern Province automobile manufacturers signed in August contained improved retrenchment and lay-off benefits for workers at Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen, the three employers who are party to the council. In terms of a new separation allowance benefits would be payable on the basis of five days' pay for every two-year period of service. A new temporary lay-off clause meant that an employee who, as a result of retrenchment, received less than four days' basic pay in a week, would receive pay for a certain number of hours, depending on length of service. The wage increases agreed upon varied from 12% to 14% over a 12-month period for most workers, and up to 17.4% for the lowest paid workers. Increases would be phased in in three instalments up to August 1983, the minimum wage rising from R2,30 an hour to R2,70. Union parties to the agreement regarded it as reasonable under the circumstances.

The National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU) also negotiated wage agreements with employers that are not parties to any industrial council, since there is no council in the motor manufacturing industry outside the PE/Uitenhage area. A wage agreement concluded with Sigma Motor Corporation (Pretoria) allowed for a minimum wage increase of 15.2% from R1.91 to R2.20 per hour. The union also concluded wage agreements with Alfa Romeo and Leyland which set minima at these plants at R2.40 and R1.95 per hour respectively. In November during industrial council negotiations for the motor components and repair industry, unions demanded a minimum wage of R2 per hour over the minimum of R1.06. It was argued that the increase would not be as large in practical terms since employers were already paying R1.50-R1.70 per hour anyway. After talks with the TUCSA-affiliated Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union, which is represented on the council, NAAWU, which is not on the council, said it would pressurise companies to accept the demand. Several companies

PRINTING AND NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

announced plans for expansion. Sigma moved its light truck manufacturing division to Port Elizabeth, resulting in about 150 new jobs. Volkswagen announced a R200m investment programme, the bulk of which would be spent on expanding and modernising its Uitenhage complex in the eastern Cape. The company aimed to increase production to 80 000 vehicles a year by the end of the 1980s, and create 2 000 new posts to handle it. The R200m would include a R50m direct payment from the West German parent company, the balance to be raised in loans.

BMW announced that it had entered into a partnership with a Soweto businessman, Mr L Langa, for the sale of BMW vehicles in Soweto. Announcing the move, Mr E von Koerber, BMW's managing director, stated that trends in Soweto's growth indicated a move towards wealth and prosperity. An analysis by his company anticipated that the real disposable income of the African population would increase substantially in the future.
Printing and Newspapers
The average numbers employed in 1982, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over 1981 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White 20 500</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1 068</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured 11 900</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian 2 600</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>-10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African 12 000</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 47 000</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following a dispute declared in 1982 between the SA Society of Journalists (SASJ) on the one hand and the Argus Company and SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) on the other when the employers informed the union that they would withdraw from negotiating with it through the industry's conciliation board, and introduce regional wage negotiations instead, the SASJ took the companies to the industrial court. It argued that withdrawal from a national collective bargaining forum which had existed for 40 years and insisting on bargaining collectively was an unfair labour practice. The action sought to prevent the employers from withdrawing. The court found in favour of the employees and its judgement, made public in 1983, stated that in some cases employers could be ordered to bargain in 'good faith' with a union. However, it stopped short of ruling that labour law automatically compelled an employer to negotiate with a representative trade union. The court stated that American labour law - which makes it an offence not to bargain in 'good faith' - could be taken into account when deciding what an unfair labour practice is, although this should be done with caution. Following renewed negotiations, a 12% increase was granted, 7% being across-the-board and 5% awarded on merit at the discretion of the editors. The Media Workers' Association of SA (MWASA) unsuccessfully took The Star to court after 200 workers were dismissed during a strike over the dismissal of a colleague. During the strike members of the SASJ took on some of the strikers' work despite the fact that the SASJ has a 'no-strike-breaking' policy (see chapter on Labour Relations).

TEXTILE INDUSTRY
Textiles
The average number of persons employed in 1982, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over 1981 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White 10 600</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>23 400</td>
<td>8 700 76 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured 8 700</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>491 243</td>
<td>714 14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian 76 200</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African 23 400</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>8 700</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 10 600</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>23 400</td>
<td>8 700 76 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wages were increased by 10% across-the-board on minima in January and a further 10% in September according to a gentleman's agreement. This was formalised during wage negotiations towards the end of the year.

In February the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) was paid R16 000 by SA Fabrics in an out-of-court settlement. The union had charged that the company's retrenchment of thirty-three workers in February 1982 constituted an unfair labour practice. It claimed that the workers had been wrongfully dismissed and had received no severance pay. The R16 000 was shared among the workers according to the length of time they had worked for the company. The company admitted no liability with the settlement.

Dissatisfaction with wages in the industry led to a number of strikes, among them a rare legal strike. In June more than 300 workers at Natal Thread (Hammarsdale) staged a strike when negotiations between the NUTW and management ended in deadlock after management refused to increase wages by six percent. The strike ended when the company granted an increase of over eight percent. This was the first legal strike by African workers in seven years and the second in SA labour history.

Other manufacturing

The average numbers employed in 1982, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over 1981 in various other industries are given below:54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 800 900</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>1 408 448</td>
<td>7,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2 600</td>
<td>-10,0</td>
<td>-3,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3 200</td>
<td>-15,6</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>28,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>1 000</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 300</td>
<td>-3,6</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>25,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>1 026</td>
<td>7,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>3 200</td>
<td>-15,6</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>28,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1 000</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>5 500</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>21,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10 300</td>
<td>-3,7</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>18,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## OTHER MANUFACTURING

### Footwear

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 800</td>
<td>11 900</td>
<td>7 300</td>
<td>5 700</td>
<td>26 700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Wood and Cork

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 600</td>
<td>8 900</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>40 000</td>
<td>54 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Furniture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 300</td>
<td>11 300</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td>14 400</td>
<td>34 600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Rubber Products

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td>2 200</td>
<td>1 000</td>
<td>13 100</td>
<td>19 900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plastic Products

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 500</td>
<td>5 900</td>
<td>1 500</td>
<td>13 300</td>
<td>27 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Construction

The numbers employed in June 1983, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over June 1982 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56 100</td>
<td>60 400</td>
<td>8 400</td>
<td>295 800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MINING INDUSTRY
The Building Survey (June 1983) of the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch reported that the building cycle was generally still in a downward phase and that business conditions were bound to deteriorate further during 1983 before improving in the early part of 1984. An exception was the private residential market, which had remained buoyant. A decline in building activity in all areas outside the western Cape was noted, the construction industry being less affected by the economic downturn than regions more dependent on mining. The Orange Free State, western Cape, Durban/Pinetown, and Natal all reported that there was an adequate labour supply. Contractors on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria reported slight skilled labour shortages, while manufacturers in the latter area reduced the number of less-skilled workers and placed them on short time.

Wages in the building industry were increased in a number of regions during the year. Some examples:

General workers | Plant operators | Artisan assistants | Artisans | Master craftsmen | Learners 1st year | 4th year | Watchmen (per day)
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
Pietermaritzburg and northern areas (Natal) To 24/4/83 | From 25/4/83 |
R per hour 1,03 | 1,16 |
1,42 | 1,60 |
2,61 | 2,93 |
3,66 | 4,11 |
4,63 | 5,20 |
1,16 | 1,31 |
2,61 | 2,93 |
8,86 | 9,98 |
Natal To 24/4/83 R per hour 1,12 1,55 2,84 3,97 4,96 1,26 2,84 10,08
From 25/4/83 R per hour 1,20 1,66 3,04 4,27 5,34 1,35 3,04 10,80
Transvaal To From
17/10/83 17/10/83 Rperhour  Rperhour
1,26 1,34
1,92 2,04
3,22 3,42
4,54 4,82
5,67 6,02
1,42 1,51
3,22 3,43
9,29 9,86

Mining

The Department of Mines gave the following figures for mining in 1982 and the percentage change over 1981:

**White Coloured Asian African**

**Gold**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>5,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>-3,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-3,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Coal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>-39,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>-72,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>516</td>
<td></td>
<td>-29,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-11,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Workers employed in All mines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>2,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>-26,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>-23,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>829</td>
<td></td>
<td>-5,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 473 914  -2,6  112 800  -18,3  722 373  -5,0

The numbers of Africans employed on the gold, platinum and copper mines which were members of the Chamber of Mines as at 31 July 1983 were as follows:

**SA**

Transkei Bophuthatswana Venda Ciskei Lesotho Botswana Swaziland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2 349</td>
<td>14 987</td>
<td>101 108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MINING INDUSTRY**
Speaking at the Southern African Metals and Minerals Conference in April, the president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr W W Malan, said that Africans would increasingly have to be drawn into skilled positions because of manpower shortages in the mining industry, where the high illiteracy rate of mineworkers placed a 'tremendous burden' on training capacity and facilities.58

The Department of Mines gave the following figures for the average monthly wages on all categories of mines for 1982 (percentage changes over 1981 are also shown):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Coal R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 377</td>
<td>10,1</td>
<td>1 431</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>578</td>
<td>13,8</td>
<td>1 085</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>30,1</td>
<td>796</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>21,2</td>
<td>265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% change All Mines % change

| R | 14,3 |
| -11,1 |
| 8,2 | 10,4 |
| 1 222 501 |
| 1 082 |
| 251 |
| -1,2 |
| -11,0 | 60,2 | 15,7 |

Total 368 19,9 431 -4,2 376 10,3

The amounts paid to migrant workers on the mines in the form of deferred pay and remittances to their homes in 1982 are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botswana</th>
<th>Lesotho</th>
<th>Mozambique</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Swaziland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 992</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>516</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>891</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>857 713</td>
<td>1 015 745</td>
<td>51 102</td>
<td>1 548</td>
<td>891 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 197 429</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botswana</th>
<th>Lesotho</th>
<th>Mozambique</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Swaziland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 551 125</td>
<td>11 031</td>
<td>55 459 830</td>
<td>126 511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 002 002</td>
<td>14 042</td>
<td>469 680</td>
<td>2 037</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>585 193</td>
<td>2 459</td>
<td>450 368</td>
<td>1 879</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 091 404</td>
<td>21 238</td>
<td>2 180 660</td>
<td>5 792</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 579 727</td>
<td>1 313</td>
<td>9 727 794</td>
<td>49 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 792 378</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand Total 305 807 137 438 738 45 064
MINING INDUSTRY

Workers from Zimbabwe are no longer employed on the SA mines to any significant extent.

Attempts by eight registered mining unions and three officials' associations to negotiate wages jointly through the Confederation of Associations and Mining Unions (CAMU) with the chamber failed, negotiations taking place separately. CAMU had been formed in 1982 as a negotiating forum for all unions. Some employers were opposed to holding negotiations jointly with miners and their supervisors. As a result the unions reverted to negotiating through the Council of Mining and Building Unions (CMBU). In April the chamber offered the mining unions an eight percent increase on standard wage-rates and a one percent increase in the employers' share of contributions to the Mine Employees' Pension Fund. The unions, which had been demanding a 13% increase in wages and fringe benefit improvements, said that they were not happy with the offer, but had decided to accept it 'in the interests of SA'. In May, mine officials' associations accepted an eight percent increase on minimum salaries, effective from June.

Mine managements, as in the past, could grant merit increases to individual officials above those agreed on.

The year under review was a historic one for the mining industry, in that a union representing African miners was involved in wage negotiations for the first time. This followed recognition by the chamber of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which had been founded in 1982, on eight mines representing about 6000 workers on those mines. The mines were Saaplaas, the Welkom and Holdings divisions of Western Holdings, President Brand, Kloof, Elandsrand and the East and West divisions of Vaal Reefs. The agreement signed between the parties enabled the union to participate directly in wage negotiations with the chamber. When wage negotiations began the NUM demanded a 30% wage increase and an end to racial discrimination on the chamber's mines; annual 'paternity leave' for married migrants to enable them to see their families; equivalent pay for African mineworkers doing work legally reserved for whites; extension of the white unions' pension fund to Africans; protection for workers if new technology was introduced; and a change in the leave system and hours of work. The negotiations resulted in increases of between 13.9% and 15.7% on minimum wage rates for the approximately 460000 African miners on chamber-affiliated mines. The unions also obtained a formal commitment from the chamber to eliminate discrimination based on race in work practices and to
negotiate on a single wage structure for all job categories. The actual monthly wage increases ranged between R15 and R57 depending on job categories. After the increases the starting minimum monthly wage for beginners in the gold mining industry was R332 for white and R119 for African surface workers, and R349 for white and R147 for African underground workers respectively. On 30 June the NUM met the chamber to demand that the wage talks be reopened. The union accused the employers of having bargained in 'bad faith' on a number of issues and claimed that the negotiated increases had not been extended to all African mineworkers as had been stated. It warned that it would declare a dispute if the talks were not held. The chamber denied these allegations. Talks resumed in mid-July after the chamber had agreed to discuss issues not related to wages but deadlock was reached on the interpretation of a joint commitment to eliminate racial discrimination, the union holding that the issue had already been settled. Talks resumed after the chamber agreed to drop the issue.

MINING INDUSTRY

The NUM also warned the chamber that it could face legal action on an unfair labour practice if it did not stop blacklisting dismissed workers. The allegation was denied by the Chamber of Mines, which said that the mines had previously kept records of former workers who had broken their work contracts, but that this practice had recently been discontinued.

In August the NUM declared a dispute with the chamber when the latter rejected a 40% wage demand for 250 workers at the Rand Refinery in Germiston, offering 8% instead. In addition the union was disputing a planned new job grading system at the refinery which meant that workers would be downgraded to lower paying jobs, and the chamber's rejection of a demand that workers receive a 0.5% increment for each year's service. They were receiving only 65 cents per month for each year worked. The minister appointed a conciliation board to investigate, but deadlock was reached when the NUM and workers rejected a 'final' pay offer of 9%. The NUM also rejected the chamber's offer to grant the 0.5% service increment as long as it was not applied retroactively. The union demanded that the latter be calculated from the day the workers were hired. Eventually, however, the union agreed to the 9% and to a new scale for service increments.

In October, in a joint statement the chamber and the NUM announced that they had reached an agreement recognising the union as the representative of 1 400 of 1 800 workers at the Van Dyk's Drift colliery. This was to be followed by recognition agreements at four other collieries.

At the time of writing the NUM had 55 000 members.

Another union, the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union (BAMCWU), was established to organise workers on the mines. Its president, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, was also labour secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), but he stated that the union was independent of AZAPO. The chamber granted the union access to workers for recruiting purposes on its gold and coal mines. The union had 7 500 paid-up members at the time of writing.
After lengthy deliberations between the Chamber of Mines and the Underground Officials’ Association, the government abolished the last remaining work reservation determination, No 27, in terms of which posts for surveyors, samplers and ventilation officials in the mining industry were reserved for whites. An agreement between the parties stated that African officials would have to become members of the association and would receive the same pay and pension, accident and sick leave benefits as white members. However, African and Asian miners were still prevented from obtaining blasting certificates in terms of the Mines and Works Act (1911). The conservative all-white Mine Workers’ Union strongly condemned the abolition of determination No 27, seeing it as one more assault on white miners’ job security.

In another new development, black mine unions paid considerable attention to mine safety during the year under review.

About 700 African miners rioted at the Beisa uranium mine near Welkom in April after 16 workers had died in a methane gas explosion. About 500 miners out of a workforce of 4 000 asked the mine management to cancel their contracts and to send them home. Five men were arrested and were due to appear in court on charges on public violence. A total of 8 209 people died and more than 230 000 were injured in mining accidents in SA in the last decade. The table below gives the fatality rate from 1911-1982:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 165 persons died in accidents between January and September 1983. The worst accident occurred in September, when 63 miners were killed and ten badly injured in a methane gas explosion at the Hlobane Coal Mine, Vryheid. Five of the injured died later. The NUM called on the government mining engineer to investigate the accident and demanded that workers take part in the enquiry. It charged that safety measures had been wanting at the mine, and that African workers had no forum in the industry on which to take up safety issues. It said that it had applied in April to join the official mine safety committee which oversees safety on the mines, but had been refused by the government mining engineer because the union was unregistered and ‘unrepresentative’. The union was considering legal action to win a seat on the committee. The union also charged that on the morning of the blast methane gas had not been tested for, as
mining laws require, and that the mine still used flame safety lamps which were no longer used in such countries as the US because they tended to be faulty. A spokesman for Iscor, which owns the mine, disputed this last allegation, claiming that the lamps were the most foolproof available.
The Chamber of Mines denied NUM allegations that it did not consider safety a priority, and said that SA was the only country on the advanced level of the International Mine Safety rating scheme.
The NUM called for a miners' bill of rights dealing with safety issues to be established by law and for the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs to institute a commission of enquiry into safety on the mines. The bill should include the right of miners to have their own safety representatives; to refuse to work under unsafe conditions; to demand special investigations of suspected safety violations; to review government inspectors' failure to conduct inspections into safety; to accompany inspectors on their investigations without loss of pay; and to take part in developing mining procedure plans and in additional health and safety training. The BAMCWU called on the mine's management to institute an independent commission of enquiry into the Hlobane disaster in which workers and their representatives would be able to participate fully.
In September, 17 workers at the West Driefontein gold mine were fired for refusing to go underground because they feared that the 14th level was unsafe. One worker, who had originally refused to go underground and who had subsequently resumed work under the threat of losing his job, was injured in a rockfall at that level two days later. Two other miners had also been injured in rockfalls at this level. In October, the NUM declared a dispute with Gold Fields of SA, the mine's managing company, over the workers' dismissal, alleging that it was an unfair labour practice. Giving evidence to the industrial court, the NUM alleged

**AGRICULTURE INDUSTRY**

that an investigation undertaken on 17 and 18 September, after complaints had been made by workers, had revealed large fissures in the rock, tilting supports, rumblings in the rocks, and that stones were easily dislodged. The court ordered the mine to reinstate the workers pending a final determination. In the meantime a commission of enquiry held on 9 November at the NUM's request had found that it could not be determined that the area was technically unsafe at the time. This enquiry was held under section 5 (4) of the Mines and Works Act, which permits an organisation of workers, when it believes that there is a danger to safety or health at a mine, to request an investigation by the government mining engineer, who may then call for an official enquiry.
In September six men died in a rockfall at the Grass Valley Chrome Mine near Potgietersrus, while in October ten men died at Anglo American's Vaal Reefs gold mine at Orkney due to a fire. The NUM requested a meeting with management to discuss the fire. In November another six African miners were killed underground at Anglo American's Western Deep Levels mine near Carletonville. The NUM was investigating allegations that blasting had taken place while the six were still underground.
At its second national congress in December, the NUM resolved that it would demand a seat on all the chamber's safety committees; would demand to be represented on the safety committee headed by the government mining engineer; that the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs should be called upon to appoint a commission of enquiry to investigate safety on the mines; and would call on the chamber to negotiate safety agreements with the union, failing which, the union would inform all members to refuse to work in unsafe places. It was further noted by the congress that many accidents resulted from a breach of mine-safety regulations by mine management, who were concerned only with production and who paid little attention to safety.

Agriculture

It was estimated that agriculture currently provides work for 1.2m people. In research in the western Transvaal, Dr M de Klerk of the University of Cape Town found that technological innovations in commercial agriculture had caused major changes in employment practices, particularly from 1974-1977, among them a change from hand harvesting to the use of tractor-drawn or combine harvesters; from delivery in sacks to delivery in bulk; and from manual and technical methods of weed control to spraying. In 1968 about 50 seasonal workers were employed per farming unit; but by 1981 this had dropped to 30. Permanent workers were down from 20 per 1 000ha to 10. The age distribution moved downwards and sex distribution towards women. Furthermore, there was a replacement of teams of workers from African rural areas, mainly Bophuthatswana and to a lesser extent Botswana and the Transkei, by teams from the families of permanent farm workers living on white farms in the immediate vicinity. Rural Africans could count on more than 90 jobs per ha in 1968 but fewer than 20 in 1981 .

The Surplus People Project (SPP) identified reasons for the reduced numbers of farm workers nationwide: abolition of the labour tenancy system from 30 August 1980 in terms of Government Gazette 6663 of 1979; mechanisation of agriculture; concentration of farm ownership in fewer hands, leading to a streamlining of the labour force; farmers' need to extend the use of their own land, thus limiting land for workers' own agricultural use, with workers being given notice or leaving voluntarily; change in farm ownership; and action by farmers against elderly workers or workers perceived to be 'troublemakers'. It found that workers' resistance to relocation by farmers was 'fragmented, localised and individualistic'. The Farm Workers' Union claimed that Hex River farmers were using children of 10 to 14 years old as labourers. A University of Cape Town researcher stated that 90% of children on seven Boland farms worked during their school holidays and often missed school during harvest times to supplement family income, which was based on a wage of R15 per week for females and R20 for males.

The Farm Workers' Union temporarily froze its negotiations for better service conditions on account of the drought, and called on the government to subsidise farmers who were struggling to pay their workers. It stated that many farmers had
actually gone into debt to pay wages and that urgent steps were needed to keep labourers on farms. 70
In the research mentioned earlier, Dr de Klerk found that the wages of farm workers in the western Transvaal had risen in real terms from 13,9 cents an hour in 1969/70 (in 1970 prices) to 20,7 cents in 1971/72, but then dropped to 10,9 cents in 1975/76 (also in 1970 prices).
A new body, the Institute for Rural Community Development, which aimed to improve the living and working conditions of SA’s 1,2m farm workers, was established in Paarl. The institute aimed to provide better housing, sporting and recreational facilities, housewives' clubs, and training for farm workers. The idea originated with several Boland farmers who had been involved in setting up projects to improve the lives of farm workers. Mr Solly Essop, chairman of the Farm Workers' Union, said that he was grateful for the move but that the institute would be better employed pressing the government to provide legal protection and minimum wages for farm workers. 71
The agricultural sector was severely affected by the drought, which caused drastically reduced crops, a loss of earnings and foreign exchange, and the retrenchment of labour. An additional 120 districts or parts of districts were declared drought-stricken areas, bringing the total to 163 (Cape 77, OFS 46, Transvaal 33, and Natal 7). Certain areas were declared disaster areas: Messina, the Soutpansberg, areas to the north and south of the Soutpansberg and west of Pietersburg, the Louis Trichardt area; Phalaborwa and Koedoesrand.
It was estimated that the drought would lose SA R1 200m in foreign exchange. An amount of R800m would be lost through a drop in exports during the 1983/84 season. Agricultural exports were valued at R2 100m in 1982 and R2045m in 1981. In a normal year they constituted about 20% of all exports, excluding gold.72 Most of the loss would be due to the failure of the maize crop, which was expected to yield 4,7m tons as opposed to 8,3m tons in 1982. Moreover, SA would be forced to spend approximately R400m on importing 2m tons of maize to meet the shortfall in local supply. In 1982, 4,9m tons were exported. Other crops adversely affected were cotton and sugar. Mr P Bodasingh, president of the Natal Cane Growers' Association, stated that 1 600 Indian growers had lost an estimated R9m because of the drought.
Farmers' debts to the state increased dramatically. It was estimated that most of the R900m in production credit borrowed by farmers from the Land Bank in 1982/83 had been lost. Farmers' short-term debts amounted to more than R2000m over the two years of drought, while their total debt exceeded R5 000m. It was estimated that they would need credit of about R1 200m from the Land

AGRICULTURE INDUSTRY
Bank to plant the 1983/84 summer crop.73
The National Maize Producers' Organisation (NAMPO) called on its members to cut planting by half and produce only for local consumption. This was because rising costs and low world prices had made it uneconomical for farmers to grow maize for export. It was estimated that 50 000 Africans would lose their jobs as a result.74
At the end of March, the government announced improved aid measures for farmers. Those qualifying for aid would be able to consolidate their debts, which would be payable over 22 years, of which the first two would be interest-free. Another of the measures announced was a two percent reduction in the Land Bank's short-term credit advance rates to 12.75% in the case of production credit and 13.75% for all other short-term credit. The bank had also decided to reduce the market-related long-term lending rate on instalment loans to agricultural cooperations by 1.5% to 14%. In May the government decided to include the sugar industry in its relief measures by extending 100% Land Bank loans to sugar farmers of all race groups.

Mr E K Moorcroft (PFP) stated that, although welcome, these measures were no more than palliatives and that the liquidity crisis in agriculture was beyond the control of farmers. The state had tended to respond in an ad hoc way to crisis in agriculture. Long-term planning should be undertaken to place agriculture back on a sound footing. Increased relief measures for homeland areas were also introduced (see chapter on Homeland Development).

The drought also forced a number of businesses to scale down operations, leading to the retrenchment of workers. For example Tongaat-Hulett (sugar) laid off 2 000 workers due to the closure of four of its six mills during June. Retrenched workers were offered redundancy pay of 70% of normal wages for up to six months. Workers were guaranteed re-employment when the mills reopened. The offer was agreed to by the trade unions in the industry.

The Rural Coloured Areas Amendment Act, No 36 of 1983, made provision for the purchase of farm land in coloured rural areas by coloured farmers. There are 24 such areas, covering 2m hectares and carrying a population of 70 000. Except for two areas in the Orange Free State, all are situated in the Cape. Previously coloured farmers could only lease the land. Applications for purchase would be considered by statutory management boards and the price determined after expert advice. The act also empowered the government to subsidise essential services in rural towns, several poorer areas not having been able to collect sufficient funds themselves to maintain these services.

The Coloured Farmers Assistance Amendment Act, No 47 of 1983, placed the Coloured Persons Agricultural Assistance Board (established in terms of Law One of 1973 of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council) on the same footing as the Agricultural Credit Board (established in terms of the Agricultural Credit Act of 1966). The latter may, subject to the approval of the Minister of Agriculture, render assistance to farmers, while the former was previously empowered only to make recommendations on applications for assistance. The amendment allowed the Coloured Persons Board to render assistance, subject to the minister. During 1982 the Agricultural Credit Act had been amended to give the minister the authority, with the agreement of the Minister of Finance, to increase or lower the interest rate on loans, previously pegged at five percent. This act was amended in 1983 to allow a similar arrangement for coloured farmers.

DOMESTIC WORKERS

Domestic Workers
In terms of a 1966 formula set by the government, the following constraints were placed on the number of domestic workers and service personnel who could be housed in blocks of flats in prescribed areas.7"

Domestic workers:
* Bachelor flats - no domestic workers;
* One-bedroomed flats - no domestic workers except in special cases where a concession is justified owing to advanced age and/or ill-health or other incapacitating circumstances of an employer, and then only on the basis of one worker for every six flats, with a maximum of 10 workers per block;
* Two-bedroomed flats - one domestic worker to every six flats, with a maximum of 12 workers per block;
* Three or more bedroomed flats - one domestic worker to every three flats, with a maximum of 15 workers per block.

Service personnel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No flats</th>
<th>No offlats</th>
<th>1-8 - 1 employee</th>
<th>36-45 - 4 employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-8 - 1 employee</td>
<td>36-45 - 4 employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-18 - 2 employees</td>
<td>46-75 - 5 employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-35 - 3 employees</td>
<td>76-100 - 6 employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-130 - 7 employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1982, the Port Natal Administration Board refused permission to 186 domestic workers and 22 cleaners to be housed in prescribed areas, the West Rand Board to 226 domestic workers, and the East Rand Board to an unspecified number. The Minister of Co-operation and Development said in 1983 that the formula was being reconsidered, although the residence of unlimited numbers of blacks in high density white areas overnight cannot be permitted due to undesirable circumstances arising therefrom'. Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) pointed out that permits were being withdrawn from people who had employed domestic workers for many years. Such workers had no alternative accommodation in hostels or houses in the townships. 79

In April a symposium on domestic workers organised by the Pietermaritzburg branch of Lawyers for Human Rights identified domestic workers' low wages as a major problem. It was suggested that domestic workers should have written contracts even although they had certain rights under common law, including rights to their wages, to reasonable notice of dismissal, and to safe working conditions.80 The Domestic Workers' Association of SA recommended that domestic workers should receive overtime pay after eight hours daily, that meal breaks should be provided, that the number of working days per week should be constant, and that such matters as annual and sick leave and salary increases should be stipulated beforehand. The SA Domestic Workers' Association (SADWA) recommended the following minimum conditions for full-time workers: a wage of R121pm; eight hours' daily work for living-in workers; payment for the transport of living-out workers; a full day off each week with another half-day each weekend; adequately ventilated, heated, burglar-proofed and furnished rooms for living-in workers; proper bathing/showering and toilet
facilities; and four weeks' annual leave on full pay. For daily workers, SADWA recommended
RRS- G

FINANCE AND COMMERCE
payment of R1 1.50 per day, with transport costs and two meals being provided. The Old Mutual abolished its pension plan for domestic workers from 1 October because of lack of support. In five years the plan had attracted only 200 members. The company decided to refund members their money and suggested that they approach building societies if they wished to join a pension scheme.81

Finance

The following tables give the average numbers employed, their average monthly wages during the second quarter of 1983, and the percentage changes over June 1982:82

Banks
White Coloured Asian Africans
Numbers
64 242 6 212 3 099 10 064
% change 5,3 8,9 6,3 3,4
R/month 1 075 585 712 454
% change 12,5 14,5 20,3 20,4
Total 38 617 5,4 951 13,2

Building Societies
White 15 413 3,9 884 16,3
Coloured 953 9,9 528 24,5
Asian 670 7,2 656 16,1
African 2 770 1,7 329 13,5
Total 19 806 4,0 782 16,5

Insurance Companies
White 31 192 8,1 1 245 12,2
Coloured 6 141 12,8 544 13,1
Asian 1 654 6,3 903 23,4
African 7 174 9,2 494 21,4
Total 46 161 8,8 1 023 12,8

Commerce
The table below gives the average numbers employed, their average monthly wages for June 1983, and the percentage changes over June 1982:83

Wholesale trade
White Coloured Asian African
Total 216 600 -4,6 727 20,4
Numbers 84 900 24 200 12 100 95 400
% change
-3.3 -4.3 -2.4 -6.0
Rlmonth
1 329 418 620 282
% change
20.7 23.7 11.7 15.1

PUBLIC SECTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store Type</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Rlmonth</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>131 300</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>48 600</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>20 000</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>173 300</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>373 200</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>44 500</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>1 162</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>14 000</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>5 200</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>50 500</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>114 200</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>8 400</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>6 800</td>
<td>-8.1</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>32 100</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50 900</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A new wage determination was issued for the catering industry, with minima ranging from R12 and R25 per week for women and men general workers, respectively, in country towns, to R36 and R42 per week for women and men in the Cape. This sexual discrimination continued because the wage board had started its investigation before the legislation outlawing it was passed. However, the determination contained new minimum rates which would come into effect in three six-month stages leading to male/female parity within 18 months of its promulgation.

The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union (CCAWUSA) was recognised by the OK Bazaars. The agreement was significant in that it included a general maternity provision applying to any worker who fell pregnant three months after beginning work with the company. Workers would be entitled to up to a year's maternity leave, with a guaranteed position on return. They would also, on their return, benefit from any pay increases granted in the interim. The agreement also granted the union wage bargaining rights and provided for the recognition of shop stewards.

In November CCAWUSA declared a dispute with OK Bazaars after a breakdown in wage talks. The union demanded a R50 per month increase backdated to October while the OK countered with an offer of a R20 from December, and a
further R15 from February. The minimum wage at OK was R240 per month. The company offered to hold new wage talks in March.

Public Sector
Central Government
The numbers employed in June 1983, their monthly average wages, and the percentage changes over June 1982 were as follows:

**CENTRAL GOVERNMENT**
White Coloured Asian African
Numbers
142 419 67 371 15 198 147 314
% change
7.7 5.6 8.5 5.4
R/month
1 036 472 972 328
% change
5.0 2.6 5.0 11.2
Total 372 302 6.4 651 6.2

The authorised establishment of the public service - i.e. the number of posts in existence, whether filled or not - has steadily increased over five years, as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Administrative</th>
<th>White Other Clerical</th>
<th>White Other</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>White Other Technical</th>
<th>White Other General A</th>
<th>White Other General B</th>
<th>White Other Services</th>
<th>White Other</th>
<th>Non-classified</th>
<th>White Other Education</th>
<th>White Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>6 310</td>
<td>14 555</td>
<td>8 970</td>
<td>8 138</td>
<td>1 966</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>6 572</td>
<td>7 080</td>
<td>7 331</td>
<td>8 000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>15 202</td>
<td>16 002</td>
<td>17 049</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>210</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>17 405</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>9 534</td>
<td>9 409</td>
<td>9 677</td>
<td>10 078</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Forty-two percent (100672) of the posts are reserved for whites, and 58% (139738) for other races. Severe manpower shortages were still recorded, particularly in the Departments of Inland Revenue, Transport, Health and Welfare, and Education and Training. The vacancies tabled below demonstrate this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTRAL GOVERNMENT</th>
<th>Actual vacancies</th>
<th>Posts temporarily filled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3 295</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>1 933</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>2 348</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General A</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General B</td>
<td>5 536</td>
<td>1 613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-classified</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>1 678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 866</td>
<td>3 540</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This represents a vacancy rate of 13.6% of the total of 128 320 posts for these grades. A real shortage of permanent staff of 61 950 (excluding education and services) is obtained if actual vacancies and temporarily filled posts are taken together. The Commission for Administration's report for 1982 stated that the employment of temporary staff and people with insufficient qualifications to fill the vacancies had led to a drop in the quality of work. The Auditor-General, Mr L Schickerling, recorded his concern at the deteriorating control measures in the Department of Inland Revenue, which did not even have a qualified chartered accountant in its employ.

An examination of the gains and losses of personnel with higher qualifications than the minimum requirement in the administrative, clerical, professional and technical divisions, shows that in 1977/78 there was an absolute gain of 49 employees, which turned into a loss of 10 in 1978/79, climbed to a loss of 599 in 1980/81, and dropped slightly to 536 in 1981/82.88 One of the main reasons for the vacancies was the large number of resignations from the public service due to
dissatisfaction with wages. Expressed as a percentage of the establishment (excluding general B, non-classified and service categories), resignations rose from 7.1% in 1977/78 to 14.6% in 1980/81 and dropped slightly to 13.4% in 1981/82. Between 1 March 1983 and 31 August 1983 a total of 4 441 officials resigned from the public service.

In August the government announced a 12% pay increase for public sector workers from 1 January 1984. Workers were disappointed that the increase had not been granted from 1 September 1983 and pointed out that by January 1984 it would be 21 months since they had received increases, as the usual April increase had not been granted. Public servants also compared their increases unfavourably with the 27% pay rise granted to MPs in July, raising their salaries to R38 000 pa. Ministers' salaries were increased to R69 660 pa. Deputy ministers received R56904 pa and the leader of the opposition R52000. Previously, politicians' salary increases were linked to those granted to public servants, a practice which was ended in 1983 by the repeal of section 1(1) (b) of the Finance Act by the Finance Amendment Act.89

The government proceeded with its policy of occupational salary differentiation designed to make public servants salaries more competitive with the market. In 1981/82, 82 occupational classes were differentiated involving 174 000 people at a cost of R745m, and in 1982/83 a further 188 categories were graded involving 197000 people and costing R856m. Forty-three of those categories were for industrial technicians. An amount of R295m was voted in 1983 for this process, affecting approximately 130 000 workers.

Changes in the operation of the public service were introduced. In future,

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

ministers and their departments would be able to create posts and make appointments up to a level below that of director, with a salary ceiling of R30 255. This represented approximately 99% of the posts of the Commission for Administration. Previously, all appointments above the level of administrative officer (salary: R9234-R15740) were made by the commission itself. A managerial cadre comprising the offices of director, chief director, deputy director-general, and director-general was established. The commission also decided to appoint a separate training facility for managers in the public service.91 A comprehensive investigation has been undertaken into the functioning of the conciliation system and a report on this should be released in 1984.92

Police

The number of persons who joined and retired from the SA police force in 1982 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joined</th>
<th>Retired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>3392</td>
<td>2038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>2037</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>1 079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6251</td>
<td>3 393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In December the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said that the police force's strength should be increased from 44 000 to 68 000, the latter being regarded as the ideal figure. Twenty African policewomen were among the 700 students to complete their training during the year.

Figures released during the year showed that in 1982 salaries of white police constables were raised by 14%, those of coloured and Indian constables by 17,23% and those of Africans by 18,31%. Sergeants received increases of 16,7%, 15,4%, and 17% respectively.93

Defence Force

Parity in salary scales for the different race groups in the permanent force of the SADF had been achieved from the rank of major upwards in the non-professional categories. Africans below these categories received lower salaries. Parity had also been achieved between whites, coloured people and Asians in all categories in the technical and non-technical ranks but the salaries of Africans below the rank of captain still lagged behind. Some examples are given below:94

White/Coloured/Indian African
R/annum R/annum
Captain 9 648-12 030 8 820-10 890
Lieutenant 6 258- 9 648 5 706- 8 820
Staff Sergeant 7 782-10 890 7 158-10 062
Sergeant 7 158- 9 648 6 534- 8 820
Corporal 6 534- 8 820 5 450- 7 470
Private 5434- 7 470 4380- 6258

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Provincial Administrations

The number employed in June 1983, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over June 1982 were as follows:95

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>130 875</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1 008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>27 249</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4 623</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>98 530</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>261 277</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>664</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All provincial employees received a 12% increase in salaries from 1 January 1984 in line with the increases granted to public servants.

Local Authorities

The average numbers employed in June 1983, their average monthly wages, and the percentage changes over June 1982 were as follows:96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>60 300</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>28 300</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>6 300</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>140 500</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>235 400</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In December, the Johannesburg City Council approved in principle a decision that in future firemen would not be accommodated at new firestations. This led to speculation that African firemen could find jobs at these stations. The council previously could not employ African firemen because the Group Areas Act prevented them from living at firestations in 'white' areas.

In his presidential address to the annual congress of the Cape Province Municipal Association, Dr T Schlebusch stated that the shortage of trained and qualified personnel in the municipal service had reached crisis proportions. Recent increases in public service salaries on an occupational basis had led to resignations by local government officials to take up public service appointments.9 The Pietermaritzburg City Council also faced a serious shortage of professional engineers because municipal salaries were lower than those offered elsewhere. Municipal employees in Pretoria received a 12% salary increase and those in Johannesburg two five percent increases from 1 October 1983 and 1 April 1984 respectively. An amendment to the Johannesburg municipal pension fund rules granted municipal employees one bonus year for every five years of employment, with heads of departments receiving one bonus year for every year of service in that capacity, to a maximum of 10 years. Senior municipal staff in Pietermaritzburg received a pay increase of 7.5% from May. Industrial council negotiations for about 700 other municipalities were under way at the time of writing.

POST OFFICE

Post Office

The average numbers employed in June 1983, their average monthly wages and the percentage changes over June 1982 were as follows:98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Rl/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>50 939</td>
<td>8,3</td>
<td>1 080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>9 777</td>
<td>9,9</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1 803</td>
<td>8,8</td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>27 757</td>
<td>6,8</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90276</td>
<td>8,0</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During his 1983/4 budget speech the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications stated that there was still a shortage of trained staff in certain categories. Despite this, the department had managed to avoid disruption or curtailment of services. The growth in the activities of the department resulted in an increase in staff, both permanent and temporary, by 9.7% to 83 577 during 1982. During the same period 8 992 officials resigned, while 3 275 were re-appointed, compared with 11 489 and 3 165 respectively during the previous year. Of those who left, 389 were technicians and 506 postmen. Of the total number of postmen employed by the department at 31 December 1982, 1 912 were white, 1 044 coloured, 387 Asian, and 1 423 African. The numbers of technicians and artisans employed at 31 January 1983 were 5 061 and 662 respectively.99 There were 2 391 technicians and 272 artisans in training at the time of writing.

In August it was announced that post office workers would receive a 12% wage increase from 1 January 1984 as part of the general increase granted to the public
service. The minister stated that there was parity in the rate of pay for white, coloured and Asian postmen, but not for Africans. White, coloured and Asian postmen on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria and Durban were on a scale from R4 446-R8 644 pa and those in other centres from R3 822-R7 644 pa, while the scale for Africans ranged from R2 985-R5 973 pa. 100

A home loan scheme for post office employees was introduced in 1980 and 5 000 applications for loans had been received by March, of which more than 1300, involving R55,5m, had been granted.101 The department owned 987 flats and 1 707 housing units. Of these only 37 and 24 respectively had been allocated to Africans. 102

South African Transport Services (SATS)
The average number of employees in June 1983, the average monthly wages, and percentage changes over June 1982 were as follows:103

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R/month</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 207</td>
<td>-6.5</td>
<td>1 121</td>
<td>-3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 760</td>
<td>--16.0</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 053</td>
<td>-4.2</td>
<td>1 021</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113 845</td>
<td>-15.0</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-11.3</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOUTH AFRICAN TRANSPORT SERVICES
Cost-cutting measures introduced by SATS because of the 1982/83 deficit of R413m included the retrenchment of certain categories of staff. Pensioners who had been re-employed were laid off and the posts of those going on pension frozen. While permanent (white) staff were unaffected, casual or regular employees (ie African workers) were laid off. In all, 21 000 jobs were abolished during 1982.104 The situation was not expected to improve in the immediate future, particularly since the Minister of Transport Affairs presented a budget of R8 692,5m with a deficit of R634,2m for 1983/84.

Staff employed by SATS are divided into permanent, temporary, casual, and regular categories. Permanent and temporary appointments are restricted to SA citizens. Non-SA citizens employed as 'casual' or 'regular' workers are excluded from the terms of the Conditions of Employment (SATS) Act, No 16 of 1983, and are subject to a contract agreed to at the time of appointment. The SA citizenship requirement means that citizens of 'independent' homelands (Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei, and Venda) are excluded from permanent and temporary employment and are employed as casual or regular workers only. It is estimated that approximately 50 000 out of 130 000 African employees were excluded under this provision. However, it was also revealed in parliament that no Africans who met the citizenship requirement were in any case employed as permanent or temporary workers. At the time of writing there were 52 394 African casual employees and 64 316 African regular employees. 105

In February the SATS dockworkers who were dismissed in September 1982 after a go-slow strike in support of demands that the SATS recognise the General Workers' Union (GWU), decided to sign off and collect their pay. They had initially refused to accept their dismissal and take their wages while awaiting the
outcome of the SATS report on its conciliation machinery; this, however, had not been released.

In line with the rest of the public service, SATS workers were refused pay increases in 1983 but were granted a 12% increase from 1 January 1984. Commenting on SATS' programme of closing the wage gap between workers of different races, the minister stated that partial or full parity had been achieved in such matters as vacation leave, payment for public holidays, travelling concessions, and in salaries in certain higher posts and holiday bonuses. To achieve full parity would cost R400m. At a meeting of all the staff associations and the minister, it had been agreed that full parity could not be introduced immediately. With the next salary increases the first phase of the parity programme would be introduced. Upon completion of the programme reference to regular employees would be deleted from the Conditions of Employment (SATS) Act since the service conditions of all the race groups would then be equal. 106

The Federal Council of Staff Associations (FCSA) admitted the 60 000strong Black Staff Association to its 10-member council, bringing the council's membership to 170 000. Mr Jimmy Zurich, the council's president, warned SATS workers against trade union opportunists but added that he did not wish to imply that all 'outside' unions were irresponsible.

At a meeting in July, the FCSA passed a motion tabled by the coloured railways union that the railways should apply the principle of equal pay for equal work throughout the service. The council also recommended the formation of an industrial council to represent the 11 railway unions, which would give them access to the conciliation machinery contained in the Labour Relations Act of 1956 as well as to the industrial court. At present SATS has its own conciliation ma-

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

chinery, with each union negotiating separately on wage issues with the minister. The unions said that the formation of an industrial council would also end the 'unacceptable' system in which railways workers' pay rises were linked to those granted to government departments and post office workers. A committee was appointed to study the issue and to approach railways management. The council also strongly denounced the practice of detention without trial. Mr Zurich said that he found, in discussions with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in June, that detention without trial and the holding of people incommunicado and in solitary confinement was 'absolutely indefensible'. 107

The Conditions of Employment (South African Transport Services) Act, No 16 of 1983, revised the Railways and Harbours Service Act of 1960 and its 23 amendment acts. Changes were made to the industrial conciliation process by amendments to sections 27 and 28 of the principal act. These amendments arose out of the recommendations of a task group appointed by the FCSA to examine the restructuring of the Conditions of Employment Advisory Board and the machinery dealing with the settlement of disputes. The task group found that the board was very cumbersome and that matters could be speeded up and dealt with more efficiently by a smaller board on an ad hoc basis. The amendment allowed
for the establishment of such a board. Only the staff association or associations directly concerned with the matter under dispute would be represented on it instead of all the associations, as previously was the case. Apart from this, the act maintained the previous structure regarding conciliation procedures. In terms of this, staff associations may make representations to the minister or the general manager in regard to conditions of service. If no agreement is reached the minister may appoint a conciliation board to investigate. He may ask it to reconsider any recommendations, but is obliged to give effect to every recommendation of a conciliation board subscribed to by a majority of its members. A staff association has to be officially recognised as such by the minister before it can represent employees.

The retention of this system was strongly opposed during the parliamentary debate by the PFP, who saw it as an abrogation of the principle of freedom of association which had become progressively enshrined in other labour legislation. It recommended, unsuccessfully, that the bill should be referred to a select committee. The PFP also condemned the distinction in the bill between permanent, temporary, casual and regular employees as racist, and moved amendments that citizens of ex-SA territories should not be excluded from permanent or temporary status, and that a SA citizen or former SA citizen who has worked in a regular or casual capacity for two continuous years be allowed to apply for appointment in a permanent capacity. 108 The minister refused to accept the amendments. The PFP also opposed the retention of the section relating to strikes, which barred an employee or anyone else from initiating or taking part in a strike, stating that a blanket refusal to allow strikes was a denial of human rights. It said that the bill revealed the extent to which the SATS was run like 'a Victorian paternalistic state' and not a modern business. 19

Conditions of Employment

This act amalgamated and revised the provisions of the Shops and Offices Act (No 2 of 1983) and of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act (No 22 of 1941). A new definition of 'employee' covered workers in most sectors of the economy including, for the first time, security guards and shift workers, medical and health service workers, employees of boarding houses and hotels, commercial travellers, watchmen, delivery employees and service supply salesmen. Domestic and agricultural workers remained excluded, however. The amendment act also lifted the prohibition on night work and on overtime by women, and set a maximum working week of 60 hours for security guards and 46 hours for other workers. The daily hours of security guards were limited to 21 and 10 for a five-day and six-day week respectively. The maximum daily hours of work of casual employees were increased from eight and a half to nine and a quarter. Minimum hours for meal times were also set. A limit of 10 hours per day for all employees was set, with overtime to be agreed between employer and employee and paid at one and a third times the hourly rate. The 10-hour limit
could be exceeded only with the approval of an inspector. Provisions relating to public holidays remained the same, with factory workers receiving six and other workers all public holidays. Employees covered by the act for the first time would be entitled to the six days granted to factory workers. The previous prohibition on Sunday work was lifted, but work on Sundays and public holidays could be undertaken only with the consent of the employee. Previously factory workers could claim 10 or 12 days' vacation leave for a five or six-day working week respectively in a cycle of 12 months; in terms of the amendment act they could claim 30 or 36 days leave in a cycle of 36 consecutive months. This would be to their advantage in long periods of ill health. All employees must now receive a certificate of service on leaving an employer's service.

The provisions in the previous acts allowing for maternity leave pay were abolished and henceforth this will be dealt with in terms of the Unemployment Insurance Act (1966). A new provision allowed for appeals to the Director-General of Manpower against the decision of an inspector on an application to work additional overtime or to keep records in a form other than prescribed.

Penalties for transgressions under the act were raised. The maximum fine for victimisation was raised from R600 to R2 000. The maximum prison term of two years remained the same. The maximum fine for contravening any other provision was increased from R200 to R1 000, with the prison term remaining a maximum of one year.

In contrast with the previous acts, the amendment act prohibited the minister from making any differentiation on the grounds of sex, race or colour in the granting of an exemption from any provision under the act.

The bill received the general support of the PFP despite its concern about the exclusion of domestic and agricultural workers. The Conservative Party (CP) objected to the abolition of the prohibition on women doing overtime work, and to the clause forbidding any discrimination in the granting of exemptions on the basis of sex, colour or race.

Industrial Health

Statistics by the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner showed that about 325 000 workers were injured in industrial accidents in SA each year. An average of about 162 workers were injured every hour of an eight-hour working day. Of the daily accidents 10 were fatal and 125 resulted in permanent disablement. 110 Experts warned that SA lagged behind other countries regarding safety measures in asbestos factories. The existing permissible dust level in SA asbestos mines was five fibres per ml. New safety guidelines published by the Department of Mines in 1983 sought to have it reduced to two fibres per ml by 1984. In Britain the level was reduced from 15 fibres per ml in 1933 to 0,2 fibres per ml for crocidolite (the least harmful of the different kinds of asbestos) at present. In the US the admissible level since 1976 has been 2 fibres per ml for all types of asbestos.'1'

Workmen's Compensation Bill
A draft bill on the Workmen's Compensation Act (No 30) 1941, to be introduced during the 1984 parliamentary session, was published for comment. The bill aims, inter alia, to extend cover under the Workmen's Compensation Act by increasing the compulsory earnings limit from R12 000 to R18 000 per year. It also aims to increase benefits for injured workmen; allow for a 15% increase in certain existing pensions; provide for a revision board to hear and decide on objections to decisions of the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner; and provide for a uniform claims procedure for all population groups.

Machinery and Occupational Safety Act, No 6 of 1983
This act replaced and extended the provisions of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act of 1941. It provided for physical safety and occupational hygiene, the latter being regarded as the technical preventive measures to be taken at the workplace to protect the health of employees. The provisions in the previous act dealing with other work conditions (eg hours of work) were incorporated into the new Basic Conditions of Employment Act. A new definition of employee meant that most workers, including agricultural and domestic workers, would now be covered by the act. Excluded were those covered by the Mines and Works Act (1911). The previous act covered workers in factories only. The new act allowed for the establishment of a council for occupational safety to advise the Minister of Manpower. A further innovation was the introduction of safety representatives, who will be full-time employees chosen by the employer, in the ratio of at least one representative for every 50 employees. Another section provided that an inspector may require an employer to designate a specific number of safety representatives for a workplace. This was due to the fact that more representatives may be required where employees are exposed to extraordinary hazards. Safety representatives are required to conduct inspections at least once a month, or at such intervals as an inspector may determine. Any potential safety threat must be brought to the attention of the employee and employer concerned and a written report made on any serious accident. A safety representative may not incur any civil liability if he/she fails to exercise his/her rights. The employer must take steps to ensure that the representative performs the duties assigned to him.

The act further provided for the establishment of safety committees where two or more safety representatives have been appointed in a workplace. It also empowered the minister to make special safety regulations for different categories of employees, and concerning the safety of machinery. Section 51(h) (bis) of the previous act empowering the minister to make regulations as to the 'separation in or at any factory of persons of different sexes, races, or classes and the making of separate provision in or at any factory for persons of different sexes, races or classes in regard to any matter' was abolished. In promulgating regulations in future the minister may apply any method of differentiation providing it is not based on race or colour. Differentiation on the basis of sex is still allowed.
The act received the support of the PFP with a number of reservations: ie that safety representatives should be elected and not appointed; that they should be given time off for training; and that the minimum of one safety representative to 50 employees was too low. The PFP also objected to the fact that only accidents resulting in the employee's being off work for 14 days or more need be reported, and stated that inspectors should report on their findings not only to employers but to the employees as well. It argued that the fines and penalties were too light and proposed an amendment that there should be stricter secrecy measures concerning documents required by the chief inspector to avoid the abuse of confidential information and the possibility of industrial espionage. The CP, while welcoming the bill, objected, inter alia, to the inclusion of farm labourers under its ambit. All these objections were overruled by the Minister of Manpower.

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11 Ibid p 99
16 Meth C, Challenge from FOSA TU on Productivity, Occasional Publication No 6 1983 17 Rand Daily Mail 18 Figures supplied by Department of Manpower 19 Hansard 16 col 7612 23 May 20 NMC report op cit p 261 21 Hansard 16 col 7718 23 May 22 Memo on unemployment prepared by the SAI RR, Industrial Aid Society (IAS) and Black Sash October 1983
23 Cape Times 4 April, Eastern Province Herald 20 May
2 Hansard 5 0 col 482
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EMPLOYMENT


LABOUR RELATIONS

Trade Unions
There are four major federations of trade unions in SA. Two of these, the Council of Unions of SA (CUSA) and the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU), contain emerging and predominantly black trade unions. The others, the Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA) and the SA Confederation of Labour (SACLA), both represent older established unions. FOSATU and TUCSA are open to workers of all races, while CUSA is open to blacks only.

In addition, a number of unaffiliated and unregistered unions have emerged during the last decade which have played a leading role in the black trade union movement. These are notably the General Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and the South African Allied Workers' Union.

One of the two main federations of emerging unions is the Council of Unions of SA (CUSA), whose affiliates are: the Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union; Food and Beverage Workers' Union; Hotel, Liquor and Allied Workers' Union; National Union of Mineworkers; SA Chemical Workers' Union; SA Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union; Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union of SA; Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal); Transport and Allied Workers' Union; United African Motor and Allied Workers' Union; SA Black Municipal Workers' Union; and the Vukani Black Guards and Allied Workers' Union.

The other main federation of emerging unions is the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU), whose affiliates are: the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union; Metal and Allied Workers' Union; National Automobile 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; Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union; and the Natal Sugar Industry Employees' Union.

The following emerging unions are unregistered and also unaffiliated: African Allied Workers' Union; African Food and Canning Workers' Union; Black Allied Workers' Union; Black Health and Allied Workers' Union; Black Mine Workers' Union; Clothing Workers' Union; Engineering and Allied Workers' Union; Farm Workers' Union; General and Allied Workers' Union; General Workers' Union; General Workers' Union of SA; Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union; Media Workers' Association of SA; Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of SA; Municipal and General Workers' Union of SA; National Federation of Workers; National General Workers' Union; National Post Office and Allied Workers' Union; National Union of Seamen; National Union of Brick and Allied Workers; National Union of Security Officers; Orange-Vaal General Workers' Union; Petroleum, General and Allied Workers' Union; Retail and Allied Workers' Union; SA Allied Workers' Union; SA Society of Journalists; Tanning, Footwear and Allied Workers' Union; Writing Materials and Allied Workers' Union.

TRADE UNIONS

The established union movement consists of 57 unions affiliated to the 'Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA), 14 affiliated to the SA Confederation of Labour (SACLA), and 107 unaffiliated registered unions.
The numbers of registered trade unions, federations of trade unions and employer organisations are given below:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Racially exclusive unions:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian and Coloured</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>....12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mixed unions:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Coloured and Asian</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured, Asian and African</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All population groups</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>178</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total membership</strong></td>
<td>637,480</td>
<td>692,102</td>
<td>808,053</td>
<td>808,053</td>
<td>1,054,405</td>
<td>1,226,454</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Federations of trade unions:**
- Total number: 239, 244, 250, 255, 265, 262
- Total membership: 22,223, 27,185, 29,185, 29,285, 27,427, 31,424

The total membership of registered unions in 1982 showed an increase of 172,049 over the 1981 figure of 1,054,405. The total membership of all unions, including unregistered unions, was approximately 1,500,000, comprising about 15% of the economically active population. In Sweden, by contrast, 83% of the economically active population is unionised, in the UK 50%, in West Germany 38%, in the USA 20% and in Japan 33%. Ten unions had their registration cancelled in 1983, six obtaining registration. Several new unregistered unions were formed: the Petroleum, General and Allied Workers' Union (by the National General Workers' Union); the Black Health and Allied Workers' Union; the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union; the African Allied Workers' Union; the Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union; the Clothing Workers' Union; the Retail and Allied Workers' Union; the Writing Materials and Allied Workers' Union, and the National Post Office and Allied Workers' Union. (Past attempts to organise African postal workers had failed, largely as a result of concerted police action.) A pamphlet by the Western Province Garment Workers' Union (WPGWU), a TUCSA affiliate, was circulated in November attacking the newlyformed Clothing Workers' Union. The pamphlet described the new union as an organisation of nameless, faceless people, and told its members that they had more benefits than any other union could offer. The WPGWU has been criticised for being merely a benefit society, and for not fighting sufficiently for increased wages or better working conditions for its members, who, because of the closed shop, are compelled to belong to it.

Since 1979 there has been a significant decrease in the number of mixed unions for coloured people, Asians and whites, and a move towards unions representing either all population groups or black workers. Few whites have joined

**TRADE UNIONS**

predominantly black unions. During 1983 the (black) National General Workers' Union signed up a white woman from Pick ’n Pay but she resigned after publicity
about her membership. White workers at Kellog (Springs) joined the Sweet, Food, and Allied Workers' Union. A new mixed union was formed when the all-white National Union of Distributive Workers and the coloured/Asian National Union of Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers joined to form the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, which represents 16800 workers countrywide. It was also reported that a factor discouraging members of established white unions from joining emerging unions was that they stood to lose benefits such as provident fund membership and medical aid on leaving their original union for the emerging unions, whose members are frequently opposed to setting up benefit funds, as these entail deductions from small pay packets.

In examining the effects of the recession on union organisation among Africans, Mr David Lewis of the General Workers' Union said that this had not been significantly retarded by the recession - in fact it may have even been enhanced. He said that while workers in advanced industrialised societies might be cautious of joining a union struggle in a recession, this was not the case in SA, as African workers here had much less to lose. He argued that African unemployment had been so high during the last boom that African workers did not perceive the threat of unemployment as being substantially greater now than in the immediate past. In addition, there was a strong political imperative tied to an African worker's decision to join a union.2

The SA Co-ordinating Council of the International Metal Workers' Federation (IMF) reconstituted itself in 1983 after dissolving in 1981 because of dissension between its member unions (see 1981 Survey). The unions involved in the council are the SA Boilermakers' Society, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, the SA Tin Workers' Union, the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, the Radio and Television Workers' Union, the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union and the Engineering and Allied Workers' Union. The SA Electrical Workers' Association and the Amalgamated Engineering Union are no longer members as they were expelled from the IMF in 1982 in order to pave the way for the reconstitution of the local body.

In November the (coloured) Electrical and Allied Trade Union of SA and the (African) Electrical and Allied Workers' Union of SA, both members of the Federation of Electrical Trade Unions, amalgamated. A third union, the (white) SA Electrical Workers' Association, also a member, refused to amalgamate without first consulting its membership. A spokesman for the two unions said that they planned to form a new non-racial union to avoid the 'stigma' of being racially based parallel unions under the control of white unionists. Mr Ben Nicholson, general secretary of the white union, had also acted as general secretary of the other unions. The new union would become independent of the white union. Observers saw these developments as a further indication of the failure of the 'parallel union' strategy.

Council of Unions of SA (CUSA)

The membership of unions affiliated to the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) totalled 100 000 at the time of writing. Its fastest growing affiliate was the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which began recruiting in October 1982 and whose membership had grown to 55000 by December 1983. The NUM
TRADE UNIONS

gained official recognition from the Chamber of Mines during the year, as a result of which it became the first black union in the country's history to participate in wage bargaining on behalf of black miners (see chapter on Employment). During the year, as a result of a series of fatal mining accidents, the NUM became particularly concerned about mine safety.

CUSA had signed a total of 62 agreements with employers by December 1983. CUSA released statements on a number of issues. It condemned the proposed influx control bill (the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill) and, in June, warned the Minister of Co-operation and Development that the labour movement would take action if the Rikhoto judgement was not implemented (see chapter on Urban Africans). In February, it strongly condemned the demolition of shacks in Orlando East, Soweto, pointing out that the housing shortage in Soweto was no fault of the shack dwellers in that there had been no serious attempt on the part of the government to provide adequate housing for the African workers of the country. It also endorsed the call of the Soweto Anti-Community Councils Committee to residents to boycott the town council elections in Soweto in December, rejecting councils as in conflict with its belief in a common citizenship in an undivided land.

In a message to a meeting held in September to protest against the banning of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) in the Ciskei, CUSA said that the banning should be seen against 'the smokescreen of so-called labour reform that the masters in Pretoria have been wanting to sell to the Western World'. It was against 'every tenet of accepted international law and practice', and was a 'deliberately orchestrated' move against the growing awareness of workers of their collective power. CUSA condemned detention without trial and the detention in the Ciskei of two organisers of one of its affiliates, the Transport and Allied Workers' Union.

Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU)

FOSATU's total membership at the time of writing was 106 000. The Natal Supreme Court ruled in 1983 that four FOSATU affiliates - the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, and the National Union of Textile Workers - could obtain non-racial registration certificates. FOSATU had taken the matter to court after the Minister of Manpower had upheld a 1980 decision of the industrial registrar to register six of the federation's affiliates on a racially exclusive basis. FOSATU's view was that the registrar had the right to register the unions for a specific interest but that this could not include race. The court found that there were cases in which race could be regarded as an interest in the process of registration, but rejected the argument that different races automatically had different interests. Because no evidence had been advanced that special circumstances allowing race to be taken into account existed in the case of the four unions, the court ruled that the registrar had erred in registering them on a racial basis. A case before the Transvaal Supreme Court in which two other FOSATU unions are appealing against their racial registration had not been heard...
at the time of writing. Labour observers pointed out that in terms of the law the industrial registrar could not have registered the unions racially unless already registered unions had objected to FOSATU's affiliates representing races other than Africans. It was suspected that these unions wished to retain a monopoly on official bargaining rights for white or coloured workers.3

TRADE UNIONS
Following the court decision, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), in a surprise move, joined the industrial council for the iron, steel engineering, and metallurgical industry (see below). FOSATU continued to play an important role in trade union unity talks and also took a stand on several non-union issues. It announced that it intended mobilising its members against the government's constitutional plans and it condemned the (coloured) Labour Party's decision to participate in them. In October, FOSATU circulated a pamphlet to employers outlining the federation's stand on the constitution and challenging employers on their attitude to it. The pamphlet said 'no' to the proposals because they were undemocratic, leaving 72% of SA's people without any political role; racist as they divided people according to race; and anti-worker in that they attempted to break the non-racial strength of workers by causing racial division. The federation said it stood for a democratic SA based on 'one man one vote'. It demanded of management and company owners that they clearly state whether they supported the proposals, and that they disclose any financial support given towards the referendum campaign. Despite the majority 'yes' vote in the referendum, FOSATU said it would still use its strength on the factory floor to oppose the new constitution. FOSATU alleged that the 'yes' vote had proved that the government and business marched 'side by side'. It added: 'A few lone business voices said 'no' but the rest marched to the government tune. Or is it a case of the government marching to the tune of business?' (see chapter on The New Constitution).

MAWU reported that administration boards were already implementing 'the worst aspects' of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (for tighter influx control) and the Transvaal region of FOSATU subsequently adopted a declaration in the form of a petition to Dr Piet Kbornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, rejecting the bill and calling for the abolition of all controls on workers' freedom to seek jobs where they chose. It stated that all South Africans should have equal citizenship rights and workers the right to live with their families in decent housing within a reasonable distance from their places of work. The federation also condemned the destruction of shacks on the East Rand and resolved that companies should be made aware that this was causing workers severe problems. Some of the shack dwellers were migrant workers who had moved out of hostels to live with their families who had joined them in the city. Others were workers with permanent urban rights who had built shacks as they could find no other accommodation in the townships.' It also said that hostels were an unacceptable form of housing for workers. FOSATU announced that it would not join the newly-formed United Democratic Front (UDF).
FOSATU-affiliated unions were reported as having won the most recognition agreements from employers, while FOSATU members had been involved in more strikes than all the other union groupings put together. The federation continued with its labour studies course in 1983 despite the fact that the University of the Witwatersrand, which provided the facilities for the course, had cancelled its contract with FOSATU in 1982.

SA Confederation of Labour (SA CLA)
SACLA's membership was 129223 in 1983. At the annual conference of the Mine Workers' Union (MWU) - a major SACLA affiliate - its president, Mr Cor de Jager, claimed that the increasing number of strikes had vindicated a pre-

TRADE UNIONS
sition by the MWU that 'the recognition of black trade unions would bring problems for SA'. He demanded that white workers be entitled to maintain the racial monopoly over blasting certificates for which they had fought for years. He also said that a decision by the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company to integrate a junior official's cloakroom at its Rustenburg Platinum Mine had been referred by the union to the Attorney-General for investigation. Opening the MWU conference, the then Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Piet du Plessis, stated that there was a need to adapt to new realities but that the government would not force changes on white miners. Miners shared 'a great responsibility' to ensure that the mines remained competitive in world markets, he said.

Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA)
TUCSA's membership increased from 430 675 in 1982 to 453 906 in 1983. Hostility towards the emerging unions continued to be shown by TUCSA's leadership. Dr Anna Scheepers, TUCSA's 1982/83 president, predicted at the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut that the next four years would see a struggle for pre-eminence between unions and warned employers to keep out of this rivalry and to stop being intimidated into favouring the new unions. Dr Scheepers also claimed that the emerging unions were behind many illegal strikes and she urged that illegal strikers be prosecuted (almost all strikes by Africans are technically illegal, a situation to which the authorities have recently generally turned a blind eye).

During 1983 the SA Boilermakers' Society (BS), a leading TUCSA affiliate, which maintains contact with emerging unions, withdrew from the council following two motions at TUCSA's annual conference in September which it regarded as evidence of a shift to the right. One, calling for the prohibition of unregistered trade unions, was carried by 125 votes to 27. In introducing it, Mr Robbie Botha, general secretary of the Mine Surface Officials' Association, claimed that legislation to eliminate registration of unions was in the pipeline. This would open the way for general unions, which would 'inevitably become political mass movements', he said. If compulsory registration were not imposed there would be chaos. The Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union (MICWU) stated that the motion was a sign of weakness and panic, and that many TUCSA unions had been fully protected in the past, but had made no effort to organise
Africans. The second reason for the BS's resignation was the defeat of its motion calling on the government to amend the Labour Relations Act (LRA) so that workers could be free to join the union of their choice. Mr Ike van der Watt, the society's general secretary, alleged that several companies were paying thousands of rands to establish 'tame unions' (which workers were compelled to join through the operation of closed shops making membership of such unions automatic).

Conflict also broke out between TUCSA and the BS on the council's future direction. The BS believed that TUCSA should be trying to forge positive links with the emerging union movement and called for a special conference to examine the relevance and future role of TUCSA. Mr Arthur Grobbelaar, TUCSA's general secretary, opposed this, suggesting instead that a questionnaire be circulated to affiliates to determine their feelings on TUCSA's policy and practices. Mr van der Watt's proposal was rejected. Underlying Mr Grobbelaar's stand lay his belief that while TUCSA's public image had suffered a blow and that some criticism was justified, the solution lay not in a change in direction but in substantially increas-

TRADE UNIONS

ing the services TUCSA offered its members, such as legal aid, which would be funded by increased affiliation fees. In line with this, a motion to increase these fees was carried after a heated debate. In opposing it Mr van der Watt argued that while it was important that better services be provided, his union had strong misgivings about the view that these would enable TUCSA affiliates to win an interunion war.

The strong divergence of views within TUCSA was also revealed during debate on a motion, proposed by MICWU, calling on the government to reconsider the principles contained in the Constitution Bill, to create effective channels of communication with all SA citizens, and to move away from ethnically and racially based practices by designing a political structure without regard to race or colour. The 25 000-member Artisan Staff Association warned that it might have to reconsider its affiliation should such political issues be raised. The resolution was passed by 104 589 votes to 50 903 with 296 979 abstentions on a card vote, thus indicating that most TUCSA unions were reluctant to commit themselves.

In November two other unions, the Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Trade Employees' Union and the Witwatersrand Tea Room, Restaurant and Catering Trade Employees' Union, representing about 3 000 workers, disaffiliated from TUCSA. The unions said they had found themselves on the 'same side' as the boilermakers on the controversial issues raised at TUCSA's congress and, like them, believed the 'urgent cause of trade union unity can best be pursued at this stage outside TUCSA's ranks'.

Unaffiliated Unions

The African Food and, Canning Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, with a paid-up membership at March 1983 of 18 000, had signed wage agreements with 75 factories and recognition agreements, including some of the above wage agreements, with 44 individual factories. At their national conference, delegates confirmed their support for the trade union unity move and
declared that while they supported the UDF they would not join it at present. These unions established their own health clinic, believed to be the first in Africa started by trade unions.

The General Workers' Union (GWU) had 11 000 signed up and 10 000 paid up members. It had signed 11 recognition agreements with companies, seven of these including wage agreements. Nine were still under negotiation. It had organised or was in the process of organising 43 factories. The GWU, among whose members are stevedores in all four of SA's major ports, has built up substantial support among migrant workers in the western Cape. The general secretary, Mr David Lewis, said he could not envisage the GWU's affiliating to the UDF because their structures were very different; unions consisted essentially of a single class, compared to the multi-class UDF. Union leaders were mandated by workers in a factory but 'activist' organisations were not necessarily representative of their constituencies. Further differences were that community and student organisations were inevitably more politically orientated, defining the state as their source of oppression. However, workers' sources of oppression were both employers and the state. Furthermore, trade unions contained within their ranks workers of differing political views. To identify with one or other political organisation would divide unions and could also jeopardise the formation of the new trade union federation, regarded by the union as a priority. Workers, however,

TRADE UNIONS

were free to join community organisations and the UDF as individuals and were encouraged to do so7 (see chapter on Political Organisations).

In commenting on the constitutional proposals and referendum Mr Lewis said that a 'yes' vote by businessmen would leave African workers with little doubt about the link between employers and the apartheid state. He said that he trusted that those employers who had called for a 'yes' vote would no longer insist that trade unions could not similarly involve themselves in politics.8

The GWU offices were broken into in March and union documents stolen. A kombi allegedly seen at the scene of the crime was later identified as having the same registration as a police vehicle. In answer to a question by Dr Alex Boraine (PFP), the Minister of Law and Order confirmed that the kombi belonged to the SA Police, but said that it had 'not been near the scene of the burglary at the time'.9

The third annual congress of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union (MACWUSA) was attended by 8 000 people, who unanimously supported the union unity move. Mr Government Zini, MACWUSA's organising secretary, said that the union would refuse to register as long as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and influx control regulations remained on the SA statute book. The union also attacked the Labour Party for accepting the government's constitutional proposals. Mr Zini claimed that the trade union movement in Port Elizabeth was in no way politically motivated. The unions realised the need for a stable economy, which could be obtained only by sound relations between workers and employers. Union policy was that workers' needs could not be separated from community needs; workers should be represented by unions of
their choice; and negotiation with management was acceptable as long as it was on an equal basis." MACWUSA also condemned the continued detention of trade unionists. Delegates condemned the police for refusing people without permits entry to the New Brighton township where the congress was held. Mr F van der Horst, president of the South African Council of Sport, was among those arrested by security police and thus prevented from delivering the main speech. Two other speakers, Dr B Brown of the Eastern Cape Co-ordinating Committee (ECCO), and Mr Z Yacoob, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), were turned back at the roadblock. Teargas was released into the hall prior to the meeting. Attempts were also made to discredit the union before the congress when smear pamphlets were widely distributed. In July police visited Mr Zini's home in his absence and warned his wife that he should not involve himself in community matters. A number of MACWUSA officials were detained during the year. The South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) faced continuing harassment from both the Ciskei and the SA authorities, 12 officials being detained, some more than once, and members in Mdantsane township being intimidated by Ciskei police. These actions culminated in the union's banning by the Ciskei authorities. SAAWU strongly rejected allegations made by the president of Ciskei that its aims were subversive." At its annual congress in September SAAWU called on the government to stop using workers' pension fund contributions to fund the SA Defence Force and the war on the border; resolved that a memorandum should be sent to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations urging them to take strong action against the Ciskei authorities; and that influx control laws should be abolished. Mr T Gqweta, SAAWU's president, did not attend the conference as he was in hiding from the Ciskei's security police. Mr Gqweta has been detained on eight separate occasions. SAAWU continued to support moves to unify the emerging trade union movement. It joined the UDF but refused to endorse the manifesto of the newly formed National Forum (NF) because of its commitment to the Freedom Charter 'as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the liberation struggle'. In a surprise appearance at a UDF press conference in October, Mr Gqweta claimed that he had received numerous death threats since he went into hiding, and had been told that he would be shot on sight by the Ciskei police if he went into Mdantsane (see chapter on Homeland Affairs). The Media Workers' Association of SA (MWASA), representing black workers in the newspaper industry, rejected the country's new constitution at its annual congress in October. It declared that the government's policies propagated a system which frustrated all efforts designed to achieve the equality of all citizens in SA. Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was re-elected MWASA president, said the SA government and its 'bantustan' satellites had embarked on a 'pogrom' against the labour movement in the country. He warned that the Ciskei's banning of SAAWU and TUCSA's resolution that unregistered trade unions should be closed down should not be seen in isolation. MWASA's national executive decided that the
organisation would adopt a position of neutrality regarding affiliation to the United Democratic Front or the National Forum. Several changes to the union's constitution, including one to open its ranks to all races, were proposed. These would be finalised at a special congress in January 1984. In November MWASA called on the Argus company to pass some of its profits to the workers after the company had announced an increase in profits of 58% for the first half of the financial year, which the company's chairman, Mr L Slater, had described as being 'beyond its wildest expectations'.

Unity Moves

Attempts by the emerging union movement to form a national trade union federation continued in 1983, with a fourth summit meeting being held in Cape Town in April. At the meeting seven trade union groupings voted to establish a feasibility committee. They were FOSATU, FCWU, AFCWU, the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA), GWU, the Cape Municipal Workers' Association (CMWA), and SAAWU. Unions which failed to vote in favour of the committee were CUSA, the Orange Vaal General Workers' Union (OVGWU), and the Municipal and General Workers' Union (MGWU). Later CUSA announced that it would join the committee. This brought the proposed federation's potential membership to 300,000. CUSA's initial reluctance to join was because some of the other unions had white leaders, this being contrary to its policy of promoting black leadership. It said it would work to achieve this within the federation. FOSATU's general secretary stated after the April summit that FOSATU would disband and de-register if wider unity among the registered and unregistered emerging unions could be achieved.

Unity Moves

Meetings of the feasibility committee were held in Cape Town in July and October. It was reported after the July meeting that FOSATU was reconsidering its commitment to the unity move because of differences between it and certain Cape-based unions. After a meeting of FOSATU's central committee in late October it decided to attend further unity talks although it had no firm decision on the unity initiative. At the October meeting differences between the older unions and the community unions reur-

TRADE UNIONS

faced, with the former wanting concrete talks on details of a new federation and claiming that the latter responded to this with rhetoric only. The community unions believed that the older unions were not sufficiently committed to broader political objectives. A further meeting, scheduled for November, was postponed until February 1984.

Registration

In October, the Director-General of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, dispelled rumours that the government was to introduce changes to union registration in the 1984 parliamentary session, although it had received a report on the issue from the National Manpower Commission (NMC). It had been reported that changes to remove controls over unions in the registration system would be introduced. The commission had been investigating the issue for two years.” No report had been released at the time of writing.
At its conference TUCSA adopted a controversial motion calling on the government to bar all unregistered unions. Four FOSATU unions successfully contested their racial registration certificates and were thus allowed to be registered on a non-racial basis (see above).

The general secretary of the SA Boilermakers' Society, Mr Ike van der Watt, said that there was an urgent need for an overhaul of the government's trade union registration system. He called for the repeal of the section in the Labour Relations Act that allows unions on industrial councils to veto applications by new unions wishing to join them. This clause, and other controls in the registration process, were making emerging unions unwilling to register or join councils. Mr van der Watt predicted that the process would be changed to remove the 'exclusive rights' of registered unions to curtail the rights of new unions, which could theoretically be denied registration 'on the whim of an opposing union intent only on preserving the position of its leadership'. He urged that registration go no further than 'ensuring that similar organisations with similar aims were brought together'.

Bargaining, Conciliation, and Litigation
The following tables give details of the committee system, the number of African employees covered by it, the industrial council system and conciliation board agreements operating in SA during the decade following 1972 Works and Liaison committees 1972-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Year</th>
<th>Works committees</th>
<th>Liaison committees</th>
<th>African committees</th>
<th>African employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>312 541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>1 482</td>
<td>521 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>2 042</td>
<td>617 597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>2 382</td>
<td>715 656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>2 552</td>
<td>751 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<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>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>2 745</td>
<td>799 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>2 754</td>
<td>809 273</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (not available)

INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS
The number of industrial councils in existence hardly varied: 103 in 1972, 101 in 1977, and 104 in 1982. The number of industrial council agreements fluctuated slightly around the 100-mark, but dropped to 84 in 1982. The number of employers involved in such councils rose from 36 235 in 1972 to 48 309 in 1982. The number of employees covered by agreements rose as follows: 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employees covered by Industrial Councils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was a decline in the number of conciliation board agreements from four in 1972 to two in 1982, with employers concerned declining from 55 to 14 over the same period. The number of employees covered is given below:

Employees covered by conciliation board agreements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>13,951</td>
<td>1,257</td>
<td>4,715</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>13,559</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>5,047</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>12,598</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>4,796</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>9,470</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>4,596</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>7,827</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>4,195</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>7,816</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4,187</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>7,816</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4,187</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>11,598</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>4,837</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>8,708</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>5,068</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>8,708</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>5,068</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,298</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preliminary figures showed that 101 conciliation boards were appointed in 1983, almost double the 1982 figure of 60, indicating an increased usage by unions, both established and emerging, of the official dispute-settling machinery.

Industrial Councils

One industrial council had its registration cancelled in 1983, while five councils applied for a variation of their scope. No new councils were established.

In a surprise move, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) - a FOSATU affiliate - decided to join the national industrial council for the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industry. In 1982 a sharp debate had occurred within FOSATU on this issue, guidelines being issued to those unions contemplating the move. Commenting on its decision, MAWU stated that it would be guided by certain principles: that factory floor bargaining was fundamental and
MAWU stated that workers had failed to unite in their demands during the 1981/82 countrywide strikes. It was thus clear that they required a focus for unity, particularly in the light of the unity of employers in the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (SEIFSA), whose members’ annual output accounts for a third of manufacturing output in SA and exceeds R10 000 million. MAWU also said that some unions on the council claimed to speak for African workers and that it was necessary to establish that only it and similar unions were the true representatives of oppressed workers. MAWU’s entry meant that the council now comprised 16 trade unions and 45 employer organisations.

The president of SEIFSA, Mr J W Nelson, reported in October that about half the disputes processed by the industrial council for the metal industries during the past year had been resolved in terms of a new dispute procedure designed to enable disputes to be promptly handled and so avoid recourse to industrial action. In another development, four emerging trade unions which were not members of the industrial council gained representation on the board of management of the Metal Industries Group Pension Fund, to which more than 450 000 workers had contributed R58m at the end of 1982. This was the first time that mainly black unions had won a direct say in how a fund of this size was to be run. The ten unions with the biggest number of members covered by the fund qualified for a seat.

In November, delegates from the country’s 104 industrial councils met in Pretoria for a first-ever summit called by the Department of Manpower to discuss the role of industrial councils. They rejected the idea that councils were in need of major changes in order to survive. Certain problems were identified, however. These included the councils’ image, which delegates felt could be improved by publicising their role, and the need for greater professionalism from union and employer parties on the councils in order to dispel criticisms of the councils by emerging unions and others. Dr Piet van der Merwe, the Director-General of Manpower, said that some employers were reluctant to agree to exemptions from industrial council agreements for employers in rural areas, thus stifling development in those areas. He said that he appreciated the fears of unfair competition, exploitation, and lowering of standards that could result from exemptions. He suggested that councils could bring into their agreements a greater measure of regional differentiation, and called for a more sympathetic attitude towards small businesses struggling to meet the requirements of council agreements. It was reported that the meeting took place against the background of a move by the Department of Manpower to enable small businesses to be exempt from the minimum wage rates laid down in industrial council agreements.20

RECOGNITION AGREEMENTS
Manpower to intervene and threatened to take the matter to the industrial court. In terms of the Labour Relations Act a union that is a party on an industrial council
may veto an application by another union to join. However, the applying union has the right to appeal against the veto to the industrial court.

The Closed Shop
The National Manpower Commissioner (NMC) called in 1983 for representations from employers, trade unions and other interested parties for its investigation into the closed shop system in SA, which is to be submitted to the Minister of Manpower. In a working document, made available to interested parties, the NMC's point of departure was that the closed shop should continue to exist, subject to certain existing safeguards. It focused on three main questions: whether it was desirable that closed shop agreements concluded outside the ambit of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) should also be subject to safeguards contained in the act; whether the LRA should require a secret ballot among workers to establish whether they were for or against the closed shop if a significant proportion of workers petitioned the Minister of Manpower for such a ballot; and whether, if it was impossible or undesirable to make all closed shop agreements subject to the act, provisions of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act (1979) should be made applicable to them.

The closed shop as it operates in SA was criticised by emerging unions on the grounds that established unions were using it to gain or maintain a large and perhaps unwilling membership with a minimum of effort. Some emerging unions proposed that the closed shop should not be applied at industry level but at plant or company level only. They also favoured ballots among workers at plant level to determine support for closed shop agreements.

During the year the industrial council for the printing and newspaper industry granted African workers at three Industria plants owned by the Nampak group exemption from a closed shop agreement, thus allowing them to resign from the TUCSA-affiliated SA Typographical Union (SATU), which they had been forced to join because of the agreement. The workers joined, instead, the FOSA-affiliated Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAWU), which claimed majority support at the plants. However, new workers would still have to join SATU. Workers charged that SATU had forced itself on them but had done nothing for them. This was the second time Nampak had been granted an exemption. In August workers at Nampak's Pietermaritzburg factory also voted to leave SATU for PWAWU. In the same month, 94% of the workers at Kohler Ltd also voted to resign from SATU and join PWAWU. Grafton Everest continued with its struggle with the industrial council for the furniture industry to have the closed shop in this industry abolished. After the council failed to resolve the dispute it went forward for arbitration. However, uncertainty arising from changes to the LRA - as to whether it should be heard by the Minister of Manpower or the industrial court delayed its resolution.

Recognition Agreements
Emerging unions continued with attempts to obtain recognition from companies on an individual basis outside the official collective bargaining system. These agreements at present run into hundreds. The Director-General of Manpower
Dr Piet van der Merwe, supported such agreements as they could play a constructive role in ensuring 'orderly labour relations at the level of the undertaking'. Once greater expertise in bargaining had been obtained by the unions, the benefits of making use of the statutory conciliation and bargaining machinery might become clearer.2

However, not all employers showed willingness to deal with unions. Some attempted to promote one union over another, which led to disputes. At least eleven reported strikes broke out as a result of alleged refusals by employers to recognise representative trade unions, only five being resolved satisfactorily. Four unions took employers who refused to recognise them to the industrial court, which found in their favour each time (see below). Sometimes the threat of industrial court litigation seemed to spur settlement. A dispute over recognition between Alfa Romeo and the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU) was settled through the intervention of the parent company. NAAWU had threatened to take Alfa Romeo to court when it refused to recognise the union at its Transvaal depots at Wynberg and Tulisa. The union claimed that the company had attempted to foist a works council on the workers. The union also demanded the reinstatement of 16 workers, including three union leaders, who had been retrenched. It alleged that the retrenchments were an attempt to victimise worker leaders. After the Italian Metal Workers' Federation (FLM) and the International Metal Workers' Federation (IMF), to which NAAWU belongs, had intervened on NAAWU's behalf, court action was dropped and a settlement signed in Rome in May by representatives of the FLM, the IMF, NAAWU and Alfa Romeo's SA chairman. The union also won the reinstatement of the three union leaders, two on a temporary basis until business improved. No settlement was reached regarding the 13 other workers. Mr Fred Sauls, NAAWU's general secretary, claimed that it was clear that the only way to counter the power of multinational corporations was to establish close links with international federations like the one between the FLM and NAAWU.22

Over the past few years a trend has emerged of settling inter-union rivalry for recognition in a plant by a ballot or some other test of union strength. In August Irvin and Johnson's Springs plant held a 'verification' test based on the number of stop orders signed to determine which of two unions - the FOSATU-affiliated Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU) or CUSA's Food and Beverage Workers' Union - had majority support. The CUSA union, which was already recognised there, was found to have stop orders from 52.7% of the 450 workers, and SFAWU 37.4%. The latter disputed the test's validity, alleging that some workers had been pressurised by foremen into signing stop orders on behalf of the CUSA union.23 A dispute at Braitex between the FOSATU-affiliated and CUSA-affiliated textile unions was settled by a ballot in terms of an industrial court ruling, the FOSATU union emerging as the winner (see below).

An unusual agreement, between MAWU and Dunlop SA Ltd, which took six months to sign, led to the company's withdrawal from the Durban rubber industrial council and the council's closure.

A recognition agreement signed by the FOSATU-affiliated Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union and the Carlton Paper Corporation contained a clause
representing a major breakthrough for workers' rights to strike. It stated that in the
event of a strike the company would either fire its entire workforce or no workers
at all. If it fired all the workers, it agreed that it would not re-employ them
selectively. Unionists argued that if employers could fire strikers only at the

INDUSTRIAL COURT
risk of losing their entire workforce, they would be dissuaded from firing them. A
similar clause was contained in the agreement between Natal Thread and the
National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW).24
Although unionists have constantly urged companies to refrain from calling in the
police during disputes, some companies have persisted in this. Thus workers at
Supreme Mouldings, Johannesburg, were confronted by seven policemen with
dogs, invited in by management, at a meeting to discuss union recognition
requested by the workers. Management gave workers an ultimatum to choose
between the company and the union, and forty-eight of the 50 workers were
ordered to leave the premises when they chose to remain members of the union.
The union decided to lay a complaint of victimisation against the company (see
below).

The Industrial Court
The Industrial Court, after a disappointing early beginning, exerted an
increasingly important influence on labour relations, in particular through its
judgements on unfair labour practices and the application of section 43 of the
Labour Relations Act, which allows it to make status quo orders granting interim
relief to an aggrieved party involved in a dispute pending a further hearing at
which the dispute itself is adjudicated.
The court made a number of precedent-setting decisions in 1983, in particular
regarding employers who refused to negotiate with or recognise representative
trade unions. Giving judgement in a dispute between the South African Society of
Journalists (SASJ) and newspaper managements, the court ordered the employers
to return temporarily to the conciliation board. It ruled that in certain
circumstances employers could be ordered to bargain in 'good faith' with a
representative trade union (see chapter on Employment). The compulsion on
employers to recognise representative unions was taken a step further when the
court ordered Fodens (SA) to start negotiations with the United African, Motor
and Allied Workers' Union with a view to signing a recognition agreement, a fair
and comprehensive grievance procedure, and a disciplinary procedure. While in
the SASJ case the effect was to order an employer to bargain in good faith where
there had been a long-standing relationship, the Fodens judgement suggests that
such bargaining should take place even where there has been no relationship in
the past. In the latter case the court also ordered the company to use a mediator
(whom the court nominated) if negotiations broke down, and to pay three
retrenched workers from the date of their dismissal to the date their contracts
ended. The company was further instructed not to victimise union members and
not to interfere with the freedom of association of its workers. The court also
ruled that it was an unfair labour practice to call a worker a 'boy' or a 'kaffir'.

In another decision, the court supported the principle of representation by a majority union when it ordered a Frame group textile company not to recognise the Textile Workers’ Industrial Union (TWIU) - a TUCSA affiliate -- and not to grant it facilities in preference to the FOSATU-affiliated NUTW. The latter union, which initiated the court action, claimed that the company had attempted to intimidate workers into joining the TUCSA union. When the interim order lapsed the FOSATU union took the issue to the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court to obtain a ruling preventing the company from favouring the TWIU. The matter was settled out of court, however, in an interim agreement in which the NUTW agreed to withdraw its court application, and the Frame group not to recognise the TWIU and not to grant it any facilities at the Framtex Mill until the dispute had been resolved by a conciliation board or the industrial court. The NUTW agreed to contribute R5 000 towards costs. After the conciliation board had failed to settle the dispute it was again referred to the industrial court for a final order. In an unprecedented move, Frame asked the Natal Supreme Court in December to prevent the industrial court from hearing the dispute.(It had also opposed the establishment of the conciliation board, arguing that recognition disputes should be settled by a trial of strength between the two sides rather than by the court.) The case was postponed, however.

The NUTW also took the Braitex company to court, charging that it had committed an unfair labour practice by altering the conditions of work of its employees without negotiating with a representative union, retrenching 15 employees without prior negotiations with the union, and bringing in a 'sweetheart' union. The matter was settled in court, with the company agreeing to pay R40 000 to its employees (the largest award won to date in a labour case in SA), reinstate those retrenched, pay backpay, and recognise and negotiate with whichever union won an election to be held within two weeks of the settlement. The NUTW subsequently won the election, gaining 84% of the vote. The settlement was made an order of court.

The risks for employers who fire employees without adhering to equitable dismissal procedures were highlighted by a number of judgements in terms of section 43 ordering firms to reinstate dismissed workers. In January, in a precedentsetting interim decision, the court ordered Stobar (Elandsfontein) to reinstate 51 dismissed workers on terms and conditions no less favourable than they had enjoyed prior to dismissal. The action was brought by MAWU. The workers alleged that they were fired (in August 1982) without warning in an attempt by the company to avoid negotiations over retrenchments so that it could carry out 'disguised retrenchment' by dismissing all the workers and then rehiring selectively. The union argued that an employer should have reasonable grounds for dismissing an employee, must have conducted a thorough investigation into the alleged misconduct before sacking him and that a worker faced with dismissal should be given an opportunity by an employer to present his side of the matter. The company held that the workers had broken their contracts and had effectively dismissed themselves by having embarked on a go-slow strike. Previously it had
proved extremely difficult for unions to win cases in which they alleged that the
dismissal of workers was due to union activities and, therefore, constituted
victimisation on the part of employers. The matter was not pursued further in the
courts; Stobar and the union reaching a final and amicable settlement themselves.
Interim relief in terms of section 43 was granted to four workers who had been
dismissed by Fry's Metals. This dismissal led to a dispute between the company
and SAAWU, the former holding that it was not bound by the recognition
agreement in existence because this had been signed between the union and
Chloride, the previous owner of the company. Seventy-three workers went on
strike in support of their colleagues and were dismissed. The union intended
taking action for their reinstatement.
In a case between a white miner, Mr L van Zyl, and the O'Okiep Copper
Company, the court found that the company did not have a clearly formulated
disciplinary procedure regulating warnings given to employees for misbehaviour.
Mr van Zyl was granted interim reinstatement as he had not been invited to attend

INDUSTRIAL COURT
one of the disciplinary hearings at which a decision was taken to fire him.
Not all judgements went in favour of workers, however. The Media Worker's
Association of SA (MWASA) lost a case against The Star in which it attempted to
win reinstatement under section 43 for 162 of 209 workers dismissed during a
strike earlier in the year over a colleague's dismissal. MWASA had rejected an
out-of-court offer of reinstatement for workers with long service and R73 800 in
severance pay ranging from R300-R2 000 each to 139 workers who had more
than five years' service, with R250 for the remainder. MWASA's application for
temporary relief was turned down by the court on the basis that the applicants had
failed to establish a prima facie right to strike. Mr D R van Schalkwyk, who
presided at the hearing, found that in view of the disciplinary history of Mr Oupa
Msimang (whose dismissal had precipitated the strike), 'the respondent revealed
unsurpassed leniency towards him, rendering his dismissal totally justified'. In
answer to MWASA's allegations that The Star management ignored disciplinary
procedures in Mr Msimang's dismissal, the court ruled that the 'protection' in a
system of procedures is not unilateral protection for the benefit of the employee
only, but is bilateral and affords protection to the employer as well; that the action
by the 209 workers constituted a strike and not a work stoppage as argued by the
union; and that even if final agreement on disciplinary procedures had not been
reached by the two parties, 'it does not imply that anarchy is to reign in the
interim'. The court also criticised the union for not having revealed a
'compromising approach'.
Commenting on unions' use of the courts, Mr Alec Erwin of FOSATU said legal
action was one of a range of strategies that unions had adopted to gain and ensure
worker rights. FOSATU would pursue court action only if it was linked to a
planned organisational drive. Mr Mike Morris of GWU believed that the current
recession had led to increased use of the court in settling disputes and protecting
workers' rights. He said, however, that some unions had always resorted to the
courts as a means of settling disputes, but believed that this was due to a lack of organisation in the unions concerned.25
The successful use of the court by trade unions seeking interim orders led to concern among some employers, who believed that because the definition of an unfair labour practice was very wide, the court's power to make law by setting precedents was too great. Giving voice to employer fears on the issue, Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of the Barlow Rand group, highlighted in his company's annual report the increasing use of the industrial court by emerging unions seeking redress from employers by 'taking advantage' of the wide definition of an unfair labour practice. He said that 'the decisions of the court have created considerable uncertainty among employers as to what they legitimately can and cannot do'.
Concern about the role of the court was also expressed by representatives of industrial councils at a special meeting called in November by the Department of Manpower. They held that the councils could become irrelevant, because areas which should be dealt with by them were being referred instead to the court as unfair labour practices. Dr Anna Scheepers, immediate past president of TUCSA, said that she believed that a strict definition of an unfair labour practice was needed which would protect workers but also maintain discipline in the factories. At the meeting the Director-General of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, said that legislation to curb the powers of the industrial court would probably be introduced in 1985, and that it would strictly define an unfair labour practice.

LABOUR LEGISLATION
Attempts by Barlows Manufacturing to challenge the court's powers failed when the court rejected the company's request that it allow the Supreme Court to review its decision ordering the company to reinstate workers who had been dismissed with proper notice. The company held that the employer had a right to dismiss workers if it gave them proper notice and that the court should not interfere with this right.
In the first-ever move of its kind, a metal firm in Howick, Natal, BTR Sarmcol, brought an action against a union, MAWU, in the industrial court for an alleged unfair labour practice. MAWU had first declared a dispute with the company, arguing that, in refusing to negotiate with it over severance pay, the company had committed an unfair labour practice. The company, in turn, declared a dispute with the union, alleging the MAWU was guilty of an unfair labour practice because it refused to bargain 'in good faith'. In December the parties reached an out-of-court settlement, thus avoiding an industrial court decision on this issue.

Mediation Services
In a significant move a labour mediation service to assist in settling disputes between employers and trade unions was established, its steering committee comprising labour relations men from companies such as Grinaker Holdings, Barlow Rand, Anglo Vaal and Ford, representatives of the Council of Unions of SA (CUSA) and the SA Boilermakers' Society, and labour experts from a number of universities. The service aimed to be independent of the government. The committee said that mediators were not there to take bargaining out of the hands
of the parties and settle disputes but to find ways of 'keeping the parties talking and of closing the gap'.

Legislation
The Labour Relations Amendment Act, No 2 of 1983, was designed, in the main, to hasten the settlement of disputes. An amendment to section 35 of the principal act allows for the establishment of conciliation boards in industries and areas where there is no industrial council. The parties applying for a board need not be registered, but must represent more than 50% of the employees concerned and comply with the provisions of the act regulating their activities. The amendment act also empowers the Minister of Manpower, on his own initiative, to appoint a conciliation board where there is no industrial council with jurisdiction. Provision is further made for direct arbitration in a dispute (excluding a dispute concerning an unfair labour practice) where no industrial council exists and where the parties are satisfied that a conciliation board would be unable to settle it. In addition the act empowers the minister, after consultation with the parties to a dispute, to appoint any person as mediator. Previously the dispute had to be considered by either an industrial council or a conciliation board before mediation could take place.

A further amendment provides that appeals against the decision of an industrial council regarding the admission of a new party to the council will be made to the industrial court instead of the minister.

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TRADE UNIONS AND HOMELANDS
An amendment to the secrecy provision states that in future secrecy regarding industrial court decisions has to be observed only in respect of the financial or business affairs of any person, firm or business. The president of the industrial court is granted the discretion to indicate which judgements, decisions, determinations or awards of that court may be published for general information. The written consent of the parties must be requested, but if this is refused the final decision to publish rests with the president of the industrial court if he is satisfied that their consent was unreasonably withheld. In this instance publication may not reveal the identity of the parties. The existence of such secrecy was criticised by labour lawyers, who were dissatisfied in particular with the provision requiring the parties' written consent, believing that the losers would not grant it. Moreover, the withholding of the parties' identities would prove inconvenient for those wishing to follow developments in labour law.

The amendment act introduced stricter control over labour brokers in the light of the widespread and growing nature of their operations. A new definition of a labour broker was introduced, while the definition of 'employer' in the principal act was amended to include labour brokers. A labour broker becomes the workers' employer (and vice versa) for the undertaking, industry, trade or occupation into which the activities or operations performed by the workers hired out by the broker fall. Furthermore, the premises where the workers are employed are regarded as the broker's premises. Lastly any action by the client in relation to the workers concerned is deemed to have been done by the labour broker as their
employer (except if the action entails criminal liability). Previously, workers hired out by brokers were at a disadvantage because they were unable to work long enough for one employer to build up any pension, sick or provident fund benefits. Furthermore, brokers made the system economically viable by remaining outside statutory wage-regulating measures, often by structuring the relationship so that the employee appeared as an independent contractor. This legislation, making the labour broker the permanent employer, gives workers statutory protection and makes it possible for them to accumulate benefits.

A further amendment provided for labour brokers to be registered with the Department of Manpower. Moreover, if a dispute arises where the labour broker is deemed to be an employer it must be referred to the industrial court for a decision. These amendments arose out of recommendations contained in the Riekert Commission report (1979) that the system of labour brokers should be reexamined.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) supported the legislation. The Conservative Party (CP) supported it with reservations, opposing the rights accorded to unregistered unions. It, along with the New Republic Party (NRP) - which also welcomed the legislation - wanted clarification of the criteria to be applied regarding the minister's direct intervention in disputes.26

Political Issues
Attitudes of Homeland Authorities

The attitude of homeland authorities to trade unions tends to vary. Mr Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana's Minister of Manpower, said that the territory's proposed Industrial Conciliation Act would grant workers in Bophuthatswana limited union rights. Unions would have to register with the government, would not be allowed to practise racial discrimination and would have to bargain at industry level. Agreements with individual factories would not be allowed. SA-based unions would be barred from Bophuthatswana but workers living there and working in SA would be allowed to join SA trade unions. Such a measure would adversely affect unions which have already organised within Bophuthatswana, and would also prevent unions operating on the borders, for example MAWU and NAAWU, from expanding into the area.

The Ciskei, which over the past few years has conducted a concerted campaign against trade unions, stepped up its actions in 1983, finally banning SAAWU (see below). The Transkei declared its opposition to the operation of trade unions in its area (see chapter on Homeland Development).

TRADE UNION HARASSMENT

In a memorandum for discussion with the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) in Geneva in June, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said that Inkatha would like to see trade union interests represented on its central committee. 'In this way the decision-making independence of the trade union movement will be left unaffected but the movement itself will gain from the presence of trade unionists who could influence Inkatha's policy and decision-making process at the central committee level.' Inkatha's constitution makes provision for this by
offering affiliation status to any trade union in the country. Chief Buthelezi said it 'was an act of faith' on Inkatha's part and he hoped that in due course trade unions would 'reciprocate and establish possibilities for Inkatha's presence in their decision-making bodies'. He said that the search for common ground between Inkatha and trade unionists would have to be done with sensitivity as well as hardheaded realism and that Inkatha could no longer defer the question of what it could do for workers, who dominated its membership.

Action against Trade Unions

There was an increase in the number of union officials known to have been detained by the Ciskeian or SA security police during 1983. Twenty were detained in 1982 (15 by Pretoria and five by the Ciskei) and at least 28 to September 1983 (9 by Pretoria and 19 by the Ciskei). Some unionists were detained more than once. The actual number of those detained could be higher, but full official figures are not published.

In January, Ciskei security police raided the homes of members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). The then head of the Ciskei security police, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, said he saw SAAWU as synonymous with the African National Congress (ANC), an allegation strongly denied by SAAWU. In March the Ciskei security police detained Messrs D Thandani and S Wayini, secretary and chairman of the East London branch of the General Workers' Union (GWU), and a member, Mr T Deshe. Later in the month they detained five SAAWU officials, Mr T Gqweta, president, Mr S Njikelana, vice-president, and Messrs B Sifingo, J Wabena and H Maxagwana, organisers, during negotiations at the Chloride plant and at a smelter plant in Berlin. Two officebearers of the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU) were also detained. This brought the number of times Messrs Njikelana and Gqweta had been detained by Ciskei or SA security police to six and eight respectively, without their having been convicted of an offence. SAAWU condemned the detentions and a meeting in East London of more than 100 trade unionists and black organisations demanded the unconditional release of those detained. Chief Lennox Sebe, President of the Ciskei, claimed that the unionists had been detained because they were involved with the ANC. The Ciskei's Attorney-General refused to prosecute, however, and they were all subsequently released. In May two officials of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU), Messrs D Vani and L Ngodeka, were detained by SA security police in Mlungisi township near Queenstown. Their detention followed the arrest of six members of the union who were fired during a strike at the Eastern Cape Agricultural Co-operative Creamery. Mr Mafumadi, organising secretary, and Mr Monde Mditshwa, national organiser of GAWU, were detained by the Ciskei security police for a few days in May. In June SA Railways security police briefly detained Mr C Ngcukana, general secretary of the African Allied Workers' Union. On 21 July SAAWU unionists Messrs Njikelana and B Tuluma were detained by Ciskei police. Mr Njikelana was released on 7 November. A week later two
organisers of SAAWU, Messrs D Smoko and S Mayekiso, were detained by SA police at SAAWU offices and documents removed.

In August Ciskeian security police detained a further five trade unionists in the East London area. They were Mr D Thandani (GAWU), Mr N Norushe (AFCWU) and three SAAWU officials, Messrs M Mdyogolo, B Melitafa and B Sifingo. The International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions, representing 5,5m teachers throughout the world, sent telegrams to the SA Prime Minister and the Ministers of Justice and of Law and Order protesting against the detentions and calling for the immediate and unconditional release of the five 'unless they are charged and brought to trial'. The Ciskei also detained SAAWU organisers Messrs E Mntonga, G Shiba, G Mambushe, and H Maxhegwana. In September SA security police detained Messrs E Shabangu and A Masondo, officials of GAWU, as well as two officials of the unrecognised SA Mineworkers' Union (an offshoot of GAWU) while they were organising in Rustenburg.

The Ciskei authorities' action against SAAWU culminated in their banning thereof in August under section 91 (b) of the Ciskei National Security Act. They warned that 'severe penalties' faced people who remained members of SAAWU, which they had accused of 'complicity' in the bus boycott by residents of the Ciskei township Mdantsane working in East London. The boycott had started on 18 July when it was announced that bus fares were to be increased by 11%, bringing fares on some routes up to R7 per week. A request by a committee of Mdantsane residents to the bus company that the increases be shelved was refused. Residents then travelled by train and taxi instead, to the anger of the Ciskei authorities, who used tough measures in their attempt to break the boycott (see chapter on Homeland Affairs). SAAWU's president, who had gone into hiding to avoid police harassment, offered to negotiate an end to the boycott on condition that detained SAAWU unionists and committee members were released unconditionally, an offer not taken up. Later SAAWU rejected a request by the bus company to hold talks on the boycott, stating that these should be attended by the community

TRADE UNION HARASSMENT

organisation which had initiated the boycott. However, its leaders were in detention.

The banning of SAAWU was condemned by virtually the entire emerging union movement, which said that it was the latest serious attack on the trade union movement since the banning of union leaders in 1976. Neither the SA government nor employers should think that they could distance themselves from the banning. The unions charged that the complicity of the SA government was shown by the SAP's arresting of union officials and handing them over to the Ciskei. They said that there could be no talk of reform of the labour laws and the constitution while worker organisations were suppressed. They 'utterly rejected' the explanation by the Ciskei government that SAAWU engaged in activities which endangered national or public safety. The 'facts' were that the people of Mdantsane were boycotting buses because the bus company, partly owned by the Ciskei government, was profiteering 'at their expense'. The people were more determined
than ever to continue with the boycott, the unions said. A small committee, which included unions as well as United Democratic Front (UDF) representatives, was set up to aid those detained and their families.

Mr Herman Rebhan, general secretary of the 14m-strong International Metal Workers' Federation (IMF), fully endorsed a statement issued by the IMF's SA Co-ordinating Council condemning the banning of SAAWU as being 'directed against all democratic unions inside and outside SA'. He attacked the 'vicious collusion' between the SA government and Ciskei in oppressing SAAWU.

Mr Theo Hefer, manpower consultant for Grinaker Holdings Ltd, said SA would not be able to remain uninvolved as the world would see the banning as 'an effective denial of the rights of workers born in SA and working in SA'. The Director-General of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, said that the Ciskei was a completely independent state and that SA had no say over its actions. However, the banning must have an inevitable effect on industrial relations. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the UDF, and the SA Institute of Race Relations all condemned the banning.

In November the Ciskei authorities released Mr Njikelana, Mr B Norushe, and 13 other detained students. After their release SAAWU called on the government to negotiate with it for the restoration of peace in the eastern Cape. In the same month, two organisers of AFCWU, Mr Dlaki Vani and Miss Nomthunzi Nel, were detained in Queenstown.

In October a Seshego magistrate (Lebowa) banned the inaugural meeting of the Black Electronic and Electrical Workers' Union.

Charges against the police for maltreatment of detainees are usually unsuccessful. An ex-detainee, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, an official of GAWU, instituted legal action against the Minister of Law and Order for R15 000 as a result of alleged assaults he received in November 1981 while in detention at Protea police station. He claimed that he was punched, electrically shocked, physically abused and reduced to exhaustion. The minister said he would defend the action. Allegations of torture were also made by Mr Gqweta, president of SAAWU, who said that while in detention in 1981 he had, among other things, been suspended naked from window bars, hooded with a wet canvas bag tightened around his neck, and given electric shocks.

Several people criticised police action against trade unionists as undermining recent reforms in labour law. Dr Alex Boraine (PFP) said that the apparent alli-
National Congress (ANC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) were interfering in SA. Mr Le Grange questioned whether the authorities could allow the increasing politicisation of trade unionism, which would have an adverse effect on the free market system."

Policy Issues
Opposition by the Conservative Party (CP) to the government's labour policies precipitated a political battle between it and the National Party. Early in the year the then Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, in response to a challenge by the CP's Dr Andries Treurnicht, resigned his parliamentary seat in order to contest it in a by-election to prove that there was public support for the government's labour policies. The move, however, almost backfired, with Mr Botha retaining his seat by only a slender majority.31

In November Mr Botha was forced to resign from the Cabinet after allegations surrounding his personal finances and alleged diamond concessions granted by him to a former friend, Brigadier Johann Blaauw, when Mr Botha was Minister for Mines. The Prime Minister, in accepting Mr Botha's resignation, praised him for the loyal service given by him to the government. Mr Pietie du Plessis was appointed Minister of Manpower in his place.

Attention was again given to the question of politics and trade unionism. Dr Boraine (PFP) said that there would be no industrial peace as long as the government denied African workers meaningful political rights. The factory floor had become one of the few places where workers could resolve community-based grievances. However, neither management nor union leaders could hope to meet the aspirations of countless workers throughout SA. It was, therefore, imperative that in attempting to resolve labour disputes the government did not confine itself to the area of labour reform but moved swiftly to a new dispensation in the social and political spheres so that matters which rightly belonged there did not become the burden of industry and commerce. Mr Fanie Botha, then Minister of Manpower, warned Dr Boraine not to bring politics into labour affairs.32

Professor S Swart of the Graduate Management School of the University of Stellenbosch stated that recognition by the government of the concepts of freedom of association, union autonomy and collective bargaining for all population groups was 'no indulgence' but based on SA's fundamental acceptance of the free market system. He predicted that the new labour movement could go one of three ways: towards 'positive socialisation', which would contribute to the corporate health of the country, or towards destructiveness, or defensiveness, which would not. By coming to terms with labour realities, Afrikaner businessmen could help to influence the new movement towards positive socialisation. The repression of

FOREIGN LABOUR ORGANISATIONS
the collective bargaining process would amount to a flirtation with 'communism and totalitarianism' by the authorities and 'socialise the workers towards socialism'.

Foreign Labour Organisations
A number of overseas unions or union-related organisations declared their support for the emerging trade union movement in SA and condemned alleged attempts
by the authorities to undermine its growth. In particular they condemned police action against unionists and the existence of restrictive legislation.

After a visit to SA in March, a delegation from the Dutch Christian Trade Union Federation (CNV), reported that progress had been made towards allowing African trade unions to organise, but that African workers' rights were still curtailed. Their report said the African trade union movement deserved the support of Dutch workers. Employers were urged to 'accept all trade unions and their representatives on an equal footing and as equal partners'. The delegation said that a peaceful solution to SA's problems was impossible as long as influx control and the government's homelands and removals policies were still in force. The delegation, comprising the CNV's general secretary, Mr A Hordijk, and a CNV adviser, Professor H J van Zuthem, was criticised by anti-apartheid groups in the Netherlands for visiting SA.34

In its May Day message, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) lamented the state of trade unionism and workers' rights in many parts of the world. It said that since 1980 about 80 well-known trade unionists in the world had been the victims of political assassinations, while thousands had been thrown into prison or forcibly confined in mental hospitals. The ICFTU included SA among those countries where trade union rights were 'subject to restrictions or are even utterly denied'. It said that the free trade union movement's task was more relevant than ever in a world where, in many places, violations of human rights were the order of the day, with trade unionists often being the first victims.35

An International Labour Organisation (ILO) newsletter accused the SA government of duplicity in its labour relations. While African workers were allowed to join trade unions, severe constraints were still being placed on these unions, the newsletter claimed. It alleged that because of the rapid growth in the number of Africans belonging to unions the authorities were using security legislation against union leaders. 16 During the ILO's annual conference a sub-conference of trade unions was held to promote sanctions against SA, worldwide solidarity with and assistance to the African trade union movement in SA, and international action to eliminate apartheid.37 Mr Andrew Kailenbo, representing the ICFTU, said that it intended selecting major multinational companies with heavy investments in SA as targets of an internationally co-ordinated trade union campaign to expose what he called their double standards.38

In October delegates to the biennial conference of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) approved a resolution pledging to assist the African trade union movement in SA 'in its struggle against a government which resorts to brutal measures of repression against opponents of apartheid, including trade unionists'. The resolution also demanded that American corporations doing business in SA bargain in 'good faith' with their African employees and offer them the same training and promotional opportunities as are available to their other employees.

STRIKES AND DISPUTES

Strikes and Disputes
The Minister of Manpower gave the following details regarding the number, of
strikes and stoppages, workers involved therein, and man-days and wages lost:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of strikes and stoppages</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>394</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Workers involved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5616</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>1319</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>1425</td>
<td>5275</td>
<td>6271</td>
<td>17920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>8711</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>083</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9224</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>013</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>304</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. of man-days lost</td>
<td></td>
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<td>All workers</td>
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<td>African workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>14167</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>15471</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>558</td>
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There were more strikes in SA in 1982 than ever before, despite a belief that in times of recession workers are automatically more reluctant to go on strike. There was a dramatic increase of 38 775 (45%) in the number of African workers participating in strikes. No white workers have been involved in strikes since 1980, while the 1982 figure for Asians was lower than the record figure of the previous year. The number of man-days lost increased by 61% from 226554 in 1981 to 365 337 in 1982 and the average per 1 000 workers by 47% from 209 to 307. An examination of long-term trends shows an increasing number of man-days lost, with strikes lasting longer and involving more people. This is especially the case where unions are involved, while short, sharp strikes are more often characterised by an absence of union presence. Labour observers held that this union presence was not necessarily negative as longer strikes could be due to lengthy unionemployer negotiations which could ultimately result in a better level of settlement for all.

STRIKES AND DISPUTES
Details of strikes in 1982 are given below:

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>1 401 516</td>
<td>1 112 970</td>
<td>2 263 705</td>
<td>2 051 285</td>
<td>4 544 632</td>
<td>3 351 958</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

* not available

There were more strikes in SA in 1982 than ever before, despite a belief that in times of recession workers are automatically more reluctant to go on strike. There was a dramatic increase of 38 775 (45%) in the number of African workers participating in strikes. No white workers have been involved in strikes since 1980, while the 1982 figure for Asians was lower than the record figure of the previous year. The number of man-days lost increased by 61% from 226554 in 1981 to 365 337 in 1982 and the average per 1 000 workers by 47% from 209 to 307. An examination of long-term trends shows an increasing number of man-days lost, with strikes lasting longer and involving more people. This is especially the case where unions are involved, while short, sharp strikes are more often characterised by an absence of union presence. Labour observers held that this union presence was not necessarily negative as longer strikes could be due to lengthy unionemployer negotiations which could ultimately result in a better level of settlement for all.

STRIKES AND DISPUTES
Details of strikes in 1982 are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Mining</th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Trade &amp; accommodation</th>
<th>Transport &amp; communication</th>
<th>Government &amp; services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers concerned</td>
<td>Number African</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20 188</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>89 400</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>18 842</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Man-days lost
Man-days per 1 000 lost
33 482 301 167
894 20 073
Manufacturing continued to be the sector most affected by strikes, with 45 more than in 1981, and with 113,281 more man-days lost. The next highest number occurred in the trade and accommodation sector (43) and transport (32). Dissatisfaction with wages was again the main reason for strikes, 35 more being held for this reason than in 1981, followed by disciplinary reasons, with an increase of eight over 1981. Dissatisfaction with pensions, a major reason for strikes in 1981, was not separately categorised in 1982. In a reversal of positions, in 1982 the Witwatersrand overtook the eastern Cape as the area where the most strikes were held. Strikes in the eastern Cape dropped by 51, while those in the PWV area increased by 106. During 1982 the Department of Manpower was present at 71 disputes, 48 stoppages and 346 strikes.
Research undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) showed that trade unions were involved in only about 25% of all strikes in 1982, while 54% of 1,200 African workers in the Pretoria and Port Elizabeth areas were not in favour of strikes. Forty-five per cent were in favour. Sixty-five per cent believed that workers should organise to protect their interests, with 21% disagreeing; 47% said that unions should be able to organise strikes, while 43% disagreed. When asked if workers could get what they wanted without striking 48% said yes, 32% said no and 20% were not sure.

During 126 interviews with managers who had experienced strikes, the HSRC found that workers had little opportunity to communicate with management; management did not have a favourable image of black unions and union leaders; and management style in many cases was paternalistic or autocratic. It found that communication needed to be improved and a more consultative style of management could lead to more worker satisfaction and less conflict. Most strikers lost financially and these losses could influence their bargaining power and willingness to strike. Most strikes did not last long because of this factor.

A survey of 532 African workers in five major Natal companies, and 80 in 50 other companies, showed that only a third would obey a strike call from either a political or a union leader. Issues such as wages, freedom of movement and racial discrimination in the workplace were seen as far more important, indicating, according to the survey, that political and ideological factors were not top of the workers’ agenda. Asked what the main benefits of trade union membership were, most workers put collective bargaining and support for an individual in a disciplinary situation far above abstract concerns such as the struggle for workers’ rights. Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of Natal, who undertook the survey, concluded that the research gave a fairly clear indication that rank and file black labour was not becoming systematically politicised or radicalised. Furthermore, he said, radicalisation was unlikely to occur rapidly as long as the majority (of workers) had low skills and low industrial bargaining power. In a labour surplus economy, the insecurity of the semi-skilled and unskilled was likely to inhibit the formation of a confrontationist outlook, he felt. However, he warned that pressures were building up which could change the industrial relations climate significantly. Foremost among these were racial discrimination, management conflicts and the emergence of better educated, politically conscious young industrial workers.

In a survey of strike activity from 1975 to 1982, Dr Eddie Webster of the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand concluded that the broad trend was towards strikes becoming a normal part of the collective bargaining process in SA. He said that the most important trend in strike statistics was the growing involvement of trade unions in the resolution of industrial conflict. In 1982 the Metal and Allied Workers’ Union (MAWU) had been involved in the highest number of strikes (46), followed by the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union of SA (CCAWUSA) (43), and the National Automobile and Allied Workers’ Union (NAAWU) (28). The strikes were longest where union penetration was highest. The motor industry had the longest average strikes, at five days, followed by textiles with four days, commerce with three,
and metal and food with two-and-a-half days each. Dr Webster said that as union organisation grew and unions developed their own strike funds, their capacity to

STRIKES AND DISPUTES

ers provoked a strike by 350 workers. Union sources claimed that there had been four deaths in the plant since November 1982. Workers demanded, inter alia, better protective clothing, the establishment of a health and safety shop stewards' committee, and the inspection of factory repairs by furnace operators and shop stewards. Two strikes broke out after methane gas explosions: one at the Beisa Uranium Mine in April killed 11 workers and injured 50, and another at the Hlobane Colliery killed 67 workers and injured six others. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) called a half-hour stoppage on 26 September to mourn the victims of the latter accident. It claimed that at least 32 000 miners observed the stoppage, but the Chamber of Mines denied that one had occurred. On 21 September about 40 miners on Gold Fields' West Driefontein mine refused to go underground because they feared for their safety (see chapter on Employment). In September 89 black workers at the Liberty Life Association of Africa were dismissed when they went on strike following the company's refusal to recognise their union, the Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union of SA (IAWUSA), which is open to black workers only. The company said that it accepted the principle of freedom of association and the right of its employees to join trade unions, but that it could not negotiate with a racially-based union, as such a union could not be representative of all employees. The Rev Joe Seoka, president of the union, replied that the interests of black and white workers were very different and that it would be impossible for the union to be representative on a multi-racial basis.

In November Liberty Life hired twenty workers to replace some of those dismissed. In an effort to win the latter's reinstatement and obtain recognition for the union, IAWUSA launched a boycott against Liberty Life and companies associated with it, among them the United Building Society, the Premier Group, the Anglo American Corporation, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, and Sales House. It was reported that IAWUSA believed that a black consumer boycott against Liberty Life itself would have an extremely limited impact but that any company linked with Liberty should regard itself as a potential target, particularly companies catering for the black market. These included any company on whose board of directors there were persons who were also directors of Liberty Life. The union also said that it, 'together with the community, will spare no effort' in following Mr Donny Gordon, chairman of Liberty Life, 'wherever he goes.' The Edgars group, which owns Sales House, said that the boycott was unfair, because the 'extended and immaterial investment relationship' between Sales House and Liberty could in no way be construed as an associated company relationship. Liberty had an investment in the Premier Group, which in turn had a minority shareholding in SA Breweries, which controlled Edgars. Edgars said that it had worked amicably and constructively for more than two years with an African union, the Commercial, Catering, and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA). In November IAWUSA staged
demonstrations outside two UBS branches, one in Lenasia and one in Soweto, causing them to close for the day. It claimed to be achieving significant support for its call on blacks to close their UBS accounts, but the UBS - of whose board Mr Gordon is a member - strongly denied that the call had had any noticeable effect. IAWUSA said it was considering calling for a boycott of mealie-meal produced by the Premier Group and of beer produced by SA Breweries. Mr Seoka said that IAWUSA was also considering boycotting Sales House's Champion of Champions competition. Several other organisations, among them the Zimbabwe-

STRIKES AND DISPUTES

struck Associated Workers' Union and the London-based organisation End Loans to SA, pledged solidarity with IAWUSA. Switzerland's Insurance and Finance Workers' Union put pressure on Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance in London, which holds some Liberty Life shares, and it was also reported that the Standard Chartered Bank would be asked to intervene on behalf of the IAWUSA members. In December IAWUSA formed a support committee in Durban. Apart from the brief closure of the two UBS branches, the boycott seems to have had little impact on company sales, although companies were worried about the press publicity they were receiving.

In November, CCAWUSA called for a boycott of a shop to be opened in Soweto by an African businessman, Mr Richard Maponya, because it was believed that it had connections with Grand Bazaars (Rosettenville) which had fired 57 workers after a strike. The Grand Bazaars' chairman, Mr M Sachar, said that the new shop 'was in no way' a part of Grand Bazaars.

In his annual report, Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of the Barlow Rand group, criticised the demands made by certain trade unions as posing a threat to the free enterprise system. He claimed that 'while management regards its obligation and right to manage with due regard to the interests of shareholders and employees as being fundamental to the private enterprise system, the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU) is now publicly committed to achieving worker control of industry.' The 'free enterprise system could not survive if that objective were to be achieved', he said. He also singled out MAWU, a FOSATU affiliate, for attack, saying that its members had been involved in 10 strikes at Barlow Rand over a six-week period. Mr Rosholt said that while there had been a decrease in strikes in 1983 it seemed that certain 'large and progressive companies, such as many in the Barlows group, had been singled out as targets by some trade unions'. Conflict between private enterprise and some union groupings also tended to centre on matters unconnected with traditional union spheres of interest. He expressed the hope that the union unity talks between emergent unions and larger union groupings would not 'create a vehicle for solidarity strikes and consumer boycotts'. The Barlows report noted that in the three years up to September 1983, 42 recognition agreements had been signed between Barlows companies and trade unions. Many of these had been concluded outside the official industrial council system.

In reply to Mr Rosholt's remarks, MAWU charged that he had been given 'incorrect and misleading information' about the labour disputes between itself
and the Barlow Rand subsidiaries. The union said that it intended taking the matter further, Mr Rosholt's attack was seen by some observers as indicating a hardening of attitude by employers towards emerging unions.

Police were called to the scene of 32 labour disputes, 21 stoppages and 114 strikes in 1982. In 1983 they were reported to have been present at only six of the 150 reported strikes. However, this figure could be higher once the full statistics are available.

Charges were laid against hundreds of striking workers under the Intimidation, Trespass and other Acts. Two workers involved in a strike at the Eastern Cape Agricultural Co-operative Creamery in Queenstown were charged under the Intimidation Act in March. Charges were dropped but one of the men, the union chairman, was re-arrested and later charged with five others under the same act.

An unspecified number of workers from B and S Engineering were charged under this act.

STRIKES AND DISPUTES

Ninety-two municipal workers out of 140 strikers at Umhlanga Rocks in Natal were charged under the Trespass Act for refusing to leave a company's premises during a strike. Fifty-six workers from the Natal African Blind Society were convicted in February of trespassing when they returned to the company premises after a strike in 1982. They were given suspended sentences and subsequently won their appeal. In May eleven out of 29 African goldminers were convicted for their involvement in an illegal strike held in May 1982. Five received three-year jail sentences, half suspended for five years; and one received another two-year term, nine months being suspended. Charges were withdrawn against 13, one was in hospital and four failed to appear.

Ninety workers at a textile factory in Butterworth, Transkei, were charged and convicted under Transkei's Labour Relations Act (1977) for refusing or failing to work and were fined R30 or 30 days each. Four workers had paid an admission of guilt fine.

Strikes in 1983

The number of strikes in 1983 totalled 336, of which 101 were over wage demands. A sharp increase in strikes occurred in December, when 104 were held, almost one third of the figure for the whole of the preceding eleven months. The total number of workers in all the strikes was 64 469, 997 363 man-hours being lost. FOSATU said that its unions were involved in 124 strikes in 1983 - as many as in 1982. It reported major successes in protecting workers against retrenchment achieved both through strike action and through the courts.

The industrial court took on an increasingly important role in settling disputes, dealing with 170 cases in 1983 compared with 41 in 1982 and 20 in 1981.

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2 Financial Mail 3 June
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5 Rand Daily Mail 26 January
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7 Lewis D, "General Workers' Union and the UDF", Work in Progress No 29 1983
8 Lewis D, 'How workers will interpret a yes vote'. RR News October 1983
9 Rand Daily Mail 10 March
10 Argus 11 April, Eastern Province Herald 11 April 11 Daily Dispatch 16 April
12 Star 11 October
13 Eastern Province Herald 26 April 14 Rand Daily Mail 18 October
11 Ibid 14 October
16 Ibid 31 March
19 Ibid
20 Rand Daily Mail 9 November 21 Financial Mail 21 January
22 Rand Daily Mail 20 May
23 Ibid 12 May
24 Ibid 4 October
25 Natal Witness 11 April
26 Hansard 2 col 466
206

STRIKES AND DISPUTES
27 'Inkatha and the Black Workers of SA', aide memoire for discussion with Mr
Irving Brown of the AFL-CIO by Mangosuthu G Buthelezi. Chief Minister of
KwaZulu, President of Inkatha and chairman of the SA Black Alliance, Geneva,
14 June 1983 21 Various press reports 29 Sunday Times 2 October 30 Weekend
Post 2 July 31 Various press reports 32 Hansard 2 col 457-8 33 Argus 13 June 31
Rand Daily Mail 31 March 35 Garment Worker 20 May 36 Star 17 May 37 Starl
June 31 Financial Mail June 1983 39 National Manpower Commission op cit
p'237 40 Ibid p 258
41 Hansard 7 col 1709 42 Star 26 October

THE MEDIA
Publications Control
The following statistics reflect the activities of the Directorate of Publications and
the Publications Appeal Board for the twelve months from 1 July 1981 to 30 June
1982:'
Altogether 1 805 publications (including a few 'objects') were submitted to
publications committees. Of these just over half (949) were found to be
undesirable under section 47 (2) of the Publications Act, while 46.7% (843) were
found to be not undesirable. Thirteen were still under consideration. The
submissions were made as follows:
by members of the public 118
by publishers 129
by police 898
by the Directorate 77
by customs officers 492
Total 1 714
Reviews 91
Grand total 1805
Of those submitted 1011 were submitted on the grounds that they were prejudicial to the safety of the state.
The following were some of the publications or objects banned during the year under review (with the author or producer, if known, noted in parentheses): Why the Pretoria Bomb was necessary; Nelson Mandela speaks to the World; What is Magnus Malan up to?; Israel and South Africa: The Modern Nazis (SA Communist Party (SACP)); Prayer Service for Condemned Six (Ecumenical Group); Jesus Christ Superstar (Film)* (UIP Warner); Evening with Belafonte Makeba (Record) (Harry Belafonte/Miriam Makeba); Labour Party's Act of Betrayal (African National Congress (ANC)); Siphiwo Mthimkhulu: Detained, poisoned, still missing ... (Medical Students' Representative Council). Only the SACP and the ANC are banned organisations.
Universities, research bodies, and certain individuals continued to have access to prohibited publications in accordance with an agreement with the SA Institute for Librarianship and Information Science.
Of 824 films submitted for examination, 466 were unconditionally approved, 283 conditionally approved, and 68 rejected. Seven were still under consideration.
Ban subsequently lifted by the Appeals Board, with a 2-16 age restriction.

PUBLICATIONS CONTROL
Commenting on the annual report of the Department of Internal Affairs, in which the directorate's statistics were published, a spokesman for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) said that censorship in SA was becoming more liberal.
In March the Director of Publications, Mr S F du Toit, said that the March issue of Varsity, a Cape Town student newspaper, was banned because it portrayed the South African Defence Force (SADF) in a 'bad light'. He cited an article on the SADF raid into Lesotho and explained that publicity was given to the ANC. He also said that a letter of support for the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was another reason why the publication was prejudicial to the safety of the state.
In May the government rejected the PFP's appeal for a relaxation of censorship of political literature. The Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said that magazines and newspapers were free to publicise the country's problems and that there was therefore no need for 'subversive literature'.
In June the Publications Control Board instructed the publishers of Wits Student and Saspu National to submit each subsequent issue to it for approval before distribution. The board invoked section 9 (ii) of the Publications Act in restricting these newspapers. This had never been used before. Wits Student is the official weekly newspaper of the Wits SRC and Saspu National is a monthly newspaper printed by the SA Students' Press Union (SASPU).
In July the Appeal Board overruled a publications committee decision that an edition of Anti-SAIC News, a publication of the Transvaal Anti-South African
Indian Council Committee (TASC), was undesirable. The committee had banned the newsletter because of its coverage of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), which the committee declared to be a 'terroristic organisation' subscribing to the revolutionary objects of the ANC, since both bodies were signatories to the Freedom Charter. The Appeal Board said that the sentiments of the Charter were within the bounds of legitimate aspirations and had never been the exclusive preserve of the ANC. Professor John Dugard of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies described the ruling as significant because it advanced the cause of freedom of expression.

More than 50 000 copies of UDF-News, a newsletter of the newly-formed United Democratic Front (UDF), and UDF-Declaration handbills were confiscated by the police in various parts of the country during August and October but handed back after legal advice had been taken. None of the publications had been declared undesirable. The national secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, claimed that police harassment was an attempt by the state to curb the activities of the organisation and to deny the people the right to knowledge and truth because the SA system was based on lies and injustice.

In September the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs requested the police to seize a film based on the Salem oil affair because neither the department nor the Directorate of Publications was approached for permission to show it. It was feared that Salem contained details of SA's oil supplies, which are kept secret in terms of the Petroleum Products Act. Mr Eric Allen, director of the International Maritime Bureau, a London-based organisation which fights fraud in international trade, had intended showing the film at a maritime fraud conference in Johannesburg.

A booklet intended to give legal advice about detention, You, Detention and

PUBLICATIONS APPEAL BOARD
the Law, was banned in November. A publications committee passed the book but the Directorate of Publications appealed against the decision on the grounds that the book encouraged perjury, told detainees to refuse to make sworn statements, and encouraged them to be evasive when answering questions. The proprietors of Pace magazine, Caxton Ltd, appealed against the magazine's banning. The reason for the banning was an article in the magazine about an alleged meeting between the late Mr John Vorster, the former SA state president, and the late black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko. The article claimed that they had discussed apartheid. The publications committee ruled that it contravened the Publications Act because it ridiculed certain people.

A total of 1 000 ad hoc committees were set up by the Directorate of Publications; of these 295 were for publications and objects, 697 for films and videotapes, and eight for public or proposed public entertainments.

Publications Appeal Board
In January the Appeal Board lifted a ban imposed in 1982 on Athol Fugard's award-winning play, Master Harold and the Boys. The board described the play as speaking eloquently of black-white relationships in SA. A publications committee had banned the script because of 'excessive crude language'.8
Twenty-five films were rejected and 51 approved conditionally, while five were unconditionally approved. Fifty-seven publications were found to be not undesirable. Possession of 451 publications was prohibited. The majority of these affected state security and emanated from organisations and persons allegedly propagating violence against the SA state. A marked feature of the year was the frequent setting aside by the Appeal Board of decisions by committees to ban publications and films. Country Lovers and City Lovers, films based on Nadine Gordimer's short stories, were unbanned with age restrictions and cuts in August. The censors had declared them undesirable because they depicted a black-white intimate relationship. The chairman of the Appeal Board said that the cuts were not imposed because scenes were harmful to race relations.9 The ban of a third film based on a Nadine Gordimer short story was upheld by the Appeal Board. This film dealt with detention without trial. Under Fire, a film about the Sandinista guerillas who overthrew the Nicaragua government in 1979, was banned in November. The publications committee ruled that the film could 'sow seeds of revolution where fertile ground existed among blacks who felt that they were victims of an unjust and oppressive regime'. It also said that the film could create a defeatist attitude among those who already had doubts about justice in SA. However, the Appeal Board lifted the ban on the film on the grounds that it dealt primarily with the dilemma of journalists in a war situation rather than revolution.

Ciskei
It was reported in February that an order in a Ciskei government gazette signed in terms of section 13 of the National Security Act of 1982 by the then head of Ciskei security services, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, prohibited the distribution of 73 publications, which included the Freedom Charter, the SA Allied Workers' Union newsletter, You and the Pass Laws, five editions of Work in Progress, an East London Detainees Support Committee poster, and an anonymous appeal to support the boycott of Wilson Rowntree products. General Sebe stated that he was satisfied that they were expressing views or providing information which endangered the national security of the Ciskei or the maintenance of law and order.10

Press Control
In terms of the Protection of Information Act (see 1982 Survey p 269), the then Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, issued a ban on the publication of unauthorised information about events leading to the detention of an alleged Soviet spy, Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, a SA navy officer based at Simonstown.
In his directive on the matter, General Geldenhuys also asked editors to refrain from publishing information which might lead to the contravention of section 118 of the Defence Act, which requires that authorisation be sought from the Minister of Defence before publication of any matter affecting the department.11
In August The Star was refused permission to publish an interview with Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC. The interview was carried out by AIM, the Mozambique news agency and apparently dealt with labour disputes, the organisation's views on bombings and bloodshed, and its relationship with China and the Soviet Union.

Prosecution and Harassment of Journalists

SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN), Mr Rex Gibson and Mr Tertius Myburgh, editors of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times respectively, and Mr Eugene Hugo, a journalist, were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court in March of contravening the Official Secrets Act by publishing reports in April 1982 on possible involvement by the SA government in the attempted coup in the Seychelles. Mr Gibson was sentenced to a fine of R500 (or five months' imprisonment), Mr Myburgh R300 (or three months), and Mr Hugo R800 (or eight months). All the sentences were suspended for five years.

In August the Pretoria Supreme Court dismissed the appeal against these convictions. In October Mr T P Boshoff, for Perskor publishers, and Messrs I J Perold and E Botha, respectively editor and a journalist on the Rapport, were convicted on similar charges for an article which appeared in the paper. Perskor was fined R500 while Messrs Botha and Perold were acquitted with a warning. In April the editor of Die Volksblad, Mr Jacob van Deventer, paid a R100 admission-of-guilt fine on behalf of Nasionale Koerante for publishing a photograph of the assassin of the former SA Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. The Commissioner of Prisons had not granted Nasionale Koerante permission to publish the photograph.

The editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, paid a R50 admission-of-guilt fine after being charged with contravening the Petroleum Products Act by publishing reports on fuel supplies for Zimbabwe. In October Mr Montshiwa Moroke, a Rand Daily Mail reporter, and Mr Edward Mafa, a Star driver, were injured when East Rand Administration Board (ERAB) officials chased reporters from the scene of squatter removals in Katlehong, Germiston. The reporters were detained for questioning. The editor of The Star said that he was appalled at how the journalists had been treated. The RDM and SAAN laid charges of assault against ERAB officials. A placard demonstration protesting against the officials' action was staged in Johannesburg after which 21 journalists and two newspaper employees were arrested.

In April a banned Sowetan journalist, Mr Joe Thloloe, was sentenced to 30 months' imprisonment for possessing a document of the proscribed Pan-Africanist Congress. Mr Thloloe had won a Nieman Foundation award to Harvard in 1982. Commenting on his conviction, the US government strongly condemned the restriction and intimidation of newsmen in SA. In July the police informed Mr Rex Gibson that they were investigating charges against the Rand Daily Mail for publishing reports on alleged atrocities by police in SWA/Namibia. The allegations had been made by the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference chairman, Archbishop Denis Hurley, in February. Charges were also being investigated.
against The Citizen, The Sowetan and Die Burger and the SA Press Association (SAPA). Archbishop Hurley said that he stood by his statements and would stand by Mr Gibson. 7 Banning orders imposed on Messrs Zwelakhe Sisulu, Phil Mthimkulu and Mono Badela expired during the year, while in August Mr Thami Mazwai was released after an 18-month prison sentence for refusing to testify in a security trial (see 1982 Survey p 272). In November Ciskei security police detained Mr Stanley Kaba, a former member of the banned Union of Black Journalists (UBJ). Mr Kaba is a freelance journalist and former member of the ANC and served a five-year prison sentence on Robben Island. He was charged under the Ciskei National Security Act and had his case postponed to 13 December 1983.

In March the home and office of Mr Allister Sparks, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail and now a correspondent of the Washington Post, The Observer (London) and NRC Handelsblad (The Hague), were searched by the Security Police. Mr Sparks was told by the police that they were concerned about reports published abroad more than six months previously, in which he had allegedly quoted Mrs Winnie Mandela, the banned wife of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned ANC leader. Mrs Suzanne Sparks and Mr Bernard Simon were detained after the raid. They were granted bail after being charged with defeating the ends of justice. Mr Simon is a correspondent of The Economist and the Financial Times (London). The Foreign Correspondents' Association protested against the raid, which Mr Sparks said was a clear act of intimidation. 8 In August the case of Mrs Sparks and Mr Simon was remanded to November, 9 when it was again remanded until 12 March 1985. Mr Sparks appeared in court on 29 November on charges under the Internal Security (quoting a banned person) and Police (publishing untrue matter about the police) Acts. The first charge related to The Observer and NRC Handelsblad, the second only to the latter. Neither mentioned the Washington Post, which had taken a close interest in the proceedings. His case was remanded until 25 April 1985. Meanwhile Mr Sydney Kentridge, defence counsel for Mr Sparks, had referred to 'high authorities' the question of whether reports by correspondents in SA, published abroad, were subject to provisions of the said acts. Mr L E A Slater, chairman of the Argus Company which owns The Star, and the editor of the paper, Mr Tyson, appeared in court in December charged with contravening the same section of the Internal Security Act as Mr Sparks. The paper had allegedly quoted the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, without permission.

Mr Charles Nqakula, a journalist with Veritas Independent News Agency in Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, was detained by the Ciskei police in August. The International Federation of Journalists and the SA Society of Journalists protested and called for his release. 20 Mr Nqakula was released in September.

In February the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, attacked

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS
certain newspapers for 'making the task of the police and security forces more difficult'. 2 The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris
Heunis, and the Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism, Dr Dawie de Villiers, attacked the PFP and 'its' press for creating an 'exclusion psychosis' among blacks when talking about the constitutional proposals, and for obstructing reform.22 In May the new Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said that the police and the press needed each other.23 In July the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned newspapers against publishing 'lies and propaganda' about SA's alleged destabilisation of neighbouring countries. He hinted that because of this the Defence Act might be applied more strictly to the press.24 The then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Barend du Plessis, stated that it was untrue and unreasonable to claim that the media would have far more to write about, but for legal restrictions. He said that the government was committed to a free press in SA.25

Freedom of the Press

In March the leader of the PFP, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said that totalitarian rule would be entrenched in SA if parliamentary privilege and the freedom of the press to report what was said in parliament by MPs were tampered with in any way.26 Dr Slabbert was reacting to threats by cabinet ministers that the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act might have to be reviewed to prevent publication of speeches by MPs that could 'damage the national interest'. This followed a warning to newspapers from the then Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr P T C du Plessis, not to publish revelations by Mr John Malcomess (PFP) of the Salem oil affair in which, it was alleged, taxpayers were defrauded of R30m.27

The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) released a report in March which claimed that press freedom in SA was a myth. The CPJ found that broadcasting was the least free and essentially a propaganda tool of the government.28 An assistant secretary of state for human rights in the US government, Mr Elliot Abrams, stated in March that actions against the press in SA were damaging relations between the two countries.29 The former editor of Rapport, Dr W J de Klerk, said in April that a register of journalists as suggested by the Steyn Commission (1982 Survey p 268) would be inhibiting and destructive.0 Mr David Bleazard, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ), told the SASJ congress that pressures on journalists were becoming intolerable because of legislation which inhibited the free flow of information.3'

The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, said in April that freedom of the press was one of the prerequisites of an enlightened society which needed an ongoing debate. 'Secrecy for the sake of secrecy and a reluctance to reveal facts to which the public is obviously entitled have no place in an open society', he said .32 The editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, stated at the International Press Institute annual general assembly in May that harassment and petty bureaucracy were becoming a major threat to press freedom in SA in spite of promises of reform.33 Mr Harry Pitman, PFP spokesman on law and order, warned the government in July that his party might seek a court order against it for preventing the press from publishing PFP speeches in parliament. This arose after newspapers were warned against publishing details of alleged police brutality in
Chesterville and Lamontville, outside Durban, as contained in parliamentary speeches by PFP members.34

In July the Pretoria Press Club organised a seminar on media freedom, where

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

it was argued that the media in SA faced real and perceived threats and that the Police, Internal Security, and Defence Acts were among the laws which most seriously hindered the media.35

In June it was reported that Mr Ivor Wilkins, political correspondent of the Sunday Times, was awarded a Nieman Fellowship by Harvard University. The fellowship is one of the most coveted awards in international journalism.36

In February the Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs and Fisheries, Mr John Wiley, attacked English-language newspapers for the 'appalling' standard of their parliamentary reporting.37 In response to Mr Wiley, Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of the Sunday Times, said that newspapers had to be selective in deciding which parts of a debate were of importance and interest to their readers.38

After what appeared to be a threat of closure of the Rand Daily Mail in March, caused by financial losses, a working committee comprising management, editorial staff, and marketing executives was formed to formulate plans to save the newspaper. The proposals were approved by the directors of the parent company, SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN), in August. The committee, inter alia, suggested that a separate, tabloid financial publication be included with the Rand Daily Mail five days a week.39 Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of SAAN, had earlier indicated that whatever happened to the RDM it would still support the official opposition, the PFP.40

Mr Guy Berger, a former journalist and politics lecturer at Rhodes University, said in May that the liberal press in SA was not radical and that it was surprising that the government persisted in attacking it.41

In an address to the annual congress of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) which represents the major newspaper groups - on 4 October, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said that the government had 'shown itself quite capable of trampling over black human rights' but that 'by and large the press in SA is relatively free'. This was because the government had not found the will to 'do to the press in this country what it would so clearly like to do'. Chief Buthelezi added: 'The SA government spends many millions of rand each year in attempts to convince the world that apartheid is justified and achieves positive political results, and it is for us ironic that the freedom of the press, and the freedom of whites as an integral part of apartheid, is thus preserved for the sake of diplomatic gains'.

The Press, the constitutional proposals, and the referendum The directors of the Afrikaans paper Rapport twice refused to carry PFP referendum advertisements in the paper in spite of pressure from the newspaper's management and editorial staff. The reason was evidently that the advertisements advocated rejecting the government's proposed new constitution in the referendum to be held on 2 November and were thus contrary to the views of the two newspaper groups owning Rapport, the Cape-based Nasionale Koerante and the Transvaal-based
Perskor, both of which support the National Party. The Argus group and SAAN, owners of most of the main English-language newspapers, accepted all political advertisements, among them a series placed by the national Party calling for a 'yes' vote in the referendum, irrespective of whether or not the advertisements coincided with the views of their newspapers. Most English-language newspapers backed a 'no' vote in the referendum, although the Sunday Times - the largest-selling paper in SA - supported the government on the con-

AFRIKAANS PRESS

stitutional issue.
The (black) Media Workers' Association of SA (MWASA) rejected the constitutional proposals outright. The Newspaper Press Union (NPU) urged Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to explain to Africans that a 'yes' vote was not a rejection of Africans. In his address to the annual congress of the NPU on 4 October, Chief Buthelezi said that the press had 'under-achieved' in exposing the President's Council as 'the fraud that it was'. He added that it had also 'under-achieved in explaining to SA that the new constitution will in the end not work because it will be wrecked against black political aspirations and the constituency I lead in black SA'. Chief Buthelezi said: 'The press has a duty to inform white SA that the Prime Minister and his colleagues are squandering the black goodwill that exists in the country and are robbing whites of the most precious political possession that they have.'

Afrikaans Press

Perskor and Nasionale Koerante groups announced in February that they had agreed to rationalise the Afrikaans newspaper market in the Transvaal. Perskor would concentrate on the afternoon market and Nasionale Koerante on the morning market. This meant that Beeld, a Nasionale Koerante paper, would have no competitor in the morning as Die Transvaler, a Perskor paper, would move to Pretoria and appear only in the afternoon and only in Pretoria. The two groups had been rivals since 1974, when Nasionale Pers launched Beeld in opposition to Die Transvaler.42 Both support the National Party in their respective provinces. In September Mr Jacobus Buitendag, in his capacity as a director, was fined R20 000 in the Rand Supreme Court after Perskor was convicted of fraud. This arose from the falsification of circulation sales figures of Die Vaderland (by 100 358) and Die Transvaler (by 29 829) over a three and a half year period from January 1977. During this period there was a circulation 'war' between Perskor and Nasionale Koerante.43

Dr Hans Alink, a Perskor employee, claimed that he was fired in October when he protested when Perskor wanted to submit a novel, Storm Sevenster, by Wessels Pretorius, to the Publications Control Board (PCB) before accepting it for publication. However, Mr Piet van Heerden, general manager of Perskor, denied this claim.

Black Press

A new black newspaper, City Press, was launched just before the closing down in March of Golden City Press, a black Sunday newspaper launched in April 1982. It was reported that the closure followed an attempt by SA Associated Newspapers,
part-owner of the paper, to take managerial control of the paper from the other part-owner, Mr Jim Bailey, founder of Drum magazine.

Media Organisations

In February the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) suspended a Windhoek newspaper, Die Suidwester, after a complaint from a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance member. A few days later the ban was lifted after an urgent application by the newspaper to have the suspension declared unlawful and invalid was brought before the Johannesburg Supreme Court.

On 18 February, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, told parliament in response to a question by Mr D J Dalling MP (PFP) that the government would keep the promulgation of the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act, No 98 of 1982, in abeyance for the time being to give the South African Media Council a chance to prove itself. The council was planned by the Newspaper Press Union and the conference of editors to replace the SA Press Council. The act provides for the establishment of a disciplinary body for the press. The council was instituted on 1 November 1983.

In April the congress of the (white) SA Society of Journalists (SASJ) resolved that it would not participate in the council until full consultations with the NPU had taken place and until the SASJ was satisfied with its formulation and substance; that no member of the SASJ might accept nomination to it unless the society had decided to participate; and that any journalist appointed as a SASJ representative would have no mandate from the SASJ or organised journalism.

In August the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA) stated that it would not participate in the council. 'We view the Media Council as a further erosion of press freedom in SA and, indeed, as an extension of government repression against that freedom', a spokesman for MWASA's national council said.

The general secretary of the NPU stated in September that the aim of the Media Council was to uphold and maintain the freedom of the media and the highest professional standards in journalism. He said that the council would introduce radical changes in the handling of complaints, and that representatives would be drawn from all sectors of the population. Prominent advertisements appeared in the press during September describing the composition and functions of the council and calling for nominations of members to serve on it. The president of the SASJ, Mr Bleazard, said that the SASJ welcomed the publication of the details of the council and hoped that these would be debated. Mr Bleazard stated that the SASJ saw as most contentious, the provision for the council to criticise publications which did not subscribe to its code of conduct.

In October, the NPU announced the appointment of 14 members to the council. Several editors expressed concern at the lack of broad representation on the body. They felt that the choice of members favoured the conservative section of the public. In November the South African Students Press Union (SASPU) congress condemned the establishment of the council and claimed that its reports could be
used by the government for the banning of progressive publications and journalists and that it would therefore restrict the freedom of the press. Ms Annette Griesel, 1983 SASPU president, said that the alternative press experienced repression because it covered controversial areas neglected by the commercial press.

South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)
In its 1981 Annual Report, released in 1983, the SABC stated that it endeavoured to be impartial while giving priority to national and community interests. In December 1981 SABC Television was extended with the introduction of TV2 and TV3, broadcasting in five African languages. The other channel, TV1, is intended to serve whites, coloured people and Indians. The report stated that while the financial position of the corporation was good, nearly R42 m had been written off in 1981 for TV2 and TV3. It was reported in April that SABC research showed that 47.3% of all African viewers watched TV1 transmissions while TV2 and TV3 had 978 000 viewers between them.

In February Mr Riaan Eksteen, a former SA ambassador to the UN, was appointed to succeed Mr Steve de Villiers as SABC Director-General. Mr Dave Dalling, chief PFP spokesman on the media, described the move as co-opting the SABC into the machinery of state and reducing it to the mouthpiece of the National Party (NP). He said that if the SABC was to retain any credibility, appointments to its board would have to be removed from government control. The New Republic Party parliamentary spokesman on information, Mr Brian Page, said that he hoped the SABC would present objective news under Mr Eksteen.

In May the SABC was accused of blatant political bias in favour of the NP in its reporting of political news during the April and May by-elections. Mr Greg Garden, a TV critic, claimed that the following statistics, in percentages, reflected the time allocated to the five political parties: National Party - 79.1%; Conservative Party - 8.0%; Progressive Federal Party - 5.2%; New Republic Party - 4.9%; Herstigte National Party - 2.8.

The opposition parties expressed dissatisfaction about the amount of time afforded by the SABC to opponents of the government's constitutional proposals, particularly in the period leading up to the referendum held for white voters on 2 November 1983.

On 1 June 1981 a new service for Latin American countries was introduced. This brought the number of languages in which Radio RSA broadcasts on its external services to 11. The total number of broadcast hours per week is 206,5.

In August the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) turned down invitations to be interviewed by the SABC-TV. The reason given by the SABCTV for requesting the interviews was that there were complaints from the public that only the government's views on these bodies were screened on television. One of the reasons given for refusal was that both organisations feared distortion of their comments through editing by the SABC-TV. It was later disclosed that the interviews were intended to form part of an SABC-TV programme on
'international terrorism', and that the corporation had not sought prior permission to quote banned people or to present the views of proscribed organisations. The Minister of Law and Order subsequently reaffirmed his standpoint that banned people (who include the ANC and PAC leadership) could not be quoted in SA. Dr Alex Boraine (PFP) attacked the SABC for having failed to report the national launching rally of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August. He said that the SABC's responsibility was 'to report without favour and prejudice the news-making events of the country'. Mr Clive Kinsley, NPU president, alleged that the state monopoly of commercial television endangered the existence of the print media in SA. He said that the SABC took the larger percentage of available advertising, which resulted in many newspapers losing a lot of money. Mr Kinsley said that the government should allow private enterprise to manage some of the services.

Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Television (Bop-TV)
It was announced in April that Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Television (BopTV) would open in January 1984 at a cost of R30m. It would broadcast in Tswana, English and Afrikaans and would concentrate on the main industrial centres of the Transvaal, including Soweto. Mr Amos Kgomongwe, Bophuthatswana Minister of Works and chairman of the cabinet committee for Bop-TV, said that news and entertainment features would not be subjected to censorship by the SA Publications Control Board.6" Mr Kevin Kent, public relations officer to President Lucas Mangope, said that the station would not be unfairly used to benefit the ruling political party.61 The station would be dependent on SA for the allocation of wavelengths, because Bophuthatswana is not recognised internationally. It was reported that the Bophuthatswana authorities had signed a 'tough' agreement with Pretoria in November which ensured that Bop-TV would broadcast nothing unacceptable to Pretoria and also that its broadcasts would be beamed to Tswana-speaking areas only.

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SOCIAL SEGREGATION
In June it was announced that the State President had requested the President's Council to advise him about the provision of amenities for all races in cities and towns and on open roads. The request was referred to the Committee for Community Relations, which called for proposals from municipalities and other interested parties. 1

Hotels, restaurants, shops and entertainment facilities
There are at present 74 hotels and 34 restaurants with 'international' status which permits them to admit different races.2 (There were 58 international hotels in 19783 and eight international restaurants in 1979.) Mr Natie Matisonn, chairman of the Hotel and Liquor Caterers' Association, said in August that the liquor industry could not be held responsible for untidiness outside bottlestores because blacks had nowhere else to drink in town.5

Fifteen applications for multi-racial cinemas were received by the Department of Community Development; 11 were successful and four unsuccessful. Only one out of 14 applications for multi-racial theatres was turned down.6

The Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, said in parliament in May that two community halls in Cape Town, the Muizenburg Pavilion and the Wittebome Civic Centre, were not opened to all races because no blacks were living nearby. He stated that other halls in the area had been opened to all races. In January a representative of the big cinema corporations said that approaches for multi-racial audiences had been made in 1982 but that no official response had been received.8 There was an outcry in April over the fact that Sir Richard Attenborough's film Gandhi was to be premiered in SA before segregated audiences. The film's distributor, Ster-Kinekor, claimed that it had been known
since at least September 1982 that Gandhi would be coming to SA but that nobody, not even the Indian charities for whom premieres had been allocated, had raised the question of segregation: had any of the charities in question asked Ster-Kinekor to obtain permits for a mixed premiere, the company would have applied for them. Applications of this nature had usually been granted in the past, Ster-Kinekor said. Following the international furore, Sir Richard Attenborough, who had evidently been acutely embarrassed by it, cancelled his plan to attend a premiere of the film in SA.

A newspaper survey revealed in April that various Indian cinemas admit people of all races despite the fact that they are not legally permitted to do so.9 After a long struggle the Kimberley Theatre finally opened to all races unconditionally. Mr Kotze said that the application had initially been turned down by the Kimberley office of his department. However, it was decided at a higher level that permission should be given to the Northern Cape Technical College Council, which controls the theatre, to decide for themselves6 (see 1982 Survey p 363).

SPORTS FACILITIES
The Administrator of the Cape and chairman of the Cape Performing Arts Board (Capab), Mr Gene Louw, told the Cape Provincial Council that Capab would in future avoid towns which did not allow mixed audiences. He said that Capab's policy was one of 'open' performances.11

The Welkom City Council was reported in June to have granted approval to the Northern Free State Body Building Union to stage multi-racial competitions in its halls.12 In August the Bloemfontein Civic Theatre was opened to all races after the Repertory Society and the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State (PACOFS) had requested the council so to open it.3

Clubs and Sports Facilities
At present there are six race-courses or sporting grounds with 'international' status and six with wine and malt liquor licences.14

It was reported in June that an under-13 soccer team was refused permission to stay in a residence of the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) in Johannesburg because a coloured schoolboy was a member. 11 A group of 70 white students challenged a decision by the Port Shepstone Country Club to ban local African golfers from playing at the club. They claimed that the decision did not reflect the opinion of all whites in the area. The Pietersburg Golf Club confirmed that Indians and coloured people were not allowed to become members or to use its facilities as guests.6 It was reported in July that the Daveyton and Pimville Golf Clubs were contemplating joining the Transvaal Golf Union (TGU). Mr Pat McKenna, president of the TGU, welcomed the prospect of having African clubs in the union.7 Black golfers of the Vryburg Golf Club were reported in August to have been allocated Tuesdays and Sundays as their playing days. They would not, however, use clubhouse facilities.18 Circle, the only multi-racial golf club in Natal, closed at the end of the year because the land it occupied was to be used for a housing development. Mr Allan Dawson, Circle captain, said that the Natal Golf
Union should put pressure on other clubs to lift racial barriers. The only other multiracial club in SA is Cape Town's Clovelly. The SA Swimmer, the mouthpiece of the Amateur Swimming Association of SA (ASASA), said it was not possible to have genuine mixed swimming in SA because blacks could not use pools set aside for whites, which comprised at least 99% of the pools in SA. It was reported in March that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had said that sports administrators and bodies would have to scrap all forms of discrimination if they wanted to use municipally owned sports facilities. This apparently liberal statement was welcomed by the official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and by many sports followers, but the minister later said that he had meant the facilities controlled by blacks would be closed if they were misused for political reasons. The PFP took this subsequent statement as a reference to the non-racial South African Council on Sport (SACOS).

In May the Cape Provincial Council was told by Mrs Molly Blackburn (PFP) that 49 000 African pupils in Port Elizabeth had only seven rugby fields and one cricket ground and no hockey fields or tennis courts, while 26 078 white pupils had 84 rugby and 35 hockey fields and 176 tennis courts. Mr Ken Andrew (PFP) claimed in parliament that it was an astonishing manifestation of selfishness and greed that the government was spending 240 times as much on furthering sport participation for each white child as it was for each African child. He said that R9.9 m was spent on one million white pupils and only R14 700 on 3.6 m African pupils. The Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, admitted that there was a great need for sports facilities in the African, Indian and coloured communities.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, attacked the PFP in parliament in June for labelling the segregated use of the Simonstown naval base's swimming pool as racially discriminatory. General Malan had earlier stated that the policy of the South African Defence Force was that men and women of different population groups could not use the same pool at the same time under any circumstances. It was reported in May that R1 10 000 was to be spent on the development of a sports stadium in the African township of Vosloorus. The 'mayor' of Soweto, Mr David Thebehali, stated in May that a R60 m sporting complex, including an indoor stadium, was planned for Soweto. Two predominantly-African clubs, Kaiser Chiefs and Orlando Pirates, were allowed the use of the 'white' Bloemfontein stadium in the Orange Free State for a match in December. Mr Normal Doubell, chairman of the Bloemfontein City Council management committee, said that the situation had been scrutinised and that he was convinced that there would be no problems at the match. A controversy arose in August about alleged racial discrimination applied by certain companies in their private suites at the Ellis Park Rugby Stadium in Johannesburg. Owing to financial difficulty, the Transvaal Rugby Football Union had agreed to hire the Ellis Park Stadium out for soccer matches. Large crowds,
predominantly black, attended such matches, and commentators remarked on their good behaviour. No racial incidents were reported.

Beaches
A series of attitude surveys conducted throughout SA by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of Natal's Centre for Applied Social Sciences revealed that 25% of whites were in favour of immediate, complete and unqualified integration of all beaches, while another 25% were willing to accept limited and gradual integration. The remaining 50% did not want integration of any kind.

Natal
Having become multi-racial in November 1982 despite protests from whites, Durban's Battery Beach Two proved to be popular during the festive season, with no racial incidents reported.26 In February the Durban City Council opened the beach between West Street Jetty and the Rachel Finlayson pool to all races.21 Some 800 000 people of all races visited Durban beaches over the Easter holidays, with only a few insignificant racial incidents.28 In June more than 8 500 Durban residents and various organisations signed a petition against the opening of beaches. The City Council's Amenities Committee decided, however, that beachfront facilities would be opened to all races when new paddling pools were completed. A petition with 1 229 signatures in support of this move was submitted by Women for Peaceful Change.29 In August the Durban City Council agreed to open Dairy Beach, the Rachel Finlayson pool and the children's paddling pool to all races on 1 December.30 However, in November the

MUNICIPAL APARTHEID
executive committee of the provincial administration disapproved the opening of those amenities and overruled the decision. It was reported in May that the government would spend R1 m on multi-racial beach facilities at seven places on the Natal Coast.31

The Administrator of Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, announced in February that Natal beaches outside Durban, whose beaches are controlled by the City Council, would be desegregated.
The town councils of Kingsburgh, Richards Bay and Margate indicated that they were not in favour of multi-racial beaches.32 In April, Kingsburgh residents voted for whites-only beaches.33 Seven clergymen from different churches in Kingsburgh condemned the vote and described it as 'greed and selfishness'.34 The Deputy Minister of Welfare and of Community Development, Mr Pierre Cronjé, said that the decision of the Natal Executive Committee, which is controlled by the New Republic Party, was against government policy.31

Cape Province
In February a PFP motion in the Cape Provincial Council in support of integrated beaches was defeated. An amendment was accepted: 'This council is convinced that separate beaches for different population groups promote good relations among people'.36 Mr Herbert Hirsch said that the decision of the Natal Executive Committee to scrap beach apartheid a day after the Cape had voted for separate
beaches and facilities reflected the confusion and dissension in NP ranks. Mr Heunis Driel (NP) said that the Natal decision was against government policy and that it would 'have to be sorted out'.37
Mrs Molly Blackburn (PFP) said in February in the Cape Provincial Council that 150 000 whites had exclusive use of 28,4 kilometres of coastline while other groups were restricted to eight and a half kilometres.3s
Police reservists expelled Africans from the Pollock and Summerstrand beaches in Port Elizabeth on New Year's Day.39 In March the Port Elizabeth City Council's Policy and Resources Committee recommended that the council develop beach facilities in the area before declaring them multi-racial.411 Mr Donald Card, a city councillor, reacting to the Durban City Council's decision to desegregate beaches, said in August that as long as the Cape Provincial Council was NPcontrolled, applications by the East London City Council to open beaches and swimming pools to all races would be fruitless.4'
It was reported in January that racial restrictions on Cape Peninsula beaches were generally ignored during the festive season.42 In March, white Sea Point and Green Point residents voted overwhelmingly in favour of segregation on their beaches.43

Municipal Facilities

Transvaal

In the Transvaal, the Nigel Town Council banned Bacchus in die Boland, a play, from the town hall because the cast included five coloured people.4 Ratepayers of the Atlas Park coloured township in Nigel expressed 'extreme displeasure' at the ban.45 White residents of Springs lost their battle to have a fence or a wall erected between an African mine compound and Strubenvale, a white suburb (see 1982 Survey p 36). The Germiston City Council announced that it contemplated open-

MUNICIPAL APARTHEID

ing its lake to all races, a move welcomed by Africans.46 Municipal libraries in Sandton were opened to all races.47 An application by the Randfontein branch of the African Dance Academy to stage a multi-racial event in the Krugersdorp town hall was rejected by the Krugersdorp Town Council.48 In June the Benoni Town Council banned Africans from entering the town's Bunny Park unless accompanied by whites or in charge of white children (see 1980 Survey p 360). In April the Pretoria City Council voted to close 17 parks to blacks: three of these parks would be fenced off into black/white sections. The only blacks allowed into the parks would be African women employed as nursemaids. Among those who criticised this decision were the leader of the opposition, trade unionists, high school students in Pretoria, academic staff at the University of SA, church leaders, black civic leaders, and the pro-government newspaper Die Vaderland.49 It was reported in August that fences would be erected around the parks in October, at a cost of R130000, with a further R170000 for Church Square, Burgers Park and Arcadia Park.50 The Laudium Management Committee said the committee had campaigned for 20 years for parks in this Indian township but had been told that the Pretoria City Council did not have enough money.
In May, three weeks after the Pretoria City Council's decision, conservative members of the Johannesburg City Council submitted a report on security, overcrowding and other problems in the city's parks and recommended that admission fees be charged. They also suggested that the use of municipal playing fields be limited to people belonging to clubs affiliated to certain recognised sporting bodies. The report was interpreted by some as a subtle plan to keep blacks out.5

In August the Johannesburg Management Committee turned down a request from the Randburg Town Council to integrate its bus service (provided by the Johannesburg City Council), and advised Randburg to negotiate with the National Transport Commission for its own bus services.52

The Randburg Town Council voted for the deletion of the words 'of white descent' from the definition of students eligible for municipal bursaries. Mr Bill Sewell (PFP), chairman of the management committee, said that residents of any race who had lived in the town for two years would be eligible.53

A Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey commissioned by the Randburg Town Council and released in August (see 1982 Survey p 358) revealed that 56% of blacks approved the removal of race barriers in municipal services and amenities. Only 31% of white respondents would refuse to accept such a move, with 13% not knowing how they would react. Those respondents who objected to the immediate opening of facilities indicated that they would withdraw their objections if assured that the town council would undertake to maintain existing standards. The survey showed that most whites would accept the opening of educational facilities for adults, library services, sports facilities, cultural gatherings, theatres, health clinics and municipal transport. Most whites were not in favour of mixed cemeteries, municipal swimming baths, creches, nursery schools and public lavatories.54 The leader of the PFP, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said that the acceptance of 'open' amenities by black and white people emphasised the emergence of a truly multi-racial society.55 Mr Olaus van Zyl, leader of the NP in Randburg, said that he supported government policy of sharing amenities where it was practical. He said that he differed from the PFP's belief that all amenities should be opened to all races.56 At its meeting the town council approved by a majority of two votes to open facilities to all races. In November the findings of an action committee survey, commissioned and paid for by three local businessmen who

HOSPITAL APARTHEID
claimed that the PFP had 'seriously misjudged the mood of the people' were released. They disputed the HSRC findings and claimed that 72% of the residents were opposed to mixed amenities and that 38% would leave Randburg once they were opened. The survey was conducted by sending out nearly 23 000 reply-paid questionnaires to property owners and tenants. Only 6 023 replied. The action committee said that the management committee should call a meeting or postpone the opening of amenities until after the next election. Dr JG Garbers, president of the HSRC, criticised the methods employed in applying the survey. He said that they favoured those who were dissatisfied with the initial survey.
Cape Province
In January the Oudtshoorn Town Council opened all the facilities at the Cango Caves to all races. In March the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, said that his administration was still not satisfied with arrangements at the caves. 'Due to the fact that the Cango Caves are a national monument, great value is attached to their accessibility to all population groups', he said. The Kimberley City Council resolved that the Karen Muir swimming pool could be used only by clubs which fell within the jurisdiction of the Kimberley Municipality. Councillor M Wessels, who proposed the resolution, said that he intended to prevent African swimmers from being coached there.
In July the SA Caravan and Camping Council disclosed that only 11 caravan parks for blacks throughout SA were adequately equipped.

Hospitals
In February a small coloured girl was transported from Pretoria to Cape Town, more than 1 000 kilometres away, to be treated for autism because the centre for autistic children in Pretoria was for whites only. Pregnant women at the Boksburg-Benoni, Kalafong (near Pretoria) and Leratong (near Krugersdorp) Hospitals were made to sleep on the floor while beds in white hospitals stood empty. In August Mrs Irene Menell (PFP) said in the Transvaal Provincial Council that unused beds in the Johannesburg Hospital should be used by African patients to relieve overcrowding at Baragwanath Hospital (see also 1982 Survey p 363). Mothers of newly-born babies were made to sleep on the floor at Addington Hospital because they were classified as coloured people. The Director of Hospital Services, Dr J T Vorster, would not allow them into less crowded 'white' wards. A memorandum signed by the maternity staff complained that the coloured people's section was unhygienic and conducive to the health of the mothers and that there was a faulty lift in it which might be a death trap if there was an emergency while a mother was being transported to the operating theatre. In November the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) claimed that many black working class people in the western Cape areas had few hospitals and found it difficult to obtain medical help. It said that of the 22 private hospitals in the area, 21 were in the white-occupied areas.

Transport
Regarding the possibility of removing apartheid signs from suburban trains in the Cape Peninsula, the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, stated that INTEGRATION IN THE WORK-PLACE the existing segregation policy aimed at eliminating friction would be maintained.

Various incidents were reported of black train passengers being forced to vacate 'white' coaches, although the latter were empty and the 'black' coaches already over-crowded.
In July the Durban City Council appointed two African women to serve on the board controlling the municipal bus service. Professor Schlemmer's surveys (see above) showed that there was substantial support for integration in public transport. However, in August the National Transport Commission refused an
application by the Durban City Council to integrate its municipal buses on certain routes.

Integration in the Workplace

Mr Cor de Jager, president of the Mine Workers' Union, stated in January that his union had complained to the Attorney-General about the illegal integration of junior officials' cloakrooms at the Rustenburg Platinum Mine in Bophuthatswana. There are no laws prohibiting integration of facilities in Bophuthatswana. Mr de Jager said that the mines were forcing integration. He complained that the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (JCI) mining house was integrating facilities at one mine and was planning to allow African senior officials to live in the same street as whites at Union Section, another mine in Bophuthatswana. A JCI spokesman said that the integration of the street was dropped after objections.

The then Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr P T C du Plessis, stated in parliament that the government would not allow any worker to be forced to share amenities with other race groups.

References

1 Various press reports
2 Department of Commerce and Industrial Affairs letter to SAIRR
3 1978 Race Relations Survey p 364 4 1979 Race Relations Survey p 423
5 Rand Daily Mail 10 August
6 Department of Community Development letter to SAIRR
7 Rand Daily Mail 28 May
8 Cape Times 2 January
9 Sunday Express 24 April 10 Rand Daily Mail and Diamond Fields Advertiser
25 May 1 Diamond Fields Advertiser 31 May 12 The Friend 23 June
13 Rand Daily Mail 27 August, Star 30 August 14 Department of Commerce and Industrial Affairs I' Rand Daily Mail 29 June, Eastern Province Herald 29 June 16 Citizen 9 July
17 Citizen 5 July
18 Diamond Fields Advertiser 1 August 19 Rand Daily Mail 4 August 20 Ibid 15-
17 March
21 Daily Dispatch 21 May
22 Star 3 May
23 Rand Daily Mail 9 June 24 Ibid 26 May
25 Ibid 7 May

SOCIAL SEGREGATION

26 Natal Post 29 December 1982 27 Various press reports 2a Rand Daily Mail 5
April 29 Natal Mercury 17 June, Evening Post 17 June 30 Star 2 August 31 Natal
Mercury 27 May 32 Various press reports
3 Star 15 April
3 Sunday Times 1 May 35 Eastern Province Herald 19 February, Rand Daily Mail
19 February "Evening Post 18 February 37 Daily Dispatch 19 February
8 Evening Post 18 February 39 Evening Post 3 January 41 Eastern Province
Herald 3 March 41 Daily Dispatch 4 August 42 Financial Mail 1 March 43
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

Housing

Community Development Amendment Act, No 64 of 1983

In terms of the Community Development Act, No 3 of 1966, a person who bought immovable property for residential purposes with the assistance of the Community Development Board could not sell or otherwise alienate it within a period of five years unless it had first been offered for sale to the board. The amendment extends the board's pre-emptive right from five to ten years. It further provides that if the board rejects an offer to purchase a property within the pre-emptive period, and the property is then sold to someone else, the board may claim a portion of the selling price.

Housing Amendment Act, No 63 of 1983

This act provides, inter alia, that register utility companies may apply directly to the National Housing Commission for loans from the housing fund.

Shortage of Housing

In response to a parliamentary question on housing shortages for each race group, the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, said that given the government's new housing policy in terms of which state funds would be made available for the provision of housing only for the very poor and the aged and for the provision of serviced sites, while the private sector would be making a greater contribution, the state could no longer undertake the comprehensive research that the determination of housing needs and shortages demands. Therefore the department could not provide the required statistics. 1

However, in 1982 the minister indicated that there was a shortage of 81000 housing units for whites, coloured people and Indians (see 1982 Survey p 335). According to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, the shortage of houses for Africans in the 'white' areas of SA and the 'non-independent' homelands was approximately 272 000 units.2

Provision of Housing

The Minister of Community Development said that the following numbers of housing units were made available by the state and local authorities during 1982:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSING SHORTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indibn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The amounts spent by the Department of Community Development on the building of houses in various areas in 1981 and 1982 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>107 343 405</td>
<td>109 283 808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>44 865 373</td>
<td>61 255 976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>9 178 731</td>
<td>7 052 033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>19 813 681</td>
<td>22 556 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>8 673 547</td>
<td>8 171 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>59 474 282</td>
<td>74 408 778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>13 821 019</td>
<td>33 515 564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>263 170 038</td>
<td>316 243 680</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Housing Shortage and Government Policy

According to Mr D Mullins, a senior planner in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, housing requirements for the period 1982-1990 stood at 2.3 million-1792 500 for Africans (including a 501 000 backlog), 250 000 for whites, 180 000 for coloured people, and 80 000 for Asians. Mr Mullins said that while state expenditure on defence had risen from 11.5% of GDP in 1970 to 17.3% in 1980, expenditure on housing had fallen from 2.68% to 2.3% in the same period. According to Dr Robin Lee, director of planning and development of the Urban Foundation, in order to overcome the growing backlog an annual investment of R4 000 million (at 1982 prices) was needed. This would represent about 6% of GDP.

In the Department of Community Development vote for 1983/84, the total amount allocated for the provision of housing was R95 328 000, an increase of R14 146 000 over 1982/83.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, announced that the cabinet had approved two home-ownership concessions, mainly to assist young people acquiring a first home of their own. The first was a home-ownership savings scheme under which the saving limit which qualified for a subsidy was doubled to R20000 and the subsidy payable increased from 2% to 3%. The second was an interest-rate subsidy (of up to 20%) to assist young people and people in the lower
to middle-income groups who have not previously owned a home or flat and who wish to purchase or build a new dwelling. The subsidy will be paid only in respect of mortgages of not more than R40 000 on properties of which the full purchase price does not exceed R50 000. The concessions will not be available to persons who receive housing assistance from other sources.

In September, the Prime Minister announced that the government would provide 15 000 low-cost homes in a two-phase plan to alleviate the housing backlog for low and middle-income whites. The homes will be for young couples, pensioners and the poor, and will cost the government R200 million. Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP) described the announcement as an attempt by the government to 'soften up the electorate' for the referendum on 2 November.

In July 1982, Mr Kotze announced that the government would introduce a new housing policy (see 1982 Survey pp 336-337). His department's annual report laid down the following new priorities for the allocation of state funds: 10

* funds would be utilised to make serviced plots available for individuals to purchase stands and erect their own dwellings with their own funds or with finance obtained from other sources. The serviced stands would be available for all income groups, but while lower income groups would be able to buy plots at prices set by their incomes, those falling outside the income limits would have to acquire them at market value;
* funds would be provided to house the aged, pensioners and other people not in a position to provide for themselves;
* to assist persons prepared to help themselves but who are unable to obtain private financial assistance, funds would be made available for 90% individual loans and for the purchase of material by local authorities and administration boards, in order to enable individuals to carry out self-help and self-building projects under proper supervision;
* funds would be utilised to provide housing for people earning less than R150 per month. Projects falling within this category would be classified in order of priority to ensure that relief would be given where it was most needed;
* technical know-how and loans on a limited scale would be made available for the establishment of only the most essential community facilities. The community would have to involve itself to a greater extent and would have to make its own contribution.

The Department of Community Development said that allocations for housing assistance would be made by the National Housing Commission only once a year, in January, when all the available funds would be allocated. 11
According to Major R Sive (PFP), the following number of serviced stands would have to be provided for home-building by the end of the century to provide enough shelter for the urban population of South Africa: 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>939 000 to 1 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>465 000 to 500 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>267 000 to 300 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>1 940 000 to 2 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 611 000 to 3 800 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Major Sive said that the cost of providing serviced stands would be between R80 billion and R100 billion at 1980 prices. 13

In March, the government announced that it would sell 500 000 state-owned houses between July 1983 and July 1984 to their occupants. The bulk of these would be in African areas, although white, Indian and coloured people would also be able to buy houses. Those not taking up the option might face high rent increases when the offer expired. Discounts of up to 40% on the selling price of the houses would be offered within the one-year prescribed period, in recognition of the length of residence, and for cash transactions including finance from any source other than the National Housing Fund. The Fund would not undertake to finance purchasers earning more than R450 per month unless they could prove that no other finance could be found. The profits made from the sale of these houses would be split equally between the local authorities and the Fund. 14

Speaking at an Indian Housing Symposium in Pietermaritzburg in June, the Deputy Minister of Community Development, Mr Pierre Cronje, said that the purpose of the government's new housing policy was 'to create a broad class of property owners among all population groups with the concomitant pride and other great advantages which accompany home ownership and property rights'. 15

Mr Jan Steyn, executive director of the Urban Foundation, said that the government's new scheme was one of 'the best and potentially one of the most stabilising steps taken in many years.' 6

The scheme was, however, also severely criticised. Professor David Dewar of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Cape Town said that the shift in government policy towards an emphasis on self-help housing, along with a reduction in the provision of sub-economic housing and the sale of the 500 000 rented units, could create a situation where the poorest would be trapped in a permanently disadvantaged position. 17

According to Mr Alan Mabin, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, the greatly increased rents which tenants would face if they did not buy their homes would not only force people to move out of their homes, but might also generate unprecedented opposition to state housing policy. Mr Mabin also said that the sale of existing houses would not overcome the backlog and there was no reason to suppose that by 'getting rid of the burden of collecting rent and maintaining houses' the state would build accommodation to overcome this backlog. 18

The Private Sector
In reply to a question in the House of Assembly, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning gave the following information relating to the number of houses constructed by the private sector in 1982:19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>6290</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>13391</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>13808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>2819</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>3494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24344</td>
<td>2094</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>27248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For details of the number of houses constructed for Africans by the private sector see the section on housing in the chapter on Urban Africans in this Survey.

Squatters

In his report for 1981/82 the Director-General for Community Development gave the following information concerning registered squatters in the areas of jurisdiction of the eight regional offices of his department (African squatters excluded):2'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional office</th>
<th>Number of squatter huts</th>
<th>Registered</th>
<th>Not yet demolished</th>
<th>2/10/82</th>
<th>30/9/82</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>27116</td>
<td>20983</td>
<td>6133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>3804</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>3033</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>15747</td>
<td>4911</td>
<td>10836</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>366</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>371</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>498</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48824</td>
<td>27456</td>
<td>21368</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rent Control

According to the Minister of Community Development, in 1983 an estimated 63 000 dwellings (some 4.5% of the total) were still subject to rent control, the same number as in 1982.21

According to his department's annual report,22 the following is a summary of the activities of the full-time rent boards in the various metropolitan areas, and of the Rent Control Board, during the 1980/81 and 1981/82 financial years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1980/81</th>
<th>1981/82</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases dealt with by rent boards</td>
<td>6868</td>
<td>4696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling units involved</td>
<td>30366</td>
<td>33235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notices to vacate verified</td>
<td>2288</td>
<td>2363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessors found guilty of contravention of the act</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases reviewed by Rent Control Board</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As reported in the 1982 Survey (p 339), a committee of inquiry was appointed to inquire into rent control and related matters. Its report was tabled in parliament on 25 March. Recommendations made by the committee included:23 an increase in income limit whereby a tenant in selected instances would qualify for rent control protection; a conditional lifting of the prohibition on sales under sectional title; a
notice to vacate should not be served on a tenant unless a court order is obtained in advance stating that the premises would be 'reasonably required' for the purpose of any reconstruction or rebuilding scheme, repairs, restoration or conversion for which it would be essential that the premises were vacant (at present, tenants can be told to leave without one); a tenant should be given the right to purchase the unit he occupies and have a reasonable time to do so (90 days for uncontrolled premises and 365 for rent controlled premises); if a tenant of a rent-controlled unit is 65 years or older, and his income falls within the limits, the dwelling may be sold only to him and a tenant who does not purchase the premises should be given six months to find other accommodation, the rent during this time to be fixed; and a landlord should be able to open a sectional title register on a rent-controlled building without being prevented from doing so by a single protected tenant.

Mr Colin Eglin (PFP) welcomed the recommendations, saying that they

GROUP AREAS ACT
would provide more secure tenancy for people occupying flats, while allowing developers to apply for sectional title sales on all buildings. 24

AssistedHousing
In May the Minister of Community Development said that the income limit for housing assistance would be increased from R650 to R800 per month as from 1 July.

At the 'Housing Challenge' conference organised by the National Building Research Institute (NBRI) in May, Mr W J Marais, chairman of the National Housing Commission, said that in order to ensure that rent subsidies were limited to deserving cases, the subsidies would in future be calculated on family income, and not only on the income of the breadwinner. He said that family income meant the income of the breadwinner plus half the income of all the other family members living in the house.26

Group Areas
Statistics
The following numbers of families were moved from their homes during 1982 in terms of the Group Areas Act:
Cape Transvaal OFS
NJ f. I
White
23
Coloured
1 699 129
Indian
84 179
Total 23 1 895 1 013
The Minister of Community Development said that the following numbers of families had been moved from the commencement of the Act up to 31 December 1982:27
Cape Transvaal OFS Natal
White
780
688
Coloured
64 489 11 434 2 300 3 725
Indian
2 965 11 606
24 914
The following numbers of families remained to be moved as at 31 December
1982:
Total 2 285 81 948 39 485

GROUP AREAS ACT
White Coloured Indian
Cape 69 3 172 688
Transvaal - 1 463 1 465
OFS 31 -
Natal - 529 1 659
Total 100 5 164 3 812
The following areas had been proclaimed as at 31 December 1982:2
Number of group areas Area in ha.
White 447 775 054
Coloured 312 78 420
Indian 115 49 436
Total 874 902 910
Traders
The Minister of Community Development gave the following information in
respect of the number of traders moved from business premises since the
commencement of the Group Areas Act until 31 December 1982 (the number
resettled during 1982 is shown in brackets):29
White Coloured Indian
Cape 3 88 (2) 390 (35)
Transvaal 32 81 1 541 (20)
OFS -
Natal 19 11 576 (25)
Total 54 180 (2) 2 507 (80)
As at the end of 1982 there were 328 'disqualified' traders in Natal, 14 in the
Transvaal and 589 in the Cape. The minister said that these traders would not
necessarily all be resettled. At present, attention was being given only to the
provision of alternative business premises or serviced sites for traders awaiting
removal due to urban renewal projects, new capital works or the clearance of
unhygienic and slum conditions. -0 The minister also said that in May 1983, 26
areas in SA had been declared open areas for trading purposes in terms of section
19 of the Group Areas Act of 1966. These areas were situated in Colenso,
Delmas, Durban (two areas), East London, Elsburg, Johannesburg (two areas),
Kimberley (two areas), Krugersdorp, Ladysmith, Nancefield, Nelspruit,
Newcastle, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth (two areas), Port Shepstone, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Roodepoort, Springs, Vryburg, Warrenton, Woodstock/Salt River.

General Comments on the Group Areas Act
In January, after the Labour Party had announced that it would participate in the government’s new constitutional proposals, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the party, said that it would use its ‘new power lever’ to ask the government to stop proclamations of new group areas and to suspend prosecutions under the Group Areas Act.

In March, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport Affairs, said that coloured and Indian representatives who might be promoted to the cabinet under the new constitution would not live in existing ministerial houses in Cape Town and Pretoria, but would have to stay in their own group areas. Mr Schoeman referred to the President’s Council’s recommendation in 1982 that the act not be repealed (1982 Survey p 341).

According to a report by the Surplus Peoples’ Project, Forced Removals in South Africa, the removal of people in terms of the act constituted the second largest category of removals, the largest being farm evictions. A spokesman for Actstop (a committee that tries to stop evictions) said that the numbers of people removed in terms of the act, while horrifying, did not reflect the immense suffering of the affected people and the destruction of settled communities.

In August, at the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Cape Town, a motion was passed condemning the act and forced removals. The UDF declared that all people should have the right to live where they pleased in the land of their birth, and saluted all communities struggling against removals.

At the annual conference of the Trade Union Council of SA (TUSCA) in September, a motion was passed condemning the Group Areas Act on the grounds that it inhibited and undermined the principles of the free enterprise system.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

Regional Developments
Transvaal
Coloured Housing in Johannesburg
The Johannesburg City Council’s housing department stated that at 30 June 1983 there were 5 604 coloured families on its housing waiting list. The Council had budgeted R14 185 000, financed by loans from the National Housing Fund, for the 1982/83 financial year (R1 076 600 more than in 1981/82). However, the Minister of Community Development said that an amount of R13 789 298 was allocated for coloured housing in Johannesburg during 1982/83. He added that during the current financial year, R1 389 946 was budgeted for projects in the course of execution. In the light of the government’s new housing policy, no allocation was made for new projects.

It was reported in last year’s Survey (p 342) that in September 1982 the city council announced an increase in assessment rates, service charges and rents. The announcement provoked a wave of protest which resulted in the postponement of
the increases until January 1983. The residents, however, continued to demand that they be scrapped altogether. In January the city council increased the service charges very slightly and delayed the rent increases until July 1984.39

In January, the Sandton Town Council decided to make representations to the Department of Community Development with regard to the establishment of a coloured residential area near Sandton. The council had earmarked 93 ha.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

north-east of the town near the white suburb of Linbro Park, which could have provided accommodation for 6 000-7 000 people. The need for a coloured area in or near Sandton was highlighted at the end of January, when 12 families who had been staying on a single stand in Wynberg for over 15 years were evicted. Alternative accommodation could not be found for them in Alexandra and the families had to be temporarily accommodated in buses.

According to Mr Rick Valente (PFP), chairman of Sandton’s management committee, the town had a responsibility to make provision for those coloured people who worked within its boundaries. However, after protests by independent councillors and white ratepayers of Linbro Park, the Minister of Community Development said that the need for a coloured area had not been substantiated and that the matter would be reconsidered after six months. The ratepayers argued that the 93 ha area was not big enough to provide a standard of living comparable to the neighbouring white suburbs, and that a sub-economic area would seriously devalue properties there. Mr Valente accused the minister of adopting a callous attitude and said that the fact that 5 000 people were ‘without home or hope’ was a substantial enough reason for the creation of a coloured area.”

Following the minister's announcement, the Johannesburg City Council said that the chairman of its Housing Committee and NP leader in the council would, meet representatives from Sandton, Randburg and Midrand to discuss the possibility of finding land north of Johannesburg for a new coloured area.41

In April, Mr Thys Wilsnach, director of housing in Johannesburg, said that in 1982, 495 housing units were allocated for the 4 780 coloured families on the council’s waiting list. He said further that the Priority Housing Committee (which considered applications from desperate families) was able to recommend accommodation for only the 316 most deserving cases out of 1 799 applications because of the acute housing shortage.42 Mr Wilsnach added that the resettlement of families from the old Western Township to other areas was causing a standstill on the waiting list because houses in the township were being demolished to make way for a new housing development scheme. He also said that as 675 applicants for houses worked in towns such as Benoni, Brakpan and Sandton, these towns would be asked to provide housing for them.43

In July it was reported that people living in nine coloured townships in Johannesburg could not get loans to buy their houses because the townships had not yet been proclaimed. There has been a delay of between four to eight years in proclaiming townships. The Johannesburg City Council had recommended that Johannesburg and other Transvaal cities should be empowered to establish their
own townships. This system is followed by the city councils of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, which proclaim their own townships within six months.44

Indian Housing on the Witwatersrand

In January, residents in Lenasia Extensions 8, 9, 10 and part of 11 received letters from the Johannesburg City Council informing them that the council had given responsibility for the supply of water, electricity and other services to the area, to the Peri-Urban Board. The letter also demanded that they pay a deposit of R130 to the Peri-Urban Board for water and electricity by 21 January despite the fact that they had already paid a R50 deposit to the council. At a meeting of the Residents’ Association it was decided that the residents would not pay the deposit as they could not afford it. The secretary of the board, Mr B G E Roux, said that the

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

board would consider taking action if the residents refused to pay. However, as a result of the protest, the board reduced the deposit to R60, which the tenants agreed to pay.

When the residents received their first rent accounts from the Peri-Urban Board, they discovered that the tariff charges on electricity and water were 40% higher than those charged by the Johannesburg City Council. Several residents were also charged for services which they said were non-existent. On 10 May some 2 000 residents converged with placards on the board’s payment depot in Lenasia, to pay their accounts at city council rates. The residents also handed the board a letter stating that their payments were being made 'in full and final settlement'.

When the residents still refused to pay the higher rates after the second month, the Peri-Urban Board cut off electricity to the houses of people who were in arrears by R30 or more. Because it was winter, and because the Muslim residents were observing Ramadan, the residents decided to call off the boycott, and the outstanding amounts owing were paid."

In September, a representative of the Sandton Town Council said that it was expected that the Indian areas of Marlboro Gardens and Marlboro Gardens Extension One would be proclaimed as townships before the end of the year.46

Coloured and Indian People in White Group Areas

According to Actstop there are between 8 000 and 12 000 Indian and coloured people living illegally in Johannesburg's white areas. 47

It was reported in last year's Survey (p 344) that the Pretoria Supreme Court had ruled that people convicted under the Group Areas Act should not be automatically evicted as part of their sentence. According to Mr Cassim Saloojee, chairman of Actstop, the ruling had to a certain extent made it more difficult for illegal tenants to fight eviction, as landlords had begun to issue their own eviction notices to black tenants - a move which he believed was the result of pressure from the authorities, who saw the Supreme Court ruling as 'closing one door'. Mr Saloojee added that he believed that the government was pursuing the segregation of living areas as relentlessly as ever.41 In March several white property owners in Johannesburg said that they had been visited by the police demanding the names of Indian and coloured residents living in their buildings and warning them to get rid of 'illegal' tenants.49
On 1 March, the Minister of Community Development announced that the Group Areas Board would launch an investigation into the possibility of reproclaiming a section of the white Johannesburg suburb of Mayfair as an Indian group area. Mr Kotze assured white families in the affected area that if it was reproclaimed an Indian area, they would be offered alternative accommodation in nearby areas of Pageview and Vrededorp where new houses were being built. (Large numbers of Indian and coloured people lived in Pageview and Vrededorp before their proclamation as white areas). The minister also said that the rest of Mayfair and the surrounding white areas would remain white, and warned that the government would act 'relentlessly and drastically' against Indians and coloured people living illegally in Johannesburg's white group areas."0 As a result of this announcement, white home-owners in the affected areas began to sell their houses at prices three or four times greater than the market value, to wealthy Indians. Many white tenants were evicted from their homes after these sales,

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

while many Indian tenants were evicted from properties owned, under nomineeship, by Indians who planned to demolish and rebuild the houses for their own occupation."
The minister's announcement was severely criticised by Mr S P Barnard, Conservative Party MP for Langlaagte, in whose constituency part of the affected area falls. He said that reproclamation would place a great financial burden on the 200 white families there, who paid monthly rentals of between R70 and R100 and would not be able to afford higher rentals in Vrededorp and Pageview2

Mr Saloojee said that Actstop could not deviate from its principle of opposing the Group Areas Act; to accept Mayfair as an Indian area would be to subscribe to double standards. Actstop would defend all Mayfair tenants, including whites, who were evicted. Mr Saloojee suggested that the minister's warning on illegal residents was intended to show conservative whites that the government had not departed from the policy of separate residential areas.3 Dr Essop Jassat, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), criticised the SA Indian Council for being 'in cahoots' with the government to create a false impression that concessions had been given to Indians in general when in fact it was only a concession to the rich.54

The hearing of the Group Areas Board to consider the Mayfair question on 27 June ended in uproar when the chairman of the board, Mr S W van Wyk, refused to allow a representative of the TIC, Mr M Bham, to give evidence on the grounds that a statement by Mr Bham was biased. All the supporters of Actstop and the TIC walked out of the hearing, which was then adjourned. The next day Mr van Wyk announced that the hearing would not resume, and that the board would submit recommendations to the Minister of Community Development.5 On 1 December, Mr Kotze announced that the area would be declared an Indian group area.

During a visit to Mayfair on 17 October with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, Mr Kotze warned Indian and coloured people living there to leave immediately or face 'drastic' legislation. The government had no intention of
finding alternative accommodation for the illegal residents and legislation would be introduced during the next parliamentary session to deal relentlessly with all offenders, Mr Kotze said, 'particularly with owners who allow their properties to be misused for purposes of exploitation and illegal occupation'. Mr Kotze said of the Indians and coloured people in question, 'These people didn't live in the sky before they infiltrated Mayfair. They can go back where they came from.'

Actstop accused Mr Kotze of acting callously towards the homeless and said that his statement indicated that 'baaskap apartheid was still the order of the day'. The statement was also criticised by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the South African Indian Council (SAIC), and the Rev Alan Hendrickse, leader of the (coloured) Labour Party. Mr Rajbansi said that he would demand a freeze on all Group Areas Act evictions. He said that the government would have to evict Indians from the Indian chamber of parliament before evicting the tenants. Mr Hendrickse demanded that the Prime Minister stop all Group Areas Act removals and warned that the threat by Mr Kotze might force the Labour Party to pull out of the new constitutional system.

In April, Dr F O Gouws, the principal of a white primary school in Johannesburg, Laerskool Joubert Park, sent a circular to parents 'strongly advising' them to complain to the police about any black people living in Hillbrow and the city centre. The letter also requested parents to fill in a questionnaire listing the names...
were still resident in Pageview, and the Save Pageview Association was awaiting
the outcome of their appeal in the Supreme Court for the eviction of Indian
families from the area to be stopped.61
During the parliamentary debate on the Housing Amendment Bill, Mr Colin Eglin
(PFP) said that white South Africans living in cities faced a housing crisis in that
housing was available only at prices which the average South African citizen
could not afford. 62
Benoni
In September, the Benoni Town Council announced that the rentals for flats in the
Indian area Actonville would be increased from 1 October by between R20 to
R70. Most of the tenants said they were unable to afford this increase. On 19
October, about 500 flat dwellers converged on the council with placards to put
forward their complaints. The councillors refused to meet them and eventually
they dispersed. On 27 October, at a meeting attended by about 1000 people, the
residents resolved to switch off their lights for an hour each night for a month and
to hold a candlelight vigil in protest. They also decided that they would not pay
the additional portion of the rent until the town council agreed to meet them to
discuss their objections, which it refused to do. It told the Actonville Rents Action
Committee (ARAC), which represents flat dwellers, that they should consult the
local Indian management committee. ARAC made an appointment to meet the
management committee on 10 November, but on that day the management
committee refused to see them. ARAC then telexed the Minister of Community
Development, asking him to intervene. At the time of writing the outcome was
not known.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Natal
According to the Durban City Treasurer's Department there were 410 whites and
17 297 Indians on the council's housing list at 31 May 1983.63 According to Mr
B Dookie, chairman of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) housing
committee, this figure was not a true reflection as it did not allow for those people
who had not applied for housing assistance or for a natural growth of about 2 500
a year.64
An amount of R951 930 was allocated for white housing in the council's 1982/83
budget, and R37 453 480 for Indian housing.65
The Minister of Community Development said that during 1982, 5 047 housing
units were built for Indians in Durban, and 705 in the rest of Natal.66
It was reported in June that more than 14 000 homes would be made available in
Phoenix for Indians, and in Newlands West for coloured people. At that date, over
9 000 units were nearing completion, while a further 5 374 were under
construction. Permission had been given for the construction of another 1 000
units.67
It was reported in last year's Survey that an area in Mtubatuba in KwaZulu had
been declared an Indian group area. Since then land has been allocated in three
other areas for Indian occupation: Richards Bay, Gingindlovu and Eshowe .6
According to a study by Dr J McCarthy of the University of Natal's Geography Department and Professor R Davies of the Geography Department at the University of Cape Town, the withholding of 10 square kilometres of prime central medium-density residential land in Cato Manor from development for over 20 years has cost the Durban City Council R1,5 billion in lost revenue. According to the report, the original African and Indian residents of Cato Manor were forced out to make way for whites. When the land was discovered to be unsuitable, it was handed back to Indians but at a cost beyond the reach of the original residents. Dr McCarthy said that Indians were under-supplied with land, largely as a result of the Group Areas Act, which allocated resources in favour of whites.69 After the land had been returned to the Indians in 1980, the Department of Community Development continued expropriating houses from Indian residents under the Slums Act. In June, following representations by Mr P Cronje (PFP) on behalf of the Cato Manor Residents' Association, the minister agreed to withdraw eviction notices which had been issued to six Cato Manor families. The minister also said that none of the other 320 families still living in rented houses belonging to the Department of Community Development in Cato Manor would be moved until alternative accommodation in Cato Manor could be provided.0 Thousands of residents in Clairwood were threatened with resettlement as a result of the rezoning of the area for industrial use. After strong protests, Mr N McLennan, chairman of the city council's management committee, agreed to meet objectors to discuss 'reasonable alternatives'. At the end of May, the Minister of Community Development said he would investigate the matter. He did not promise to stop the industrial development, but said that the resettlement of thousands of people would be a 'formidable task'.71

In July, coloured residents in Newlands East earning more than R650 per month were faced with rent increases of between nine percent and 19%. Residents earning less than R450 per month and living in specified types of homes were given a decrease of between 0,2% and 17%. The Newlands East Residents' Association wrote to the Durban City Council requesting a freeze of all increases for 12 months. However, this attempt failed evidently because the letter was received well after the new rent structure was put into force .72

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Orange Free State
In April, the Sunday Express reported that the OFS Provincial Council was reexamining a 1891 ordinance prohibiting Indians and Chinese people from living or working in the province. The report quoted Mr Louis Botha, the OFS Administrator, as saying that the province would not be a stumbling-block in the search for an ideal constitutional system for the country.73 However, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, denied that the abolition or revision of this law was under consideration. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that agitation to open the OFS to Asians would create unnecessary friction. Even if the law was repealed, the residential rights of Asians would be regulated by the Group Areas Act. Mr Botha said further that he refused to concede that the 'old
fathers' of the OFS who had made these laws had acted 'unethically, immorally or unchristianly'.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, said that it was 'indefensible in this late day in South Africa for the Prime Minister to justify a law forbidding Indian people to live in the Free State'.

This law became an issue again in July, when a Chinese child, Hweiming (Bibi) Koo, was refused permission to attend a primary school in Harrismith. After much publicity the school board eventually agreed at the beginning of August to accept Miss Koo, but by then she had already enrolled at a private school in Johannesburg.

Western Cape

The Cape Town Treasurer's Department gave the following information in respect of the number of persons on the council's housing waiting-list for 1983:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Ownership</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>10 915</td>
<td>11 772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letting (rented)</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>20 380</td>
<td>21 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>1 027</td>
<td>31 295</td>
<td>33 088</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The city council budgeted R54967035 for coloured housing in the 1982/83 financial year, the bulk to be financed by a loan from the National Housing Fund. During 1982, 98 housing units were built for whites in the Cape Peninsula, 4494 for coloured people and 1 514 for Africans.

The Minister of Community Development said there were 10 839 vacant residential plots available for whites, 3 646 available for coloured people and 242 for Indians in the Cape Peninsula. The total extent of group areas in the western Cape was as follows: 79 white 75 213 ha; coloured 27 950 ha; and Indian 763 ha.

In February the minister said that the Group Areas Board had been requested to investigate portions of Steenbergplaas and Tokai in Constantia and Kronendal Estate in Hout Bay, for the purpose of establishing a prestige residential area for coloured people.

The Director-General for Community Development said in his annual report for the period 1 October 1981 to 30 September 1982 that 4 395 housing units had been erected in Atlantis, a new town for coloured people, during the period under review, while 164 sites were available for self-building purposes. A further 202 sites would be made available for sale during 1983. Fifty-eight houses were being constructed by a building society, while Escom was erecting 285 houses for its own employees in the area.

By the end of October, approximately 30 000 housing units in the mass housing project in Mitchell's Plain, a coloured area established seven years ago, had been completed. The total cost of the project to that date amounted to R30 million. Land is available to build a further 15 000 houses, but funds are at present unavailable.

In line with the government's new housing policy 1 350 erven in Mitchell's Plain were sold to the Strandfontein Development Company, which intended to develop the sites as soon as possible. In February it was reported that
a R16 million residential complex for South African Transport Services would soon be completed and that the complex will eventually provide accommodation for 2,000 single coloured males.83

The Minister of Community Development said that 10,957 families had been moved from District Six between the commencement of the Group Areas Act and 31 December 1982. Thirty-two families were moved in 1982.14 According to the minister, 82 houses in District Six which had previously been occupied by coloured or Indian tenants had been sold to white persons for prices ranging from R27,286 to R34,338.85

In January, almost one fifth of District Six was reproclaimed a coloured area under the Group Areas Act. This action followed strong public protest after District Six was proclaimed a white area, and recommendations by the President's Council in 1981 that the whole area be given back to the coloured community. The area reproclaimed stretched from Eastern Boulevard in the north to Keisersgracht in the south, and from Johnson Street in the west to Walmer Estate in the east.86

Eastern Cape

According to the Housing Department of the Port Elizabeth City Council, there were 895 whites, 6,850 coloured persons and 193 Indians on the official waiting-list for housing. The 1982/83 budget for coloured housing was R19,186,182, most of it to be loaned by the National Housing Fund.7

In January, a former director of housing in Port Elizabeth, Mr D Cleary, said that a government project to build 2,000 African houses and 557 coloured houses in Port Elizabeth and 2,000 African houses and 300 coloured houses in Uitenhage, would have to be postponed until 1984 as a result of a shortage of funds.88

It was reported in last year's Survey (p 348) that 998 higher income homes in the new coloured area of Booyenspark had been completed. However, the 600 families who had moved in October 1982 were extremely dissatisfied with their houses. In January, the tenants drew up a list of complaints that included cracked walls, uneven floors, sagging ceilings, and faulty taps and toilet seats. In March, when nothing had been done to rectify the situation, many of the tenants refused to sign the documents that would make them the legal owners, until all the faults had been repaired. The City Engineer, Mr A Clayton, denied that inferior building material had been used and said that all complaints were being investigated.89

After an instruction from the Department of Community Development, the Port Elizabeth City Council decided in July to move coloured residents from Willowdene to Bethelsdorp Extension 21, when the construction of houses there
had been completed. Willowdene is a small coloured area that falls within the northern edge of the white group area Fairview. The 219 houses in Willowdene will be demolished after the residents have been moved out.

At the beginning of 1982, the demolition of houses was halted on the recommendation of the then Director of Housing, Mr D Cleary, because of a shortage of funds and because no new funds for housing were expected for three years. However, because of the dangerous wiring in the houses, the council voted money for rewiring. In December, however, the Department of Community Development stopped the council from proceeding with the rewiring. The decision to move the people from Willowdene and demolish their houses was criticised by a city councillor, Mr T Herbst, who said he could not support demolition of homes in the face of a long-standing housing crisis. At the end of July, Mr J Malcomess, PFP MP for Port Elizabeth, sent a telegram to the minister appealing to him to place a moratorium on the removals. However, at the end of September the residents began moving into Bethelsdorp Extension 21 after a survey carried out by the city council showed that the majority of the residents in Willowdene were prepared to move.

According to the Housing Department of the East London City Council there were 407 whites, 146 Indians and 1 074 coloured persons on the council's waiting list for houses.

In May, LTA Housing received a contract from the East London City Council to build 1 000 houses at a total cost of R12.5 million in the coloured area of Buffalo Flats. It is expected that the houses will be ready for occupation by July 1985. The East London municipality have set aside 2 000 stands for the development of five new extensions to the Buffalo Flats in township.

According to Mr F N Barlow, chairman of housing in the Coloured Management Committee, the housing backlog in the coloured areas of East London was growing by 30 families a month.

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GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
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GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
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COLOURED AND INDIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The 1982 report of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said that local government institutions for the various population groups, with the maximum devolution of power and decentralisation of administration, were fundamental in ensuring self-determination within each community and a basic and integral element of the government's constitutional plans. To facilitate the move to effective local government, a National Interim Liaison Committee was appointed in 1982, under the chairmanship of Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. Seven regional liaison committees, with representatives of Indian, coloured and white organisations, were also established.

In March, after a meeting of his committee, Mr Heunis announced that the government would introduce legislation to give the coloured and Indian communities a greater say in local government and streamline and improve government services. The Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act, No 91 of 1983, was passed in July.

Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act, No 91 of 1983

The act follows recommendations by the President's Council on local government (see 1982 Survey, pp 27-28). It makes provision for the establishment of a coordinating council and of municipal development boards. Regulations and interim measures to improve communication between coloured and Indian committees and white local authorities are also provided for.

The Co-ordinating Council was due to be established in January 1984, ex officio members being the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, the Administrators of the provinces, the members of the four executive committees of the provinces in charge of local government affairs, the Director-General of Internal Affairs, a representative from the Department of Finance, the secretary of the United Municipal Executive of SA, and the secretary of the national ad hoc committee of the Association of Coloured and Indian Consultative Local Affairs and Management Committees. Members appointed by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning were to be nominated by the following organisations: 12 by the United Municipal Executive of SA, one each by the Institute of Town Clerks of SA, the Institute of Municipal Treasurers of SA, and the Institute of Municipal Engineers of SA, 10 by the Association of Coloured and Indian Consultative Local Affairs and Management Committees, two by the Association of Management Boards of Rural Coloured Areas, and two by the South African Indian Council. The Minister, who chairs the council, may also appoint any other person whom he believes could make a substantial contribution to its functioning.

PROMOTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS ACT

The main function of the council is to advise the government on the coordination of those functions of local authorities which are of 'general interest'. It may also make recommendations on which matters should receive highest priority; on the
introduction of legislation relating to the functions of local authorities; on measures needed to be undertaken to bring about a better understanding of local authorities and their functions among members of the public; and on the money or sources of income which should be made available for the execution of the recommendations of the council. The council may also undertake investigations, hear representations from any person with regard to matters affecting local authorities; and consult any person or institution in relation to any matter falling within the scope of its functions.

The minister decides who will sit on the municipal development boards and how many members they will have, their function being to provide local authorities with development aid and advice with a view to their becoming as self-sufficient as possible, as soon as possible. The boards will be linked to the regional offices of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The minister may, in consultation with the administrator of any province, make regulations applicable to local authorities within that province providing for the application by local authorities of measures aimed to improve communication between themselves and coloured and Indian consultative, local affairs, and management committees.

Mr Heunis said that the principal object of the co-ordinating council was to bring representatives of the white, coloured and Indian population groups into direct contact with each other. Moreover, the council created a direct line of communication on two levels: vertically among central, provincial, and local authorities; horizontally among the white, coloured, and Indian population groups.

On the position of local government bodies for the Africans, he said he was aware that there would be an overlapping of interests among African communities and adjacent local authorities of other population groups. He referred this question to the special cabinet committee which was investigating the situation of Africans outside the homelands. Mr Heunis said that the aim of the government at local authority level was that every population group should, as far as possible, have its own institutions of local government so that 'self determination' might be realised to the maximum extent.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) raised major objections to the legislation. It was potentially disruptive since an important statutory body was being established without the different political parties having reached consensus on the second and third tier government structures that the government was proposing. In addition, the PFP said, the bill 'sounded the death knell' of the provincial system of government or for any significant representative form of government at provincial or regional level. It provided for greater centralisation of power under the minister. The PFP maintained that the government intended local government in the new constitution to be structured on apartheid, with African local authorities deliberately excluded from the co-ordinating council and its activities. During the parliamentary debate on the bill, the minister had urgent consultations with the Association of Management Committees (ASSOMAC), whose chairman, Mr David Curry, was also chairman of the Labour Party, and the Natal Provincial Executive Committee (dominated by the New Republic Party (NRP)), both of whom were unhappy with certain provisions of the bill. After the meeting, 13
amendments were introduced. The PFP and the Conservative Party (CP) voted against the bill, the NRP supporting it.

LOCAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEES
Management and Local Affairs Committees
In November, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning announced that the responsibility for the overall planning, co-ordination, development and control of local authorities for whites, coloured people and Indians had been allocated to Mr Heunis, through whom liaison between the four provincial councils and the central government would also be channelled. Several acts and sections of acts were assigned to Mr Heunis' control, among them the Prohibition of Political Interference Act 'insofar as it has a bearing on the interference of a population group in the political activities of another population group'.

In September, in five areas in the Cape Peninsula, coloured management committees were elected on percentage polls ranging from 1,81% to 11,98% (compared with 16,8% to 17,6% in 1981). In rural areas polls of 23,6% (Wellington), 28,6% (Worcester), and 51,35% (Malmesbury) were recorded. The unusually low percentage poll in the urban areas followed a call by the United Democratic Front (UDF) to the coloured community to boycott the elections. Mr Trevor Manuel, western Cape UDF secretary, said that the UDF was overwhelmed by the support given to the boycott. Mr David Curry, Labour Party (LP) chairman, said that the UDF call was not heeded outside Cape Town and that in rural areas polls were much higher. Management committee elections in the eastern Cape drew polls from 13% to an unexpectedly high 80% in Despatch. The Labour Party was successful in most of these elections, winning 10 seats in Port Elizabeth and four seats in Despatch. In most rural areas, Labour Party candidates were returned unopposed, except in Humansdorp, where three Freedom Party candidates were elected. The Freedom Party and the People's Congress Party generally fared badly in the elections, however. The Uitenhage Ratepayers', Tenants', and Civic Association claimed that voting had been irregular, with some people allegedly voting more than once. Expressing dissatisfaction with the functioning of the LP-dominated management committees, the association claimed that the credit the LP took for getting houses for lower income groups was open to abuse because people who were not on the housing list were getting houses.

During the year management committees and residents' associations made repeated calls for direct representation on white city and town councils. A united organisation of Transvaal coloured and Indian management committees was formed in Pretoria in June to campaign for such direct representation. The organisation rejected separate local committees. The chairman of Azaadville Indian consultative committee, Mr M A Nanabhai, said that although Transvaal management committees were trying to establish a united front, they had excluded Africans. People participating in committees were called 'stooges', because they could not show any practical results, he said.
for direct coloured and Indian representation on the city council because the management committee system was 'unworkable'. The Rev E Mannikum, chairman of the Rylands Estate (Indian) management committee, described his committee as 'useless' but said it had to be used because people could not wait for direct representation to solve their problems. Mr John Muir, chairman of the city council's executive committee, said that if the government was not prepared to accept an open franchise on all city councils it should let the Cape Town council be a 'guinea pig' in which all ratepayers could be represented.8 In October, the management committees of Johannesburg, Lenasia, and Actonville called for direct representation on the Benoni town council and the Johannesburg city coun-

LOCAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEES

cil, rejecting local autonomy for their areas. The Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) president, Mr Steyn van der Spuy, said that the TMA was opposed to coloured and Indian management committees gaining direct representation on white town and city councils. This was not the policy of the government. The Johannesburg coloured management committee (CMC) rejected by six votes to three the delegated powers offered to it by the Johannesburg city council in October. Mr Ralph Peffer (Riverlea) said that they 'would not accept secondclass powers which were no real powers at all'. Powers over the development and construction of parks, libraries, playgrounds, sportsfields, and swimming pools were among those rejected, along with construction of housing schemes; the adoption or rejection of draft town planning schemes; the erection of buildings and their use; the leasing out of council-owned halls, shops and stalls; the allocation of bursaries and money grants; and the planning of civic amenities. The city council did not intend delegating powers to make by-laws, to levy and remit rates, to raise loans, or to obtain borrowing powers. Mr Peffer said that the other 'powers' were meaningless when the law-making process, control of expenditure, and the raising of income were still in the hands of the white city council.9 In August, the CMC in Ennerdale, a coloured area between Johannesburg and Vanderbijlpark, accused the peri-urban board of using obstructive tactics which resulted in slow and costly development. The CMC said it was competent enough to take over full administration of Ennerdale. It claimed that peri-urban board officials provided a weak and incompetent service, which put the CMC in a poor light with the residents. The management committee system was frequently challenged by local residents.10 For example, in Port Elizabeth, the residents of Malabar Hills, an Indian township, elected a 'committee of six' to by-pass the Indian management committee in making representation direct to the city council about rent increases; Mr Raman Bhana, chairman of the Indian management committee, accused the new committee of misleading Malabar residents and not understanding local government. Residents of the Western coloured township in Johannesburg called on the city council to ignore CMC decisions and proceed with the building of houses promised to them 22 years ago."

In Lenasia, an Indian suburb near Johannesburg, long disputes occurred between the residents and the Johannesburg city council, which, along with the periurban board and the Department of Community Development, controls it. Among the
residents' grievances were the transfer of extensions eight to eleven (inclusive) to the control of the peri-urban board, the move to make Lenasia an autonomous local authority, and the lack of representativeness of the consultative and management committees in the area. Grievances of most residents have been channelled through the Federation of Residents' Association (FRA), which has asked for the control of Lenasia to remain under the Johannesburg city council. In May, the FRA met the board to discuss the handing back of the control of extensions eight to eleven to the city council, but in mid-June the board said that it was unlikely that the residents' requests would be acceded to until an Indian statutory committee had been appointed by the board to make recommendations. The FRA reacted angrily to the suggestion that a nominated body was to represent them. In October, Dr R A M Saloojee, chairman of FRA, said Lenasia should stay under the control of the Johannesburg city council because the board did not have the financial ability to improve the infrastructure of the area, most of which had no tarred roads, street lighting, pavements, or post offices. The board would therefore have to levy unreasonable rates to raise funds. But the city council had a

LOCAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEES
firm tax base in business and industry, and financial resources to provide adequate services at a subsidised cost to ratepayers, Dr Saloojee claimed. Moreover, residents of Lenasia worked in the city and contributed to its wealth.2 In November, the city council recommended the transfer of a wide range of powers to the Lenasia Indian Management Committee (LIMC), among them control over loans for housing, deciding on shopping hours, and issuing of business licences. In terms of a local government ordinance, the committee would not be able to raise loans, levy rates or institute by-laws. 13 The LIMC is the elected representative of extensions one to seven. The FRA and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) said that the LIMC had no mandate to accept the delegated powers and called on the LIMC to convene a mass public meeting to test residents' opinions on whether they wanted the LIMC to accept these powers, otherwise 'they should resign en bloc and join the people who were fighting against civic apartheid from outside the system'. The LIMC accepted the new powers, however, by nine votes to four.

In March, the South African Indian Council (SAIC) chairman, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and Mr Frank Martin, member of the executive committee of the Natal Provincial Council, toured Natal in an attempt to gain acceptability for the government's proposals for local government. Former members of the Ladysmith Indian Local Affairs Committee (LILAC) disclosed that they had been asked to constitute an advisory body in preparation for the new local affairs system. One of these, Mr M Asvat, said there was inadequate liaison with the local authority and that the committee was a 'rubber stamp to the town council'. He said that Indians should have voting powers at all committee levels. 14 In October the administrator of Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, was compelled to nominate seven members to the LILAC because the Indian community had refused to participate. The LILAC, after its reconstitution, failed to function because of dissatisfaction over its membership. Two meetings did not have a quorum. Mr S Pachai,
chairman of the committee, said that there was dissatisfaction about its composition since only three of its seven former members had been chosen, and representation of the community was inadequate. In November, he said that after consultation with the Natal Association of Local Affairs Committees, his committee was prepared to give the Local Affairs Committee (LAC) ‘a try’. 11 In October the Association of LACs (Indian and coloured) in Natal rejected the government's constitutional proposals as undemocratic, entrenching apartheid, and not meeting the aspirations of the Indian and coloured communities. The Association was the first statutory body to oppose the constitution, but it split in November after the decision. Mr Y Moola, who was opposed to the new constitution, was returned as president after being challenged by Mr Albie Stowman, a Labour Party member, who supported it. Mr Moola won by 34 votes to 11. In the same month, an executive meeting of the Natal LACs passed a vote of confidence in Mr Moola's leadership.16

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COLOURED AND INDIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT 251
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1 12 Rand Daily Mail 12 October 13 Star 29 November 14 Leader 18 March 15 Mercury 10 November 16 Natal Post 3 October

URBAN AFRICANS

General Policy
In the last few years, the government has revised its policy of regarding all Africans in urban areas in 'white' SA as temporary sojourners only. But it has sought to limit permanent urban residence to a select group and has designed measures, such as the proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, to achieve this. The revised policy has focused attention more sharply on the political aspirations of urban Africans. The government's response has been to offer such Africans upgraded local representation, while adhering to its policy that their national political aspirations should be realised exclusively through homelands. This position was again confirmed with the passing of the Republic of SA Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983, which granted parliamentary representation to Indians and coloured people but not to Africans. This exclusion was strongly condemned by the official opposition and a range of other organisations (see chapter on The New Constitution).
Outlining the government's policy, Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said that the political development of Africans would come about 'differently according to the principle of self-determination'. The creation of a fourth parliamentary chamber for Africans was impossible because it would destroy 'the whole process of self-government for the black nations'. At the same time, Dr Koornhof said, the government recognised that the meaningful fulfilment of African political aspirations beyond local management level was one of the most important constitutional challenges facing it. The Prime Minister announced in February the appointment of a special cabinet committee to investigate the political role of the urban African within the framework of National Party principles. The committee, which would consist of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, and Dr Koornhof, would negotiate not only with the 'independent' and non-independent homelands, but also with African local government representatives and with 'any leaders willing to co-operate in finding answers'. The Prime Minister said that the committee would confer with African leaders to 'make it possible for them to achieve their own independence, to develop their own people, to educate their own people and to share in the development of SA's economy' while at the same time 'maintaining the security of white South Africans'.

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) said that a committee consisting only of cabinet ministers, who would consult people elected in low polls and homeland leaders operating hundreds of miles from urban centres, was highly unlikely to come up with anything satisfactory.

AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

At the local level the government, through the Black Local Authorities Act, No 102 of 1982, which came into effect on 1 August 1983, began to establish a system of local government for Africans intended to be similar to that of municipalities for other race groups. In terms of the act - which was one of the three 'Koornhof Bills' published in October 1983 with the intention of giving effect to certain of the recommendations of the Riekert Commission - the 232 community councils in the 299 African townships in 'white' SA were to be phased out and replaced by town or village councils. One of the purposes of the act - which was supported by all opposition parties in parliament, with the exception of the Conservative Party - was to confer certain powers directly on the new African local authorities and hence give them greater status and autonomy than was enjoyed by the community councils, whose powers were subject to much wider ministerial discretion. In terms of the act, a large number of community councils in the 299 African townships would, over time, become town councils. Those not qualifying for this status would become village councils or retain their existing status. Mr Heunis said that the cabinet committee would also investigate aspects of local
government and metropolitan co-operation and the possible inclusion of African municipal areas in metropolitan bodies. The Minister of Co-operation and Development said that it was also the government's intention to upgrade the status of African townships within the homelands and on trust land adjoining them, and grant them powers at least equal to, but probably broader than, those accorded to the new councils to be elected in 'white' SA under the Black Local Authorities Act. To achieve this, amendments would be made to two proclamations (R293 of 1962 and R163 of 1974) governing these areas. Dr Koornhof said that the intention would be gradually to hand over the towns to the homelands. In preparation for this regulations would be streamlined to eliminate discriminatory provisions, improve the quality of life, raise standards but also accommodate the poorer communities, attract larger amounts of capital for commercial development and housing construction, and make 99-year leasehold available to outside entrepreneurs. The Minister of Co-operation and Development said that it was also the government's intention to upgrade the status of African townships within the homelands and on trust land adjoining them, and grant them powers at least equal to, but probably broader than, those accorded to the new councils to be elected in 'white' SA under the Black Local Authorities Act. To achieve this, amendments would be made to two proclamations (R293 of 1962 and R163 of 1974) governing these areas. Dr Koornhof said that the intention would be gradually to hand over the towns to the homelands. In preparation for this regulations would be streamlined to eliminate discriminatory provisions, improve the quality of life, raise standards but also accommodate the poorer communities, attract larger amounts of capital for commercial development and housing construction, and make 99-year leasehold available to outside entrepreneurs.

One difference between the community councils and the new authorities is that the former had none of their own powers—powers were handed to them over time by the Minister of Co-operation and Development. The new local authorities, on the other hand, have been vested at the outset with specific powers. The are to be responsible for services such as waste disposal, sewerage, and electrification; preventive health programmes and control of health hazards; sport and recreational facilities; housing administration, including the prevention of illegal occupation; welfare services, including poor relief, granting of educational bursaries and maintenance of institutions; construction and maintenance of roads; and employment of staff—all previously functions of the administration boards. However, a large degree of control remains with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, who is to authorise the following functions of the councils: the making of by-laws; the drawing up of budgets; the determination of levies to contribute to their running costs; the investment of money or trading in securities; and the proposal or acceptance of donations. Councils will take over the boards' policing functions, the power to maintain a police force to be conferred by the Minister of Co-operation and Development after consultation with the Minister of Law and Order.

The minister has the power to establish town/village councils and determine their areas of jurisdiction. In this he is bound to consult the provincial administrator and the development board for the area. He may appoint directors of local government, who will have the final say over the operation of the councils in certain aspects; decide on the initial size of councils and the dates for initial elections; choose people for vacancies if there are no elected members; set up advisory 'local committees' in areas where there are no town/village councils; dissolve a council after consultation with it if he considers that it no longer need exist; and direct local authorities to make by-laws or take action in instances where he feels they have frustrated an object of the act by failing to exercise any function assigned to them or are guilty of maladministration. If they fail to carry out such instructions the minister may himself rectify the situation or order
another person or organisation to do so. The minister may also remove council members from office or dissolve the councils if steps ordered by him to set right unsound finances are not taken.

Despite the advent of the new local authorities the administration boards will retain some important control functions regarding African communities. Under the Black Communities Development Bill, published in 1982 and then referred for re-examination by a parliamentary select committee, the administration boards are to become development boards but will remain subject to the external control and direction of the Department of Co-operation and Development. They will retain the power to carry out the functions of a local authority where no village or town council has been established. They will also be responsible for township and housing development, which is regarded as a critical function since the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill makes approved accommodation a necessary requirement for permanent urban residential rights for Africans in townships in 'white' SA. The boards will also continue with their influx control functions for the time being, although the cabinet has, in principle, accepted a recommendation by the Commission for Administration, which drew up a report on the boards, that they should eventually be relieved of these.

Finance

Having no rateable property under their jurisdiction and hence lacking a major source of revenue, administration boards rely heavily on the sale of alcohol for income. Of the 14 boards' total revenue of R741m in 1981/82, 70% was derived from the sale of alcohol (both liquor and sorghum beer), 18% was from rents and services charged to residents, and 9% from fees charged by labour bureaux. Eight of the boards showed a deficit in 1981/82.

The table below details the boards' sources of income and their surpluses and deficits:

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<tr>
<th>General</th>
<th>Liquor</th>
<th>Total*</th>
<th>Deficit/Surplus</th>
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<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>73 196 227</td>
<td>74 700 436</td>
<td>148 869 181</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
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<td>65 362 891</td>
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<td>Orange Vaal</td>
<td>46 268 852</td>
<td>45 253 900</td>
<td>91 783 430</td>
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FINANCING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

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<th>General</th>
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<td>CentralTvl</td>
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<td>SOFS</td>
<td>13 658 801</td>
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<td>Northern Cape</td>
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<td>Eastern Cape</td>
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<td>38 273 875</td>
<td>64 287 930</td>
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<td>Drakensberg</td>
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PortNatal 10 196 815 34 865 262 49 870 464 1 909 979
(* The total includes income derived from the various levies, eg school levies, paid to the board).

At the same time, however, administration boards had some R206m invested with various commercial banks and other institutions on varying terms and at varying periods of availability. The West Rand Administration Board had the largest sum invested, R69m, and the Orange-Vaal Administration Board the second largest, R34m.

The new local authorities will inherit the financial problems of the boards and community councils. In the main this is because the government still refuses to grant freehold title in African townships. In addition, however, while taking over a variety of functions from the administration boards, the new councils will not have comparable sources of revenue. Their sources of finance will include service charges, site rent, fines for infringing by-laws, and the sale of sorghum beer.

House rents will still be paid to the boards, and repayments on instalments for home-ownership to the financing bodies concerned. While receiving revenue from beer sales (R183m in 1981/82), the new councils will not receive revenue from liquor sales (R337m in 1981/82) because of the government's decision that the boards should sell their liquor outlets to private enterprise. Privatisation of the sorghum beer business was also under investigation by the government. Dr Koornhof said at the beginning of the year that most residents of African townships were 'in a position to make substantially increased contributions towards service charges'. Water and electricity should be metered and paid for according to consumption. This was being done in Soweto and would help reduce the community council's budget deficit. 'This is government policy and will increasingly be applied in all African residential areas', Dr Koornhof said.

The government would continue to play an important role, but employers and financial institutions, as well as township residents, would 'in future have to make a more substantial contribution to development than before', Dr Koornhof said.8

One possible additional source of income for the new councils is an amount paid to the boards since 1982/83 by the Treasury and which is intended to compensate them for functions, such as the running of labour bureaux, welfare and health services, and aid centres, undertaken on behalf of the central government. This amounted to R15m in 1982/83. Beyond this the government, in 1983, gave no information about whatever plans it had to ensure the economic viability of the new councils, for which the first series of elections were held in November and December. This was despite the fact that two committees, one headed by Mr

FINANCING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Gerald Browne (a former Secretary for Finance) and the other by Mr Gerhard Croeser (a senior Treasury official), had investigated the issue. The report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Finances of Local Authorities in SA (the Croeser Committee), established in March 1980 to examine the Browne Committee report on the financing of local authorities, was tabled in parliament in 1983.9 The Croeser report accepted some of the Browne committee's recommendations, and amended or rejected others. Certain matters were referred to seven sub-
committees for further examination. One of the Croeser committee's main proposals was that recommendations applying to white, coloured and Asian communities should also apply to African communities.

In looking at ways of developing an adequate financial base for African local authorities, Croeser recommended that home-ownership be developed in African townships and that residents pay adequate property rates and trading service tariffs. A similar policy should apply to the ownership by Africans of business stands and buildings. The Browne committee had recommended that boards/councils should adopt a comprehensive financing plan extending to 1989/90, should aim to eliminate the losses on housing and ordinary trading services by the same year, and that liquor services should be operated on a business basis. In this way, the remaining deficit, which would be covered by increased employer contributions under the Contributions in Respect of Black Labour Act, would be kept down. Croeser accepted these proposals but said that they should be studied by a sub-committee. The Croeser committee also accepted Browne's recommendation that the 20% of liquor distribution profit paid by the boards to the Department of Co-operation and Development for transport subsidisation should be retained by the boards and used to provide local authority services to Africans. (However, the government has since embarked on a policy of selling its hard liquor outlets to the private sector, and this source of revenue will be lost to the boards.) Croeser also accepted the Browne proposal that functions performed by the boards for the South African Development Trust and other government departments or agencies be transferred back to such departments or government institutions, which would have to bear the losses (estimated at R60m in 1989/90) themselves, thus allowing the boards to make a substantial saving.

The Croeser committee, in view of 'the important role which housing and the development of services play in the healthy development and expansion of local authorities', accepted Browne's recommendation that the state should encourage ways of reducing housing costs, and referred to the Steyn Commission on housing for consideration the recommendation that at least R1bn be made available out of public funds over a period of 12 years for the housing of Africans in 'white' areas. It also accepted the recommendation that the Department of Community Development advise private business concerns, building societies, and other financial institutions of the magnitude of the housing problem among urban Africans and try to involve them in schemes to provide housing (these recommendations have already begun to be implemented).

The Croeser committee also accepted Browne's recommendation that the appropriate government departments and the Small Business Development Corporation should collaborate in planning the economic basis of local communities for Africans, emphasising the development of African entrepreneurs.

Regarding the provision of capital funds, Croeser accepted Browne's proposal that it was a matter of national importance that uniform legislation promoting the compulsory establishment and building up of capital development funds be

AFRICAN LOCAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS
passed as soon as possible in every province. Croeser agreed with Browne that the present limits on loans from the Local Loans Fund should be raised and proposed that the fund no longer pay interest to the state on its capital or its supplement to capital but retain these amounts as part of its revolving funds. Browne's proposal that negotiations be started with a view to establishing a financial code for the development of new townships and urban areas was referred to a sub-committee. The Croeser committee endorsed Browne's recommendation that the Department of Co-operation and Development ensure that the principles for the provision of capital to municipal authorities be also applied to administration boards and councils, the former supervising the latter. It also accepted Browne's proposal that half the required amount in external loan capital (R257m at 1977/78 prices) be supplied from the state budget, but added that the boards/councils should also be eligible for loans from the Local Loan Fund in respect of township development and those activities which did not qualify for assistance from the National Housing Fund.

Croeser also accepted the Browne recommendation that the Department of Co-operation and Development draw up a financial code for community councils. In his budget speech the Minister of Finance said that the Croeser working group would in future be known as the Permanent Finance Liaison Committee. As the local authority elections approached and the financial situation of the new councils remained uncertain, Mr John Hitje, director of local government in the Department of Co-operation and Development, said that: 'We feel that those local communities selected for full local authority status will be able to manage because they can cover their running expenses from their own income sources. Naturally, as far as funds for capital development are concerned the field is open. These authorities will have to go to the open market for funds - once they have established their credit-worthiness'. This was the case with any other local authority, he said.

Black Local Authority Elections

The criteria for voters under the Black Local Authorities Act are broader than those under the Community Councils Act (1977), resulting in a theoretical increase in the numbers eligible to vote. Voters have to be aged 18 or older (against 21 previously) and classified as African under the Population Registration Act (although with ministerial permission non-Africans may also vote). Voters also have to be citizens of SA or a territory that was previously part of SA. Further they have to qualify under Section 10 (1) (a), (b) or (c) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (1945) to live permanently in the city, or, if there under a permit (contract workers, for example), then resident in the area for a full 12 months immediately before the election and listed on a voters' roll. Previously migrants could not vote.

Prior to the elections, which were held in November and December, an AntiCommunity Councils' Election Committee was formed. It consisted of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), the Municipal and General Workers' Union, the General Workers' Union of SA (GWUSA), and the General and Allied
Workers' Union (GAWU). The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), while not on the committee, gave it its support. The body held various meetings and rallies attacking

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AFRICAN LOCAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS

the elections. At one meeting, Dr Nthato Motlana of the SCA said that Africans would not participate in the elections in large numbers unless the government was prepared to address the real issues, such as the pass laws, housing, and political power with proper citizenship for Africans. The campaign for a boycott of the elections culminated with the holding of a rally attended by close on 1 000 Soweto residents at Regina Mundi church in Soweto at the end of November. Mr Oscar Mpetha, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF), addressing the meeting, said residents who intended voting should remember that their children had died (in 1976) because they had wished to do away with institutions of oppression 'such as the community councils'.1 Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, which had earlier said its participation in the elections would be conditional upon satisfactory arrangements being made for the financing of the new councils, said it would not participate unless the government withdrew a Department of Foreign Affairs and Information leaflet claiming that the councils were a substitute for parliamentary rights. 'When whites are involved in regional and provincial government structures, it is not a substitute for democratic involvement in the central government', Chief Buthelezi said. 'I cannot be drawn into community council politics while they are being made into stage props for the political farce of the tricameral parliament.'12

Of the 29 African local authorities due for election in November and December, 24 were to obtain town council status and five village council status. It was anticipated that a further 84 community councils would be upgraded through elections in 1984 and the remainder in two or three years' time. The Urban Foundation - which, in the words of its director of planning and development, Dr Robin Lee, had 'played a considerable part in evolving the Black Local Authorities Act' - reported in October that a survey conducted on its behalf by Markinor (Pty) Ltd had indicated that between 38% and 40% of the eligible voters in Soweto intended to vote. Dr Lee said that the present act represents a significant advance over the previous system of local government in black areas and that the survey had found that 40% of respondents felt that the new councils would be better than the existing councils (against 32% who thought there would be no change, 18% who felt they would be worse, and 10% who did not know). In the event the overall poll in the election was 21% (compared with 30% in 1978), while in Soweto it was 10,7% (against 5,9% in 1978). In only 7 cases was the percentage poll higher than in 1978. The detailed results were as follows (with the 1978 community council election percentage polls in parentheses):3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township and date</th>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>UC Candi- Voters’</th>
<th>%poll dates roll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra (no elections)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township</td>
<td>Voters' roll</td>
<td>%poll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atteridgeville</td>
<td>23,50364</td>
<td>14,8 (22,8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohlokong</td>
<td>23,13055</td>
<td>24,4 (-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daveyton</td>
<td>23,45690</td>
<td>18,6 (19,6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diepmeadow</td>
<td>24,86117</td>
<td>14,6 (16,0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobsonville</td>
<td>13,18000</td>
<td>23,5 (42,0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaton</td>
<td>15,25545</td>
<td>5,9 (10,0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikakeng*</td>
<td>18,14521</td>
<td>24,5 (40,3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jouberton</td>
<td>23,14517</td>
<td>31,7 (23,9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AFRICAN LOCAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS**

**Township and date**

Transvaal
- Kagiso* (26/11)
- Katlehong (26/11)
- KwaTema (26/11)
- Lekoa (29/11)
- Mamelodi (26/11)
- Mhluzi* (no elections)
- Seeisoville (26/11)
- Soweto (3/12)
- Tembisa (26/11)
- Thokoza (26/11)
- Vosloorus (26/11)
- Wattville (26/11)
- Northern Cape
- Galeshewe (25/11)
- Southern OFS
- Mangaung (26/11)
- Thabong (26/11)
- Eastern Cape
- Kayamnandi (1/12)
- KwaGuuka (20/11)
- KwaNobuhle (no elections)
- Lingelihle*
- (no elections)
- Rini* (1/12)

**Wards**
- UC Candi
- Voters' dates
- roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voters' roll</th>
<th>%poll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 258 64 927</td>
<td>36,6 (48,0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 559 126 761</td>
<td>22,7 (23,0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 594 12 623</td>
<td>20,7 (19,7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 382 262 152</td>
<td>14,7 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86 459 24 011</td>
<td>27,8 (24,7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 402 14 586</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various incidents marked the elections. All 30 candidates standing for the Thokoza town council staged a walkout from the polling station in protest against the way in which the elections were held. Earlier in the day they had demanded that the elections be postponed, claiming that a number of voters' names did not appear on the voters' roll. Several Soweto voters alleged that they had been intimidated by township managers into supporting specific candidates. They said that they had been called to the township office, where they were made to sign or give their thumb print in support of a certain candidate. Some residents also alleged that they were intimidated by incumbents who threatened to evict them if they did not vote for them. The elections were accompanied by outbreaks of violence in some areas. In December, petrol bombs were thrown through the windows of the homes of five election candidates in the Port Elizabeth area. A fire gutted the house of the Diepmeadow 'mayor', Mr J C Mahuhushi, and the
house of Soweto's former 'deputy mayor', Mr T Makhaya, was petrol-bombed on the eve of the Soweto election. An examination of the election results shows that the number of residents involved in the election process was small, despite the more relaxed qualifying

AFRICAN LOCAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS

criteria. Voters' rolls were significantly smaller than the numbers theoretically eligible to vote. Furthermore, many registered voters were excluded from voting because of the high percentage of wards (28.2% of the total of 383 wards) which were uncontested. Finally, the numbers who actually voted were small, with the overall percentage poll being 21% compared with 30% in 1978.

The UDF held that the overall voting percentages were far smaller than those published by the authorities because so many people were not on the voters' roll. It claimed that in Kagiso only 18 300 of a population over eighteen years of age of 34 000 were on the roll, and of these only 1016 voted. The percentage poll was not 36.6% as given by the authorities, but three percent, it held.5

A very high percentage of sitting councillors stood for re-election. In only eight townships was this below 75%, while in only two of the eight was the percentage below 60%. In Dobsonville and Kwa Tema 100% of sitting councillors stood for re-election, with 93% in Soweto and 91% in Atteridgeville. However, a much smaller percentage was re-elected. In approximately fifteen of the townships members of the new councils comprised more than 50% of previously serving councillors. Of the remainder, seven saw more than 25% of the previous councillors being re-elected. The parties contesting the elections in Soweto were the All Nations Party, the Sofasonke Party, the Soweto Makgotla, the Masingafi Party, the Federal Party and the Chiawelo Residents' Protection Party. In addition there were a number of independent candidates. Both the 'mayor', Mr David Thebehali, and the 'deputy mayor,' Mr T Makhaya, were unseated by candidates from the Sofasonke Party, while two other sitting councillors also lost their seats. The Sofasonke Party captured 17 of the 30 wards. Mr Thebehali won 373 votes to the 559 gained by his opponent, Mr C Lengene. The new 'mayor' was a wellknown Soweto businessman, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, who won 1115 votes to the 35 received by his opponent. Mr Isaac Buthelezi was elected deputy chairman. In his election campaign, Mr Tshabalala promised to reduce rents in the townships from R40 to R17 per month. Later he promised to fight further rent increases, to work for the transfer of houses to their occupants free of charge, and to press for the extension of freehold rights to urban Africans. In his inaugural speech, he said that he would investigate and support the development of small businesses and firms within Soweto. The township, he said, must be developed by the Soweto people themselves. Furthermore, the sale of houses, bottlostores, and stadiums must be stopped until investigated further. He said that he would call upon the government not to accept the recommendations of the Welgemoed Commission of Enquiry into Public Transport. In Dobsonville, the previous chairman, Mr I Mashao, was replaced by Mr Don Mmesi, a seasoned councillor, with Mr Steve Nkatlo as deputy. In Diepmeadow both the chairman, Mr J Mahuhushhi, and the deputy, Mr Jackson Khumalo, were re-elected.
Commenting on the small poll, AZAPO and the UDF said that it revealed the African peoples' mass rejection of government-created institutions and the 'new deal' and their hatred for the undemocratic structures of apartheid. AZAPO's president, Mr Lybon Mabaso, said that the low poll should serve as a warning to the white minority government that the 'dispossessed and exploited people of this country would accept nothing less than their true liberation which would be a product of their own efforts.' The Minister of Co-operation and Development said that the poll represented progress in the face of 'considerable intimidation' to keep people away from the polls. During the elections the government announced that the Department of Co-operation and Development was to be en-

URBANISATION

larged to cope with its extended duties occasioned by the establishment of the new local authorities. 16

Cape Town’s African communities went to the polls in November to re-elect their community council. None of these townships had been earmarked for the new local authority status. The UDF launched a campaign calling on people to boycott the elections. In order to curtail the campaign a ban on all meetings in the townships was imposed by the 'mayor', Mr Elliot Lubelwana. Forty candidates competed for 21 seats, with three of these unopposed. More than 46 000 people were on the voters' roll, with the percentage poll being 11,6% compared with 27% in 1977.

Urbanisation

Calculations by Dr 'Flip' Smit, co-author of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report on urbanisation, showed that at present 91% of Asians, 89% of whites, and 77% of coloured people were urbanised, but only 31% of Africans. However, by the end of the century the level of African urbanisation was expected to rise to 75%. The African urban population, which was 6,5m in 1980, would rise to 15m by 1990 and 23m by the year 2000. An additional seven million jobs would have to be created at a cost of about R16bn. Despite SA’s 1,5m 'squatters,' the rate of urbanisation was 60% slower than that of other developing countries. Dr Smit said this was caused by influx control and the relatively recent development of urban areas in the homelands. He said that the government had 'hung back' from clarifying the position of urban Africans despite the increasingly rapid migration of Africans to SA cities. He urged the government to develop a positive urbanisation strategy and to accept the existence of controlled informal settlements in towns and cities as inevitable. Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand, addressing the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce’s annual meeting, said that urbanisation could not be prevented once it had been decided to opt for a modern, industry-based economy, but its pace and pattern could be fundamentally affected by government policy. He quoted a recent United Nations document which warned that indiscriminate efforts to avoid urbanisation might serve only to delay development. In SA the government was unfortunately still trying to prevent urbanisation for ideological reasons. Mr Rosholt called for a planned urbanisation policy, with the private sector and the African population playing a greater part. 17
In a paper on influx control and economic growth, Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said that he doubted whether in the long run the creation of impoverished and excluded rural populations was less dangerous than urbanisation. He said that the building of resettlement camps to stem urbanisation was more expensive than providing services to a concentrated population. Mr Relly rejected the argument that influx control was necessary because the cost of an increased concentration of people in the urban areas was too high. The generation of incremental wealth by the black man, if it was to continue, depended on urbanisation. Agriculture as well as industry would benefit from urbanisation, since one of the major obstacles to improving agricultural productivity in the homelands was overpopulation. Mr Relly suggested that the lifting of influx control would probably not lead to an increase in urban overcrowding. Probably the people who would come to the towns in the absence of influx control would consist mostly of families of migrant workers already there. In its 1983 annual review

**INFLUX CONTROL**

the Urban Foundation said that 'from now to the turn of the century the urbanisation of the black people is and will remain the single most important factor in the SA environment'. The review warned that 'to rely on coercive measures only to control this event creates a climate conducive to agitation and insurrection'.

Referring to the extremely severe drought in SA in 1983, Dr J M Erskine, coordinator of rural development at the Institute of Natural Resources of the University of Natal, said that the pace of black urbanisation would accelerate and overtake the government's calculations unless an integrated rural development programme, with water development as a major component, was launched in KwaZulu. Mr Charles Marx, chief director of the East Rand Administration Board (ERAB), said with reference to his board's campaign to remove squatters: 'I think the drought has been significant in making people come to the cities because they have no work and perhaps no food, but our services are so overloaded that we cannot cope with the population any more.'

**Influx Control Policy**

During 1983 the government published further lists of officials of various departments (including the police and the Department of Co-operation and Development) who were empowered to deport persons from SA under the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, No 59 of 1972. This statute has been used since 1981 to deport African pass-law offenders from the 'white' areas to homelands that have become 'independent' states.

In 1982 the government published a proposed new influx control bill, the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, designed to streamline and tighten up the influx control system (see 1982 Survey p 281). Following a public outcry the bill was referred to a parliamentary select committee for reconsideration and redrafting. The government announced that the revised form of the bill would be tabled in parliament in 1984.
In the house of assembly on 10 August, Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development, said that the government had no intention of easing influx control and would not tolerate 'squatting,' against which it would act strictly and decisively, especially under the present socio-economic circumstances. He held that established African communities were the first to suffer from an influx of people who did not have accommodation. Whites and eventually the whole country felt the effect of such an influx.8 Dr Koornhof said that his department was looking at ways of applying influx control under 'modern' circumstances in a 'fair and effective manner' without incurring the wrath of those affected. Methods which had worked well in the past were no longer effective.19 It was reported that the government, as a way of depoliticising influx control, was examining removing its administration from the jurisdiction of the Department of Co-operation and Development to that of the Department of Internal Affairs, which controls immigration. The Department of Co-operation and Development is already acting as the agent of the Department of Internal Affairs in enforcing the 1937 Aliens Act and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act.20

Pass Law Arrests and Prosecutions
A total of 206 022 people were arrested by administration board officials and the SAP for pass-law offences in SA in 1982, which was a 28,3% increase over the INFLUX CONTROL
1981 figure of 160 000. Of the 1982 total, 93376 were arrested by the SAP and 112646 by the boards. The 1982 total amounted to the arrest of 564 people a day or 23 per hour, or one person every 2,5 minutes. Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) said that the figures showed that urban Africans had not been affected by the climate of reform as far as the pass laws were concerned. major metropolitan areas is given below:21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>957 250</td>
<td>856 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Peninsula</td>
<td>1 879 503</td>
<td>7 169 2 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>5 060 36</td>
<td>9 873 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>13 248</td>
<td>19 499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>24 2 590</td>
<td>1 2 573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>SAP 1981</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soweto</td>
<td>2 573</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>57 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A breakdown of arrests in the Administration boards
1981     1982
3055     5 885
13 444   15 867
The numbers convicted in these urban areas (not the total number) increased by 31% from 75,176 in 1981 to 98,508 in 1982. Fines from these offences amounted to R750,198 in 1981 and R1,084,070 in 1982, an increase of 44.5%. The highest number of convictions was in the Johannesburg Commissioner's Court, where the figure increased from 20,265 in 1981 to 29,940 in 1982. A daily average of 117.5 cases was heard in the court in 1981 and 169.9 in 1982. Fines in 1982 for convictions only, excluding spot fines, amounted to R34,253. The next highest number of convictions was on the East Rand, with 26,966 in 1982, a 49.4% increase over the 1981 figure of 18,048, with R31,225 being collected in fines. This was followed by the Cape Peninsula, where 9,393 people were convicted in 1982 (a drop of 8.4% over 1981), and in the central Transvaal area, where there were 9,294 convictions in 1982 (7,666 of them in Pretoria). In 1982 some 98,507 Africans were arrested in SA under the Trespass Act. Of these, 25,797 were arrested in the major urban areas as follows:

- Bloemfontein: 698
- Cape Town: 543
- Durban: 2,522
- East London: 3,257
- East Rand: 256
- Johannesburg: 534
- Pietermaritzburg: 2,357
- Port Elizabeth: 1,350
- Pretoria: 2,061
- West Rand: 3,257

Police continued with raids during the year, in particular on squatter settlements in the western Cape (e.g., the Crossroads and KTC camps), Katlehong on the East Rand and Orlando East in Soweto (see section on housing below). The pass laws came under heavy fire following the death of an awaiting-trial woman prisoner, Ms Louisa Mareme, a diabetic, who did not have her medication on her at the time of her arrest.

In a booklet on pass-law administration published during the year, Mr Ramarumo Monama of the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies said that the time spent on pass cases at the Johannesburg Commissioner's Courts ranged from 30 seconds to seven minutes. Mr Monama's observations were based on two weeks' study in December 1981 of five such courts, in which 369 trials were heard. About 60% of all the accused were convicted on the day of their first appearance, while fewer than one in ten were acquitted or discharged. Only five had legal representation. The heaviest fine imposed was R250 and the longest jail sentence 250 days. The usual sentence was between R30 (or 30 days) and R90 (or 90 days). More than a third of the hearings
involved people who had been held in custody after their cases had been remanded at an earlier hearing. A number of the cases heard were postponed for between one and 19 days without bail unless specifically requested by an accused with some idea of legal procedure. In 48 of the cases the accused had a reference book which, it appeared, he or she was not given an opportunity to fetch at the time of arrest an evident transgression of the ruling laid down by the courts and in police regulations that a person be given 'reasonable opportunity' to produce his or her reference book. Sometimes schoolchildren appeared in court.

During the trials none of the commissioners explained to any of the accused that he or she could be released on bail, even when the state postponed a case. When bail was specifically requested it was often fixed so high (between R70 and R100 for cases in which the fine was rarely more than R30 or 30 days) that it was difficult for the accused to afford it. Mr Monama believed that because the administration of justice was left almost entirely in the hands of officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development, whose experience of the law of evidence and of criminal procedure was inevitably limited, the courts were characterised by procedural irregularities. Courtesy and the civilised standards of behaviour required in courts generally were missing. The accused and even witnesses were referred to by first names or case numbers only. There was no indication that legal aid was available. No investigating officers were called to prove that the accused were 'illegally' in an urban area; and more than 44% of the cases tried in the commissioner's court during three days were postponed at the request of the prosecutor. Mr Monama said that such a high number of postponements should be cause for concern, particularly because the accused were unrepresented and their right to bail was neither explained nor respected. The study concluded that justice was being undermined in these courts and that this would change only when legal representation was introduced on a large scale for pass offenders.

Influx Control and the Courts
In recent years a number of Supreme Court judgements, for example the 1981 Rikhoto and Komani judgements, and the 1982 Booi judgement, challenged certain principles governing the implementation of the pass laws (see 1981 Survey p 236, 1982 Survey p 279). In particular the Rikhoto and Booi judgements challenged the government's 1968 rule that migrant workers, because they are obliged to renew their contracts every year, have broken their term of service and are thus not eligible for permanent urban residence rights under section 10 (1) (b) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No 25 of 1945. This section provides that migrants who have worked continuously for one employer for ten years or for a number of employers for 15 years are eligible for such rights. The Transvaal

INFLUX CONTROL
Supreme Court ruled in 1981 that continuity of service was not broken by temporary absence due to illness or injury or by occasional departures for some legitimate purpose unconnected with a change of work and, therefore, that Mr
Mehlolo Rikhoto was entitled to live permanently in the city with his family, as he had sought permission to do.

The East Rand Administration Board (ERAB), under whose jurisdiction Mr Rikhoto fell, refused to accept this interpretation and took the Rikhoto judgement on appeal. In June 1983 the Appellate Division (AD) of the Supreme Court upheld the Transvaal court's interpretation that Mr Rikhoto's period of service was continuous, and that he was, therefore, entitled to permanent urban residence rights. It dismissed ERAB's appeal with costs. Major companies such as Anglo American, Barlow Rand, and Premier Milling, as well as organisations such as the Black Sash and the Association of Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCOM) welcomed the decision. It was condemned by the Conservative Party (CP), which predicted that it would lead to a 'flood of Africans entering the cities.' These claims were challenged by Mr Charles Simkins of the University of Cape Town, who said that of the 1.4m legal migrants in the cities at present, a maximum of approximately 130 000 would qualify in terms of the judgement for permanent residence. Because these people were already in the cities, granting them rights would not entail any growth in the cities' populations. This would come from the number of dependants these workers would bring with them. He said, however, that studies had shown that not all migrant workers wished to bring their families to the cities. Also, because of the severe shortage of housing in the townships, not everyone who wanted to bring their families in would be able to.27 Using these assumptions, he calculated that there would be an immediate influx of 145 000 dependants, a modest increase compared with the estimated urban African population of 6m outside the homelands. Mr Simkins calculated that in the immediate future about 29 000 new people per year would be allowed into the cities, and that this would grow by between three and four percent each year. The government said that an estimated 143 802 migrants at present working in the urban areas could 'optimally qualify' for section 10 (1) (b) rights as a result of the judgement. The breakdown per administration board was as follows:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration Board</th>
<th>Rights Granted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Tvl</td>
<td>12 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>9 089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>1 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>15 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Tvl</td>
<td>1 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>2 510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>1 735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Vaal</td>
<td>4 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>29 761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern OFS</td>
<td>7 657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>12 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>42 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Tvl</td>
<td>3 044</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Altogether 9 035 people had been granted 10 (1) (b) rights from the time of the judgement (30 May) to 19 July 1983. The breakdown per area was as follows:9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Rights Granted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Tvl</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>5 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Vaal</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>2 701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Tvl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

266 INFLUX CONTROL
Despite the AD's ruling in the Rikhoto case, administration boards throughout the country delayed granting 10 (1) (b) rights to those migrants applying for them. The boards said they were awaiting a directive from the central government. There were reports that the government was considering retroactive legislation to nullify the court's decision in respect of those who would in future qualify for 10 (1) (b) rights, but that the cabinet was undecided whether such legislation should apply to those migrants who had already been granted such rights. Trade unions in Johannesburg and the western Cape warned the government that they would take steps to ensure that it did not override the legislation. On 21 June the government announced that it would not legislate to nullify the judgement, but that legislation would be introduced to control the influx into urban areas of the families of those qualifying as a result of it.

Delays in the implementation of the judgement still occurred, however. The West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) refused to grant rights to migrants who had worked for different employers for 15 years, despite an earlier announcement by Dr Koornhof that such people would also be eligible. By August, however, it had reversed this stand. WRAB also refused to grant 10 (1) (b) rights to migrants from the 'independent' homelands who had not completed the 10 or 15 year work requirements before these areas became 'independent'. WRAB announced that such applications were being referred to 'head office' for a final decision. In July the Department of Co-operation and Development announced that a meeting of government officials in Pretoria had agreed that there was a definite basis for WRAB's interpretation. The East Cape Administration Board (ECAB) said that the question of homeland 'independence' was not a factor in its decisions, however.

In August WRAB gave notice that it would not contest a case to test its interpretation regarding rights for migrants from 'independent' homelands. In the case, a Bophuthatswana 'citizen', Mr J Dikobe, who had completed his 10-year qualifying period since 'independence', appealed to the Rand Supreme Court for 10 (1) (b) rights. WRAB told Mr Dikobe's lawyers that he would be granted these rights. This coincided with an announcement by Dr Koornhof that most migrant workers from 'independent' homelands would, after all, receive rights if they qualified in terms of the judgement, no matter whether they had served their qualifying period before or after 'independence'.

The Black Sash accused WRAB of acting 'unlawfully' and of adopting a clear policy of delay by requiring applicants to fill in lengthy forms about their families, sending them away to have forms filled in by their employers, saying that they would have to wait until Pretoria decided on their applications, and telling those with completed forms that these had been cancelled and that their employers had to fill in new ones.

In July the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act, No 102 of 1983, was passed in parliament to give effect to Dr Koornhof's earlier announcement that the government would not nullify the Rikhoto appeal judgement, but would introduce controls on the entry to urban areas of families of qualifying migrants. It was promulgated on 26 August. The act amended section 10 (1) (c) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (the section granting
rights to the wife, unmarried daughter, and son under the age of 18 years of any African with 10 (1) (a) or (b) rights who ordinarily reside with him) with respect to the dependants of parents with 10 (1) (b) rights only. These dependants have no legal right to remain in the urban area unless they are able to prove that they were

AFRICAN HOUSING

already residing in an African township in the prescribed area before 26 August 1983 with a parent with 10 (1) (b) rights; or, if residing in the area only after 26 August 1983, unless the 10 (1) (b) parent was living in 'approved' accommodation. Such 'approved' accommodation may be a house owned by the parent under 99-year leasehold or rented or otherwise occupied by him, or married quarters provided by the employer. Lodgers' quarters are not regarded as approved accommodation. Because of the shortage of approved accommodation and the control over it by officials, this amendment will make it more difficult for men who qualify for urban rights to have their families legally with them than was the case under previous laws.

In another case concerning migrant workers' rights, Mr Justice P Tebbutt dismissed in September with costs an application brought by the Western Cape Administration Board (WCAB) for leave to appeal against his original judgement given in April in the Cape Supreme Court granting Mr M Mthiya section 10 (1) (b) rights. In the April judgement, the judge had taken the Rikhoto judgement further by overruling WCAB's contention that Mr Mthiya was not eligible for these rights because he had broken his employment and residence through being on yearly contracts and because on three occasions he had spent extended periods in the Transkei. WCAB had argued that Mr Mthiya had been unemployed in the Transkei during the periods he was not in the Cape. Mr Justice Tebbutt had held, however, that Mr Mthiya's service had been continuous. As a result he qualified for 10 (1) (b) rights because he had worked continuously for 10 years and had lawfully resided in a prescribed area for 15 years. A man could not be expected to work 'day in and day out' for 10 years without a break of any kind, the judge said. If he left the area for a lengthy period and his employer agreed to his absence he could not be said to have abandoned his employment. WCAB's lawyers said that the board would petition for the right to appeal against the judgement.

A further challenge to the influx control system occurred in June when a judgement by Mr Justice J Didcott of the Natal Supreme Court called into question the application of section 12 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, under which people considered to be 'idle' may be endorsed out of urban areas. Mr Justice Didcott set aside a finding of a Port Shepstone Black Affairs Commissioner who, finding that Ms Beauty Duma was 'idle', had committed her to a work colony for two years, suspended on certain conditions. In his judgement, Mr Justice Didcott referred to the 'idle' legislation as drastic and added that 'its harshness is foreign to the idea, cherished by lawyers everywhere, that the law's business is first and foremost to protect the liberties of the individual'. He said that 'no counterpart, nothing at all similar, can be found in any system of jurisprudence with which we would like ours compared'. The judge found that the
interpretation of the act had been consistently incorrect and that whether a person was 'idle' or not did not depend on the definition of idleness in the act but on 'considerations of common sense guided by notions of fairness'.

Housing

The housing shortage in urban African townships in 'white' SA continued to be a problem. It was currently estimated at 160 000 units. One of the major reasons for this backlog was the government's earlier policy of regarding Africans in urban areas in 'white' SA as temporary sojourners and, therefore, of placing a halt on the building of houses for them in these areas from 1968. In 1976 this policy was partially revised, leading to a recommencement in housing construction. However, the number of units built per year has failed to reduce the shortage significantly, let alone meet the increased need arising from population growth and urbanisation. The Viljoen Committee, which reported in 1982 (see 1982 Survey p 288), estimated that R1.7bn was needed to meet the backlog, while only R280m had been spent over the last seven years on the provision of 62 000 units in African urban areas. The shortage of housing becomes even more critical when seen in the light of the proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, which makes permanent urban residence for Africans dependent on the availability of approved accommodation. If this bill becomes law, the provision of housing will become a central factor in the system of influx control.

Following the Viljoen Committee's recommendations on ways of dealing with the housing shortage, the government in 1983 revised its housing strategy. In future its own role would be limited to providing infrastructure and services, but housing only for lower income groups (those earning below R150 per month); Africans should increasingly pay for the provision of housing, using in particular their 'sweat equity'; and the private sector should play a more important role in providing housing. In addition, to facilitate an increase in housing construction, the government revised its housing standards, accepting the principles of core and shell housing and of site-and-service schemes. Outlining this revised policy, Dr George de V Morrison, Deputy Minister of Co-operation, said that the government could simply not afford to supply Africans with housing. 'The sweat capital of the African must come into question', he said, 'and Africans should provide their own housing'. The government also announced a sale of its present housing stock in African (and other) townships, in line with recommendations made by the Steyn Committee which investigated the financing of African housing, and whose report was published during 1983.

The number of houses provided by the government for Africans in 'white' SA from 1977 to 1982 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial year</th>
<th>Houses built</th>
<th>Cost (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>5 284</td>
<td>12 432 622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>9 154</td>
<td>40 986 698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>8 945</td>
<td>58 989 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>3 463</td>
<td>47 019 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/82</td>
<td>4 661</td>
<td>55 459 929</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures exclude houses built by administration boards from their own finances or from loans. In addition to the above, a further 8797 houses were erected in 1981/82 by administration boards from loans totalling R37m, while 65 houses, costing R464 709, were erected from their own funds, giving a total of 13
523 erected by the boards during that period. The breakdown per province was 5
045 in the Cape, 542 in Natal, 7 810 in the Transvaal and 2 128 in the Orange
Free State. During the 1982 calendar year the private sector built 6 895 houses, 5
212 in the Transvaal, 1 230 in the Orange Free State, and 453 in the Cape
Province.37 In 1983/84 the government planned to build 7 631 houses for
Africans in urban areas in 'white' SA. A sum of R117m was made available for
housing schemes (including services) in the administration board areas for
1983/84. Of this approximately

LEASEHOLD
R60m was for continuing projects and R57m for new projects. About 70% of the
latter amount was for self-build schemes.
In its 1983 annual review the Urban Foundation reported that it had succeeded in
the previous nine months in mobilising R43,25m, mainly loan capital, for houses
over the next few years as follows: R15m for housing programmes in the western
Cape, R16m for housing developments in the eastern Cape, and R12,25m for
infrastructural and housing development in Soweto.
The housing shortage in the homelands is even greater than that in the urban areas
in 'white' SA and was estimated to be 230 100 units at the end of 1982.
Government figures on the shortage (excluding the 'independent' homelands) were
16 800 in Lebowa, 18 000 in QwaQwa, 68 600 in KwaZulu, 5 600 in
KwaNdebele, 1000 in Gazankulu and 14000 on South African Development Trust
(SADT) land. In 1982, 2 072 houses were built by the state, 1 523 of them in the
non-independent homelands, and 649 on SADT land, while 660 were built by the
private sector.38 A total of 1 435 sites was made available for the erection of
housing on a self-build basis in 1982/83. In 1983/84 the state planned to build 2
200 houses in the non-independent homelands, while an amount of R70m was
allocated for the construction of 8 800 units by the SADT for conventional and
selfbuild housing. No new townships in the non-independent homelands were
planned for 1983/84. However, 62 townships in the 'independent' and non-
independent homelands were being upgraded. The government assists
'independent' homelands with township and housing development through the
SADT and the Economic Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund (instituted in terms
of Act 68 of 1968). In 1983/84, the SADT aimed to construct 13 townships and
665 dwelling units, while four townships and 157 dwelling units were to be
developed through the loan fund.39
The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said that
administration boards had built 6 228 houses in the independent homelands and
41465 in the non-independent homelands since 1971. Dr Koornhof said that
estimates of the number of houses required in the non-independent homelands
during the next five years varied between 300 000 and 500 000. The number to be
built would depend on the funds allocated to the SADT as well as on funds made available by the private sector and individual prospective home-owners, he added.

Leasehold Sales

Part of the government's increasing acceptance of the permanence of a limited group of Africans in 'white' urban areas was the introduction in 1978 of the 99-year leasehold scheme in African townships in 'white' SA as a complement to the 30-year home-ownership scheme in operation. The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said in 1983 that 49,809 houses in the nine main urban areas were available for purchase under the 99-year leasehold scheme and 57,200 in 'white' SA as a whole, while the figures for the 30-year scheme were 220,184 and 281,951 respectively. Surveyed plots for 99-year leasehold amounted to 31,790 in the Transvaal, 11,470 in the Orange Free State, 13,940 in the Cape, but none in Natal. Plots which still had to be surveyed totalled 114,203 - 82,900 in the Transvaal, 9,943 in the Orange Free State, and 21,360 in the Cape. On the West Rand, 16,408 units had been sold under the 30-year scheme and 2,271 under 99-year leasehold, with a total of 4,089 people applying for the latter. About 40,000 stands could not be sold under leasehold because the houses were semi-detached.

LEASEHOLD

or had four entrances. These would be surveyed in any case so that when sectional title became available in greater Soweto, people would be able to buy them. Following controversy in 1982 over the aerial surveying of stands in Soweto, Dr Koornhof said in 1983 that the Soweto community council had approved it on certain conditions, among them that the consultants observe the 0.07mm limit of error in the aerial surveying of Soweto; that the costs be divided between the areas surveyed and individual stand-dwellers not have to pay more than 36 cents per month; and that people living in areas not surveyed not be charged. The Dobsonville and Diepmeadow community councils said they had not been fully consulted and asked the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) to instruct the surveyors to stop work and compile a panel of registered land surveyors for consideration. The minister said that the surveying was to be completed by the end of June. Funds for the surveying, which were originally to come out of a loan for the civil upgrading of Soweto, were eventually obtained from the Department of Community Development. This meant that Sowetans would have to pay more in site rentals to repay the loan, as the interest was higher than that for the upgrading loan.

The East Rand Administration Board had received 996 applications for 99-year leasehold. Of these 513 had been granted, 27 refused, and the remainder were pending. About 30,000 of the 78,924 houses on the East Rand had been sold under the 30-year scheme. In the eastern Transvaal there had been 274 applications for leasehold to December 1982, 229 being granted and 45 refused. In the Orange-Vaal area 425 people had applied for leasehold and 324 been granted it, while 64 applications had been cancelled and 27 were pending. A further 10,000 units had been sold under the 30-year scheme. In the western
Transvaal only 20 applications had been made by 31 December 1982, three being granted, one rejected, and the remainder pending. The system would not be extended to the western Cape, according to Dr Koornhof, because it was a coloured labour preference area. He said that the government had no plans to introduce freehold tenure and that it was giving its full attention to the 99-year leasehold scheme. However, it was reported that the special cabinet committee established in 1983 to examine in particular the political future of urban Africans was giving consideration to freehold tenure. As part of its policy to limit its responsibility for housing and encourage greater participation by Africans in housing provision and ownership, the government in 1983 launched a year-long 'grand sale' of state and board-owned housing. Approximately 350 000 units were offered for sale country-wide at discounts of up to 40%, arrived at as follows: a rebate not exceeding 20% of the selling price; a 25% reduction for a cash sale for houses priced at R2 500 and over, with those costing less, which could be sold only for cash, carrying a 30% reduction; a five percent reduction for people who had occupied dwellings as tenants for longer than five years, and a further five percent reduction for purchasers who bought their houses within 12 months. In African areas only those renting the houses or owning them under the 30-year home-ownership scheme would be able to buy them on the sale.45 People who had bought homes under the 30-year homeownership scheme could convert to 99-year leasehold by paying the leasehold and registration costs, and could then use their houses as security for loans.40

About 48 849 houses went on sale in Soweto, prices ranging from R666 to R11 000 before discount, with the majority selling at around R1 320. If the maximum discount of 40% were obtained the R666 houses would cost R400, while

AFRICAN HOUSING: WEST RAND

those at R1 320 would cost R792. Added to this would be the cost of registering the leasehold, an estimated R425.17 From 1 July to the time of writing about 560 houses had been sold in Soweto.48 Houses in Kagiso and Mhlakeng were not on sale as the stands had not been surveyed. Houses on the East Rand were being sold for R1 200 before discount, with a few at R5 000 and R9 000. The Orange Vaal Administration Board said that it planned to sell about 15 000 of its total of 56632 houses. The Eastern Cape Administration Board placed about 4136 houses on sale immediately in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships, with prices before discount ranging from R1 186 to R9 943. Eventually a total of 17 843 homes in Port Elizabeth and 6 218 in Uitenhage would be offered for sale.49 To facilitate the selling of houses, both the United Building Society and the Allied Building Society said they would provide mortgage loans for those buying houses under 99-year leasehold, including 51/6 houses (four-roomed houses with outside lavatories, asbestos roofs, and brick or cement blocks). Previously building societies had insisted on traditional 'white' housing standards being met before granting mortgages.51 To facilitate the purchase and building of homes by Africans, the National Building Research Institute proposed new building standards, which were less stringent than before.
In its annual review for 1983 the Urban Foundation said that the government would be ill-advised to 'use rapidly increasing rentals as a means of forcing the purchase of homes by present occupants'. The foundation also said that the sale of existing houses 'does not in itself help to eliminate the physical backlog in housing'. It was absolutely essential that substantial numbers of new houses were built rapidly.

Notes on Housing, Rents, and Homelessness in particular Administration Board Areas

West Rand

The official housing shortage in the area of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) was estimated at 35 000, with an annual demand at 4 000. WRAB's policy, in line with government thinking, was that residents themselves and the private sector should take responsibility for erecting houses. The board's role would be to upgrade existing stock to accommodate more people, provide new housing for lower income groups, and create infrastructure. WRAB's view was that, spatially, it should provide for the existing shortage and the natural population increase but that any additional influx of people should be accommodated in the new deconcentration point township at Bronkhorstspruit, which falls under the jurisdiction of the East Rand Administration Board (ERAB). WRAB estimated that the addition of one room to each of the 105 000 houses in greater Soweto would accommodate 210 000 people, while there was room for approximately 14 000 more houses. High rise developments would also reduce the shortage. But critics contended that WRAB's projected provision of housing was inadequate to cope with the existing backlog, let alone future demand. The additional rooms would in fact be taken up by existing householders, who sometimes lived seven or as many as 15 people to a house, and would, therefore, not really reduce the backlog.

Limited progress was made in the provision of housing in WRAB's area. Over the past three years 6 166 houses were renovated at a cost of R3m. In 1982 a further 2465 plans, costing R26m to implement, for the upgrading of existing stock were passed; WRAB would provide R2.54m, with the private sector making up the balance. In 1982/83 WRAB erected only 579 houses, 500 of them in Kagiso and 79 in Alexandra. The private sector built 976 houses at a cost of R21.6m. Only R2.5m of WRAB's 1983/84 budget of R147m was allocated to housing. In addition the following dwelling units were to be constructed in 1983/84 from government funds: 175 houses at Mohlakeng (Krugersdorp) costing R700 000; 235 houses and 314 flats in Alexandra (Sandton) costing R5.5m; 440 flats and 53 houses in Jabulani (Soweto) at R5.2m; 420 flats in Chiawelo (Soweto) at R6.6m; and 312 beds at the hostel in Kagiso at R1.5m. An amount of R6.4m from the National Housing Fund (NHF) was also to be spent on services for 200 houses and 103 flats in Alexandra, 1025 houses in Krugersdorp, and 185 houses in Mohlakeng. Providing a loan was available from the private sector, the following low cost accommodation would also be constructed: 1 525 houses in Kagiso, 834 houses in Dobsonville, 200 houses and 103 flats in Alexandra (phase...
two), 185 houses in Mohlakeng, and 226 in Dlamini (Soweto), totalling R25,55m. In November the Urban Foundation signed an agreement with WRAB and the Soweto Community Council enabling it to co-ordinate an R80m housing development scheme in Soweto for the private sector. The agreement provided for the development of 2 500 houses and 800 flats in Soweto. It was the first time that the private sector, a local community council and the government had joined forces to tackle the housing problem in an African urban area. Major development plans to upgrade Soweto and Alexandra were under way. The costs of the civil engineering project to upgrade the former, which began in November 1980, escalated from R396m in July 1981 to R440m in 1983. Funds amounting to R163m were available for the first phase (comprising 37% of the infrastructure to be upgraded). In all 55 different contracts had been awarded to 30 contractors. Phase one comprised the construction of 184km of new streets and roads, 83km of stormwater drains, 76km of primary water reticulation pipelines, 230km of secondary water reticulation pipelines, 400 bus shelters, and 25 bus, taxi and pedestrian termini. It was anticipated that the project would be completed in September 1984. Progress was delayed because no drawings of existing services were available and because contractors lacked sufficient working space. To date about R99m had been spent on the first phase. In 1979, when Alexandra was reprieved from being declared a white area, an 11-phase development plan was adopted for the rehousing of its population of 53 440 Africans, 2860 coloured people, and 80 Asians. Since then, 79 houses had been built by WRAB as part of phase one and 60 by private contractors. In 1983 R5,5m in two separate amounts was allocated for the provision of housing and flats in phases one and two. Of this R200 000 and R3m would finance respectively the 15 remaining houses and 194 flats in completion of phase one. The remainder would be spent on phase two as follows: R300 000 on infrastructure, and R2m on the construction of 220 houses, 120 flats and the provision of serviced plots. The provision of flats was being undertaken as a pilot project to test residents' responses. Residents complained about having to move into disused buses and a hospital while the development of the new housing was taking place, but the problem was solved when the Schachat group donated housing structures costing R500 000 to be used as temporary accommodation for a maximum of 200 people. Residents would be charged a rental of R25 per month. Negotiations were under way for the raising of a soft loan of R10m for the provision of sewerage. Other facilities to be provided under the

AFRICAN HOUSING: WEST RAND

redevelopment plan were a 40 000-seat sports stadium, a trimpark, a jogging track and landscaped areas. Sports facilities at present included a soccer stadium, three soccer fields, three tennis courts, three netball courts, four basketball fields, one soccer field/athletic track, and halls for indoor sports. The monthly average house rentals, service charges and site rentals for greater Soweto at the time of writing were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House rent</th>
<th>Service charges</th>
<th>Site rent</th>
<th>Total R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dobsonville</td>
<td>2,58</td>
<td>25,18</td>
<td>16,39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The shortfall in rents received for Dobsonville was R1 873 000 per annum (pa) or R39 per house per month; Diepmeadow R2 398 000 pa or R7,40 per house per month; and Soweto R13 163 000 pa or R14,90 per house per month.6 Rents were increased in February and April in Munsieville (Krugersdorp) and Mohlakeng (Randfontein), bringing the averages to R30 and R32,42 per month respectively. Rents in Kagiso (Krugersdorp) and Bekkersdal (Westonaria), were increased in April, bringing the average to R35 per month in the former. In Bekkersdal, service charges increased from R6,36 to R9,26 per month, rents averaging between R30 and R42,86 per month. Service charges in Soweto increased from R22,23 to R33,73 in March.57 There were no increases in Alexandra or Dobsonville and Diepmeadow.

The shortage of housing in Soweto led, contrary to state policy, to the erection of shacks on a wide scale. WRAB and the Soweto community council both moved against various squatter communities. The council conducted a series of raids in the first three months of the year against squatters in Orlando East. In February two women won a case in the Rand Supreme Court when Mr Justice F Grosskopf ordered the council to rebuild shacks demolished by it because it did not have the powers to do this as it was not a local authority. WRAB said it would honour the ruling but would itself take steps to prevent the erection of shacks and other illegal structures. In April WRAB applied in the Rand Supreme Court to be 'joined by the council' in the demolition of shacks. This was granted by Mr Justice Gert Coetzee, who found that WRAB had absolute powers to demolish the structures and also that the council, as the board's agent, could be used in the clearing of shacks." In July, Mr David Thebehali, then 'mayor' of Soweto, announced that families in Orlando East would be allowed to keep a single shack on their properties but would not be able to let it out. The remainder of the homeless would be moved to the Fred Clarke camp and Tladi (both in Soweto) where 500 shacks were being made available in each.59

In April WRAB also destroyed 50 shacks housing about 800 people in Mochaeneng near Rockville (Soweto), leaving families to sleep in the open veld. Many had been on the waiting list for housing since 1970. Some were later accommodated in a surgery and at the Regina Mundi Church. The Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC) lent tents to the evicted people at McDonald's Farm, opposite the Regina Mundi Church (Soweto), pending negotiations with WRAB. Only those who had obtained affidavits that they qualified to be housed in Soweto were given tents. The tent dwellers were threatened with arrest by WRAB officials. The WCC presented WRAB with a memorandum asking it to provide evicted people with shelter and reconsider its practice of evicting families without providing them with alternative accommodation. On 4 May WRAB moved the tent town of 27 families to Chicken Farm near Kliptown (Soweto), which had water and sanitation facilities. WRAB agreed to erect temporary prefabricated
structures for the 'squatters' there, while the WCC undertook not to erect more tents.60
In July WRAB demolished shacks of 25 'squatters' in Kliptown. After intervention by the WCC, WRAB offered accommodation at the Fred Clarke camp to three families qualifying to be in the area .61 In August the board announced that it would spend R60 000 on providing sewerage and lavatory facilities for the 120 families living at the camp in corrugated units. The camp would eventually accommodate 500 'squatter' families who qualified to be in Soweto.62
About 1 500 squatters in Bekkersdal (Westonaria) were told they would have to leave sometime in the future. The township's community council decided that in the meanwhile the registered landlords should pay the council R10 per month per additional structure, which would go towards services used by the squatters.

East Rand
The total current housing stock on the East Rand is 78 924, with the backlog being approximately 30000 units. In 1982 the East Rand Administration Board (ERAB) built 1 508 units and the private sector 522. Fifty houses built in Tembisa on speculation by the African Development and Construction Company were all sold at prices between R15 000 and R23 500 (including the cost of the stands). The company planned to erect a total of 300 houses at R5m.13 The board is currently building 244 housing units, and the private sector 2 086 .6 The board also aimed to provide 1221 stands for site and service schemes. No homes for the lower income group were under construction.
Despite the 30 000-unit backlog of houses on the East Rand, the board spent about R28m on 620 new houses at Ekangala, a huge new township being developed near the new deconcentration point of Bronkhorstspruit. However, the board said that this money came from the central government and that it was only acting as the government's agent in the area. Ekangala was earmarked for people in the PWV area who would commute to work in Springs, Benoni etc. The board aimed to erect about 52 000 houses there by the turn of the century. However, the 620 houses completed in 1981 were still standing empty. Of these, 470 had been marked for Ndebele occupation and the remaining 150 for ethnically mixed occupation. The area would be divided into two sections - one under the control of ERAB and the remainder under the KwaNdebele homeland.
PUTCO rehoused 128 of its workers in a new R300 000 hostel near the Vosloorus depot. Men would sleep four to a room, and the rent of R6 per week would be paid to PUTCO, which rented the property on a 20-year lease from ERAB at a nominal rate.65 After shop stewards of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union had taken their employers, Duropent, to inspect poor conditions in their boardrun hostel, the company agreed to complain to ERAB. It also bought mattresses for the workers, had the windows fixed, and agreed to install a full heating system. Workers said that they felt that it was time that their employer took some responsibility for their housing.66
A proposed R1,60 per month rent increase in April for Duduza township on
the East Rand was dropped after protests from residents who demanded that a sewerage system be installed and taps fitted in every house before the increases were implemented. Residents were paying a monthly rental of R22.55.67

The housing shortage and the influx of people into urban areas as a result of the drought pushed the estimated figure for squatters on the East Rand to 58 000. The board moved against these squatters and, by October, had demolished 11800 'illegal' structures. In January board officials gave dwellers in 35 000 shacks in Katlehong (Germiston), which had a total of 18 000 houses with 6 000 families on the official waiting list, 30 days in which to demolish their shacks. Residents who complied with the instruction complained that officials were selling the corrugated iron out of which the shacks had been constructed. Further raids were conducted against a group of squatters in Katlehong in August. Eighty people were threatened with deportation, while seven legal residents were given permission to remain. The deportation order was temporarily suspended.

In October board police and officials attacked and then arrested 93 Katlehong squatters after having instructed them to move to a nearby piece of land or face arrest. A total of 33 squatters appeared in the Germiston magistrate's court on 5 October charged with illegal squatting. Journalists and churchmen recording the arrest were stoned and attacked, one journalist being admitted to hospital with fractures to his arms and other injuries. Twenty-three newspaper employees, including 21 journalists, appeared in the Johannesburg magistrate's court in October on charges under section 46 (3) of the Internal Security Act, which prohibits unauthorised gatherings and processions, after a placard demonstration to protest against the assault had been broken up by police. After discussions with the WCC and the Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg East, the Right Rev Simeon Nkoane, the board agreed to give the Katlehong squatter families temporary accommodation and documents until the end of their court case. It was agreed that the WCC could pitch not more than two tents for families in each churchyard in Katlehong, and one in the backyards of sympathetic Katlehong residents.

In May the board announced that the majority of shack dwellers at Silverton were to be moved. They had been resettled there on a temporary basis from Brakpan's Old Location in December 1981 while waiting to be rehoused. The board said that only 250 families who could not afford to build their own homes would be given houses. The remaining 1 231 families would be sent to permanent sites in Tsakane (Brakpan), where they would be expected to build houses of their own. The board would provide loans to a maximum of R2 800 for the building of the houses for those earning a minimum of R150 per month. The first resettled families said the new sites were an improvement. Every yard had its own tap, waterborne sewerage, and drains. At Silverton one tap had served 20 families, with communal lavatories on a bucket system for every four families. A total of 1100 stands was available in Tsakane for the families, leaving a shortfall of 131 sites. Qualifying families would be resettled by March 1984.

Central Transvaal

There was a total of 25 416 housing units and 29 757 hostel beds in the Central Transvaal Administration Board's townships, with 6810 families on the housing waiting list. Only 46 housing units were built in 1982. No housing schemes were
being developed in the board's townships. However, as a result of replanning, 1304 sites with services, and 798 without, had become available in Mamelodi, and

AFRICAN HOUSING: ORANGE-VAAL
312 sites with services and 548 without in Atteridgeville. An additional 350 sites had become available in Warmbaths.71 Only nine people had applied for loans, to a maximum of R2 000, from an amount of R100 000 set aside for the extension and improvement of houses in the board's area, as most said the amount was too little for housing extensions. By August, 244 applications had been received for 99-year leasehold and 120 leases had been registered. The Mamelodi community council had made an application to the Department of Co-operation and Development for the extension of the township's boundaries but nothing further had been reported on this at the time of writing.12

Proposals by the board to increase rents in the central Transvaal township of Mamelodi by R12 per month were revised to R7,50 after protests by residents. The rise was introduced in three instalments of R2,50 each on 1 July, 1 October 1983, and 1 April 1984. Rents ranged from R12,50 to R56,25 per month. Rents for hostel dwellers were also increased in three similar phases. Those for 16-bed rooms increased to R16 per month on 1 July, R17 on 1 October, and R18 on 1 April 1984. Rents for four-bed rooms increased from R21 per month to R22,50 to R24 to R25,50 and for single rooms from R25 to R27 to R29 to R31.73 Proposals for tariff increases of R18 per month for Atteridgeville/Saulsville were shelved after an outcry from residents. In May a 50-cent levy to build and improve schools in the area was added to the rents of residents in Mabopane. Residents reacted against this, stating that the community was never consulted when such decisions were taken.

Orange-Vaal
There was a total of 61945 houses in the Orange-Vaal area. Of these 28 269 were rented, 8 831 owned under the 30-year lease scheme, 23 820 built by Africans from their own funds, 506 with loans from the board, and 519 owned under the 99-year leasehold scheme. The waiting list was 11196 families including 7 000 people in Evaton who were due for rehousing. The backlog was growing at about 1 500 units per annum. There was a total hostel population of 30 472, with a shortage of 680 beds. Since 1976 the board had obtained R11,3m from building societies for infrastructure and to assist individuals in obtaining funds for the erection of selfbuild houses, with approximately 300 home-owners being assisted. A further R1m was made available for self-build purposes in the Orange Free State townships.74 In 1982 3 392 housing units were built in the board's area. Currently there were six housing schemes being developed by the board, comprising 4 773 houses of which 2 423 were core houses and 200 shell houses. The private sector was involved in 12 schemes for a total of 1 081 houses. The completion date for all the schemes was 1984. Of the houses under construction 3 773 were low-cost. Some 22 034 sites were available for self-build schemes. ESCOM planned to finance the installation of services to 1 500 stands in Sebokeng as well as the erection of houses on the stands.
Rent increases of R2 to R10 per month were introduced in the Orange Vaal townships. The highest rent after the increases was R39,30 and the lowest R12,00. Lodgers' fees were also increased by between R1 and R4 for a single person, giving a minimum fee of R2,90 per month and a maximum of R9,50; for a female breadwinner by between 20 cents and R8,45, giving minimum and maximum rents of R3,00 and R18,45 per month; and by between R1 and R8,45 for male breadwinners, giving amounts of R5,50 and R18,45 per month.

AFRICAN HOUSING: WESTERN CAPE

Western Transvaal
The total housing stock for the western Transvaal was 19 575 units. No houses were built by the board in 1982, but 846 were constructed by the private sector. Currently 228 houses were being built by the board and 435 by the private sector. The board was developing 19 housing schemes involving 361 houses and the private sector one scheme involving 568 houses. It was anticipated that these would be completed by 1985.75

Northern Transvaal
The total adult population was 9 946 and children under 18 years, 8 141. There was a total of 2 186 houses of which 129 were huts. The total number of hostel beds was 3836 with a shortage of 310. Of the total housing scheme 1 698 were rented units. The 99-year leasehold scheme does not apply in the area. The waiting list totalled 49 units, but no houses were built in 1982 and none were currently under construction.76 The Northern Transvaal Administration Board was developing 600 houses at Seshego (Lebowa), 500 at Vleyfontein, and 300 at Steilloop as agents of the South African Development Trust. In addition 654 self-build sites were available at Vleyfontein and 700 at Steilloop. Site rents were increased by between 80 cents and R3,00 per month in the northern Transvaal townships, bringing the new site rent tariff to between R8,20 and R12,50 per month.

Western Cape
One of the areas most severely affected by the housing shortage was the western Cape, which had 5 882 families on the official waiting list, other estimates putting the shortage at 19 000 families. Of the total housing stock in the western Cape of 14973 units, 13 300 were in Cape Town, which also had 11 940 hostel beds. Cape Town's official African population was estimated to be 206 482 people, giving a hypothetical occupancy rate (after allowing for hostel beds) of 146 people per house. In addition there were an estimated 76 000 'illegal people' in the city. Of the total population, 15 218 were de jure residents at Crossroads, which had a de facto population of 40 218, however.

In 1982 the government built 388 housing units in Langa and 1126 in Nyanga.77 About 500 houses were planned for the townships of Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu (Cape Town's townships) in 1983. In addition 100 houses and sites were to be built at Mbekweni (Paarl), 38 houses at Nduli (Ceres), 32 at Ngqukelra (Robertson), 20 at Zwelihle (Hermanus), and 1 000 sites at the new township of Khayelitsha, about 50km from the city centre. A total of R975 400 would be spent on providing the houses and R1 976 000 on the sites. The development would be
funded by the National Housing Commission (NHC). A further R6m would be spent on the provision of additional sites at Khayelitsha.

As a result of the housing shortage 'squatter settlements' sprang up in the Cape Peninsula, such as those of the Nyanga dune squatters, the KTC squatters, and the Crossroads squatters. The government was strongly opposed to the existence of such settlements, which housed 'legal' and 'illegal' people, and in May announced guidelines to deal with the 'squatter problem' and the housing shortage. These were that the coloured labour preference policy should be retained in the western Cape and that uncontrolled influx to the Peninsula would be countered, as far as possible, by creating avenues for employment in decentralisation areas. To prevent an increase in the density of present African residential areas and 'to consolidate the housing needs' of Africans a new African township to be called Khayelitsha ('our new home') would be developed at Driftsands. Funds would be made available immediately to enable speedy development. Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said about 2 500ha of a total area of 3 000ha would be developed at Driftsands for residence by 200 000 Africans. The remaining hectares would become a protected ecological area. Special attention would be given to higher density accommodation and, to ensure the best utilisation of available funds, the standard of housing to be provided would be strictly controlled.79 The first phase of development, estimated to cost R2,5m, involved the development of 1 000 plots with an average surface area of 170 square metres and the provision of rudimentary services such as high-mast street lights, gravel streets, one pillar tap for every four plots, lavatories, and a rubbish removal service. Families would build their own accommodation. The area would ultimately be linked to Cape Town, 50km away, and Bellville, 15km away, by rail. Community services included administrative offices, a school, clinic, post office, shops and public transport.

In May an outcry occurred when a statement by Dr Koornhof that Khayelitsha would provide for the 'consolidated housing needs of the members of the African communities in the metropolitan areas of the Cape' was taken to mean the removal to the area of the established communities of the Langa, Nyanga, and Guguletu townships. Dr Koornhof said it was hoped the members of the African community would move voluntarily from existing African residential areas to the proposed township. He added that people who qualified under section 10 (1) (a) of (b) for residence in the area would be allowed to erect their own housing under control as soon as serviced sites were available. From a regional planning point of view it was desirable to have members of the African communities accommodated in one residential area only, Dr Koornhof said. 'As and when progress was made with the development of the proposed residential area, the possible accommodation of other groups in the townships would be considered', he said.

In June the Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Dr George de V Morrison, confirmed that the residents of the townships were to live at Khayelitsha and that these townships would then be used for occupation by coloured people. The
chairman of the Western Cape Administration Board (WCAB) said that the moving of the residents would occur only in 25 to 30 years' time and then only with the consent of the tenants.

Mr Ken Andrew (PFP) warned Dr Koornhof that this plan would cause uncertainty and frustration in African townships. The plan was condemned by the United Women's Organisation (UWO), the Black Sash, and the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC). Professor David Dewar, head of the University of Cape Town's Department of Urban and Regional Planning, said that the government's plan to create a consolidated African area at Khayelitsha was cynical, 'beyond the pale', and would be a financial and social disaster. Apart from the obvious transport costs and costs of services, the maintenance and running costs would be higher than anywhere else.

Answering the PFP's queries concerning the subsidisation of transport from Khayelitsha, the government said that the subcommittee for public transport of the Metropolitan Advisory Board had approached the local Metropolitan Transport Advisory Council on 9 June in this connection.

AFRICAN HOUSING: WESTERN CAPE

At a meeting called by the United Democratic Front (UDF) on 9 October, Crossroads residents vowed not to be moved to Khayelitsha. The Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Cape Town also indicated opposition to compelling people to move to Khayelitsha.

In December the Cape regional director of education and training said that no more schools would be built in established African townships around Cape Town and all new schools and extensions to schools would be built in the new township of Khayelitsha only. Mr Nic Olivier, PFP spokesman on education and training in the western Cape, condemned the decision as 'highly irresponsible'. He said that it was clearly aimed at forcing residents of existing townships to move eventually to Khayelitsha, but warned that it was unlikely to succeed. Also in balance was the development of a R2m shopping complex in Guguletu by the Small Business Development Corporation.

Raids against 'squatter' communities in the Cape Town area continued, with 'squatters' being arrested and charged under a variety of acts, and plans made for the 'deportation' of those 'illegally' in the area.

The great majority of Cape Town's African squatters appear to be sheltering on and around sand dunes near D F Malan Airport which themselves adjoin parts of the established townships. The original Crossroads squatter camp consists of tin or wooden self-built shacks, but most of the other clusters of shacks that have sprung up nearby consist of black plastic sheeting supported on sticks or poles, frequently hewn from nearby bushes.

In March the Transkei refused to accept the repatriation of 1 000 squatters as part of a multi-million employment project to be funded by R18m of project 'aid' from Pretoria. About 12 000 jobs were to be created by the project at a rate of 4000 a year. However, the Transkei did agree to recruit small groups of unemployed Transkeians 'squatting' in the western Cape if SA created jobs for them in Transkei.
Board officials and the police raided and demolished shacks at the KTC camp established in January on sand dunes near Crossroads when people legally in the township erected shacks because of a shortage of accommodation. The settlement grew as other 'squatters' joined them. During February about 1 207 shacks were demolished, 242 people arrested, and 214 charged under section 10 (4) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act for being in an area 'illegally'. Sixty-one 'squatters' were found guilty, 70 not guilty, and 83 had their cases withdrawn. The total amount paid in fines amounted to R1 760. Board officials were on duty at the camp from 15 February to combat the squatting. After a PFP delegation visited the site on 16 February, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) said that 'it was a crude and useless way to tackle what was obviously a housing crisis'. "No alternative accommodation was offered to the majority of the squatters but 87 were allowed to move to a beerhall in Langa and 150 to one in Nyanga until accommodation could be provided at Khayelitsha."

In all it planned to prepare a further 500 sites for occupation there. In March 66 families were told that they would be allowed to build on the first of the 2500 sites to be made available. However, after its announcement about the establishment of Khayelitsha, the government scrapped its plan to develop these sites.

On 1 April further raids occurred at KTC and all shacks except those of the 200 families given permission to remain there, were demolished. Twenty-nine people were arrested for not having passes. Further raids occurred on 20 April, police and officials burning plastic and poles from the shacks on bonfires and confiscating tents. More 'squatters' were arrested. On 26 April 40 adults were freed on charges of squatting illegally after a 'squatter' had won a test case in which she had pleaded not guilty on the grounds that by squatting she had not intended to break the law, but had done so only out of necessity. In giving evidence at the trial, the chief superintendent of housing for Africans in the western Cape, Mr P Schelhase, said that there was insufficient housing for Africans. Further raids occurred in May, all the KTC shacks being demolished finally on 16 May, and the area enclosed with barbed wire. During the raids teargas was used against the squatters. A quantity of clothing, 248 blankets, and 78 bundles containing mats, pots, pans, mattresses, boxes, trunks, radios, axes, spades, chairs, and buckets were confiscated and kept at the administration board office in Langa awaiting identification and claim by the owners. In all 3448 shelters were demolished from February to May.

In 1979 the Department of Co-operation and Development agreed that Crossroads squatters who met certain qualifying criteria would be housed at a new Crossroads, which was to be developed in two phases. In phase one, completed in 1982, 1 500 homes were built at a cost of R18m and Koornhof St was so named in honour of the minister. In April, the department granted permission to 250 squatters to build shelters on the phase two site. In June Dr Koornhof announced that phase two had been cancelled in the light of the development at Khayelitsha.
Board officials and police raided the old Crossroads camp on several occasions during the year to prevent people living on beds in the open from erecting shacks. Raids were conducted in January and again in June, when 24 squatters were arrested for being in the area 'illegally' and 110 people, most of them legally in the area, for unlawfully occupying a site. When charged, 23 of the 110 pleaded guilty and 88 not guilty. Twenty-two were fined R10 (or 10 days' imprisonment) and two R20 (or 20 days). Mr Andrew (PFP) called for a moratorium to enable Africans to legalise their position in the western Cape. He said that the government had failed lamentably to develop a realistic policy for urbanisation and its admission that more than 40% of Africans were there 'illegally' showed that its policies did not work and made no sense.

In raids at the end of July, 247 people were arrested and charged with being in the Peninsula illegally or with not having a valid pass, or both. Nine, one of them a 16-year old girl, were cautioned and discharged. From 2 to 6 August riot police and board officials demolished 644 shelters at the Crossroads bed camp. Clinics serving the community complained of a high incidence of illness among children from exposure to the winter weather, one child dying. Raids continued throughout September, with officials burning shacks. Rioting broke out onl 23 September when women resisted having their shacks demolished. Teargas, dogs, and rubber bullets were used against the residents. Some people were admitted to hospital with dog bites and bullet wounds. About 1 000 shelters were demolished during the month.

In the same month the Deputy Minister of Co-operation told the Cape National Party Congress that the government had no intention of making Crossroads a permanent township. Crossroads was 'a symbol of provocation and of blackmail of the government' which it wanted to destroy at all costs. The main problem in controlling influx of Africans to the western Cape was an existing agreement that Ciskei and Transkei 'citizens' were allowed to enter the area on 14-day visits, Dr Morrison added.

In October 6 388 Crossroads squatters were given only 72 hours to be in the area after responding to an invitation by the board to visit its offices to establish whether their names were on the official list of people claiming rights to be there. In terms of a 1979 government concession, 24261 Crossroads squatters (4246 families) meeting certain criteria were given temporary permits to be in the area pending a final decision by a special appeals committee. This committee had not met by the time the permits expired in September 1982, and these were not renewed. The names of only 30 to 40 of those people visiting the board's offices were on the list.

In December, Crossroads residents appealed to Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, Chief Commissioner in the western Cape, to meet them to discuss their future. A spokesman for Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's Crossroads committe said that residents at a meeting in December had decided not to move to Khayelitsha and had challenged Dr Morrison 'to come and bring the army and shoot us, then he can move our dead bodies'. People objected to moving to Khayelitsha because
it was too far from their places of work, they had not been consulted beforehand and the government had broken its promises to them that they could remain at the Crossroads and KTC sites.
From 1 January to 23 March nine raids took place at the Nyanga dune site, with 211 squatters arrested, 52 being charged and 139 deported. In July further shacks were demolished, and the Red Cross provided people with tents.
In September more than 170 people from the Mbekweni township in Paarl were arrested and charged under section 57 (1) (c) of the Internal Security Act after a march on the Western Cape Administration Board office to protest against site and service increases of between 9.7% and 28.6% to be introduced on 1 October. These were as follows: rents for single quarters increased from R4.86 to R6.26 per month, for scheme one houses from R12.05 to R14.02 per month, for scheme two houses from R14.30 to R16.27 per month, and for scheme three houses from R20.31 to R22.28 per month. The group was stopped by 20 policemen and six dog handlers just inside the township boundary, warned that they had gathered illegally, and ordered to disperse. When they refused, they were arrested.
On 29 September more than 100 women from new Crossroads marched on the administration board offices to protest against high rents of up to R35.51 for one-bedroomed houses, which were more than residents in other townships had to pay. The group was stopped by police and ordered to disperse.
Eastern Cape
The area of jurisdiction of the Eastern Cape Administration Board (ECAB) comprises 200 000 square kilometres, accommodating 1.6m people, half of whom live in 74 townships varying in size from 200 to 300 000 people. Mr Louis Koch, the board's chief director, said that without allowing for urbanisation African housing in the eastern Cape by the year 2 000 would require 140 000 new sites, an average of just under 8 000 sites per annum. If full standard services and conventional houses were to be provided and existing houses and services upgraded, more than R1.71m would be required - an impossible task for the state, he said.
In 1981/82 some 1 657 houses were built in the eastern Cape at a cost of R5.25m. Altogether 1 327 of these, costing R4.2m, were in Mdantsane which is in

AFRICAN HOUSING: EASTERN CAPE
the Ciskei. A total of R8.86m was spent on infrastructure, R6.8m of it in Mdantsane. Mr Louis Rive, who was appointed to investigate the housing situation, recommended in a development blueprint made public during 1983 that R300m should be spent on the Port Elizabeth (PE) metropolitan area. This should be met by bridging finance, he said, releasing R13m originally earmarked for this area for the development of townships in the eastern section of the eastern Cape. Mr Rive said that conditions in some of the eastern Cape townships were far worse than those in Soweto (Johannesburg). In September R20m was provided towards the development programme and was allocated for the completion of reticulation systems and infrastructure at the new township at Motherwell (see below), the development of stormwater canals and the provision of temporary accommodation for the 500 homeless families moved from the Chetty River plain
(Port Elizabeth), the provision of sewerage for 11 500 houses and the improvement of drainage and roads in KwaZakhele (Port Elizabeth), and the servicing of 300 sites in KwaNobuhle (Port Elizabeth). An amount of R1.5m would be spent on services for KwaDwesi (Uitenhage), 1

Plans went ahead for the development of Motherwell as a new African township. Earmarked in 1979 for this by the Port Elizabeth municipality, the plan was opposed at the time by a range of groups, among them the board, the community council, farmers, the Midland Chamber of Industries, and the Department of Cooperation and Development, all of whom wanted an alternative site at Kleinaskool-Bloemendal. However, the municipality had earmarked this for coloured housing. Mrs Molly Blackburn, Progressive Federal Party MPC for Walmer, said that Motherwell was divorced from the existing African townships and that housing for Africans should be 'developed in its natural direction' towards Despatch. A R4.7m 20-month contract was awarded for the provision of services to 2 150 sites in Motherwell in April. It was estimated that the township would eventually contain 17000 homes. In 1984 work would begin on a R5m bridge over the river linking the township with other African areas and PE's industrial zones. This would provide a labour pool alongside the new industrial estate of Markman, at present isolated from labour sources. A loan application of R17.7m to provide wet-core housing and electricity had been approved.4 Each house would cost an estimated R3 000 and would initially comprise a kitchen and bathroom. Buyers, who would receive financial assistance from ECAB or a building society, would build the rest of the house. Employers could also build homes for their employees. Up to six extra rooms could be accommodated. People earning less than R150 a month could rent the houses.05 Funds from the Department of Community Development would also be made available for the erection of complete units for those earning below this sum. An amount of R4m from a loan by the Old Mutual for African and coloured housing on the eastern Cape would also be utilised for this.6 Five hundred families rendered destitute by the flooding Chetty River were moved to Motherwell in September. After a tour of PE's 'Soweto' township, a squatter area of 9 462 plots, Dr Marius Barnard, PFP spokesman on health, complained in parliament about the conditions there. The government replied that the residents were to be moved to Motherwell, and that therefore only rudimentary services such as water, a bucket sanitation system, and refuse removal had been provided. Night soil and refuse were collected twice a week, while the number of taps had been increased from 36 to 145 in 1982. Expenditure on services amounted to RI 062 777 in 1980/81, RI 225 184 in 1981/82, and an estimated RI 572 533 in 1982/83. Income received from service charges of RIO per family per month was R220 781, R354 415, and R534 910 for those years respectively. No rentals were charged.07 The estimated population was between 80 000 and 90 000 (approximately nine people per plot)

AFRICAN HOUSING: NATAL

No community workers or doctors served the area, the residents using doctors in adjacent African areas, but the services of two social workers were available."8
In August it was announced that Red Location, one of the worst slums in the PE area, housing some 1 500 families in 980 houses, would be redeveloped. The township would be demolished in 1986/87. Residents would be given an option to move to the first completed houses at Kwamagxaki and KwaDwesi (both near Uitenhage), expected to be available in August 1984 at the earliest. Other possible sites for relocation would be considered for those who did not wish to be relocated there. The redeveloped Red Location, to be called Masangwanaville, would consist of 746 sites, 376 houses, and 370 maisonettes. This meant that not all families currently in the township could be housed there. An amount of R4m had been allocated for the development of Kwamagxaki for the 1983/84 financial year and tenders had been invited for its development.

In June, after a meeting between the Duncan Village (East London) Community Council and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, it was announced that the part of Duncan Village called Zipunzana, which accommodates 10000 families, would not be demolished as previously planned, but that the demolition of the rest of the village, comprising 2 500 families, would continue, these families to be rehoused in Mdantsane as accommodation became available. Zipunzana would be upgraded on the condition that no further expansion would be permitted, that it be replanned to attain the highest possible density within the government's planning norms, that the residents accept the introduction of economic tariffs, that the Group Areas Board finalise the boundaries while adhering to the establishment of proper buffer zones after consultation with interested parties, that no unauthorised squatting be permitted, and that the community council undertake to ensure this. A committee to upgrade the area would comprise Mr Rive, ECAB, the East London City Council, the community council, and the chief commissioner for the eastern Cape. An amount of RIOm was budgeted for the redevelopment of the township during the current financial year, and a further R1Om would be made available in 1984.

In September Mr Rive proposed that a freehold area should be provided in Zipunzana where residents would build houses of their choice. A positive reaction to this was received from members of the city council.

The Port Alfred Community Organisation wrote to the Department of Cooperation and Development requesting that proposed rent increases of between R6 to R13 per month be waived. It also rejected an alternative sliding scale of charges for services proposed by ECAB.

The PE community council, without consulting the Department of Co-operation and Development, postponed a proposed increase in rents for Port Elizabeth's townships until after the November local authority elections.

Port Natal

The population in the Port Natal Administration Board's area, which covers the townships of Shakaville, Hambanathi, Chesterville, Lamontville, Klaarwater, and Shayamoya, comprised 28 467 adults and 20 277 children under the age of 18. There were 5 058 people housed, and 11 000 families on the waiting list. About

AFRICAN HOUSING: NATAL
18 028 hostel beds were available. Of the houses 4 259 were rented, the rest being owned under the 30-year home-ownership scheme. No 99-year leases had been registered. In 1.982/83 only 113 houses had been built at Hambanathi. The Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) was engaged in building houses on an agency basis in the homeland townships of KwaNdengezi, KwaDabeka, Sundumbili, KwaMbona, Ntzuma and Umlazi. By October 1983 it had constructed 3565 houses in these townships as well as three schools, one church and one community hall. 13 The board estimated that the number of Africans settled 'informally' around Durban had increased fivefold in 14 years to 500 000.114 The population of Inanda, one of the settlements, totalled 21 000 Africans, 18 000 whites, 8 000 coloured people, and 107 000 Indians in 1980. 115 As at 31 December 1982 about 9 000 families were on the waiting list at Inanda. However, no houses were built during 1982 by the Department of Co-operation and Development. A total of 1 027 were erected from loans provided by the SA Development Trust, and 42 were built privately. During 1982 about 436 squatters were ordered to leave the area, most moving to improved accommodation in Ntuzuma, Kwa-Mashu and Umlazi, the last two being the main African townships in the Durban area although they are situated in KwaZulu.

During 1982/83 R1,25m was appropriated for township development in Inanda and R135 000 for management of the township. A further R5m was made available: of this R2.3m was allocated for water supply, R1.5m for school buildings, R500 000 for self-build projects and R300 000 for office buildings, management, schools and bulk water purchases. Since 1980 4000 sites had been made available on which people had erected their own provisional structures, while awaiting grants enabling them to build better homes. Only 206 of the 4 000 sites had not been taken up. A total of 610 loans were granted for 1982/83, and from 1 April 1983,278.116

A master plan for the development of Inanda drawn up by a group of consultants and tabled in parliament, was submitted to the KwaZulu administration for consideration. The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, said that he did not necessarily agree with the recommendations. The plan proposed that Inanda be developed into a satellite city with road and rail networks, piped water, schools, creches, community centres, and site and service homesteads. The consultants said that the basic objective should be to provide housing for 450 000 people over 20 years, or 22 500 people per annum. They estimated that this would require 3 000 sites per year, or about 250 per month. Costs would be R20m in the first year, R22m in the second, R24m in the third, R27m in the fourth, and R301m in the fifth, totalling R123m.117 Mr Alan Mountain of the Urban Foundation stated that a joint input from the private and public sectors and the community itself was required. The guide plan was not a final blueprint but a base document for further planning. The minister stated that a development committee to co-ordinate the development of Inanda had been appointed.

Violence broke out in April in the townships of Lamontville and Chesterville, near Durban, when residents protested against proposed rent increases ranging
from 40% to 80% affecting these two townships as well as Shakaville, Hambanathi and Shayamoya. After the increases, rents varied from R24,50 to R42,60 per month in Lamontville, and averaged R36,50 per month in Chesterville. Residents argued that they could not afford the increases and that nothing had been done to maintain their houses. The board acknowledged that the barest

AFRICAN HOUSING: NATAL

minimum in maintenance work had been undertaken, but argued that it had no money for this, its annual deficit being R7m. "It said that the increases which it had wanted to introduce two years earlier were necessary to meet the rising costs of services such as water, electricity, sewerage disposal, and garbage collection. The board said that it had explained its predicament to advisory boards and community councils and had circularised residents. During the violence, Mr Harrison Dube, a community leader, was shot and killed. After a meeting in May between Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, the Durban community council, representatives of the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC), and Durban's mayor, Mrs Sybil Hotz, the increases were postponed to 1 August. The board also said that it would make R250 000 available for the maintenance and renovation of houses in the area, with a further loan of R1,25m to be negotiated. In exchange, the African community leaders undertook to explain the need for higher rents to their communities.19 The amount for renovations was allocated as follows: R140000 in Shakaville, R180 000 in Hambanathi, R320 000 in Klaarwater, R550 000 in Lamontville, and R180000 in Chesterville. Amounts would also be allocated for the hostels. Although residents seemed pleased with the improvements subsequently undertaken, they warned that they did not see them as a justification for the rent increases.12 The chairman of the Hambanathi community council, Mr Ian Mkhize resigned because the government had allegedly consistently ignored the views of African leaders especially on the issue of the rent hikes. He said that repeated representations to the authorities that the increases would lead to chaos had not elicited a reply. It was only when the white mayor of Durban, Mrs Sybil Hotz, intervened that the minister set up meetings with the councillors.2’ Residents of the S J Smith and Glebelands hostels called on the board to suspend the proposed increases for five years or hand the hostels over to the KwaZulu government. A memorandum handed to the board stated that the hostels were dirty, had not been renovated, had floorless lavatories, broken windows and pipes, and were overcrowded. 122 In early July a meeting of Chesterville and Lamontville residents adopted a resolution that they wanted the township administered by the Durban Corporation instead of by the board. A government-appointed commission of enquiry comprising Mr Louis Rive, the government's housing expert, and Mr A Hankinson of Tongaat Hulett met on 28 July to discuss the rent increases. JORAC representatives, who were invited to the meeting, walked out when they saw that community council representatives were present, as they had not been informed of
On 28 July an urgent application was submitted to the Durban Supreme Court by the Ningizimu Durban Community Council and a Chesterville resident challenging the increases. They claimed that the minister had vested the power of increasing rentals in the community council and that this body had never agreed to the increases. Mr Acting Justice Wilson granted the application and gave the board permission to file answering affidavits. The order did not grant interim relief and the increases went through on 1 August. When the case came to court on 19 August, Mr Justice Leon reserved judgement but recommended that the Durban increases be temporarily suspended until he had given a final decision on the matter. 124

The PFP spokesman on law and order, Mr Harry Pitman (since deceased),

URBAN AFRICAN TRANSPORT complained in parliament about police action against residents during the unrest in Lamontville. He said that there had been allegations that police had used teargas, had conducted unwarranted house searches, had beaten and assaulted residents for no reason, and had handcuffed and blindfolded youths, who were made to run behind vehicles. He said that the deputy minister had ignored the PFP’s warnings after the announcement of the rent increases that ‘things were ready to erupt’, and had also ignored its pleas that the increases be withheld or at least introduced gradually. Although the deputy minister had said that everything was under control, violence had erupted, and Mr Dube had been murdered. Only after the violence did the board back down.25 Later a memorandum containing affidavits confirming the allegations of assault was handed to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, who declined to comment until he had made a full examination of the situation. Sporadic violence in the townships continued throughout July with the leaders of the Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Lutheran Churches asking Dr Koornhof to cancel the proposed August increases and expressing concern at the unrest. They said that the community leaders’ predictions about the consequences of implementing increases had proved true. Mr H du Plessis, chairman of the board, commenting on the continuing violence, said that the issue had moved away from being a rent problem to the broader arena of political discontent. Under the circumstances he could not recommend to the minister that the increases be postponed again for fear that capitulation would be perceived by the community as ‘a major victory for violence’. The chairman of JORAC, Mr Richard Gumede, said that the board was using political agitation as an excuse to press ahead with the increases. The main grievance was an economic one. People could not afford the increases because of inflation and high unemployment.

The violence in the township was also exacerbated by the government's announcement in September that Lamontville would be incorporated into KwaZulu. Conflict broke out in October between local youths and members of Inkatha at a meeting called by Inkatha to discuss the incorporation.26 Several people were killed, according to the Financial Mail of 4 November.
Transport
During the year under review the SA Transport Services (SATS) introduced a new 'Soweto Circle Train' service popularly called 'the anti-clockwise route' between Soweto and Johannesburg via Booyens, Kaserne, George Goch, and Jeppe. It was believed that the new system would greatly improve the Soweto-Johannesburg service by alleviating heavy traffic and speeding up commuter travel time. The new circular line cost almost R49m and began operating on 7 March with an initial eight trains per day.

Welgemoed Commission
The third and final report of the Commission of Enquiry into Bus Passenger Transportation (the Welgemoed Commission), chaired by Dr P Welgemoed and established in August 1981, was tabled in June 1983. The report covered future policy, the effect of taxis on the bus industry, the necessity for the security of the bus industry, and the need for a national bus transportation corporation. The main recommendations of the report included the following:

**URBAN AFRICAN TRANSPORT**
* private ownership of bus services should be encouraged and steps taken to encourage bus passenger services through preferential treatment of such services in urban areas;
* the government should classify the public bus transportation industry as a strategic industry, and do everything in its power to stimulate and expand it, and ensure that from an energy point of view it should always be operational;
* the state should provide funds for the promotion of bus usage;
* much should be done to stimulate bus transport by urban planning, the role of each transport mode in metropolitan transport plans and the requisite passenger facilities being outlined;
* municipalities should be responsible for the provision and control of facilities for bus passengers in their areas, funds being voted from the Urban Transport Fund to carry, wholly or partly, the initial capital costs of the provision and control of facilities, while at the same time the, subsequent running costs should be recovered, wholly or partly, from the bus service as rent;
* legislation should be adjusted to allow for a category of public passenger vehicle with the ability to carry 5-25 people, and conditions applicable to bus services applied to this category in terms of permits, routes, tariffs, and timetables;
* steps should be taken against the many unauthorised mini-bus taxis that operated in many areas. 'Illegal' mini-bus taxis should be severely curbed because they competed to the detriment of existing taxis and bus services. In Soweto alone there were an estimated 3 600-4 000 taxis of all descriptions that operated illegally as opposed to a legally registered number of 1 970.

Mr Rod Draper, chairman of the transport committee of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of SA (ASSOCOM), said: 'Running throughout the
Welgemoed report is the leit motiv that taxis and kombis are now the devils that have sprung up through the trapdoor like the demon king of pantomime.' However, they were cost-effective and seemed to satisfy a vast public need. Mr Draper added: 'In this country we have a policy for the transport of goods by road that becomes more Byzantine and ridiculous by the day. It has become unwieldy, grossly unfair and highly inflationary. Frequently the authorities bring in new regulations that make the whole thing more ridiculous still. Welgemoed appears to be proposing that we go down the same road for passenger transportation.' Mr Draper said that the proposed prohibition of minibus taxis 'will be widely ignored in practice and there will be endless trouble if enforcement is attempted. There will be constant resentment, and it seems to me a particularly bad and provocative proposal.' But the freeing of the minibus taxi operators would open up a vast employment field for a sector of the population that badly needed it.

Delegates to the ASSOCOM congress in October urged the government to delay consideration of the Welgemoed Commission's recommendations, including the recommendation to bar the use of minibuses as taxis, so that they could be investigated further. Some delegates warned that if the recommendations were implemented political unrest would result. Towards the end of the year the Chamber of Mines urged the government to allow African minibus taxis to continue to operate. The Federated Chamber of Industries said it was concerned about the implications of eliminating competition by phasing out the kombi taxis and the

URBAN AFRICAN TRANSPORT
potential for unrest and industrial disturbance that could result from this action. The Midland Chamber of Industries in Port Elizabeth said it believed that the kombi-type taxi service had developed as a result of the demand for that type of service, and was an effective channel for drawing the African businessman into the free enterprise system. 'This chamber trusts that the government will not accept recommendations that will inhibit the entry of the small black entrepreneur into the economic system that everyone purports to support,' the chamber said. Mr Peter Searle, managing director of Volkswagen SA, said that a move to phase out kombis 'would be totally prejudicial to the building up of black business' and 'contrary to free enterprise principles.'

Mr Jimmy Sojane, chairman of the SA Black Taxi Association, claimed that as many as three quarters of the commuters between African locations and the city travelled in minibuses. He said: 'If we are forced to revert to sedans for taxis it would make a mockery of attempts to conserve fuel and make the most efficient use of transport.'

Soweto's first 'mayor' under the new Black Local Authorities Act, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, said that he would call on the government not to accept the Welgemoed Commission's recommendations regarding minibus taxis. Mr Rollo Dickson, a consultant to two major Cape transport companies, was quoted in Tollgate, published by Cape Tramways, as saying: 'While jitneys (minibuses) may have achieved some success in eastern cities where bus services were under-developed, they are currently posing a serious threat to well-
established bus operations in South African cities. Passengers tend to prefer kombis because they take them nearer to their homes and the scheduled feeder buses meanwhile run empty. Yet if these buses are withdrawn there may not be sufficient kombis present at a particular time and the bus operator is then accused of having insufficient vehicles to meet passenger demand.' PUTCO, the country's major operator of African bus services, was on record as saying that it had no objection to legitimate as opposed to 'pirate' taxis. The long-term effect of the latter, it said, 'could be to kill the regular bus service, which would enable taxis to increase their fares.'

Legal Taxis versus 'Illegal' Kombis

Resistance to the operation of 'illegal' taxis services, in particular minibuses and kombis, was voiced by various local authorities.

In January violence erupted between the members of the Lesley Taxi Association in Secunda and the KwaTema Taxi Association, three members of the Lesley Taxi Association being seriously injured. The KwaTema group alleged that the Lesley Association members were operating illegally at the Springs railway station without permission from the Springs town council and the KwaTema Association. The Lesley Taxi Association decided to halt operations until such time as they were provided with police protection. This affected the lives of many Lesley residents who worked in Springs and for whom there was no other means of transport.

In March the managing director of Port Elizabeth Tramways, Mr C Coetzer, stated that if 'pirate' taxis remained unchecked there would not be a bus service in Port Elizabeth in the next five years. He said that as a result of this other form of transport the bus fleet had had to be cut by 50 in the past year. Mr Coetz predicted that once he withdrew from operating, the pirate taxis would charge exorbitant fares. He also predicted massive street congestion if each bus were replaced by ten minibuses. Mr Coetzer suggested that there should be a return to the fivepassenger sedan-type taxi, that the legal minibus taxis should be phased out, and the allegedly illegal taxis prosecuted.

In March it was reported that Mamelodi taxi owners had lost up to R200 per week because of the ever-increasing number of 'pirate' taxis there. (Mamelodi has more than 300 'pirate' taxis.) The taxi owners claimed that most of the 'pirate' taxis, especially kombis, belonged to whites who hired Africans to operate in Mamelodi. They also claimed that pleas to police and the local community council had achieved nothing.

In October two people were seriously injured and 150 taxis and 38 buses were damaged after taxis, mostly minibuses, had been stopped and the drivers charged at a roadblock in Isipingo for overloading. A police spokesman confirmed that buses were stoned and set on fire when a crowd gathered.

In October a blitz was conducted against taxi-drivers on the Soweto-Johannesburg and Natalspruit-Johannesburg routes. It was estimated that there were nearly 13 000 legal and illegal kombis/minibuses on the Witwatersrand which carried
between 300,000 and 500,000 passengers per day. About 100,000 commuters were left stranded when Soweto taxi owners refused to leave their ranks in sympathy with the approximately 104 drivers arrested during the first two days of the blitz. Some of the taxi drivers said that they had also been angered by the fatal shooting of a taxi driver by a policeman on 1 October. Their decision to strike had been taken after several meetings. Several kombis and minibuses were confiscated during the blitz and were held at the Moroka police station in Soweto. Sixty-nine Soweto taxi owners and drivers paid more than R20,000 in fines on 4 October after being convicted of contravening the Road Transportation Act. They had been charged with overloading and operating their taxis outside of the stipulated permit area. PUTCO responded to the taxi blitz by increasing its bus service to and from Soweto during peak periods to cope with the increased commuter demand.

It was reported in November that many Sobantu commuters rejected the municipal bus service in favour of the cheaper kombi taxis after bus fares had been increased.

Electrification

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said that the R250m project for the electrification of Soweto was proceeding according to plan, and would be completed early in 1984. The main extra high tension reticulation system had been fully completed and taken into service, while 816 of the projected 955 mini-substations were either complete or nearly complete. Approximately 32,000 houses were receiving power, 74,000 houses having been rewired. A total of 105,754 stands were to be supplied with electricity and a total of 101,934 houses were to be rewired. The average cost of wiring a house was R400.128 The West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) had raised only R195m of the R250m required, and would thus have to raise more money. As from February a R20 monthly levy was imposed on residents to pay off the loan and interest, increasing average charges from R38.40 to R58.40 for rented accommodation, and from R29.40 to R49.40 for purchased houses. The levy, which would apply for 30 years, would rise to R30 in 1984 and increase each year thereafter. Residents choosing not to use electricity still had to pay the levy. Residents also had to pay a R30
in the levy in 1983 when ERAB granted the council R3m for the project. The levy had increased from R2 for phase one, to R3,50 for phase two, to the current phase three tariff of R5. When implemented the levy for phase four would be R7,50 and that for phase five R10,00. The KwaTema community council (East Rand) increased its levy for electrification by R1 to R9 per month because of the escalating cost of the project from R2m to R17m in one and a half years. More than R3,3m was allocated for the upgrading of the electricity supply network in Mamelodi (Pretoria). In the Orange Vaal area the basic charge for electricity increased from R7,50 to R10, with an extra levy for wiring of R1,90 in Sharpeville (Vereeniging), R2,40 in Sebokeng (Vanderbijlpark), and Boipatong (Vanderbijlpark), and R3,70 in Zamdela (Sasolburg).

The minister said that a total amount of R1,75m had to be spent from 1 January 1979 to April 1983 on the electrification of Port Elizabeth's townships. It was anticipated that the project would be completed in 1987 at a total cost of R59m.

African Businessmen

It was estimated that there were over 10 000 African businessmen in SA. There were 4639 trading licences held by African businessmen in the Transvaal, of which 2 323 applied in Soweto. African businessmen continued to voice strong criticism over the restrictions which curtailed their ability to trade freely. Opening the 19th Congress of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) in 1983, its president, Mr Sam Motsoenyane, referred to the restrictions and limitations placed on land ownership by Africans in terms of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, which sanctioned discrimination based on race. He said that his organisation's repeated calls on the government to open up central business districts in SA to entrepreneurs of all races had been ignored. Furthermore, the government had made no progress in creating free trade zones where all businessmen could operate as recommended by the Riekert Commission (which reported in 1979). These areas could be established in terms of section 19 of the Group Areas Act. Regarding NAFCOC's plea for permission to establish branches of Afribank and other African-owned institutions in central business districts, Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, had stated that white institutions were allowed into African areas with the 'sole purpose of providing needed facilities to Africans'. Such assistance by Africans in white areas was not required.

In 1982/83 the pre-tax profits of Afribank were R1 13 984, as against R1 0391 in 1981. In 1981 the bank was given a restricted foreign exchange dealer's licence, which, however, excluded its branches in Bophuthatswana and the Transkei. The bank intended seeking a relaxation of this limitation on its potential business from the SA Reserve Bank. Afribank's chairman reported that phase two of the bank's five-year plan had not been successfully completed, since it had not been possible to convert the Pretoria mini-branch into a full branch or to open branches in Pietersburg and KwaZulu as anticipated. In the case of Pretoria, the city council had refused permission under the Group Areas Act and had referred the bank to a
free trade zone to be established under section 19 of that act on the western side of town. The Pietersburg town council had refused the bank's application for its branch there, while permission was still awaited from the Registrar of Financial Institutions to open the KwaZulu branch. The chairman expressed concern about the 'unnecessary stumbling blocks constantly being placed on the growth and development of the bank by the bureaucracy which pervades our economic life'. He felt it grossly unfair that Afribank was denied access to the central business districts when its competitors were allowed into African townships.' 32

In February Mr John Knoetze, chairman of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), said that several 'grey' areas where all race groups could operate businesses without stringent restrictions were being earmarked for development. It was reported that legislation to open the 'white' central business districts (CBDs) to other races had been drafted and placed before the cabinet. Moves were also being considered which would allow white companies free access to African townships, in particular the lifting of the formula restricting white ownership of businesses in African areas to a maximum 49% shareholding. "I

Controversy continued over the government's policy of allowing white entrepreneurs to establish businesses in African areas on a 51%/49% share basis in favour of Africans. Giving evidence to the Economic Affairs Committee of the President's Council in 1983, three prominent businessmen, Mr Veli Kraai, chairman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI), Mr P Ramakobye, president of the Southern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce, and Mr B Sibeko, an executive member of the SCCI, protested against the practice and pleaded for protection from white businessmen 'invading' Soweto and using Africans as their fronts. Mr David Thebehali, 'mayor' of Soweto, criticised opponents of the system, claiming that some of them had themselves entered into such agreements. 134

Checkers and an African company, the Soweto Development Company, were to develop, on a 49%/51% shareholding basis, a new R30m shopping complex at Jabulani (Soweto). The lease would be for 30 years, whereas previously white developers involved in white/African partnerships had been unable to hold leasehold rights for more than two years. The joint company, SODEV, would put up approximately 10% of the equity for the project, with another R27m being raised probably through participating debentures secured by a mortgage over the 30-year lease. By November construction on the development had not been started due to difficulties in raising the necessary capital, although the completion deadline had passed. However, tenders for 17 trading sites were placed on offer, with the Soweto Community Council allocating stands to seven businesses whose tenders had been accepted. The majority were 49%/51% white/African partnerships. The recommended developments were for a building society and food outlet, shopping complex, licensed restaurant, office block, filling station, shops and offices complex, and warehouse and distribution depot. In terms of the conditions set down by the council, development would have to start within three months and be completed within a year. 135
In November NAFCOC called for a boycott of the newly formed company Afrimet Ltd, which is a partnership between African traders and Metro Cash and Carry, established on a 51%/49% basis. The company aimed to establish trading facilities inside the African townships on the Reef and elsewhere and had acquired two wholesale outlets, one in Soweto and one in Katlehong (Germiston). NAFCOC was unsuccessful in persuading Metro Cash and Carry to dispose of its 49% interest to African-owned companies willing to acquire its shares. Mr L Katz, a director of the white company, said that Afrimet's African partners were not in favour of their white partners selling their shareholding to an African company, as they were aware that Metro Cash and Carry had the expertise, management, and buying power to make Afrimet competitive with other businesses. In terms of an agreement entered into by the directors of Afrimet and Metro Cash and Carry, the latter would manage the company and would be paid about R400 000 for the 20 years it would do this. A clause in the agreement gave Metro Cash and Carry the right to withdraw at any time before the 20 years had elapsed, but Afrimet could not withdraw until after 20 years. Africans oversubscribed by 1.3% the 1.02m 50-cent shares which made up the Africans' 51% issue. In November, four Soweto businessmen, Mr Richard Maponya, Mr David Pooe, Mr Veli Kraai and Mr G Mashile, were expelled from the Southern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce for participating in Afrimet. A spokesman for NAFCOC said that 'it is the policy of the company that since Africans are not allowed to own businesses in 'white' areas, the same should apply to whites with regard to African areas. Because the four defied this policy, they had to be expelled.'

In February a R2,2m industrial park in Orlando West (Soweto), involving 58 industrialists, was opened, creating more than 400 jobs at an average capital cost of R5 000 per job. The project was developed at a cost of almost R21 000 per unit in the first phase of development, and at more than R47 000 in the second phase. A R400 000 industrial park developed by the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) to serve the African townships of Atteridgeville and Saulsville (Pretoria) was opened in May. It consisted of 22 factory units to be let to African businessmen and covered an area of 1 758 square metres. At the time of writing business activities included clothing manufacture, welding, panelbeating, furniture making and a printing works, employing 95 local residents. The United States Agency for International Development granted R3m to NAFCOC in October for the development of small business firms. A new African-owned supermarket, Blackchain, was to be built in Katlehong (Germiston) at a cost of more than R3m by the end of the year. Similar to that in Soweto, it would be built and sponsored by the African Development Construction Company, a subsidiary of NAFCOC. In November, Soweto's largest privately-owned discount store opened in Dube. The owner, Mr Richard Maponya, erected the building with the financial assistance of the SBDC. He also entered into a management agreement with Grand Bazaars (Rosettenville) to train his staff and provide the necessary management expertise. Both the SBDC and the Urban Foundation held that there was insufficient land and capital in the Transvaal for adequate industrial development for Africans.
In August 1977 a committee of enquiry, comprising the chairman and deputy chairman of the National Liquor Board and a senior official of the Department of Co-operation and Development, was appointed to investigate the distribution of liquor in the metropolitan African residential areas. Its recommendations that Africans should be given the right to obtain liquor licences and that the administration boards' hard liquor interests (not sorghum beer) should be phased out were accepted by the cabinet. In 1982 a beginning was made in implementing these recommendations when it was announced that shebeen owners could submit applications for the licensing of their businesses. As at June 1983, 60 licences countrywide had been granted. Mr Lucky Michaels, chairman of the Soweto Taverners' Association (STA), objected to a statement by Mr John Knoetze, chairman of the West Rand Administration Board, that only 50% of the existing estimated 3 000-4 000 shebeens in greater Soweto would be licensed. Mr Michaels held that at least 4 000 shebeens would be needed to service the township's estimated population of 1.8 million.

The recommendation that the boards should sell their hard liquor outlets would drastically cut the revenue accruing to them (and to the new town councils). Details per board area for 1980/81 and 1981/82 are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Profit/Loss Income Profit/Loss Profit/Loss</th>
<th>Beer</th>
<th>Liquor</th>
<th>Combined</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R R R R R R</td>
<td>R R</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>19 404 629</td>
<td>2 136 942</td>
<td>55 295-807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>16 295 142</td>
<td>2 864 932</td>
<td>49 067 839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central TVL</td>
<td>9 333 706</td>
<td>-375 185</td>
<td>10 881 733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern TVL</td>
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<td>559 517</td>
<td>2 052 233</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>12 682 485</td>
<td>2 866 151</td>
<td>6 497 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern TVL</td>
<td>4 975 515</td>
<td>612 129</td>
<td>3 147 783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western TVL</td>
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<td>1 847 715</td>
<td>13 907 039</td>
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<tr>
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<td>156 947</td>
<td>35 144 012</td>
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<tr>
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<td>937 792</td>
<td>15 323 254</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>2 139 868</td>
<td>-263 686</td>
<td>12 220 316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 185 032 636

21 534 943 239 161 511 11 709 606 29630 118

The combined profit of R33 244 549 for 1981/82 was 11.8% higher than that for 1980/81. The combined income of R520 134 147 from beer and liquor in 1981/82 formed 70% of the total income of R741 350 713 for all the boards.

In line with the government's decision that the administration boards should sell their hard liquor outlets, the Eastern Cape, East and West Rand, Orange Vaal, and
Central Transvaal boards placed their outlets on sale. Individual Africans as well as companies with a minimum 51% shareholding of Africans could tender for the outlets, which would be sold on 99-year leasehold. A spokesman for the STA said that shebeeners would not benefit from the move as they lacked the capital to make such purchases. Also, a clause barring anyone convicted under the Liquor Act from tendering for the outlets would place shebeeners at a disadvantage as most had been charged under the act at some time or another.

Twenty-four outlets were placed on sale in the eastern Cape. At the closing date for tenders (19 July) 95, worth R12m, had been received, offers ranging from R50000 to R1,8m per outlet, and more than one buyer tendering for each of the licences. Two outlets worth R1,3m and R1,8m in Port Elizabeth went to a local

AFRICAN CONSUMERS

businessman, Mr E Nazo, while seven other outlets also went to individual African businessmen. Fifteen of the 24 outlets were sold to three companies, Otewos Properties, E and J Properties, and Empophomeni, all of them having as directors a 23-year old student, Mr Julian Smerkowitz, and Mr Isaac Kaye, previously managing director of Greatermans. Otewos Properties tendered for five outlets at R1,95m, E and J Properties for four outlets at R1,05m and Empophomeni for six outlets at R2,15m. They also tendered for other businesses bringing their total to R8,9m. At a meeting in June councillors from 72 of the eastern Cape's townships voiced their dissatisfaction over the sales and resolved to approach the government for alternative revenue to make up for the income they would lose if the outlets were sold. Speakers felt that the government should ensure future revenue before outlets were sold. 138 The Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce (ECACOC) said it was unhappy with the final awarding of the 24 liquor outlets because the names of some tenderers were unknown locally.139 However, on 14 November the Eastern Cape Administration Board (ECAB) cancelled the tenders awarded to Mr Smerkowitz as he had failed to give details of his proposed African partners, and to provide further details and guarantees by the deadline set by the board. ECAB decided not to renew the options, but to negotiate with the next highest tenderers.

Conflict broke out between the National Taverners' Association (NTA) and two companies over the purchase of the R140m liquor industry on the East and West Rand. The buyers were a consortium of African businessmen (backed by a white financier) under Mr Gibson Thula, which successfully tendered for 13 East Rand outlets, and a company comprising Mr Smerkowitz and Mr E Dube, which tendered for three Soweto stores. Mr Peggy Senne, president of the NTA, said that the new owners would be boycotted. In particular the NTA objected to the granting of business to a white person. The Sofasonke Party in Soweto threatened to take legal steps to restrain the East and West Rand Administration Boards from handing over the liquor outlets to private entrepreneurs, and sent a letter to the National Liquor Board protesting against this. The party's view was that this would leave the new councils without any source of revenue. However, a senior member of the party, Mr Edward Manyosi, was one of the successful tenderers for one site. A company, Mzamo Moleko Ltd, with 55 Africans as shareholders, set
itself up in competition to Mr Smerkowitz. A total of 19 off-consumption outlets and three bar-lounges would go on tender in the West Rand in 1984. In November, the Orange Vaal board asked for tenders for its 40 outlets by 26 January 1984.

Investigations were still under way into the privatisation of the administration boards’ sorghum beer industry. Of all the administration boards, only the East Rand Administration Board produced a small quantity of sorghum malt, the main suppliers to the boards being Nola Industries (Pty) Ltd (Randfontein), New Clifton (Johannesburg), and Jabula Foods (Springs).

The liquor squad continued with its raids on unlicensed shebeens. In Soweto it arrested on average 60-70 people each week. In 1982 the police confiscated more than R400 000 worth of liquor from Soweto shebeeners.

African Consumers

The importance of the African consumer market was discussed at a conference organised by the University of the Witwatersrand’s Graduate School of Business Administration in March. A Stellenbosch demographer, Dr J A Grobbelaar, re-

AFRICAN CONSUMERS

vealed that from a current figure of 20,5m, the African population was expected to increase to 26,9m in 1990 and to 34,9m by the year 2000. The African population in the 15 to 64 age group, whose growth between 1980 and 2000 was expected to be approximately 13,5 times that of the other groups, was of prime importance to marketers.

Businessmen who had hoped that African consumers would see them through the recession were disappointed, as African consumer spending stagnated in real terms during 1983. The severity of the slump was highlighted by the results of Frasers, Edgars and SA Breweries, all of whom have a large African clientele. Fraser's operating company's pre-tax income slid to R2,8m in the year to September 1983 from R6,4m the previous year. Edgars ascribed the 26% plunge in its trading profit in the half-year to October to significantly weaker demand from Africans. However, despite this slump SA Breweries adhered to its forecast that Africans' share of consumer spending would increase from 34,6% in 1980 to 45% in 1990 and 53% at the end of the century. Africans' share of the food, drink and tobacco market was expected to soar from 50% to 68%; of clothing and footwear from 39% to 61%; and of furniture and appliances from 34% to 55%.

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296 URBAN AFRICANS

URBAN AFRICANS
AFRICAN REMOVALS

Government policy

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said in February in parliament that the government considered removals to be in everyone's interest and that they were carried out with 'compassion and respect for human dignity after deep thought and careful consideration at high government level' He added that in accordance with a cabinet resolution of 18 March 1980 the relocation programme should continue where it would not conflict with homeland consolidation plans. The government wanted to abandon 'forced' removals but he could not give an assurance that they would not take place, Dr Koornhof added.

The basic principles behind removals, he claimed, were those of nation-building with development, the improvement of the living conditions of those who were relocated, and enabling them to acquire legal places of residence. These principles were set out in a circular, No NK2 of 1982, sent to all the offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development, magistrates of the Directorate of Justice, and government services in the homelands. The circular, which was a sequel to discussions held under Dr Koornhof's chairmanship, superseded General Circular 25 of 1967.1

The circular stated that the government's policy of developing non-independent homelands and bringing them to 'full independence' implied that Africans should be able to live and work in such states to the maximum extent or, alternatively, that workers' families should reside in the homelands while workers themselves commuted between their homes and their places of work in the 'white' areas. Where this was not feasible because of distance or other problems, workers should be accommodated in the 'white' areas on a single basis while their families remained in the homelands.

Africans in the 'white' areas regarded as 'non-productive'- defined as the aged, the disabled, widows, and women with dependent children; those not qualifying in terms of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act; those living on white farms who had become unfit for work owing to age, disability, or the application of Chapter IV of the South African Development Trust (SADT) and Land Act; and
unlawful squatters - were to be given a chance to settle in the homelands or in various relocation areas. The circular also defined as 'non-productive' for relocation policy purposes professional Africans, such as doctors, attorneys, agents, merchants, and industrialists, in so far as such persons were not needed to serve members of their own national group in the 'white' areas or to assist in their upliftment. It said: 'These people, although not regarded as essential for the white labour market, do fulfil an important function in regard to serving people of their own national groups and should be encouraged to settle, whether full-time or by extension, in the national and independent states so that in this way they will be able to make their expertise and capital available to their fellow nationals and for

AFRICAN REMOVALS POLICY

the development of the economies of the states concerned, respectively.'

The circular also stated that there should be no restrictions for those who moved voluntarily to homelands. The costs involved in relocating people from farms, 'black spots', and 'areas outside' prescribed areas should be borne by the Department of Co-operation and Development and from prescribed areas by administration boards using cash from their African revenue funds.

The circular said that district officials and administration boards should attempt to influence and persuade professional people and those who qualified for 'white' area residence in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act to settle 'voluntarily' in the homelands. The advantages of 'settlement' should be systematically brought to their attention by mentioning the possibilities of earning a good living and serving 'their own people', of starting new undertakings, and of obtaining free housing and services. Other factors to be mentioned were the possibilities of transferring pension or disability grants from 'white' areas to SADT relocation sites and applying for grants in the homelands; the provision of extra rations for social pensioners or persons unfit for work and of essential clothing and blankets where necessary (such cases were to be thoroughly investigated beforehand to ensure that the persons were really in need of help); and assistance, over and above free housing and services, to any person or family having no fixed income in the 'white' area (aid to be given until such time as they could be given suitable work to enable them to make a living on their own).

Persons fit for work would be provided with it as soon as possible. Reasonable compensation would be granted for immovable property. Sufficient rations would be provided for at least three days to every family being settled, unnecessary hardship being thus avoided.

The circular said that relocation from one 'independent' homeland to another should proceed by agreement between them through the Department of Foreign Affairs. All people involved in relocation should be consulted beforehand 'on a persuasion basis' and settlement committees established to ensure that those who were being moved would not be worse off than previously. Chief commissioners should negotiate with each other in connection with removals from 'white' areas.

In the case of farms still to be purchased for incorporation into a homeland it was customary to stipulate in the agreement that, where necessary, such farms were to
be developed and the 'citizens' of that homeland to be settled on them before incorporation.

The circular also stated that no mass removals should take place without the approval of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, the Deputy Minister, or the head of the department. In the course of removals people should be treated with 'kindness, respect and sympathy for their problems' and the impression should not be created that they were no longer welcome in 'white' areas. The 'sincerity and reasonableness' of the government's policy of separate development should constantly be explained and emphasised. Under no circumstances should action be taken which would give people reason to be dissatisfied. The circular said that it should always be ensured that transport was available from the point of departure to the relocation site.

Moreover, the Minister of Co-operation and Development should be provided with accurate records of relocation. The following form (Annexure A to the circular) should be filled in quarterly by all commissioners and magistrates in charge of districts and sent to chief commissioners to correlate the information and send the totals of each category to the minister's office.

AFRICAN REMOVALS POLICY

To: Chief Commissioner

Reference No ...................... Quarterended ......................
Commissioner District .........................................................

Quarterly return of Blacks from White areas, including Black spots, mission stations and badly situated Black areas, actually settled in the national states/independent states/SADT areas during the quarter.

1. Name of Black Spot or Mission Number of Number of Number of
   Station or Badly Situated Black Owners Squatters Persons
   Area (families) (families)
   From White Rural Areas (Non-prescribed areas)

2. Name of District Number of Number of
   Families Persons
   From the Urban Areas (prescribed areas)

3. Name of Urban Areas Number of Number of
   Families Persons
   Merchants or Industrialists

4. Place of Origin Type of Number of Number of
   Business Families Persons
   Professional Blacks

5. Place of Origin Profession Number of Number of
   Families Persons

DATE ... .... ..... ........... .. .... ..... ............
Commissioner

N.B Statistics in connection with 4 and 5 must be given separately and not shown under 1,2 and 3.
The circular added that in border townships - townships inside homelands but situated within commuting distance of 'white' areas, such as Umlazi (Durban), Mdantsane (East London), GaRankuwa (Pretoria), and Seshego (Pretoria) - people were provided with water, water-borne sewerage, electricity, and proper roads. However, in other relocation areas only rudimentary services such as pit latines or buckets, flecraft huts on loan, or tents were provided. Rents were lower than in border townships because there were no brick houses. In closer settlements the sources of water were boreholes, rivers or springs. The water was disinfected if necessary but not purified, and distributed to the residential areas by pillar taps so that it was not necessary to walk more than 250 metres to draw it. Clinics, schools, shops, transport facilities, and job opportunities should be provided in all relocation areas.

According to the circular, chief commissioners had reported that pensioners and the aged were reluctant to move to the homelands because of the waiting period between the settlement date and the granting of pensions. All possible assistance should therefore be rendered to expedite the grants in order to secure the pensioners' goodwill. It added that if it was not possible to settle all the people and their livestock because of a shortage of land, then the livestock should be sold before relocation. Some of those relocated had a rural background, with farming

AFRICAN REMOVALS POLICY
as their only occupational experience, and as a result of relocation became severely disoriented if placed in closer settlements. Many of them were fairly elderly people who should be helped to be partly self-sufficient as regards food production. The circular recommended that they be helped to cultivate vegetables and fruit, in addition to which fowls, pigs, and even goats for milk could be kept on an intensive scale, with due regard to the availability of land. It claimed that considerable progress had been achieved in such communities through women's clubs, interest groups, and savings clubs. It said that the contributions of the authorities were not large and merely took the form of an extension service and possibly a subsidised package of seed and fertiliser. Some people complained about work permits which were not updated to meet the requirements of the new site. As a result they experienced difficulties. The circular recommended that special arrangements be made with the authorities concerned for necessary entries in the reference books of those affected. Problems experienced with widows and women with dependent children who were still fit for work should be minimised by creating job opportunities or supplying them with rations, although the latter was found to be an unsound principle, to be avoided as far as possible.

Consequently, work, no matter how inferior, should be found for those people, even if it could be street-cleaning or keeping cemeteries tidy. They should do something for the 'wages' paid to them. The cash would normally be low but could, depending on the size of the family, be supplemented by rations, which should be regarded as part of the wage, the circular said. Assistance from outside should not simply be accepted, nor should it be rejected out of hand. It should be referred to the Department of Co-operation and Development for consideration.
Dr Koornhof said in parliament that removals were a very expensive undertaking which attracted a lot of criticism. He added that R5.9m was spent on relocating 63 600 people in 1977, R6m on relocating 57 000 in 1978, and R9m on 61 000 in 1979.1

While the Conservative Party (CP) supported the continuation of removals, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) continued to condemn them and to highlight the fate of the victims. In parliament in February Mr Ray Swart, the PFP’s Natal leader, called for an ‘immediate halt to further removals in the interest of peace and security in South Africa’. Mr Swart said that there were people whose way of life and daily existence was threatened by officialdom which decreed that they should leave homes, farms, and businesses which they had occupied and managed for generations and be shunted off to some other part of SA. He said that they were simple, peace-loving, and loyal people who had become distraught, disconsolate, and disillusioned because of the insecurity and uncertainty they had been driven into.4 Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) said that there was hunger, sickness, despair, and a deep sense of grievance on the part of those threatened with removal. She visited Mathopestad, which is threatened with removal, and the proposed relocation site, where she found that there was no compensatory land of any value, but simply a stony hillside. Communities were being divided because those who had land wanted to stay while those who did not, thought they would be better off if relocated. Fields were being left unploughed and houses were not being repaired because people did not believe that they would be compensated. The communities were subject to harassment, difficulties in getting pensions, and the withdrawal of work permits. Bribes were also offered to compliant chiefs. Mrs Suzman added that removals constituted a ruthless disregard for human suffering and that the government should not change the methods applied in removals but stop them altogether.5

SURPLUS PEOPLE PROJECT

stop them altogether.5 She said that when the history of SA was written, removals would be the darkest blot on the dismal history of the government.6 In June the Black Sash staged a five-day protest to mark 70 years of 'dispossession' caused by the Land Act of 1913, during which it was argued that the continuation of removals would lead to an escalation of violent conflict in SA.7 The Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) claimed that there had been no fundamental change in the removals policy but merely delays, confusion, and concealment in its implementation. There was mounting evidence of renewed determination on the part of administration board officials and commissioners to push ahead with 'black spot' removals in particular, AFRA alleged, as well as removals of Africans residing on white and Indian-owned land in the rural areas. An apparent lull in removals in Natal had been caused by a shortage of funds and opposition by those threatened with removal and by whites opposed to the KwaZulu consolidation plans.8 The Rev Dr Simon Gqubule of the Methodist Church alleged at the South African Council of Churches (SACC) annual conference that the forced removal policy represented 'slow genocide'. He said that people in relocation areas experienced poverty, hunger, inhuman conditions, and hopelessness.9 A Sowetan editorial said that 'it would be a great thing for the
government to stop this senseless resettlement plan which does nothing but create hatred and anger. The ideological victory they win when they satisfy themselves and their white compatriots cannot even match the kind of bitterness that sweeps over a large section of the black community'.

The Surplus People Project (SPP)
A national research project on relocation, the Surplus People Project (SPP), released its report—the result of three years' work—in June. The report, Forced Removals in South Africa, claimed that about 3 500 000 removals had taken place since 1960 (excluding removals within the homelands, those resulting from betterment planning, and those resulting from pass-law enforcement). The total of 3 500 000 included 'numerous instances' where a single individual had been moved two or even three or four times, the report said, and therefore reflected the number of removals that had taken place rather than the number of people moved. More than three quarters of the people moved were Africans, the remainder being mostly Indian and coloured people moved under the Group Areas Act (see chapter on Group Areas and Housing). More than 1 500 000 removals were still due to take place, the report said.

The SPP used the following categories in analysing removals:
(a) farm removals, among them removals due to the abolition of the labour tenancy system and of cash tenancy on white-owned farms in the 1960s and (in Natal) 1970's. Some farm workers were evicted because they were redundant to the needs of capitalist agriculture, while others moved because they were dissatisfied with conditions;
(b) clearance of 'black spots', which are properties outside areas designated for African occupation in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and subsequently earmarked for inclusion in the homelands;
(c) removals of badly situated tribal areas, carried out to consolidate homelands into more cohesive entities;
(d) urban relocation, involving the removal of African townships from prescribed areas to the homelands;

SURPLUS PEOPLE PROJECT
(e) removal of informal settlements in urban and peri-urban areas;
(f) removals due to the operation of influx control legislation, including the operation of the coloured labour preference policy in the western Cape;
(g) Group Areas Act removals;
(h) removals due to infrastructural development schemes (dams and roads) and conservation of agricultural projects (forestry and plantations);
(i) removal for strategic or military purposes;
(j) direct political removals; and
(k) removals due to the institution of betterment schemes.

Farm removals were the largest category, with a total of 1 129 000, and Group Areas Act removals the second, at 834 400. If clearance of black spots and badly situated areas and urban relocation were added as three categories directly related to the homeland policy, they would constitute the largest category of removals (outside of betterment planning). The greatest number of removals (1295400)
occurred in the Transvaal, followed by Natal (745 500), the Orange Free State (514 000), the eastern Cape (401 000), the northern Cape (150 000), and the western Cape (32 000).

Natal had the highest number of people under threat of removal (622 000), followed by the Transvaal (605 000), the eastern Cape (477 000), and the northern Cape (25 000).

The report said that the dominant trend had been removals from cities, towns, and farms in the 87% of land designated for white ownership and occupation in terms of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 to the 13% of land allocated for African occupation, now divided into ethnic homelands. Between 1960 and 1980 the proportion of the total African population living in the homelands rose from 39.5% to 54%. The SPP contended that the force applied in removing people was either direct (armed policemen, demolition of houses, and arrests) or indirect (intimidation, rumour, co-option of community leaders, and closure of shops and schools). Direct violence was less frequently used, largely because the government had become more sensitive to internal and international pressure. But the use of indirect and covert pressure had become increasingly sophisticated. The involuntary nature of removals remained. A secrecy clause of the Laws on Cooperation and Development Amendment Act of 1982 made it possible for information to be suppressed, the report alleged. Ms Laurine Platzky, national coordinator of the SPP, said that a variety of pressures, such as shortage of funds, could retard the removal process.

The SPP reported that conditions in relocation areas were very poor in the 1960s, when virtually no preparations were made in advance. Adverse publicity helped in pushing the government into improving conditions in areas like Dimbaza, where in 1967 there were temporary water and acute firewood shortages. By 1969 many people, mainly children, had died. Conditions improved after a film, Last Grave at Dimbaza, was screened. The government upgraded Dimbaza to the point where it was now 'almost a mandatory stop on official governmentsponsored tours' of the homelands. The SPP contended that living conditions were still poor although they could not all be regarded as equally bad. Moreover, people suffered material loss when they were moved from situations where they had agricultural land into situations where they did not. Lack of employment opportunities and sanitary living conditions, high levels of starvation and malnutrition, inadequate facilities, barren and infertile land, and lack of grazing and water resources characterised such areas. At one of the largest relocation areas, Onverwacht, established in 1979, sanitation in the form of a bucket system led to an outbreak of typhoid in 1980. By the end of 1981, when the population was in excess of 100 000, there was one clinic, one police station, one supermarket, and 19 schools operating a double-shift system for 20 000 students, the SPP said. Conditions were generally found to have been at their worst in the first few months after the establishment of relocation areas, when people struggled to cope with the trauma of their relocation, the unfamiliarity of their surroundings, and the task of building new homes with very limited cash resources. The farther away a
relocation site was from metropolitan areas, the worse its conditions were likely to be. Unemployment was found to be a very serious problem. It was worst in the eastern Cape, were most of the unemployed were out of work for over a year at a time. Many people struggled for food and basic needs such as fuel for cooking. They were always hungry and virtually lived on mealie meal. The settlements of Sahlumbe, Kammaskraal, Glenmore, and Sada were found to be worst off. The SPP found that there were households with no wage-earners at all in certain relocation areas. Some lived by selling beer or grass mats while others depended, partly or wholly, on pensions, which were R80 every two months. Most females were unemployed, while a significant number of men were migrant workers. Although migrant labour imposed severe disadvantages on family life, the SPP found that families in closer settlements who had migrant workers were economically privileged.

Facilities provided in closer settlements were still extremely basic and not always consistently supplied. The less accessible an area was to journalists and opposition pressure groups, the more likely it was that the government would claim that relocation areas were planned and developed before people were relocated, the SPP said. The process of being relocated emphasised the lack of personal control by Africans over their lives. The dominant mood had been one of passivity and helplessness in the face of enormous problems and hidden bureaucracy. Organised resistance had generally (though not always) been minimal, particularly in the isolated areas. Anger and frustration was sometimes turned against one's neighbours and newcomers with whom one competed for scarce resources. Opposition to removals played an important part in the past and would continue to do so in future, the SPP claimed. Although there had been a few temporary 'reprieves', there was no evidence to suggest a change in a policy that had been an intrinsic feature of apartheid. The SPP said that there was a greater emphasis on secrecy on the part of the government.11

Notes on removals in the various provinces

The following notes are based on the report of the Surplus People Project and on other sources:

Transvaal

According to the Surplus People Project (SPP) the following numbers of people have been removed to the six homelands in the Transvaal or face the threat of relocation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocated</th>
<th>Under threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>13 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>105 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>290 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSVAAL REMOVALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocated</th>
<th>Under threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>247 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>381 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>117 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 153 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These homelands are interlinked and in some cases their borders are undefined. As a result, people are sometimes confused about the homeland to which they officially belong. In the process of ethnic reorganisation, links forged over many years have been destroyed, the SPP report said.

Dr Koornhof said in parliament that there were 12 relocation areas accommodating 164 000 people in KwaNdebele. He claimed that 51500 people had moved voluntarily from various places and settled there in 1981 and 1982.

In February several 'illegal squatter families' living in Emzinoni, near Bethal, were 'repatriated' to Gemsbokspruit in KwaNdebele. Residents said that they were forced to leave their cattle at Allemansdrift. The families were provided with tin shacks and tents and told they had six months in which to build their own homes.

Attempts by the community of Driefontein, a 'black spot' 320km south-east of Johannesburg near Piet Retief, to resist removal to land due for incorporation into KaNgwane and KwaZulu had a tragic sequel when the leader of the villagers, Mr Saul Mkhize, was shot dead by a policeman during a protest meeting in Driefontein on 2 April. The community numbers about 5 000 people, made up of some 300 owners of small plots and their families, the remainder being share-croppers and their families. The land had been purchased by the Native Farmers' Association of Africa Limited in 1912 for sub-division into individual plots.

Despite repeated pleas to the government to be allowed to remain there, the villagers were told they would have to move, partly because their land was officially designated as a 'black spot', and partly because the government wished to build a new dam on the Assegaaai River. To be known as the Heyshope Dam, this was part of the proposed Usutu-Vaal River government water scheme. The dam was expected to cover a maximum of 30% of the Driefontein properties.

Shortly before he was shot dead, Mr Mkhize had written to the Prime Minister asking for his urgent intervention because repeated pleas to Dr Koornhof to reverse the decision had been ignored. Dr Koornhof's department had told the villagers that 'everyone of us has to make sacrifices in some way or other to further peace and prosperity in this beautiful country of ours. Although the government appreciates and respects your feelings, the relocation and resettlement of your people will have to be carried out in the interests of all concerned.' In a letter to Mr Mkhize on 26 October 1982, Dr Koornhof had said that the dam would flood some of the Driefontein properties and that 'it was a decision of parliament that the people of Driefontein must be settled elsewhere'. The letter concluded: 'Therefore only the terms under which the move will take place are negotiable. Your co-operation would be appreciated.' Mr Mkhize urged Mr Botha to arrange a meeting with Dr Koornhof and village leaders 'to sort out this entire matter and what we consider a completely unnecessary upheaval of these well-settled, welladjusted and happy communities'. The letter added: 'Dr Koornhof has been known to say: "There will be no forced removal of black people from black areas," and yet here we are, without any word of discussion, being told by his department that we will move, like it or not.' One of the purposes of the meeting at
TRANSVAAL REMOVALS

which Mr Mkhize was shot dead was to discuss a petition drawn up in response to a statement made to the villagers a fortnight earlier by one of Dr Koornhof's officials to the effect that the government had already decided on the removal and that there would be no further negotiations. The petition said this attitude was harmful to relations in SA and added: 'We and our families have lived at Driefontein for over 70 years. We cannot accept that the government can simply take away our land without even being prepared to discuss it.'

A few days after Mr Mkhize's death, the US state department, which has not often commented on removals, said: 'It appears Mr Mkhize was shot while organising a peaceful protest against the government plan to remove the community.' The statement added that SA's problems were not being 'constructively addressed by the arbitrary relocation of people on an ethnic basis'. The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, subsequently said the government 'deeply regretted' the shooting of Mr Mkhize. The police maintained that he had been shot while the policeman was defending himself and a colleague from a riotous mob, a claim which was immediately challenged by the Black Sash on the basis of eyewitness accounts of the incident. A young white policeman, Constable J A Nienaber, was subsequently charged with murder, to which he pleaded not guilty, the case being postponed until 28 February 1984.

The government made it clear after Mr Mkhize's death that the Driefontein removal would go ahead, but at the time of writing it had not taken place. The communities of Daggakraal and KwaNgema, which are near Driefontein, continued to oppose the removal planned for them. 'We will rather die than move,' Mr David Twala, spokesman for the Daggakraal Council of Twelve, said. Mr Twala said that a government official had told the council that Swazi-speaking people would be resettled in KaNgwane, Zulu-speakers in KwaZulu, and Sotho-speakers in QwaQwa. In October, KwaNgema residents refused to move. They said that the government was using the building of the Heyshope Dam on an adjoining farm as a pretext to move them. The chairman of the Ngema Committee, Mr Moses Ngema, said that residents had never been officially informed why they were to be moved. 'They should bring machine-guns if they want us to go,' he said. His committee met the dam's resident engineer, who reportedly assured them that they would not be adversely affected by it. 'We find it strange that we should not be told the truth about the situation. All we have are people who sneak into the village, paint numbers on our doors and vanish without explanation,' Mr Ngema said. The assistant director for rural resettlement of the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr Louis Pretorius, said that the proposed dam would serve Sasol, and that people would have to move. The numbering was a procedure used to determine how many shelters would be needed at the relocation site, he added.

Ngema, a large farm near Piet Retief, had been occupied by the Ngema tribe since 1904. The situation as complicated in that the former chairman of the tribal committee, Mr Gabriel Ngema, who was deposed by the tribe, was alleged to be co-operating with the authorities in the removal. The authorities told the tribe that their chief had agreed to move and that they should follow him. 17 The residents of Lochiel in the eastern Transvaal were
told in May that they would be moved to Eerstehoekdorp, KwaNdebele, to make way for families from Daggakraal and Driefontein. 18
Another community about whose planned removal there was public controversy was the Bakwena tribe at Mogopa, near Ventersdorp. The controversy was complicated by a dispute over the leadership of the tribe. In 1978, Mr Jacob More,

TRANSVAAL REMOVALS

a former policeman, had been elected a headman of the tribe. However, following complaints that he did not adhere to the 'democratic principles' of the tribe, he was deposed and Mr Shadrack More installed by the tribe in his place. The Ventersdorp magistrate, Mr P de Villiers, was informed of this but he called a meeting at which he refused to accept the decision and told the tribe that Mr Jacob More would continue to be their chief. The tribe refused to recognise Mr Jacob More, however. A commission of enquiry, whose findings were never made public, was held in January 1982 to investigate the tribe's affairs.

In February 1982 a 'resettlement meeting' was called at which Messrs de Villiers and Pretorius informed the tribe that they would be moved from Mogopa to Pachsdraai (near Zeerust), which was due for incorporation into Bophuthatswana. The tribesmen expressed their opposition. After this Mr Jacob More was alleged to be holding secret meetings with officials from Pretoria and Bophuthatswana. Numbers were painted on the walls of certain houses during that period, and on 24 June 1983 Mr Jacob More and about 180 families left for Pachsdraai. Their houses and village schools and churches were demolished, while the water pumps were taken away by Mr de Villiers. The bus service between Mogopa and Ventersdorp, 20km away, was withdrawn. From June until November the government demolition team camped next to the village. 19

On 18 November Mr de Villiers read an order issued by the State President in terms of section five of the Black Administration Act of 1927 which stated that the tribe should move to Pachsdraai within 10 days and never return. Those who did not move within ten days would be loaded on to lorries and moved. The tribe resolved that nobody would voluntarily board the trucks, which came every day after Mr de Villiers' announcement. An application to prevent the authorities from carrying out the order was turned down by the Pretoria Supreme Court. On the tenth day no one had moved. That evening about 300 people, among them Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, vice-president of the Transvaal United Democratic Front (UDF), the Rev Freemont Louw, head of the Methodist Church in SA, the Rev Francois Bill, moderator of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, the Rev Shun Govender, secretary of the Broederkring, and members of the Black Sash prayed in the rain as they waited for the removal to occur.211 The following morning the trucks arrived and no one was moved. It was reported that eventually some families decided to move to Bethanie, near Brits, to avoid confrontation with the authorities. Those who remained reaffirmed their opposition to relocation in a letter they wrote to the Minister of Co-operation and Development in
December. Sources close to the government indicated that the removal would take place as scheduled.

The tribe's legal advisers were told that in terms of the 1927 act, the State President was the paramount chief of all Africans and that he had the power to appoint chiefs while the Minister of Co-operation and Development also had the power to appoint and depose them.

A member of a delegation to Bophuthatswana's president, Chief Lucas Mangope, said that he had told them before the demolitions that there was nothing he could do. The villagers said that there had never been negotiations and they objected to the allegedly high-handed manner in which the government had dealt with them. They said that Pachsdraai was not comparable with Mogopa, which had fertile land, water resources, and a diamond mine. Moreover, most of the

**TRANSVAAL REMOVALS**

residents were elderly people who had improved their houses and it would be difficult for them to start a new life. Government officials admitted that the government had neither bought nor expropriated the land.21 A spokesman from Dr Koornhof's department said that the removal was part of the government's homeland consolidation plans and had already cost the government about R7m.22 The Black Sash accused Dr Koornhof of 'malicious distortion of the truth' when he claimed that the tribe was moving voluntarily to Pachsdraai, 'an attractive part of the Transvaal bushveld, with better facilities and more fertile than Mogopa', and that opposition resulted from a power struggle within the tribe. Dr Koornhof said that the aim of the removal was partly to resettle the tribe in an area with better living conditions and prospects and partly to bring the Tswana-speaking people together. The Black Sash said that if the government was concerned about improving the standard of living for the Mogopa people it could be improving what was already there instead of demolishing it. The Pachsdraai council under Mr Jacob More claimed that conditions were '95% better' at Pachsdraai than at Mogopa. The council said that people 'moved' from Mogopa because it was declared a 'black spot' and not because they wanted to be with other Tswanas. 23 Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand urged the government to stop the removals until a proposed appeal against the Pretoria Supreme Court decision had been heard. He said that the Black Administration Act was 'racist, arbitrary and inhuman'. The use of this act was interpreted by Mrs Ethel Walt, an executive member of the Black Sash, as the beginning of a 'new era' of forcibly removing Africans to homelands to justify their exclusion from the new constitution.24 The act was not the usual instrument for moving black communities, it was reported. At a rally in Soweto in December, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said that many whites had voted for the new constitution (see chapter on The New Constitution) 'because they mistook it as the beginning of reform' but that the Mogopa and other removals indicated that 'it is just not true that we are entering an era of reform in SA'.

The US government deplored the Mogopa relocation and said that it would not contribute to the dialogue among all South Africans on which the country's political progress depended.25 The Star bureau in Washington reported that the
Mogopa issue was having a 'disastrous effect' on SA’s image in the US. It pointed out that a senior official had personally expressed the Reagan Administration’s disapproval of the removal.\textsuperscript{26}

The Highveld Administration Board announced in September that the eastern Transvaal township of Leandra would be redeveloped and its 18 000 residents accommodated in a 320-bed hostel and 712 houses to be built there. The residents reportedly feared that people with no section ten rights would be sent to homelands. An action committee was formed to oppose the removal.

The communities of Rooigrond and Mathopestat continued to resist relocation to Bodibe (Lichtenburg) and Onderstepoort (Bophuthatswana) respectively (see 1982 Survey pp 458-459). Mr M J Mathope of Mathopestat said in February that police intimidation would not make them change their minds. In April Mr Simon Makodi of Rooigrond said that his community would seek court intervention if the Bophuthatswana government forced them to move. Members of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the Black Sash, and a group of church people visited Mathopestat and Onderstepoort in March. There were said to be no facilities at Onderstepoort except 4 000 new tin lavatories. The Black Sash said that it

**OFS REMOVALS**

seemed Onderstepoort would be very much larger than Mathopestat.\textsuperscript{27} At Badplaas in the eastern Transvaal, Chief Johannes Dhlamini said that his tribe of 3000 was fully behind him in opposing removal to Eerstehoek, Tjakastad, and Honingklip (KaNgwane) planned by the government for early 1984. There were reported fears of a lack of water in the Eerstehoek area.\textsuperscript{28} Chief Dhlamini was, however, reported to favour the incorporation of KaNgwane into Swaziland (see chapter on Homeland Affairs).

It was reported that emergency rations of soup and milk were served to thousands of children in resettlement areas. Mr J M Rabaji, a headmaster in Tsetse, 300km from Johannesburg, said that children used to collapse from hunger in the morning assembly and that others were found to be listless until the SA Institute of Race Relations’ Operation Hunger project began providing food in June 1981. Staff at the nearby clinic reported that the relief had done a lot to alleviate suffering. Food was also supplied at Rooigrond, where a survey revealed that 66% of males were unemployed and that barren soil and drought made it difficult for them to cultivate crops.\textsuperscript{29}

**Orange Free State**

In this area 514000 people were either evicted from or left white-owned farms because of insecurity and unacceptable labour practices, and relocated mostly in QwaQwa and Bophuthatswana. In 1977, when Bophuthatswana became 'independent', non-Tswanas were reportedly harassed by Tswanas at Thaba‘Nchu, Bophuthatswana. Onverwacht, now called Botshabelo, was established in 1979 to cater for such people and those evicted from farms. Since then 160 000 people were moved in. Botshabelo became the largest single relocation area. Conditions have not changed much since then, lack of employment opportunities still being a major problem.\textsuperscript{30} The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof,
stated in parliament that 140,000 people in Botshabelo had six doctors, one dentist, 38 community health workers, 800 taps, no hospital, and a sewerage system that was being developed. In June the Rev Dr Simon Gqubule of the Methodist Church claimed that Botshabelo had one telephone, no lights, and few qualified teachers. 

Officials of the Orange-Vaal Administration Board (OVAB) announced in October that Kgotsong township, near Bothaville, was being moved five kilometres away, and that residents were co-operating in their removal. The chairman of the local community council, Mr Daniel Kolobi, said that one of the reasons for removal was that a nearby white suburb was being developed and needed more land. Mr Jan Gouws, OVAB's senior housing officer in the area, said that residents stood to gain by moving to the new township, where there were watertaps in every yard and water-borne sewerage and electricity for those who could afford it. 

Northern Cape

The Surplus People Project (SPP) reported that large-scale removals took place in the northern Cape during the 1970s, thousands of people being relocated to Bophuthatswana. Resistance in most cases was easily and quickly repressed. Some of the most poverty stricken, dry, dusty, and isolated areas were to be found there. More than 150,000 people had been relocated, while 25,000 were still under threat of removal. The SPP said that if the 1975 homeland consolidation proposals were implemented, a new series of removals would take place. 

Western Cape

Nearly all the Africans in the western Cape have lost their South African citizenship, being regarded officially as 'citizens' of the Transkei or Ciskei. Also, Africans find it difficult to obtain permanent residence in the western Cape, because the government has designated it a coloured labour preference area. However, many Africans still qualify to be in the area in terms of influx control laws. The KTC (named after the nearby Kakaza Trading Company store),
Crossroads, Disa River (Hout Bay), Nyanga, and other ‘squatter’ camps have partly resulted from the government's unwillingness to build more houses for Africans in the Cape Peninsula. The chief liaison officer of the Western Cape Administration Board (WCAB), Mr Gert du Preez, said that there was a backlog of 6,000 houses. The 'squatter' camps reportedly contained both people who 'qualified' to be in the area and people who did not but who had fled from poverty and unemployment in the Transkei and Ciskei or who had sought to join their husbands in the urban areas. Relocation was sometimes carried out by deporting people under the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act. 39

As in past years, police continued to raid and demolish squatter camps and confiscate possessions in 1983. In January more than 200 people were made homeless when WCAB officials and police demolished their shacks. A member of the Crossroads Committee, Mrs Alexandria Luke, claimed that almost all those raided were registered legal residents of Crossroads and that most of the men were working in Cape Town. Mr A A Louw, WCAB chief director, confirmed that most of the homeless people were legal residents.41 In February 'illegal' shacks were demolished at the KTC camp, although the owners claimed that they were legal residents of Guguletu who were severely overcrowded there.41 A few days later 31 more shacks were demolished. However, within hours residents erected new ones, using plastic, corrugated iron, and tree branches. Mr Tim Bezuidenhoud, chief commissioner of the Department of Co-operation and Development for the western Cape, announced that 200 'legal' families would be allowed to stay. Within a week the camp saw an influx of more than 1,000 people from Guguletu who said that they were 'fed-up' with overcrowding. WCAB officials, accompanied by police and armoured personnel carriers, raided the camp and demolished the shacks (including the 200 which Mr Bezuidenhoud had said could remain). 42 Violence erupted, and police fired at least 14 teargas canisters.

In May five children from KTC, the most frequently raided camp, were admitted to hospital after medicines, food, clothes, nappies, and blankets had been confiscated. Mr Brian Bishop, regional chairman of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said that the 'squatters' had to use plastic refuse bags to protect children from the elements.43 'The treatment of human beings at KTC and elsewhere is neither Christian nor civilised,' Dr Alex Boraine (PFP) said in parliament.44 An American civil rights campaigner, Mr Bayard Rustin, said after visiting the area that he was shocked at living conditions at Crossroads and that he hoped the authorities would soon provide adequate housing and other vital services for the community (see chapter on Urban Africans).45

From April people arrested during raids were charged with illegal squatting, failure to produce reference books on demand, and illegal presence in the western Cape for more than 72 hours. In May 72 people—including six children aged between seven months and two years—were arrested at KTC. Some told the magistrate that they were starving and could not find work in the Transkei or Ciskei. Those who were found guilty were given suspended sentences ranging
from R20 to R70 on condition that they left the area. Dr George Morrison, Deputy Minister of Co-operation, stated at a National Party (NP) congress that Crossroads was a symbol of provocation and blackmail. He said that the government wanted to destroy it at all costs and retain the western Cape as a 'coloured labour preference area'. Mr Bezuidenhoud announced in June that an R18m development plan for New Crossroads, according to which 1 200 homes were to be built, had been scrapped. About 4 000 Crossroads residents were endorsed out of the western Cape in October. The Transkei foreign minister, Mr M Lujabe, said that his government had not been informed that they were to be repatriated to the Transkei. The Transkei had made it 'very clear' that it considered the 'squatters' to be South Africa's problem, he said.

While 32 000 people from the western Cape have been relocated over the past 20 years, 200 000-300 000 residents of Cape Town's three established African townships, Langa, Nyanga, and Guguletu, remained under threat of removal to Khayelitsha, 40 km from Cape Town (see chapter on Urban Africans). The township residents expressed opposition to the proposed removal in spite of assurances by Dr Morrison that it was a long-term project and would be carried out without compulsion. The Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) said that people should have the right to decide where they wanted to live and should be consulted before decisions which affected them were taken. Many residents had spent between R500 and R20 000 renovating their houses and they felt that it was unfair and unjust that they were to be moved. It was reported that in the meantime 112 'legal' families from KTC had been accommodated at Khayelitsha in ready-made aluminium huts. Access to the township was controlled, the single entrance being manned by administration board officials. The only shop was a mini-bus which arrived at midday with basic provisions and left in the early evening. Several residents said that they had been forbidden to sell groceries. The biggest complaint among the residents was the time it took them to travel to work. Men who finished work after eight in the evening slept away from their families in other townships and returned to Khayelitsha at the weekend.

EASTERN CAPE REMOVALS

Eastern Cape

About 477 000 people were currently under threat of removal in the eastern Cape, while more than 401 000 had been relocated since 1960, the report of the Surplus People Project said. The region had suffered from high unemployment, a lack of economic activity, high population density, and repressive homeland administrations. After an exposé of the situation there by Father Cosmas Desmond and others, conditions had improved in Dimbaza. About 200 000 people had moved from the Ciskei and the Transkei in search of a living before and after 'independence'. In May the Transkei authorities asked the government to stop moving people into the Transkei. 'We cannot absorb more people from South Africa while we have to somehow find work for our 200 000 jobless,' a Transkei cabinet minister said. The greatest number of recent removals had been from 'white' rural areas into the Ciskei.
The SPP report said that 8,000 people living at the Oxton 'transit camps' were to be moved to Dongwe (Whittlesea North). For some it would be their fourth move in a generation. Oxton, established in 1976, was reported to be a dusty, bare, and crowded area, the water supply being from a nearby stream and some boreholes. While the proposed relocation would be to a place with 'better' facilities, it would mean that people would have to pay rent. In June the Ciskei authorities allegedly refused to give the Mgwali community in the 'white' corridor between the Transkei and the Ciskei drought relief aid because they opposed their removal to Frankfort, 40 km away in the Ciskei (see 1982 Survey p 452). Only card-carrying members of the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) were allocated food supplements, it was claimed. Old people were told that they would lose their pensions if they resisted removal. The Mgwali Residents' Association (MRA) was barred from holding meetings to protest against the proposed removal. Five MRA members visited various urban areas in February seeking support among migrant workers. A petition was also organised. 'We will explore all legal avenues to remain where our roots are,' Mr W Fanti, the MRA chairman, said. In May, the Ciskei authorities stopped the removal of people from Duncan Village (East London) to Mdantsane (Ciskei) because of a shortage of houses in the latter township. However, the chief director of the Eastern Cape Administration Board (ECAB), Mr Louis Koch, said that 2,143 families from Duncan Village would be moved to Mdantsane in the future (see 1980 Survey p 451). The residents of Walmer township, near Port Elizabeth, claimed that they were living in uncertainty and fear because they did not know whether they would be moved or not, although they were determined to remain in Walmer. Mr Zukie Jemsana, a member of the Save Walmer Committee (SWC), said in September that 80% of the 6,000 residents would not be able to afford the rents in the proposed relocation area, Zwide (Port Elizabeth) (see 1981 Survey p 80). Mr Rupert Miskin, Bushman's River Mouth town clerk, announced that a new African township was being planned for people living at the Kenton-on-Sea emergency camp, which was too small for development. About 200 families in Red Location, the oldest African residential area near Port Elizabeth, were reported to be under threat of removal. Some residents indicated that they were not prepared to move to Motherwell, the proposed relocation area.'

NATAL REMOVALS

Natal

Natal had the highest number of people (622,000) under threat of removal, of whom 300,000 will be moved in terms of the government's plan for KwaZulu's consolidation. More than 745,000 had already been moved (see 1982 Survey p 454), most of them having been evicted from white-owned farms. In January, residents of Matiwane's Kop and Jonono's Kop (see 1982 Survey p 456) were informed that they would be issued with expropriation orders and their houses numbered for removal. The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, stated in parliament that 92,000 people living on the farms Matiwane's Kop, Lusitania, Umbulwane, and Driefontein (Natal) would be resettled in terms of consolidation plans for KwaZulu. Only the Matiwane's Kop
people had been consulted about the removal, he said, and had asked not to be moved.66 The residents said that the proposed relocation area, Ezakheni, was too far away, bus fares expensive, and rents very high.67 The Legal Resources Centre in Durban reported that the Director-General of Co-operation and Development had said that the government had dropped its plans to resettle people from Reserve Four (near Richards Bay) in Ntambanana, since the land available there was inadequate to accommodate the 20 000 people in question. An official of the centre said, however, that the area had already been deproclaimed and that the government appeared to be determined to resettle the inhabitants eventually.68 The then vice-chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, Mr N A Volker, MP, claimed in June that he had held discussions with representatives of the KwaZulu administration concerning the linkage of 'black spot' removals to industrial development in the Tugela basin. He said that he received considerable 'understanding and goodwill' from them. He added that KwaZulu would never officially agree to resettlement but it appeared that they would accept resettlement under certain conditions.69 The then KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, Dr Frank Mdlalose, had earlier stated that KwaZulu was 'totally opposed to consolidation and all removals'.70 In December Chief Buthelezi told a rally in Soweto that he was certain they condemned 'all removals and resettlements'.

The Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Dr George Morrison, said in September that Lamontville and Hambanathi were to be incorporated into KwaZulu. About 30 000 people would be affected. Dr Morrison said that Shakaville would not be moved and that a decision would be taken later on St Wendolin's, Klaarwater, and Chesterville.71 There are presently 14 townships and three emergency camps under threat of removal. As from 1 April 1960 proclamations 81 and 82 have demarcated residential areas for the different racial groups in Pietermaritzburg (see 1960 Survey p 155). As a result, Africans from Ockert's Kraal, Pentrich, Topham Road, New Scotland, Entendeni, and Msikweni were moved to the New Town 'temporary' camp near Pietermaritzburg. Brick or concrete structures were prohibited. It was reported in November that for the past 15 years 3 500 people (2388 according to government sources) had been living there without electricity and water supplies, roads, or postal and public transport services. Water is delivered to the camp by a tanker. The residents asked the government if they could buy the area so that they could develop it, but no reply was given. The assistant chief commissioner for the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr J C Potgieter, admitted that the roads were bad. He said that roads could not be constructed, because of severe drought. Out of desperation the residents contemplated joining KwaZulu.72

NATAL REMOVALS
In November about 300 people from Roosboom, which was declared a 'black spot' in 1975, were relocated at Compensation, 70 km from Pietermaritzburg. It was reported that the only clinic in the area was about five km away. The Natal chief commissioner for the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr Roy Blumrick, said that the people were moved because they were illegally squatting
on Indian-owned property and that the conditions in which they lived were of concern to the Department of Health and Welfare. They were offered free transport to any place where they could obtain legal accommodation. They accepted relocation at Compensation, he claimed.73

References

AFRICAN REMOVALS

HOMELAND AFFAIRS
Political Initiatives
During the year, a number of ‘unity talks’ initiated by the leaders of various homelands were held with the aim of promoting the concept of a SA federation and blocking Pretoria's proposed confederation of SA 'states'. Between November
1982 and July 1983, 11 such meetings took place. President Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei initiated the process in a letter delivered to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (Chief Minister of KwaZulu) seeking his support for the establishment of a federation. Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, wrote a similar letter to Chief Buthelezi and the two leaders met in Durban in December 1982.

Discussions between KwaZulu and Transkeian delegations on black unity and federation took place in the Transkei in December, the KwaZulu delegation stating that any constitutional structure that was formed would have to be non-racial and non-ethnic. At President Matanzima's urgent request, he and Chief Buthelezi met in Tongaat on 19 January, their first meeting since 1975. They committed themselves to a non-racial, non-ethnic and democratic federal concept and agreed on the need to involve more homeland administrations and other organisations in the initiative.

In February, delegations from Transkei, Lebowa and KwaZulu met and considered a draft statement of intent. Transkei and KwaZulu reported on other contacts made since the Tongaat meeting. A meeting in March in Pietersburg, convened by Dr Phatudi, was accordingly attended not only by delegates from Lebowa, KwaZulu, and Transkei but also by representatives from KaNgwane, Gazankulu, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), the Urban Councils Association of SA (UCASA), and the Reform Party of SA. They discussed a possible federal parliament and unanimously rejected any government proposals excluding Africans from the constitutional process. A further meeting was hosted by KaNgwane in Secunda in April, QwaQwa joining the initiative for the first time. However, President Matanzima's proposal of a federation of black states and urban Africans against the whites, Indians and coloureds in SA was rejected by Lebowa, KwaZulu and KaNgwane. Dr Phatudi said it was another form of apartheid; Chief Buthelezi called it 'racial politics'; and Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Executive Councillor of KaNgwane, said he was committed to a system of one-man-one-vote in a unitary SA state.

A meeting hosted by NAFCOC, in May, was attended for the first time by

HOMELAND POLITICAL INITIATIVES

KwaNdebele representatives and the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of SA (IDAMASA) in addition to all the other previous participants. The Transkei delegation reported that it had made repeated unsuccessful approaches to the presidents of Bophuthatswana and Venda for their support. The Ciskei authorities had said they were not interested in joining, so the meeting decided that other interested Ciskei groups should be encouraged to do so. The meeting suggested the name 'Federal Union of SA' (FUSA) for the proposed federation. It also decided that a convention of leaders should be held as soon as possible in order to 'forestall the machinations of the enemies of black unity' but that it would be risky to hold such a convention before a majority of the 'independent' states had joined the talks. Without them, Pretoria would still be free to establish a confederation in opposition to the Federal Union. It was decided that a preliminary private meeting of leaders should first be held.'
In July, the leaders of Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Transkei met at Kempton Park and signed a Declaration of Intent calling for a 'greater SA in which land and wealth shall be redistributed equitably' and for the 're-unification of those whom apartheid divides'. The declaration committed the signatories to 'work ceaselessly for the establishment of a greater SA based on non-racialism and democracy' and for black unity. It also stated that in the event of their opting for a constitutional arrangement, they would structure it on a regional, non-racial and non-ethnic basis. The signatories decided to enlist the support of 'free Africa', the OAU and the frontline states for their initiative.4

Chief Buthelezi subsequently addressed the Lebowa Legislative Assembly, the first black leader from outside Lebowa to do so.'

In August Chief Buthelezi, during the course of a visit to Lesotho at the invitation of that country's government to be briefed on its complaints about 'destabilisation' by SA, gave his hosts a report on these initiatives to block further progress by Pretoria towards confederation. Chief Buthelezi warned the Lesotho foreign minister, Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana, that Pretoria would try to reduce Lesotho and other black African states in southern Africa to the status of its own 'independent' homelands in the hopes of levering them all into its confederation scheme. He said that to block Pretoria's confederation/constellation plans, cooperation between 'black SA' and 'free states in southern Africa' would be important, as well as the inclusion of the African National Congress (ANC). Chief Buthelezi also briefed the Lesotho government on relations between his Inkatha movement and the external mission of the ANC. The Lesotho government, which recognises both organisations, was possibly to attempt a reconciliation.6

On 5 October, the leaders of the six homelands involved in the unity talks, as well as representatives of NAFCOC, IDAMASA and UCASA, signed a joint statement in Johannesburg rejecting the government's proposed new constitution for South Africa, which they called the embodiment of the 'narrow Afrikander ideology of white baasskap' and a design to polarise SA racially. They rejected the alternative constitutional future offered to Africans in separate homelands, and pledged themselves to work for the holding of a national convention to formulate anew constitution for an open, democratic society. President Matanzima was to continue his attempts to involve President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Chief Buthelezi pressed for a mass meeting in Soweto to secure popular endorsement of the July declaration of intent.7

In a policy speech to the KwaZulu legislative assembly in October, Chief Buthelezi referred to problems with the initiative. President Matanzima had seen no objection to a mass meeting in Soweto,

**HOMELAND POLITICAL INITIATIVES**

but had said that as a head of state he could not himself attend. However, Chief Buthelezi said he did not see how he could persuade people at such a meeting to accept that there were other leaders who had joined him if they 'cannot stand with us in front of the people.' Further explaining why his reaction to Dr Phatudi's and President Matanzima's initiative, though enthusiastic, was cautious, Chief Buthelezi said that to form a confederation of states out of the 'independent' and
nonindependent homelands would be unacceptable to black South Africa. The challenge was to achieve 'one South Africa'. Moreover, 'there is only one future in South Africa, and that is a black/white future,' he said. Chief Buthelezi also said that he was uneasy about forming another organisation as opposed to simply a forum. To do so would be to sweep the South African Black Alliance (SABA) under the carpet, which would be tantamount to telling the Indians and coloured people that they were redundant. At a meeting in October in Richards Bay (see chapter on Political Organisations) SABA stressed that the aim of the unity initiative should be to make it impossible for the Prime Minister to form a confederation of states. For blacks to establish a new political grouping without involving all the leaders of the 'so-called independent homelands' would be ineffective in achieving this aim. SABA said it would participate in informal unity talks, but it resolved not to join any new grouping until all the leaders of such homelands had done so.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, said that moves to form a federation reflected the political reality that the SA fiscal or economic system could not be divided, as it was totally inter-related and inter-dependent. The labour-supplying homelands would inevitably experience the deep contradictions between political 'independence' and economic dependence. Confederal arrangements did not imply shared decision-making except on a voluntary basis, and African people were opposed to them.8

President Sebe of the Ciskei said that the future of SA, Ciskei and other 'states' lay in confederation. The vice-president, the Rev W M Xaba, attacked those who suggested a federation of states, asking who would finance a federal government and what would be the status of 'independent' and non-independent 'states' in a federation.9 A Ciskei memorandum referred to the Inaugural MultiLateral Meeting of the Development Council of Ministers in Pretoria on 30 May and the establishment of the SA Development Bank as milestones in the establishment of the confederal principle for southern Africa. The Ciskei, it said, had sought to tie its 'sovereign independence to the pillar of confederal association' and was firmly committed to the concept thereof. The benefits of the policy were already evident.10 The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, stated that the creation of a SA confederation would require a sustained effort, and that the first priority was practical forms of co-operation. Since the 'summit' meeting in November 1982 between Pretoria and ministers of the 'independent' homelands, II meetings of the multilateral economic and finance committee and its technical subcommittees had taken place, he said. The creation of more formal confederal structures could not be forced, but should flow naturally from informal co-operation. I I

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in parliament that the government would not block attempts by 'independent' black 'states' to establish a federation, which would not affect the government's decentralisation programme or the proposed confederation of states. 12

HOMELAND FINANCING
Homeland Financing

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education, told the Gazankulu National Assembly that SA had already spent R8 487m on developing the ten homelands. 3 Die Afrikaner reported that a senior state official had claimed that financial aid to the homelands was far more than official sources revealed. 14

Non-independent homelands

In the 1983/84 SA budget estimates, the following amounts were allocated for 'development of black areas towards self-determination' in the vote of the Department of Co-operation and Development:

Consolidation of Black Areas
Administration Grant-in-aid to SADT* for purchase of land Settlement

Less: Estimated funds from homeland sources
1983/84
(R)
991 000 141 837 000
20 000 000 (2 000 000)
Total 160 828 000 76 247 000
Development towards self-determination 1983/84 1982/83 (R) (R)
Planning and administration 6 316 000 4 095 000
Grant-in-aid to SADT* for land planning and conservation 4
785 000 4 250 000
Settlement of population 80 853 000 68 224 000
Employment creation and income generation 69 036 000 62 250 000 Human development 4 192 000 3 778 000
Social services 32 890 000 25 950 000
Government planning and administration 9 867 000 8 700 000
Physical infrastructure 16 000 000 13 000 000
Less: Estimated funds from homeland sources (9 000 000) (8 800 000)
Total 214 939 000 181 447 000
Grand Total 375 767 000 257 694 000

* SA Development Trust

The 1983/84 vote also allocated R839 000 for the issuing of citizenship certificates to Africans and R217 000 for stipends, bonuses, presents and rations for tribal authorities for their services.

The government also made provision for the following expenditure on assistance to the non-independent homelands of which the statutory portion formed a direct charge on the State Revenue Fund.

1982/83
(R)
1 547 000 64 000 000 12 700 000 (2 000 000)

HOMELAND FINANCING

Gazankulu KaNgwane KwaNdebele KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa
-roe ieCLtIU

Statutory grant
20 058 000
7 089 000 9 520 000 115 304 000 52 745 000
2 262 000
Additional amount
(R)
74 412 000
32 893 000 17 593 000 269 696 000 145 605 000 28 904 000
Total
1983/84 (including allocation for administrative and technical assistance)
(R)
98 909 900 42 301 700
28 716 200 404 544 100 206 463 400 32 911 700 14 000 000
Total
1982/83
(including additional amounts in the supplementary estimates)
(R)
78 119 000 37 940 000 24 615 000 356 691 000 172 906 000 26 084 000 12 100 000
Total 206 978 000 569 103 000 827 847 000 708 455 000
A further R20 250 000 for the non-independent homelands was provided for in the supplementary estimates.

'Independent' homelands
In the vote in the estimates of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, the following allocations were made for 'independent' homelands:

Development Assistance
Secondment of personnel Budgetary, technical and other assistance Stimulation of industries Technical and other assistance Flour subsidy Contribution to the Economic Co-operation Promotion Load Fund
1983/84
(R)
33 806 000 354 153 000 15 000 000 7 000 000 26 000 000
70 000 000
Total 505 959 000 432 800 000

Amounts forming a direct charge on the State Revenue Fund 1983/84 1982/83
(R) (R)
Amount payable to the government of Ciskei 120 000 000 75 000 000
Amount payable to the government of Venda (included under 'Development Assistance' above) 45 000 000
Salaries and allowances of judges 600 000 400 000
Total 120 600 000 120400000
Grand Total 626 559 000 553 200 000
1982/83
(R)
29 100 000 312 500 000
9 600 000 15 000 000
66 600 000

HOMELAND CITIZENSHIP
The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information said that other government departments were involved in direct spending in the 'independent' homelands, but that only the expenditure of his department could be furnished. Additional amounts were made available to the 'independent' homelands in the following grants-in-aid to the SA Development Trust (SADT) in the vote of the Department of Co-operation and Development:
(R)
Subsidy of commuters’ fares between homeland townships and 'white' urban areas 1 500 000
Purchase of properties in 'independent states' 13 000 000
Development in 'independent states' (for townships and infrastructure) 47 800 000
Transport system: Mabopane 2 200 000
Less: Estimated funds from homeland sources (100 000)
Total R64 400 000

It was reported that the 'independent' homelands would raise R56m in loans on the SA capital market between 30 June 1983 and 30 June 1984. During 1982/83 the following amounts were paid by SA to the 'independent' homelands in terms of customs union agreements:
(R)
Transkei 98 078 000
Bophuthatswana 182 367 000
Venda 13 882 000
Ciskei 46 882 000

The Ciskei government said it was distressed by the attitude displayed towards it as a member of the common customs union by Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (BLS countries). It believed that all the member 'states' of the Southern African Customs Union should be given equal status and recognition. The BLS countries refuse to agree to the 'independent homelands' joining the union. The SA government refused to accept BLS proposals aimed at removing the two-year delay in payment of their shares of customs revenue.

Citizenship and Related Matters
Bophuthatswana and Transkei approached Pretoria about opening negotiations on citizenship. Mr Pik Botha said the approaches were of an exploratory nature and refused to furnish details. In terms of the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, No 26 of 1970, 4 304 'citizens' of 'independent black states' have become SA citizens again by becoming 'citizens' of the following non-independent homelands: Ciskei (while non-independent) 2 104; KwaZulu, 1 097; QwaQwa, 1065; Lebowa, 15; and Gazankulu, 23. Formerly they were 'citizens' of the
following homelands: Transkei, 3,735; Bophuthatswana, 541; Venda, 14; Ciskei, 14.21 In 1982, 1,020 'citizens' of Transkei, 247 of Bophuthatswana and six of Venda regained their SA citizenship. No applications in 1982 were refused, according to Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

ms M

HOMELAND CITIZENSHIP

Dr Koornhof said that statistics of unemployed 'citizens' of homelands living in SA were not maintained since a 'citizen' of a homeland could leave that 'state' for the purpose of employment in SA only if he had been recruited or requisitioned in the homeland and had a valid reference book and contract of service attested in the homeland.

Since the 'independence' of the Ciskei, 350 Ciskei 'citizens' have applied for and been granted SA travel documents. The Transkei Minister of the Interior said that there were few applications for Transkei identity documents, despite the forthcoming general election in 1986. It was reported that Ciskei-born children of Transkeian parents were having extreme difficulty finding employment in Ciskei as they had no Ciskei citizenship cards. The Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM) called for common citizenship for all race groups.

In a treason trial in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in September, Mr Justice Page ruled that one of the accused, although convicted of being an ANC member and participating in 'terrorist' activities against SA, could not be found guilty of high treason because as a 'citizen' of the Ciskei, lie did not owe his allegiance to SA. He was instead found guilty of terrorism.

In a speech marking Human Rights Day on 10 December Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand referred to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which had been adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948. Although SA had abstained from voting and was therefore not legally bound by the declaration, Professor Dugard said that many of its provisions had now become part of customary international law. Article 15 of the declaration provided that 'no-one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality.' Professor Dugard said that the declaration's concern with this issue had been prompted by the withdrawal of Russian nationality from some two million political dissidents by the Stalin regime in the 1920s and by the termination of the German nationality of all German Jews by Nazi decree in 1941. He said that the denationalisation of Africans that accompanied homeland 'independence' should be viewed against this background. Eight million black South Africans had been denationalised when Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei became 'independent'.

Representation of the homelands in 'white' areas

The Minister of Foreign Affairs confirmed that Venda had asked to open a consultate-general in Pietersburg. Discussions were taking place. The MP for Pietersburg objected to Venda consular officials' settling in a white residential area and said contact with Venda could be handled efficiently through its embassy.
in Pretoria and through the representative councils at Louis Trichardt and Messina.28
Transkei has consular representation in East London, Bophuthatswana has consulates in Potchefstroom, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Vryburg and Tembisa, and the Ciskei has a consulate in Cape Town as well as consuls-general in five main cities. Venda has none. SA has embassies in all four 'independent' homelands.29
The report of the Department of Co-operation and Development for 1981/82 said that an essential element in the development of the 'national states' towards self determination was the strengthening of ties between these 'states' and their 'citizens' who lived in the 'white' areas of SA. In line with this policy, 175 rep-

HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION
representative councils of the homelands have been established in the 'white' urban areas. Land
Dr Koornhof gave lands:3"
these details in March concerning the land area of the home-
KwaZulu Lebowa KaNgwane
Bophuthatswana Transkei QwaQwa Gazankulu KwaNdebele Ciskei Venda
LandArea (hectares)
3 100 000 2 200 000
372 000
4 000 073 4 200 000
48 000
675 000
92 000
650 000 687 000
Falling within
7 500 mm rainfall curve (hectares)
2 604 000 154 000 308 760
nil
3 024 000 48 000
222 750
nil
97 500 171 875
Suitable for mechanised agriculture (hectares)
527 000
140 000 44 000
450 000
1 452 000 9 200
44 500 23 700 75 500 65 000
Suitable for other forms of agriculture (hectares)
2 418 000 1 950 000 309 000
3 800 000 2 538 000 35 800
596 500
63 300
The total area of the Republic including the homelands is 122,104,200ha while the total area of the homelands is 16,024,573ha. Dr Koornhof gave the following statistics concerning the total area of land which had been acquired and was still to be acquired in each province in terms of the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, as at 31 December 1982:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Acquired as at 31 December 1982</th>
<th>Acquired during 1982</th>
<th>Still to be acquired as at 31 December 1982</th>
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<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>2,945,650ha</td>
<td>106,213ha</td>
<td>2,548ha</td>
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<td>Natal OFS</td>
<td>463,395ha</td>
<td>7,570ha</td>
<td>55,858ha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>105,700ha</td>
<td>123,284ha</td>
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<td>1403,153ha</td>
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The total cost of these purchases was R682m. Dr Koornhof estimated that 740,000ha of land (quota and non-quota) were being held by the SADT.3 Dr Koornhof said that the final report of the Commission for Co-operation and Development in connection with the consolidation of the homelands was still being considered by the cabinet and could not be made public.32 It was anticipated that land still to be bought in terms of the 1973 and 1975 consolidation proposals would be finalised during 1983/84, subject to the availability of funds. The government's policy was not to exceed the 1936 land quota unnecessarily. However, if essential for the achievement of the government's aims, this would not apply.1 Dr Koornhof said that R173m had been allocated for the consolidation of the ten homelands in the 1983/84 financial year. An additional amount of R2m was available, generated by the SADT. Of the total of R175m, R20m would be used for 'resettle-

LAND DISPUTES

ment actions', R13m for the 'acquisition of township properties' in 'independent' homelands, and the balance on land purchases.34

Mr Hennie van der Walt, former Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, said that officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development (CAD) were not co-operating with the commission because they 'hated' it.35 He gave evidence on the strained relations between the two agencies to a parliamentary select committee investigating his involvement in casino rights in KaNgwane and KwaNdebele (see chapter on Homeland Development).

Two acts concerning homeland consolidation were passed during the year. The Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Act, No 25 of 1983, made provision for ceding additional land to the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.
The act amended the 1975 consolidation proposals. Kutama and Sinthumule, originally to be excised from Venda, remained as part of it. The 26 000 to 30 000 people there had been under threat of removal to trust farms west of Vuwani-2, and the act represented a 'reprieve'. The Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs said that since the plans for the excision of the areas had been drawn up, their populations had increased greatly and removal of the people would be too costly. The land of 2 500 coloured landowners in the Stockenström area, many of whom had title deeds to it, became part of the Ciskei. The Deputy Minister said that they would be compensated and could buy land elsewhere or in recognised coloured rural areas.36 The official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), opposed the bill on the grounds that it was a further part of the process of fragmenting SA in terms of the ideology of separate development.

The Borders of Particular States Extension Second Amendment Act, No 109 of 1983, incorporated the town of Thaba'Nchu into Bophuthatswana with effect from 1 October. The white residential area of Thaba'Nchu was also incorporated, after 87% of its white inhabitants agreed to this in a referendum. The PFP supported the bill as it involved no removals or loss of citizenship. The Conservative Party opposed it on the grounds that the 1936 land quotas for the homelands were being exceeded.37

KwaNdebele Consolidation and the Moutse district dispute

KwaNdebele, which acquired self-governing status in 1981, would acquire 'independence' in early December 1984, Dr Koornhof said.38 New consolidation plans for the homeland were announced on 19 February 1983. They would increase KwaNdebele's size from 98 000 ha to 341 000 ha (as against the 103 000 ha envisaged in the 1975 proposals).39

The plans proposed the addition of 11 Nebo farms between Groblersdal and Mapoch which are already owned by the SADT (25 000ha); 150 000ha from the Moloto region; Moutse one, two and three (63 000ha); part of the Ekandustria growth point and the Ekangala residential area; and 1 000ha around the Nyabela Statue within 'white' SA still to be acquired by the state, as a 'festival' area for KwaNdebele.40 Consolidation costs were estimated at between R150m and R200m.41

The preliminary proposals were opposed by organised agriculture in the area. The 300 white farmers affected voiced their grievances through their agricultural unions. Their criticisms were that they had been overlooked in the planning, that they would receive inadequate compensation, that the value of farms bordering KwaNdebele would drop, and that the catchment area of the Rust de

LAND DISPUTES

Winter dam would fall in KwaNdebele. However, many farmers said the move would save them from impending financial ruin caused by the drought.42 The government revised its plans in May and July, as a result of which the farmers appeared to be satisfied. The new plan moved the south-western boundary of KwaNdebele further from Pretoria. The main road from Groblersdal to Pretoria was included in KwaNdebele and farmers expressed concern about the security aspect of travelling through an African-controlled territory. The new plan
increases KwaNdebele's size to approximately 350 000ha. It was approved by a parliamentary select committee on 25 August.

Mr Simon Skosana, Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, expressed concern that certain fertile farms had been excluded. He said that negotiations with the central government were still continuing.

The proposed transfer of Moutse and the Nebo farms to KwaNdebele was disputed by the people of Moutse and by the Lebowa administration. Mrs Helen Suzman of the PFP said that the transfer was inconsistent with the government's professed concern with ethnicity as Moutse was a predominantly Sotho-speaking region, although a sizeable minority of Ndebele people lived there. The transfer 'smacked of a reward system for those states which accept independence', Mrs Suzman said. Moutse was originally excised from Lebowa in 1980 and placed under the control of CAD, but it continued to have four representatives in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. According to Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Koornhof had promised that Moutse would never become part of KwaNdebele.

When Dr Koornhof visited Moutse in 1981, he was met by a hostile crowd, which said that a KwaNdebele take-over would precipitate bloodshed. In April 1983, Dr Koornhof met a 40-strong delegation from Lebowa to discuss Lebowa's opposition to the transfer of Moutse and the Nebo farms to KwaNdebele. He agreed to delay it until further talks. Dr Phatudi said that Ndebele residents of Moutse wished to remain as part of Lebowa and that the Nebo farms should be given to Lebowa as originally planned. In May, Dr Phatudi held a meeting in Dennilton (in Moutse) attended by 3 000 people. Chief T G Mathebe of Moutse told the gathering that Mr Skosana had told him that the Moutse people were now his subjects. Dr Phatudi said the government was attempting to promote a rift between the Sotho and Ndebele people in Moutse.

When Dr Koornhof announced that the consolidation proposals would be finalised by the end of July, Dr Phatudi instructed his lawyers to contest the 1980 excision. Talks were held on 2 August between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and Dr Phatudi, with Dr Koornhof present. A moratorium on the transfer of Moutse to KwaNdebele was agreed to until further talks. Dr Phatudi suspended his plans to take the government to court.

The second session of parliament passed the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act, No 112 of 1983. The legislation excised Moutse from Lebowa, making it impossible to contest the excision through the courts. Clause 16, which applies retroactively to 1980, removes the Moutse Regional Authority from the scheduled area of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly (and repeals the original excision proclamation of 1980). Clause 17 terminates the representation of the inhabitants of Moutse in the Lebowa Assembly. Clause 18 deletes references to the Moutse area in the schedule to the Lebowa Constitution Proclamation. If Moutse is ceded to KwaNdebele, it appears that some 100 000 people of Moutse will lose their SA citizenship, or be forced to move to compensatory land.

LAND DISPUTES
in the Immerpan area near Zebediela, 80km away and further from Pretoria and Middelburg, where many are employed. Dr Phatudi, his cabinet, and Moutse MPs met the Prime Minister and Dr Koornhof on 18 November. The Prime Minister declared that the people of Moutse would not be moved and that the government wished to withdraw from the dispute as it was only a 'third party'. The dispute, he said, should be sorted out between the administrations of Lebowa and KwaNdebele, but the government would be prepared to provide a neutral mediator.

The Rumpif Commissions and the SwaziLand Deal
Following a court ruling that Pretoria's excision of Ingwavuma from KwaZulu was illegal (see 1982 Survey pp 375-379), a commission was set up in December 1982 under former Chief Justice F L Rumpff 'to investigate and report on and make recommendations in regard to the conflicting claims between the Kingdom of Swaziland and KwaZulu concerning the district of Ingwavuma and, taking into consideration the interests of the inhabitants of the Ingwavuma area, consider the desirability or otherwise of making border adjustments between SA and Swaziland'.51 In May, Mr Justice Rumpff was also commissioned to investigate and make recommendations in regard to the desirability or otherwise of incorporating KaNgwane into Swaziland.52 Although also chaired by Mr Justice Rumpff and made up of the same five other SA representatives, the commission on KaNgwane is independent of the commission on Ingwavuma and has its own terms of reference53.

During the no-confidence debate in parliament, both the PFP and the New Republic Party (NRP) criticised the government's handling of the land deal in 1982. Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, said it illustrated the arrogance and callousness of the government, contradicted its own declared policy of homeland development, and revealed its determination that Africans would never become SA citizens. The government saw the land transfer as an opportunity 'to get rid of as many blacks as possible as quickly as possible', Dr Slabbert alleged.4

The KaNgwane administration nominated Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr George Botha, immediate past Commissioner-General of KaNgwane, to the commission. The SA government vetoed the nominations. Prof Dugard said this action must affect the standing and credibility of the commission as the government could veto KaNgwane's nominees while denying KaNgwane the right to veto its nominees.55

In March, Prince Bhekimp Dlamnin, who had campaigned for the cession of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma since the early 1960s, became Prime Minister of Swaziland. His predecessor, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, had feared the consequences of incorporating thousands of new citizens into Swaziland. In July, Prince Bhekimp launched a campaign to politicise Swazi schoolchildren by sending delegations to schools to explain what were the historical 'facts' of the border adjustments. Mr Enos Mabuza, chief executive councillor of KaNgwane, said his people were opposed to incorporation in Swaziland and that Swaziland, with its high rate of unemployment, did not have the resources for extra citizens.
In May, the Council of Swazi Chiefs of SA (established in the late 1960s) submitted a petition for the 'unification of Swazis of SA and those of the Kingdom of Swaziland' to the government of SA and to opposition MPs. It was signed by Chief J N Dlamini and the 27 headmen and indunas under him. The document claimed a close relationship between all Swazis, and set out the historical claims of Swaziland to both KaNgwane and Ingwavuma. It claimed that Mr Mabuza's Inyandza National Movement, which was resisting incorporation, was composed mainly of non-Swazis, while the opposition Inyatsiya ya Mswati movement of KaNgwane, formed by Chief Dlamini out of Swazi loyalists and traditionalists, was pro-incorporation. The petition contended that conditions in Swaziland were superior to those for Swazis in SA and that Swazis were SA citizens by accident of history and not by choice. Chief Dlamini brought an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court in July to declare the third session of the KaNgwane Legislative Assembly null and void. The application was postponed indefinitely so that papers could be served on the 41 respondents, who included Mr Mabuza and the SA government.

In May, Dr Koornhof announced that the Rumpff Commission had not yet met as it was still busy with preparatory documentation. The commission would ask for memoranda and then for oral evidence to be led, he said. At a press conference in June, Dr Koornhof said the commission might report in October, but Mr Justice Rumpff said it was not known when it would give its final report. The Rumpff Commission on Ingwavuma met in Pretoria for the first time on 8 September. Mr Justice Rumpff said at the meeting that it could take months before any evidence was led. The commission had decided that it was not concerned with the government’s consolidation plans for Natal and that its findings would not affect them.

Borders between 'white' areas and the Homelands

The Minister of Community Development said in parliament that it was government policy to fence the 'international boundaries' between 'white' SA and the 'independent black states' in collaboration with these states. Fences may be erected by either Pretoria or the governments of the 'states'. Priority areas had been identified for the erection of border fences and negotiations were continuing. Agreement had been reached on certain priority areas. In Venda they were the total northern border of Venda (24km); some of the western and north western borders (35km); and the area of the Levubu irrigation scheme (24km). In Bophuthatswana, 21km of the border in the vicinity of Thaba'Nchu would be fenced. The Seringveld Farmers' Association called for an 'international' fenced boundary and adequate border posts, in addition to a military zone, between border farms and consolidated KwaNdebele.

Developments in Individual Homelands
Bophuthatswana
The president of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, rejected the SA government’s constellation of states concept, favouring instead closer economic co-

BOPHUTHATSWANA POLITICS
operation. Bophuthatswana would always be willing to rejoin SA as part of a federation, but only if SA became truly non-racial, he said.6

The Wiechers Commission, a ten-man inquiry into local government and the political structure of Bophuthatswana, reported that people there were frustrated by the lack of development and delays in getting action from officialdom after 'independence'. Administration in post-'independence' Bophuthatswana had not fulfilled their hopes. President Mangope said this resulted from the lack of skilled people and experienced magistrates, and corruption in tribal areas. The report recommended greater decentralisation of power and administration as well as more concentration on the development of local communities. President Mangope said his department was investigating the report, but its implementation would be limited by shortages of manpower and finance .65

President Mangope has halved the number of seats allotted to traditional leaders (see 1982 Survey p 381) and has said he will eliminate all nominated chiefs and headmen in Bophuthatswana's national assembly. He argues that for 'truly democratic government', chiefs must stand for election .66

President Mangope was invited to meet the SA cabinet committee appointed to examine rban African affairs.67
In June, several Bophuthatswana cabinet ministers were barred from entering Belgium. Special entry visas were, however, granted to a group of pupils from the homeland attending an athletics meeting. A Belgian foreign ministry spokesman said that his government did not recognise Bophuthatswana as an independent nation. The visas did not imply de facto recognition.68

A law commission continued to investigate the legislation inherited by Bophuthatswana from SA with a view to abolishing or rewriting laws which abrogated human rights. After examining 620 SA laws, Professor F Venter of Potchefstroom University recommended the repeal of more than 400, many of which he considered to be racist. A professor of law at the University of Bophuthatswana, Professor Carmen Nathan, was confident that the SA Matrimonial Property Bill, under which women married in community of property became legal minors, would be repugnant to the Bophuthatswana bill of rights because it discriminated against women. The ombudsman's office in Mafikeng, established to complement the bill of rights, produced its first report after two years of operation, during which time it had investigated various complaints by the public about the allocation of state farmland, delays in obtaining documents, pensions, and licences, and other matters.

Towards the end of November the SA and Bophuthatswana governments signed an agreement about the broadcasting of Bophuthatswana Television ('Bop-TV') outside the homeland's borders. As Bophuthatswana is not recognised internationally, it relies on Pretoria for the allocation of airwaves. Inter alia, the
agreement bound both governments not to broadcast material that might 'inflame public opinion'. Shortly before Bop-TV was due to open its service at the end of the year, the SA Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) warned that continued 'spill-over' of Bop-TV reception from urban black townships to white suburbs could not be taken for granted. While Bop-TV was permitted to broadcast to Bophuthatswana 'citizens' outside homeland's borders, the SABC was widely believed to fear that white viewers who found SABC programmes boring would also tune in to the Bop-TV channel.

BOPHUTHATSWANA LAND AND SECURITY

Land
In 1982, 200,000ha of land were added to Bophuthatswana. The Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Act (see above) made provision for further additions. Consolidation plans announced in 1983 earmarked an additional 262,000ha in 14 border areas of white and black land for incorporation, subject to further negotiation. Most areas were intended for white resettlement in the 1975 consolidation proposals. The 1983 proposals consolidate Bophuthatswana into six pieces instead of the original seven. The plans include 240,000ha in the Marico Corridor, Braklaagte and Leeufontein, Thaba Nchu and 14,600ha bordering it, two farms bordering KwaNdebele and part of the Setlagoli reserve in the northeastern Cape, eight farms in the Vryburg district, and part of the Hammanskraal district. Five areas of SADT land, intended originally for Bophuthatswana, will be reproclaimed as white. A buffer zone between 'two heavily populated international territories' is to be created out of SADT land. The Marico district will cost the government an estimated R1 000m to buy up, although the budget allocation for consolidation for 1983/84 does not include this purchase. The treasury suggested an increase in sales tax to raise the funds. According to the Bophuthatswana Land Act, only 10% of land incorporated under consolidation is reserved for the state. Twenty percent will be sold to private buyers, and 70% leased to farmers. Whites are eligible to lease and buy the farms. Thaba Nchu was incorporated on 1 October on condition that private control of white schools was retained by the OFS education department and that white SA citizens retained their citizenship unless they chose to relinquish it. They were required to apply for residence and work permits within 120 days of incorporation. A number of businessmen in the town planned to leave but feared that their compensation would be inadequate.69

Security
In June, Mr Victor Sifora, the general secretary of the opposition National Seaposengwe Party, was detained by the SA security police and then by the Bophuthatswana security police, who later released him without informing him of the reasons for his detention. Bophuthatswana has a bill of rights which does not allow for detention without trial.70 Three other members of the party, Mr Stephen Sibande, Mr Stephen Segale, and Mr Isaac Moloka were detained by the Bophuthatswana security police in June. Messrs Segale and Moloka were released soon afterwards.71

Tribal Authorities
According to members of the Bafokeng tribe in the Rustenburg area, tribal police have instituted a reign of terror, raiding the villages daily and hunting down non-Tswanas and those harbouring them. These people are tried at Phokeng before a tribal kgotla or court. It is alleged that those who cannot afford fines are sjambokked and have their reference books confiscated. Non-Tswana in the area are usually wives visiting their Xhosa and Sotho husbands who work in the local platinum mines. Furthermore, corrupt headmen have allegedly 'sold' tribal land to more than 2,000 illegal squatters who have documentary proof of land ownership. These cases have been handed over to the Bophuthatswana authorities to deal with. Chief Edward Molotlegi wrote to President Mangope stating that the Bafokeng tribe wished to relinquish its Bophuthatswana citizenship. President Mangope declared a state of emergency in Phokeng and ordered a commission of inquiry into the affairs of the tribe. He also addressed 2,000 tribemen in Phokeng, referring to the chief's refusal to hoist the Bophuthatswana flag at the local tribal offices, and his use of tribal police who abused the tribe. He forbade further meetings called by the chief without permission of the Bophuthatswana government. The commission was told by 20 headmen that they preferred a traditional form of government by a chief to that of the elected Bophuthatswana government and that they wished to secede from the homeland. An expert witness on chieftainship claimed that the Bafokeng tribal authority was not representative of the tribe and not constituted by headmen. The tribal authority should be reconstituted, he said. The village has an annual income of R9.5m, largely made up of royalties from the mining companies.

Finance

The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information said that in terms of agreements between SA and Bophuthatswana, SA paid R242m to that homeland in 1982/83. (The figure included loans in terms of project aid agreements.) Estimated expenditure (excluding statutory amounts) for 1983/84 was R588m. The 1983/84 and 1982/83 budgets are given below:

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The statutory amount for 1983/84 was R30 147 909 making a total estimated expenditure of R618 221 240. The statutory amount for 1982/83 was unavailable.

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**Ciskei**

Additional expenditure in 1982/83 (in excess of the voted amount) totalled R109,3m.

An anticipated further R23,4m in loans would be paid to Bophuthatswana by Pretoria in 1983/84 to cover costs incurred for nine projects in terms of loan agreements. Another R2m for industrial decentralisation incentives would be given as a rand-for-rand grant and R1,8m in terms of a project aid agreement would be given as non-recoverable financial assistance.75

The Bophuthatswana authorities launched a Development Bonds scheme on 31 January aimed at raising R15m a year to improve Bophuthatswana's infrastructure. President Mangope said the scheme was in line with achieving a high degree of self-reliance for Bophuthatswana.76 By June, projects were being planned which would be financed exclusively by the scheme, among them schools, hospitals, water projects and recreational facilities.77

President Mangope said that Bophuthatswana aimed to secure the elimination of the colour bar and segregation on the mines on the Bophuthatswana/SA border. A delay resulted from the mining houses' request that the Bophuthatswana government give them a period of two years for the purpose of negotiating with the Mine Workers' Union.78

**Ciskei**

President Lennox Sebe was one of the very few African leaders to advocate a 'yes' vote in the white referendum on the proposed new SA constitution on 2 November. He said the constitution was a step forward and that there was 'no doubt' in his mind that 'there will be something for blacks' although there would be 'problems' if this came at once. A 'no' vote would result in pressure on investors to leave, so complicating problems of unemployment, President Sebe said.

**Security**

Security police action against Ciskei opposition groups and trade unionists continued during 1983. An increase in the security budget of R12,9m for 1983/84 was said to be necessary to create a peaceful, free society.79 Several people were tried under security legislation in Ciskei courts. Of twenty who had appeared at Zwelitsha Regional Court on public violence charges following violent incidents...
at the Fort Hare graduation ceremony on 1 May 1982, one was acquitted in January and the remainder found guilty in July and sentenced to 200 days' imprisonment or a fine of R400.8° Two people tried in Zwelitsha in January for being ANC members, recruiting people for military training, and possessing banned literature, were found guilty on all three charges and sentenced in April to five and three years imprisonment respectively. They were the first people to be convicted on Ciskei National Security Act charges in the Ciskei since 'independence'.8° In March, the trial began in the Ciskei Supreme Court of three people charged with being ANC members, engaging in ANC activities, recruiting people for military training and being in possession of banned publications82 (see chapter on Security Matters). A SA Council of Churches fieldworker, Mr N Msoki, was acquitted on charges of possession of banned literature in Zwelitsha in July. During the year criticisms were levelled against the Ciskei security forces. The Border Council of Churches alleged that their wide-ranging powers (including the power of detention without trial) would cause chaos and suffering for

CISKEI SECURITY

many innocent people."3 Following the detention of six trade unionists in March, Mr David Lewis, General Secretary of the General Workers' Union (GWU), said that the Ciskei government was an 'illegitimate government acting against legitimate trade unionists' and that the unions enjoyed more popular support than it did. The African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU) and the SA Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) also condemned continuing action against trade unions in the Ciskei.84 President Lennox Sebe - who was elected life president of the Ciskei by the territory's national assembly - announced that Major D Croucamp, a former member of the (Rhodesian) Selous Scouts, would head an anti-terrorism squad, Ikrele Lesizwe, established under a new Ministry of Defence. Besides anti-terrorism action, the squad would carry out clandestine missions and provide bodyguards for Ciskei cabinet ministers.85 Two new border posts on the Komga-King William's Town road and at the Fish River were due for completion by the end of 1983. Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, then head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (CCIS), said they were for controlling 'subversive elements' and 'sophisticated terrorists who drive in cars'. The posts on the SA side had not yet been built.86 The other 41 points of entry into Ciskei were not yet staffed. SA residents will require passports or books of life to travel through the border posts, while citizens of other countries (other than permanent SA residents) will need visas. 87

Lt Gen Sebe spoke on communism at the University of the Orange Free State, evoking thunderous applause. He described opponents of the National Party as unwittingly opening up the way for communism.8 The general also spoke in Israel at an international conference on terrorism, describing terrorists as 'criminals of the first order (who) need to be eradicated by all Ciskeians'.89 Lt Gen Sebe again alleged that SAAWU was an ANC front, which it denied.
Mr Louis Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said that there were good relations between the SA Police (SAP) and the Ciskei police, as a result of which a person detained by one might be handed over for detention by the other. A trade unionist, Mr Tandi Madikane, was detained by the SAP for alleged intimidation and malicious damage to property in April. In May he was being held in the Ciskei. The AFCWU claimed, despite denials by President Sebe, that one of its members, Mr Dlaki Vani, had been detained in May by the SAP in Queenstown (which is outside the Ciskei) and handed over to Ciskei security police. Mr Le Grange disclosed in parliament that the SAP had detained four East London trade unionists (Mr Bonisile Norushe and Mr David Thandani of AFCWU, and Mr Yure Mdyogolo and Mr Boyce Melitafa of SAAWU) in East London on 17 August at the request of the Ciskei Police for offences allegedly committed in the Ciskei. They were immediately handed over to the Ciskei police. The minister stated that 'mutual co-operation between the respective police forces is essential for the combating of crime'. It was reported that Mr Lizo Mona had been arrested in Lesotho in April and that he had claimed that he had been commissioned by Lt Gen Sebe to spy on SA refugees living in Lesotho and to transmit information to the Ciskei. Lt Gen Sebe later denied the claims.

In a combined operation in June, Ciskei security forces and the SA Defence Force set up roadblocks and searched homes in Mdantsane. The construction of a new prison, staffed by Ciskei and seconded SA personnel, to hold 1000 awaiting-trial prisoners was completed at Mdantsane in June. Lt Gen Sebe said that 4 000 Ciskeians were held in SA prisons and that the Ciskei's new prisons, in Mdantsane and Middeldrift (soon to be completed), would not be able to accommodate them all. He added that agreements between Ciskei and SA provided for the accommodation of Ciskeian prisoners in SA 'for a long time'. President Sebe officially opened a new police college in Bisho in November, stating that there had been and always would be a need for close liaison and collaboration with the SAP.

Following a visit by President Sebe to Israel early in the year, it was reported that Israel was to supply Ciskei with military aid, special weapons, help for a small air force and a pilot training school and that the two countries had agreed to cooperate in energy and agricultural matters. Israel denied any official links with Ciskei, but the head of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier A A Nell, later claimed that the Ciskei government was recruiting pilots to undergo training by Israelis. The Deputy Minister of Defence, the Rev Vein Ntshinga, confirmed that 20 matriculants from the Ciskei had left for Israel in November to undergo a two-year pilot training course, which, he claimed, followed government-to-government negotiations. However, the Israeli Ambassador to SA, Mr Eliyahu Larkin, categorically denied that there had been such negotiations, and described Mr Ntshinga's statement as 'boasting and exaggerated'. Mr Larkin said he had met Ciskei representatives 'just as friends' but that Israel had 'no official relations with the Ciskei.' The Israeli foreign ministry also denied claims on television by President Sebe that Israel had granted the Ciskei recognition. It was reported that
the training of the pilots would be done by a private company for commercial purposes. It could not be ascertained on what passports the trainees entered Israel, which said it did not recognise Ciskei passports. An Israeli security expert spent three days in the Ciskei in October evaluating its security system. His identity was not disclosed and President Sebe referred to him as an 'internationally respected general'. The Israeli government, which has been attempting to reestablish ties with black African countries broken off at the time of the Yom Kippur war in 1973, was reported to be embarrassed by Israel's connections with the Ciskei and by the 'aggressive' activities of Israeli citizens who represented the Ciskei in Israel. Following advice from the foreign ministry, the Prime Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, was reported early in December to have asked his ministers to ensure that no further meetings took place between Israeli officials and visiting dignitaries from the homelands. It was also reported that the Israeli government intended exerting pressure for private commercial ties between Israel and the Ciskei to be cut.

In June, President Sebe announced the formation of a Ciskei Armaments Corporation (CISKOR) to manufacture and export arms and ammunition. The first factory would open in Dimbaza at the end of June. The formation of CISKOR had resulted from visits to Israel and West Germany, he said. The arms purchasing and manufacturing agency owned by the SA government, ARMSCOR, said it was 'totally unaware' of the Ciskei's plans regarding weapons manufacture and export.97

**Political Upheaval**

President Sebe cut short a second visit to Israel and rushed home on 15 July after receiving information that his half-brothers, Lt Gen Charles Sebe and Mr Namba Sebe, the Minister of Transport, were involved in a plot to overthrow him. President Sebe alleged that his vice-president, the Rev Wilson Xaba, was also in the plot, while a gunfire attack on the home of his foreign minister, Mr B N Pityi, had

**POLITICAL UPEHVAL IN THE CISKEI**

been planned in Lt Gen Sebe's department.98 On his return, President Sebe dissolved the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (CCIS) headed by his half-brother Charles, who in terms of the 1982 Ciskei National Security Act had sweeping security and military powers and could even exercise the powers of the president in an emergency. Lt Gen Sebe was instead made head of the newly-formed Ciskei National Intelligence Service (CNIS), which has no powers of arrest but only intelligence-gathering functions. Four of the general's closest aides were detained, among them the deputy CCIS chief, Brigadier Harvey Tamsanqa. Other officers, including the chief of the Defence Force, were detained, as well as Mr Mbulelo Xaba, the son of the vice-president.99 The Defence Force, Special Force, Air Force and new CNIS were placed under the Minister of Justice. On 19 July, Lt Gen Sebe and his senior adviser, Major-General T Minnaar, a white South African, were also detained. The Minister of Justice, Mr David Takane, said all detainees would definitely be charged and that it was possible that amendments would be made to Ciskei legislation to abolish the wide security
powers under which Lt Gen Sebe had operated."

The head of the SA security police, Major General F Steenkamp, confirmed that SA security police were 'advising and assisting' in the Ciskei. General Steenkamp and General Johan Coetzee, Commissioner of the SAP, met President Sebe, his cabinet, and Ciskeian police officers, but details of the meeting were not disclosed. As a result of investigations into the attack on the Foreign Minister's home, more people, among them Lt Colin Sebe (Lt Gen Charles Sebe's son) and two other members of the president's family, were detained, bringing the total to 14. Mr Colin Eglin (PFP) said the events pointed to a power struggle within the Ciskei's ruling elite. An unsuccessful application was made to the Ciskei Supreme Court on 22 July for the release of eight of the detained men, including Lt Gen Charles Sebe. The court held that the Security Act allowed for the detention of persons believed to have committed or to be intending to commit an offence in terms thereof.14

The Ciskei Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Lulama Madolo, ordered all people with firearms issued by the Department of State Security to hand in their weapons at local police stations pending a 'review of their licences'.

On 31 August, Mr Namba Sebe, Minister of Transport and national organiser of the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP), was detained. Mr Xaba was ordered to remove his possessions from his government farm near Zwelitsha. President Sebe alleged that both men had been involved in misappropriation of funds from the CNIP. On 4 October, Kama Sebe (17), Mr Namba Sebe's son, was detained. Maj Gen Minnaar was transferred to the security ward at Weskoppies Mental Hospital in Pretoria on 17 August, after a Mdantsane doctor claimed that he had suicidal tendencies. He was released from the hospital on 23 August by an order of the Transvaal Supreme Court following an application by his wife. Seconds later he was arrested by the SAP under a warrant issued by a magistrate in terms of the extradition agreement between SA and the Ciskei. The Ciskei authorities said he faced nine charges under the Explosives Act and the Arms and Ammunition Act. In terms of the agreement, an extradition can be refused if the person faces political charges. At an enquiry on 20 September into the extradition request by the Ciskei, Maj Gen Minnaar denied knowledge of any plot to assassinate President Sebe. Arms were stored at his home and office simply because the Ciskei lacked proper military facilities, he said.

THE MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT

Through a successful application on 22 September (opposed by the SA government) Maj Gen Minnaar was released on R10 000 bail by the Pretoria Magistrate's Court after promising not to leave SA. He surrendered his passport and was restricted to the magisterial districts of Johannesburg, Pretoria and Randburg, having also to report daily to the Randburg police station. The extradition hearing was to resume on 3 October. Mr Namba Sebe appeared in court in Zwelitsha in December on charges of corruption, theft, and fraud. He was not asked to plead and his case was postponed until 19 January 1984. Major Ntobelo Mlotana, an officer in the disbanded CCIS, Lt Mbulelo Xaba, son of the vice-president, and Cpl Khambashe
Sebe, son of Lt Gen Sebe (both of whom were members of Ikreli LeSizwe), appeared in court on charges under the Ciskei National Security Act, the case being postponed until 13 February 1984. Documents before the court referred to a plan to free Brigadier Tamsanqa and withdraw guards from President Sebe's residence. It was also alleged that Cpl Sebe was the man who fired shots at the foreign minister's house in July. Toni Sebe and Koli Sebe, sons of Namba and members of the defence force, were reported to be likely to be among the witnesses who would testify.

The Mdantsane Bus Boycott
On 18 July, a boycott of buses of the Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC), in which the Ciskei Government and the Corporation for Economic Development (CED) have equal stakes, was launched in Mdantsane following fare increases of 11%. By the second day, there was an 80% drop in the use of buses. Commuters between Mdantsane and East London walked up to 30km to stations to catch trains or used taxis and private cars. The Ciskei government attempted to break the boycott through the use of the police, army and Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) vigilantes. Despite a reduction of fares on 16 August, the boycott continued and by September the dispute had developed into a test of will between the Mdantsane people and the Sebe administration.

There were numerous allegations of police and soldiers victimising and assaulting pedestrians, car passengers and train commuters, to force them to use buses. The CTC said that many buses had been stoned. Petrol exploded on a bus in Mdantsane, killing two schoolchildren (a third died later) and injured 25 adults. There was speculation as to whether the explosion was accidental or not. In August the Ciskei government warned that people encouraging the boycott could be jailed for up to ten years. Three members of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union were detained in connection with the boycott.

On 2 August, Ciskei police and soldiers stood by while armed men hauled commuters out of taxis, ordering them to use the buses. On 3 August, a state of emergency was declared in Mdantsane and a night curfew imposed. Meetings of more than four were banned and people prohibited from walking in groups larger than four. President Sebe said that 'circumstances have arisen in the township of Mdantsane which (would) seriously threaten the safety of the public'. According to a CNIP supporter, party members had been instructed by President Sebe to encourage the use of buses and to identify 'intimidators'. Commuters reported assaults by CNIP members who, according to the Minister of Justice, were working under the direction of the police. The GWU and the AFCWU interpreted the emergency as aimed at breaking the bus boycott. Within the first week of the

THE MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT
emergency, approximately 750 people were arrested.

On 4 August, Ciskei security forces fired at 60 workers trying to board a train. Five people were killed and at least 45 admitted to hospital, many with bullet wounds. The police claimed they were defending themselves against an unprovoked attack, but eyewitnesses alleged that the soldiers continued to shoot at
fleeing people. "9 The following day, a Ciskei Supreme Court judge issued in interim order restricting security personnel from assaulting, molesting, harassing, intimidating or interfering with six Mdantsane workers who had brought an application. Ciskei police detained more than 20 people, including four SAAWU members. They continued to wait outside the five Mdantsane railway stations to prevent commuters from using the trains; many workers climbed over fences to get to the stations. Railways police stepped in to protect commuters from being harassed on station property. Several buses were made to stop by passengers forced to board them at Wilsonia station in East London and who then stoned them. Several commuters were treated for injuries after being bitten by SAP dogs.

Ciskei police, aided by CNIP vigilantes, maintained roadblocks at Mdantsane's entrances and forced car passengers to take buses to East London. On 7 August, two more Mdantsane residents were shot dead by Ciskei police. The homes of two vigilantes assisting the police were burned down. The 1000 pupils at the Wongaletlu school boycotted classes from 5 August in protest at police action against their parents. The school was later closed. A school at Chalumna near East London was burned down.

It was reported that SA Transport Services (SATS) was helping commuters to avoid vigilante groups. The commuters were flagging down trains, which stopped between stations, so allowing commuters to board them free of molestation.

Mr Thozamile Gqweta, SAAWU's president, denied that the boycott was organised by SAAWU; it had been a communal decision, he said. A representative of the GWU said the extraordinary anger demonstrated in the bus boycott was the responsibility of the SA government for creating the 'Ciskei monster'. Wage increases had not kept pace with the cost of living and transport was an unavoidable expense for workers forced to live miles away from their place of work, he added.

In early August the boycott had spread to Sada in the northern Ciskei. The police liaison officer, Major G A Ngaki, said that Ciskei Transportation Board officials were tightening up pirate taxi control measures. The CTC distributed 50000 anti-boycott pamphlets over Mdantsane from the air. By 8 August 80 people were being held under the Security Act, among them 30 trade unionists and eight of a 'Committee of Ten' elected by Mdantsane residents as their representatives.

Assaults on commuters by vigilantes continued as well as the pulling of commuters out of cars. By 12 August 832 people had been arrested on charges of breaking the curfew and failure to pay the 'Ciskei Development Tax'. Only 32 were convicted on curfew charges, while scores, unable to pay R400 bail, remained in jail. At roadblocks in Mdantsane police began checking CNIP membership cards and Development Tax receipts, arresting people without them. Several homes of CNIP members were attacked with petrol bombs.

A representative of the SA Department of Foreign Affairs said that the violence in the Ciskei was an 'internal affair which has nothing to do with us'. The Border Council of Industries held an emergency meeting to discuss the effect of
THE MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT

Ciskei unrest on industry in East London. Its president, Mr George Orsmond, said workers were going to great lengths to get to work. The Chamber had made top-level representations to the SA Department of Foreign Affairs about the situation, he said. The East London Chamber of Commerce president said that workers could lose up to 30% of their earnings because transport problems had caused absenteeism that had forced most industries to go on short time. 132

On 15 August, Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited the Ciskei to 'emphasise the working relationship between the two countries'. He and President Sebe discussed the turmoil in talks described as 'constructive'. 133 The following day, President Sebe announced bus fare cuts on weekly tickets, which halved the increase in fares, but said the move was not an attempt to break the boycott and had resulted from the lowering of the fuel price. The CTC had earlier said it would not cut fares as it had already lost R1m in revenue and damage (through stoning) to 100 buses.14 Gompo Transport, the CTC subsidiary running the Mdantsane-East London service, had lost R2m by mid September, retrenched 330 workers and sold 74 buses.135

By 17 August, six schools had been damaged in arson attempts.136 Police banned weekend burials and ruled that funerals could have no more than 100 mourners. A memorial meeting arranged by SAAWU, AFCWU, GWU and the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) for the seven people shot dead, was banned.137 The home of Mr Steve Nene, appointed by President Sebe to run the affairs of Mdantsane, was bombed. Mr Nene himself was later detained.13 In a ninth incident of arson at schools at Mdantsane and Chalumna, a primary school was extensively damaged by fire on 24 August. 139 On 26 August, two powerful explosions caused extensive damage to the Ciskei Consulate in the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg. 40 The ANC claimed responsibility for the blast. 141 Two weeks later, the Ciskei Consulate in Pretoria was bombed. The owners of the Carlton Centre subsequently terminated the consulate's lease.

Mr Gqweta unsuccessfully offered terms to the Ciskei government to end the boycott, subject to the unconditional release of the eight detained members of the committee of ten.142 At the end of August, Amnesty International called on the Ciskei authorities to charge or release all detainees and expressed concern at allegations of brutal treatment and killing of civilians. Amnesty claimed there was evidence of a high degree of co-operation between the SA and Ciskei security forces. 143

Detentions of journalists and others continued and by 5 September the number of people detained was estimated at between 60 and 100.

On 5 September, the Ciskei authorities banned SAAWU. Eleven unions and union federations (including the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of Unions of SA (CUSA)), representing 250 000 workers, issued a joint statement deploring the banning. The statement argued that neither the SA government nor employers should think that they could distance themselves from the action. It also referred to incidents of alleged complicity between the SAP and the Ciskeian police.144 The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) strongly condemned the banning. 145 The SA Institute of Race
Relations expressed concern at the ban, saying it would create a situation whereby most SAAWU members would belong to a legal body while at work but an illegal one when they returned home to Mdantsane. A SAAWU source reported that Ciskei police were arresting anyone wearing a SAAWU t-shirt and were searching homes for evidence of SAAWU membership. SAAWU and three other unions called on foreign investors to meet the SA and Ciskeian authorities to discuss the banning. The unions referred to the Ciskei authorities as a 'bunch of bureaucratic functionaries nurtured to rule the bantustans in the interest of racist SA and foreign business'.

At a conference on 9 and 10 September in East London, attended by detainee support organisations, delegates were informed of allegations of the violation of human rights in the Ciskei, perpetrated by an unofficial army of vigilantes sponsored by the CNIP. It was alleged that scores of Mdantsane residents arrested by the vigilantes had been detained in the Sisa Dukashe stadium in Mdantsane. As many as 80 people at a time were alleged to have been severely tortured and locked in a change room for several days without toilet facilities, water or food. At least one woman had been raped in the stadium and numerous other atrocities perpetrated there, it was claimed. A report compiled by Mr Nicholas Haysom for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand said that the vigilante force was largely composed of CNIP members recruited in the rural areas where President Sebe derived most support. Chiefs and headmen played a vital role in allowing CNIP agents to recruit vigilantes. Many rural unemployed people had believed that they were being recruited for jobs. During the later stages of the conflict, recruiting became less successful. According to many Mdantsane residents interviewed by Mr Haysom, the total death figure by late September was over 90. Many deaths were not made known: the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane for example, was allegedly subjected to government pressure to falsify death figures, and Mdantsane residents believed bodies were secretly disposed of at night. The majority of those kept at the stadium were arrested for alleged violation of curfew regulations, and for failure to produce the required documents at the numerous Mdantsane roadblocks manned by the vigilantes. The Ciskei police consistently denied that assaults were taking place at the stadium.

By 3 October people were no longer being taken to the stadium, but to an old training school, Hlaziya, where beatings and torture allegedly continued. Hlaziya, formerly used by the Department of Education, was changed into a residential area for policemen and an army unit in early September. Door to door raids occurred daily in Mdantsane. It was alleged that some parents were forced to pay vigilantes R100 for the release of their children. By 16 September, 47 people detained under security legislation had been released, but 29 others detained in connection with the boycott were still being held. On 20 September 194 people appeared on charges of public violence but were released on R25 bail. Petrol bomb attacks continued during September, the targets including the homes of...
Ciskei's head of security police, Colonel Z Makhuzeni, and Ciskei's Deputy Minister of Defence, the Rev V G Ntshinga. Several COSAS members were arrested in connection with the latter. President Sebe alleged that COSAS was a 'ruthless' organisation, while COSAS claimed that it was non-violent. Almost the entire COSAS executive at Zwelitsha were in detention at the end of September. Between July and October at least 15 security detainees were admitted to hospital. Major Ngaki, the police spokesman, denied that they had been maltreated. The mother of a detained COSAS student admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Fort Beaufort attempted unsuccessfully to secure a court interdict restraining the police from unlawfully interrogating her son or impairing his health. Refusing to grant the application, Mr Justice Pickard said there was a danger of

**THE MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTTr**

the court's being inundated with similar urgent applications brought on the 'false premise' that all detainees were assaulted. A number of people were released from detention during October and November, two of them on 5 October following an amendment to the Ciskei National Security Act to the effect that the commissioner of police must justify within 30 days the detention of those concerned. Previously the commander general of state security could hold a person for up to six months without accounting to anyone.

In October, 291 people appeared on curfew charges; of these, 280 cases were postponed, while ten people were fined after pleading guilty. In response to the detentions and the banning of SAAWU, the United Democratic Front (UDF), trade unions, and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) formed a joint action committee to publicise alleged atrocities and send direct material aid. The DPSC alleged that pupils in Mdantsane had become the major target of the vigilante groups since their refusal to end their school boycott, which had begun on 4 August. Schools were 90% empty in October. It was alleged that vigilantes moved from house to house taking children to isolated spots and sjambokking them. Sympathy boycotts were launched in schools in Zwelitsha, Litha and Duncan Village, while Fort Hare students also boycotted classes.

The report of Mr Haysom alleged that organised border industries were indifferent to the plight of their workers and that for most companies it was 'business as usual'. The president of the Border Chamber of Industries denied the allegations of indifference, saying the chamber had been working behind the scenes to secure a settlement and that it had issued a condemnation of the Ciskeian government. 'I

A certain amount of international attention was drawn to the situation in the Ciskei. The US government issued a statement in November warning American citizens to stay out of the Ciskei because of unsafe conditions. The US made it clear that it held the SA government responsible for events in the Ciskei, which it regarded as part of SA. Mr Pik Botha said that SA recognised the Ciskei as independent and that circumstances there did not justify the US statement. Reacting to the US warning to its citizens, President Sebe claimed that the 'entire
populace' in the Ciskei was 'joyously engaged in preparing once again to celebrate
the second anniversary of Ciskei's assumption of independence (having) regained
its freedom from bondage to a former colonial regime'. He categorically denied
that any individual had been subjected to illegal actions and maintained that his
administration was ensuring law and order in a situation of riotous behaviour
'orchestrated by agitators and terrorist agents'. At a press conference in Bisho
President Sebe said that alleged assaults at the Sisa Dukashe stadium would be
'ruthlessly followed up' and that some vigilantes who had 'abused their powers'
had been arrested.
Mr David Takane, Minister of Justice, announced that the state of emergency in
Mdantsane would not be lifted for the 'independence' celebrations of early
December. The Ciskei police stepped up night patrols in the King William's Town
district at Dimbaza and Zwelitsha. By the beginning of November, the bus
boycott had entered its sixteenth week. In mid-November SA Transport Services
said that there had been no decrease in the use of trains. The number of train
commuters between Mdantsane and East London had increased from 6 000 to
23000 each way since '18 July, and problems of overcrowding in the trains had
been successfully overcome, it said.

CISKEI LAND AND FINANCE
Referring to the various methods used to break the boycott, Mr Haysom
maintained that the community had remained united and resilient in its resistance.
The repressive response to the boycott had turned Mdantsane residents completely
in favour of it even though some had been reluctant initially. Since protest had
been prevented by the curfew, residents had used other methods of resistance:
they had boycotted vigilantes' trades, stoned hundreds of buses, attacked CNIP
homes, burnt down a rent office and subjected schools to arson attacks. Mr
Haysom claimed that opposition had spread into rural areas as many Mdantsane
workers were rural migrants. 156
Fifteen unionists and activists were released from detention on 4 November,
among them Mr Njikelana and other members of the committee of ten. Although
the Rev Smangaliso Mkhathwa, general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops'
Conference, and Mrs Ntombazana Botha, a member of the detainees' support
committee, were detained at roughly the same time, the release of the other
detainees was interpreted as a change of tactics by President Sebe in his attempts
to end the boycott. Part of these tactics were reported to be the withdrawal of
vigilantes and the abandonment of attempts to prevent commuters from using
trains rather than buses. Roadblocks were also no longer operating. However, a
meeting of commuters on 4 December decided to continue the boycott, and also to
instruct the committee of ten to negotiate with another company to take over
CTC. President Sebe claimed that the situation was returning to normal, but the
chairman of the committee often, Mr Mzwandile Mapunye, denied this.

Land
Dr Koornhof told parliament that Ciskei's consolidation could be regarded as
finalised but that small border adjustments were being considered, together with
proposals made in 1981; these had to be cleared with 'organised agriculture'. 57
The Ciskei administration demanded a number of new areas, including Berlin, King Williams Town and the 'white corridor' between the Ciskei and the Transkei. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pityi, said that some of Ciskei's 'historic land' had been released, but that it had become a dumping ground for people evicted from white areas and farms. 158

A conflict over released but unincorporated farms broke out in May. Ciskei military police were instructed to impound all white farmers' cattle grazing on released farms in the Seymour district. The farms had not yet been handed over, although the Ciskei government had demanded their immediate incorporation. The SA government refused the demand. Dr Koornhof said that white farmers in the Cathcart and Stutterheim districts had received permission to use pasturage on released farms in the Seymour district until July. He added that the acquisition of the remaining land in Stockenstroom was receiving priority and offers were being made to the owners concerned. 159 Ciskeian and SA cabinet ministers met in June to discuss consolidation and the Ciskei's refusal to accept further resettlement of people from Duncan Village to Mdantsane. 160

Finance
The expenditure estimated in the 1983/84 budget was R319 936 000, allocated as follows:

**CISKEI FINANCE**
**CURRENT ACCOUNT**
- Presidency State Security Auditor-General Education Agriculture and Forestry
- Health and Welfare Finance & Economic Development Internal Affairs and Land
- Tenure Manpower Utilisation Transport Public Works Foreign Affairs Posts and Telecommunications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1983/84</th>
<th>(R)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 730 000</td>
<td>31 000 000</td>
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<td>205 000</td>
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<td>56 000 000</td>
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<td>3 500 000</td>
<td>1 000 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 500 000</td>
<td>25 000 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 000 000</td>
<td>3 250 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>(R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 190 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 100 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210 000</td>
<td>41 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 800 000</td>
<td>50 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 600 000</td>
<td>1 200 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 374 000</td>
<td>3 300 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT**
- Public Works Agriculture and Forestry Posts and Telecommunications Transport
The Ciskei Auditor-General reported that unauthorised expenditure in 1980/81 amounted to R8 093 604 and in 1981/82 to R9 571 924, that accounting practices were unsatisfactory, and that the shortage of audit staff remained critical. The Ciskei's Development Adviser said that funds came from four sources: an annual grant from Pretoria, local taxes and customs duties, development loans from SA, and tightly limited borrowing on SA's capital markets. He said a proportion of the tax paid by SA companies employing Ciskeians was given as a 'grant'; this obscured the real economic contribution of Ciskeians to SA and the interdependence of the two economies. He said that the possibility of raising funds on foreign markets was limited because of the Ciskei's lack of international recognition.

The Rev W M Xaba, the vice-president, said SA's allocation to the Ciskei was a disgrace, especially in the light of the drought (see chapter on Homeland Development). Mr Xaba also said that squatter settlements in Ciskei were embarrassing to his government. The Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Dr George Morrison, visited Ciskei in February in connection with squatter settlement problems.

GAZANKULU

Legislation

The Arms and Ammunition Amendment Act vests in the Commander General of State Security the powers previously vested in the Commissioner of Police. It removes racial clauses in the old act adopted from SA. It also allows for the establishment of shooting clubs in the Ciskei. The Explosives Act of 1956 was amended to extend the definition of 'explosives' to include petrol bombs, thus making it an offence to possess petrol bombs, with a penalty of between three and 15 years.

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana signed an extradition agreement on 4 July. The extradition may be refused if it is regarded by the requesting party as relating to a political offence, or if the offence is punishable by death in the country of the requesting party but not so in the laws of the requested party.

Gazankulu

The Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, rejected the SA government's proposed confederation of black states, calling it a 'blueprint for apartheid', but said he would participate in discussions on a federal constitution, the abolition of race discrimination, the retention of SA citizenship for all, and full participation and sharing in the SA economy.
designated as a member by the Bankuna tribal authority in the Ritavi electoral
division. 16 A centenary committee was formed in Gazankulu to plan celebrations
for the 100th anniversary of the written Tsonga language. 168
Gazankulu's 1983/84 budget was R131 498 000. Estimated expenditure in
1983/84 was to be as follows (with actual 1982/83 expenditure also given): 169
(R) 1983/84 1982/83
Chief Minister and Economic Affairs 7 601 000 6 313 232
Interior 14 282 000 12 593 796
Works 37 678 000 40 879 996
Education 26 561 000 24 379 196
Agriculture and Forestry 16 152 000 12 839 296
Justice 1 522 000 1 319 296
Health and Welfare 17 486 000 15 233 596
Finance 1 261 000 1 182 496
Police 4 926 000 3 414 600
Finance (Loan Funds) 4 029 000 2 113 400
Total 131 498 000 120 268 904
Ximoko Xa Rixaka
Prof Ntsanwisi founded a 'national cultural and liberation movement' called
Ximoko Xa Rixaka, which by June claimed a membership of 12 000. Prof
Ntsanwisi

KANGWANE
said he expected membership to be between 70 000 and 100 000 by the end of
1983. The aim of the movement is the development of the Shangaan-Tsonga
people through fostering patriotism and unity based on 'loyalty first to Gazankulu
and then to SA'; offering alternative strategies; seeking 'constructive ways of
cooperating with free enterprise' and working for its establishment and the
'destruction of the bourgeois mentality'; abolishing racial discrimination;
identifying government-created institutions through which black interests can be
facilitated without promoting apartheid; and promoting worthy indigenous
customs and traditions. 170 Prof Ntsanwisi said the movement was fundamentally
opposed to apartheid and that Gazankulu was not considering accepting
'independence'. The movement's national president is required to be capable of
being Chief Minister of Gazankulu. The movement has individual and affiliate
members and a Youth League and a Women's Union. Branches are to be
established in the rural areas at each tribal or community authority area, in each of
Gazankulu's towns, and in residential urban townships. Gazankulu's urban
representative, Mr T W Tshabalala, said the organisation would fight the Venda
government for 'encroaching on our land.' 1m
KaNgwane
In January, KaNgwane celebrated its reprieve from incorporation into Swaziland
(see above). Five thousand people flocked to a stadium in Nelspruit for feasting
and dancing. Mr Enos Mabuza, chief executive councillor of KaNgwane, said
that during the past 18 months the KaNgwane population of 160 600 had had a
traumatic experience. He thanked local and international organisations which had joined in protest. Also in January, the SA Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, formally re-opened the KaNgwane Legislative Assembly, which Dr Koornhof had dissolved the previous year. Mr de Klerk referred to the period of rule by Pretoria between 8 June and 8 December 1982 as an 'exceptionally difficult time', and requested the assembly to retrospectively legalise the period of direct rule through the adoption of the Appropriation Bill and the KaNgwane Validation and Special Withdrawals Bill. Mr Mabuza said Mr de Klerk should convey the feeling of KaNgwane's people that they were regarded by Pretoria as an 'unwanted step-child'. He added that KaNgwane's proposed national development plan, which had been sent to the Department of Co-operation and Development four years previously, was still awaiting approval. No reason for the delay had been given. Dr Koornhof said that the purpose of dissolving the Assembly had been to create the necessary climate to enable the people concerned to decide without prejudice on the issue, of incorporation.

In June, the government gazetted a proclamation to provide for the appointment of members of the new KaNgwane Legislative Assembly on 30 June. Mr Mabuza tabled a motion in the assembly asking Pretoria to grant him powers of detention. He reportedly also wanted to be allowed to set up a KaNgwane police force. The homeland's Council of Chiefs met and denounced the proposal as a step towards self government in KaNgwane. It also resolved to petition Pretoria to the effect that Mr Mabuza's policies ran against the aspirations of the KaNgwane people and that he was discouraging the teaching of Siswati in favour of Sotho and Shangaan.

A budget of R48 762 902 was tabled for 1983/84. The following amounts were allocated to various departments in 1983/84 and 1982/83:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Authority Affairs</td>
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<td>Community Affairs</td>
<td>8 529 390</td>
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<tr>
<td>Works</td>
<td>16 192 740</td>
<td>15 842 458</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education and Culture</td>
<td>15 673 960</td>
<td>13 848 894</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>6 214 200</td>
<td>5 658 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>649 440</td>
<td>521 820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Affairs &amp; Finance</td>
<td>775 730</td>
<td>743 620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48 762 902</td>
<td>43 879 500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kwandebele

The Kwandebele authorities opted in principle in 1982 to accept 'independence' but made it conditional on fulfilment of their land claims—which have reportedly been largely met in the consolidation plans announced in 1983 (see above). Kwandebele is to take 'independence' in December 1984. It is largely made up of 12 resettlement areas. Dr Koornhof gave the estimated number of persons in each:

- Vlaklaagte: 3 300
- Gemsbokspruit: 6 700
Dr Koornhof said that in 1981 approximately 46 000 people, and in 1982 approximately 5 500 people, had settled in KwaNdebele of 'their own accord'. The present population was 250 000 and more people were due to be moved by the government. The present population was 250 000 and more people were due to be moved by the government. In a joint statement in March, Dr Koornhof and Mr Simon Skosana, Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, said that more than 111000 people had settled in KwaNdebele over the previous 12 to 18 months. They attributed this to the 'natural flow' of people, which, they said, increased markedly after the 'independence' announcement. Other reports claimed that 400 000 people had been relocated in KwaNdebele mostly from 'black spots' and urban areas, and that the population there rose by 60 people a day. At a Black Sash conference in March, it was reported that families had been arriving at the rate of 20 a day, and 'dumped on recently pegged plots for which they pay R40'. During the past five years, hundreds of thousands had been settled in KwaNdebele's 'stony wastes, principally in eight major and four smaller resettlement areas'. KwaNdebele had only one tarred road, no resident doctor, and a dire lack of water. It was also reported, in June, that, each week, families were transported in official trucks from Mzinoni near Bethal in the eastern Transvaal to KwaNdebele. Ninety percent of the Ndebele resident in the homeland have been resettled there since 1979, and less than two percent of the population is employed there. In March, talks were held between KwaNdebele ministers, the Commissioner-General for the South Ndebele National Unit, and senior officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development to discuss ways of establishing the necessary infrastructure for the resettlement of people flowing in. When KwaNdebele becomes 'independent', the Ndebele will be deprived of their SA citizenship, but their labour will be retained as KwaNdebele is close enough to industrial and commercial centres to make daily commuting possible, it has been claimed. A statement by Dr Koornhof and Mr Skosana said that KwaNdebele's income from its own sources had increased by 130% since 1980/81. KwaNdebele's budgets in 1982/83 (actual) and 1983/84 (estimated) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tweefontein</td>
<td>27 900</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaalbank</td>
<td>9 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrischgewaagd</td>
<td>4 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leefontein</td>
<td>11 550</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaggafontein</td>
<td>36 800</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siyabuswa</td>
<td>41 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boekenhout</td>
<td>11 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathyszynhoop</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goederede</td>
<td>3 400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieterskraal</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>164 150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chief Minister 548 787 940 000
Internal Affairs 3 631 812 5 218 410
Works 18 535 624 18 575 034
Education 8 335 433 9 794 494
Agriculture & Forestry 2 213 437 3 082 828
Justice 215 869 288 610
Total 33 480 962 37 899 376

Actual expenditure for 1981/82 was R21 613 338. Of the actual expenditure in 1982/83, R8291 248 was financed by internal income and R24 189 000 by grants from the central exchequer in Pretoria. It is estimated that in 1983/84, R6 669 100 will be derived from internal income and R26 392 000 from Pretoria. 186

KwaZulu
The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was invited to attend a prayer breakfast in Washington by President Ronald Reagan. While in the USA he criticised the Reagan administration’s (cautious) endorsement of the (SA) Labour Party’s decision to participate in the proposed new constitutional arrangements in SA.187 Chief Buthelezi visited Europe in June. In Cologne, he told West German businessmen that most black South Africans opposed disinvestment as it would increase poverty and unemployment. He called for increased investment, if this was linked to pressure for change, saying that the ‘free enterprise’ system was vital to the development of southern Africa. In The Hague, Chief Buthelezi criticised Western governments for condemning apartheid while failing to offer financial aid to those struggling against it. He praised the Dutch government for terminating the SA-Dutch cultural agreement. In the United Kingdom, Chief Buthelezi had talks with representatives of the British government.188 In August, the Lesotho government invited Chief Buthelezi to discuss events that had led to a breakdown in SA-Lesotho relations. 189

KWAZULU POLITICS
In the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, at his annual Soweto rally, and during various other speeches, Chief Buthelezi condemned the government’s constitutional proposals for excluding Africans and so laying the foundations for violent confrontation.190 He said they ignored the African majority as if it did not exist, and were removed from any concept of power-sharing. Chief Buthelezi also expressed opposition to participation in the new black urban local authority structures on the grounds that they and the homelands were being portrayed by the government as alternatives to the inclusion of Africans in parliament.91 He warned businessmen that a majority ‘yes’ vote in the referendum on the constitution - due to be held on 2 November - could force him to reconsider his opposition to international sanctions and disinvestment, and could also lead to strikes by black workers. 192 Reiterating his support for the ‘free enterprise’ system, he said that there was no future for big business in apartheid. Chief Buthelezi met Dr Koornhof in October and called for a moratorium on constitutional developments, saying that Africans would be forced to turn to boycotts and strikes as a means of voicing their political grievances. Addressing businessmen at the SA Institute of Race Relations, he urged them to call for a
meeting with the Prime Minister to announce their rejection of the constitutional proposals. 193
Chief Buthelezi met PFP members in Ulundi in May. He said the PFP and dissident NRP members were emerging as 'real South Africans' by refusing to accept the government's constitutional proposals. With white compatriots like the PFP and dissident NRP members, SA would enjoy a prosperous and stable future, Chief Buthelezi said. 194
Chief Buthelezi and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition, met in Ulundi in September to discuss strategies to force the National Party to reconsider the constitution. They issued a joint statement urging white voters to reject the constitutional proposals in the referendum on the grounds that they were counter-productive to real reform. They said that all the people affected by a constitution should be involved in its making. They decided to remain in close contact, with the objective of informing the public of the failings of the constitution. "I On 24 September Chief Buthelezi, the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, and other leaders opposed to the constitution addressed a mass rally of some 20 000 in the King Zwelithini Stadium in Umlazi township outside Durban. Inkatha and PFP leaders subsequently shared platforms on a number of occasions in their campaign to warn SA of what they regarded as the dangers of excluding Africans from the parliamentary rights incorporated in the new constitution. A resolution condemning the new constitution was unanimously passed by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA). The assembly also endorsed Chief Buthelezi’s call for a moratorium on constitutional development until a formula for a negotiated future had been found. Following the majority 'yes' vote in the referendum, Chief Buthelezi suggested that it might be possible for Inkatha to form a 'marriage of convenience' with the ANC and PAC. He urged a boycott in November of the elections under the new Black Local Authorities Act on the grounds that they were part and parcel of the new constitution (see chapter on Urban Africans).

With regard to the report of the Buthelezi Commission, Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government was preparing white papers containing political and constitutional proposals based on the report of the commission (see 1982 Survey pp 398-400). It hoped to use these as the basis of negotiations with the SA government. 196

KWAZULU POLITICS
Chief Buthelezi later said, however, that the 'yes' vote in the referendum had put paid to hopes of partnership between KwaZulu and Natal. By endorsing the 'consummation' of the Prime Minister's 'classical apartheid', whites of all shades of political opinion had rejected black SA. Conceding that the referendum result had made Chief Buthelezi’s position more difficult, Professor Denys Schreiner, who chaired the commission, said that there was still a possibility for co-operation between KwaZulu and the Natal Provincial Administration. The chairman of the Tongaat-Hulett group, Mr Chris Saunders, who had been a member of the Buthelezi Commission and who had shocked Chief Buthelezi by calling for a 'yes' vote in the referendum, endorsed this view.
The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly voted in March to increase the number of elected members for its 26 constituencies from 55 to 65, so increasing total membership from 131 to 141.197 KwaZulu's second election under 'self-governing status' was held in September and seats in only four constituencies were contested by independent candidates and Inkatha, after Inkatha candidates were elected unopposed in 22 others during the nominations in May. Inkatha candidates won all four. The first session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was held in a new R15m complex at Ulundi in October.98 Chief Mhlabunzima Mapumulo, MP for Mpumalanga (one of the contested constituencies), was allegedly assaulted outside the assembly at its opening by Inkatha youths before a massive crowd, the KwaZulu Police and Chief Buthelezi, for persistently refusing to join Inkatha. He said that while Inkatha's policy was one of non-violence when faced by a powerful government, it was violent towards its black opponents. Chief Buthelezi condemned the assault, but said that whoever challenged him challenged the people, who would deal with them. He alleged that Chief Mapumulo had almost assaulted members of Inkatha's Central Committee, including Mr Simon Conco, when they had visited Mpumalanga. He claimed that the chief, who formed the opposition Inala Party in 1975, was a well known agent of the National Intelligence Service. Chief Mapumulo claimed that Mr Conco had tried to force his people to join Inkatha. 199

In his policy speech to the opening session of the new assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that he would ask Inkatha branches to monitor the activities of each member of the assembly to judge whether they were playing the role they were elected by the people to play or not. Referring to the forthcoming referendum as a 'tragic drama' he said that the Prime Minister had 'devastated democracy' and squandered the opportunity to bring about reform. Chief Buthelezi reported that he had met the Labour ministers of Kenya and Liberia, and that the government of the Netherlands had invited Inkatha to apply for development funds (see chapter on Political Organisations). 1-le claimed that while the African National Congress (ANC) had conscientised the world about SA, it had prejudiced potential donors against Inkatha, thereby denying it the development aid necessary to overcome poverty in KwaZulu. Alleging that Mr Oliver Tambo demonstrated ineffective leadership over the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said that Mr Tambo had recently criticised him as a 'homeland leader' despite having earlier urged him to consolidate his stronghold in KwaZulu and resist pressures from 'Black Consciousness' organisations to resign from the KLA. Describing Inkatha and the KLA as the visibly enduring factor inside the country, where other black organisations were 'as short-lived as mushrooms', he said that the ANC could not mount an armed struggle without them. Without the KLA, furthermore, the National Party would long since have created a confederal system with the homelands in political subservience to white SA.

KWAZULU' AND AND FINANCE

Land
Dr Koornhof said in March that a report on KwaZulu consolidation was still being considered by the government, and would be made public to enable the
consolidation commission to hear further evidence. Final proposals would be submitted first to the government and then to the select committee on Co-operation and Development.2"

Twenty-nine non-contiguous areas fall under KwaZulu's jurisdiction, including four excised areas still administered by KwaZulu in terms of proclamation No 19 of 1981.201

The 1973 and 1975 proposals for KwaZulu would have consolidated it into ten separate areas, a large proportion consisting of released and scheduled areas registered in the name of the SA Development Trust (SADT). Areas acquired by the SADT since 1973 are being held in trust for KwaZulu but are not included in KwaZulu's area of jurisdiction.212 The Department of Community Development sent a schedule to the SA Agricultural Union of 35 white farms in the Ntamhlope/Draycott area to be bought for purposes of consolidation. The farmers expressed bitter opposition to this move.213 In June, Dr Koornhof said that the government would have to wait for the completion of the Rumpff Commission's inquiries before it could proceed with KwaZulu's consolidation.2" The SA cabinet approved the incorporation into KwaZulu of the townships Lamontville and Hambanathi (see chapter on Urban Africans).

Finance

The total estimated budget for KwaZulu for 1983/84 was R519 346 000. The anticipated grant from the central government was R382 119 000 and the estimated amount from internal revenue R97 700 000. The allocations to various departments in 1983/84 and 1982/83 were as follows:205

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief Minister</td>
<td>14 343 000</td>
<td>11 969 448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>5 216 000</td>
<td>4 630 340</td>
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<tr>
<td>Works</td>
<td>146 330 000</td>
<td>130 366 300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education and Culture</td>
<td>137 768 000</td>
<td>119 650 700</td>
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<td>Agriculture and Forestry</td>
<td>27 630 000</td>
<td>23 708 600</td>
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<td>Justice</td>
<td>4 971 000</td>
<td>4 866 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>5 748 300</td>
<td>6 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and Economic Affairs</td>
<td>2 509 700</td>
<td>2 107 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Welfare</td>
<td>174 830 000</td>
<td>160 467 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>519 346 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>463 766 788</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his vote of thanks to the Commissioner General for the Zulu National Unit, Mr P N Hansmeyer, after the latter had performed the official opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in March Chief Buthelezi said that KwaZulu could never really be satisfied that it was getting what it should be getting from the government 'so long as we do not have access to the fiscus.' Some people took the attitude that he should not look a gift horse in the mouth, but, Chief Buthelezi added, 'Things cannot be seen in the context of a gift horse, for we are as South African citizens entitled to a share of what is available in the national kitty.'
However generous the government may appear to be to us, there will always be a sneaking suspicion that we could have got more if we were also represented in the South African parliament, where the real budget of the entire country is considered. He added: 'Comments such as those made in Durban recently by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs have the effect of confirming our worst fears, when he averred that more funds will go to those who play ball with the SA government and not to those of us who are reluctant to do so.'

Administration
There are 208 proclaimed tribal authorities and eight community authorities in KwaZulu grouped under 24 regional authorities. Seven tribal court houses were completed in 1982 with 22 under construction.

In 1982, 8 429 KwaZulu citizenship certificates were issued, making a total of 1541892. In December 1982, 1 450 000 certificates still had to be issued to KwaZulu 'citizens'.

The report of the Department of the Chief Minister for 1982/83 stated that a Credit Union Bill was being compiled to provide for the establishment and registration of credit unions, which had already been built up by KwaZulu's Bureau of Community Development and Youth Affairs. The Bureau has also developed the Emandleni-Matleng youth camp. The Amathikhulu youth camp is being planned to cater for youth camps and special youth functions.

The Code of Zulu Law, Act 6 of 1981 of KwaZulu, improved the status of women in KwaZulu. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly adopted a motion in April requesting the SA government to make the act applicable to citizens of KwaZulu living in Natal and Dr Koornhof said legislation was envisaged to bring the legal status of Zulu women in Natal and KwaZulu into line.

Two judges in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court recommended that a section of the Code of Zulu Law, containing a mandatory minimum jail sentence of one year for people found to have participated in a gathering of armed people, be reviewed by the SA law commission and the permanent penal reform committee, as it could lead to outrageously unreasonable sentences. Their recommendation followed the unsuccessful appeal against sentence of eight men who had gathered with weapons in the Umzinto area fearing an armed attack, and had been sentenced under the code to the minimum term. The judges said that the men had not acted wrongly, but that they had been forced to uphold the magistrate's decision because of the mandatory sentence.

South African government officials seconded to the KwaZulu Department of Works were involved in fraud allegations, which were being investigated by SA and KwaZulu detectives.

In the Msinga and Klipriver districts, 1175 and 113 persons respectively have been detained since promulgation of Proclamation R103 of 1973. Eight persons were being held in Msinga in April.

The PFP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, said that an investigation into the border tension between KwaZulu and white farmers in Msinga was long overdue. He said that 'faction fights' there represented a struggle for survival in a totally overpopulated 'dumping ground'. In September it was announced that the Msinga/Weenen commission of inquiry established in July was to become a
LEBOWA

permanent body to find solutions to the problems of over-population and poor quality of life in Msinga, the survival problems among Africans caused by the drought, and insufficient job opportunities in the area. Many people had died violently there. The commission suggested as short-term solutions that tribal chiefs be given increased authority, that a fence be erected along the boundary to prevent stock straying on to white farmlands, and that water and grazing be provided for needy African farmers.

Mr Neil Alcock, who had been working among the people of Msinga for twenty years, and five tribal elders died in an ambush in the Ndelta area of Tugela Ferry in September. A few months previously he had made allegations to the Advocate-General, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, of graft, corruption and exploitation in the Weenen, Greytown and Msinga districts, concerning Inkatha, KwaZulu MPs, SA government officials, and white farmers. Eight men were later arrested in connection with the murders.

Tribesmen in the Umbumbulu district said eight people had died in fighting between the Thoyana and Embo tribes. KwaZulu's Minister of Justice addressed the tribes but soon after the meeting dispersed, fighting resumed.

Twelve people died in September in a clash between members of the Nkangala and Hlanzeni tribes armed with firearms, on the Natal South Coast in the Zuba district.

A University of Zululand research study claimed that KwaZulu tribal authorities were unpopular with the people under their control, many alleging that they had to pay bribes to get land or pensions, for example.

One member of Inkatha and four students died in a violent clash at the university at the end of October (see chapter on Education). It was reported in September that the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture had banned organisations other than Inkatha youth brigades, boy scouts, girl guides, and the Students' Christian Movement from schools under its jurisdiction.

Lebowa

Elections were held in Lebowa on 16 March. The chairman of the Seshego Village Committee, the Rev M P Malatji, called for a boycott, accusing the government of ignoring the people's complaints. Leaflets issued by AZAPO urging voters to boycott the election were distributed at bus depots and shopping centres in Seshego, Lebowakgomo and Makwalereng.

The Lebowa Legislative Assembly consists of 60 nominated chiefs and 40 elected members. Two of the elected seats were unopposed, while 122 candidates contested the other 38. The ruling Lebowa People's Party is the only official political party.

According to Dr Cedric Phatudi the polling in Lebowa was brisk but in urban areas outside Lebowa it was very low. Dr Phatudi was returned as Chief Minister of Lebowa by the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. His cabinet remained unchanged.

Prior to the election Dr Phatudi approved a proclamation granting chiefs additional powers. Monthly stipends of R500 to chiefs not nominated to the Legislative Assembly were also provided for. Dr Phatudi blamed an attempt by a pro-independence' chief, Matlala, to oust him as chief minister some years ago on
the influence of Pretoria's white seconded civil servants on the 60 nominated chiefs, who each earn R673 a month. 220

During the year, Dr Phatudi argued for a federation of autonomous states in SA in which defence, fiscal matters and foreign affairs would fall under the jurisdiction of the federal parliament. Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu addressed the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. The event was seen as a significant step in the forging

QWAQWA

of closer ties between the two homelands, as it was the first time the leader of another homeland had paid an official visit to the Lebowa Assembly.21

Dr Koornhof opened the 1983 session of the Legislative Assembly, and announced that a new cabinet portfolio would be created. It was speculated that a separate Department of Economic Affairs and Mining would be created, since Dr Phatudi favoured the speedy development of Lebowa's rich mining potential.22

Dr Koornhof said the SA government was willing to listen to those who advocated a federal system of government .223

Lebowa estimated that it would raise R69.5m from its own sources during the 1983/84 financial year, with the SA government providing R196.3m.224 Lebowa raised R9m on the capital market through the issuing of two fixed interest stocks organised by Senbank. Because Lebowa is not an 'independent' state, the loans carry a SA government guarantee .225

The Lebowa budgets were as follows in 1983/84 (estimated) and 1982/83 (revised):226

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1984/83 (R)</th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief Minister</td>
<td>3 420 240</td>
<td>3 022 240</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>5 365 680</td>
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<td>Works</td>
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<tr>
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<td>73 174 680</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Economic Affairs</td>
<td>24 305 680</td>
<td>22 432 680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>7 004 000</td>
<td>6210000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>285 020 000</td>
<td>242 222 000</td>
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QwaQwa

Leaders of three opposition parties in QwaQwa applied to the Supreme Court for the March 1980 elections, which brought Chief T K Mopeli's Dikwankwetla Party into power, to be set aside because of alleged irregularities, among them illegal registration of voters, irregular holding of receptions, irregular counting of votes, and preventing South Sothos from voting.227 The hearing was postponed till October. Chief Mopeli visited the Ciskei to see its development projects in June. President Sebe said that he hoped QwaQwa was contemplating 'independence', to which Chief Mopeli replied that QwaQwa did not plan to opt for 'independence', viewing homelands as regional governments within a greater SA. He said that QwaQwa had plans to build a parliament soon.
According to the Auditor-General's report, QwaQwa's actual expenditure in 1981/82 was R31 494 373. Actual revenue from SA sources was R 19 425 400 and from QwaQwa's own sources, R19261 149. The QwaQwa budgets were as follows in 1983/84 and 1982/83:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chief Minister (R)</th>
<th>Interior (R)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>8 382 676</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The anticipated grant from the central government was R30 750 000 while estimated revenue from QwaQwa's own sources was R25 800 000 for 1983/84.

Preliminary consolidation plans for QwaQwa released in August proposed the addition of 80 000 ha at a cost of R70m, while total consolidation costs would be R139m. Sixty Harrismith and Kestel farmers of the eastern Free State consolidation committee affected by the plans said that they would not sell their land voluntarily. The plans had not been discussed with them before they were publicly announced and the QwaQwa people had used land given to them in 1975 inadequately, they claimed. No final plans on the future of Onverwacht were approved by the cabinet, Dr Koornhof having asked the Rex Le Roux Commission on consolidation to redraft them. The commission heard representations from affected landowners. Mr Mopeli said most of his administration's proposals had been rejected. He denied rumours that he and his cabinet had had preliminary talks with Dr Koornhof on 'independence' and said that the question of land consolidation was a separate issue with no bearings on 'independence'.

Transkei

The ruling Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) gave President Kaiser Matanzima full support for initiating talks with leaders of other homelands. President Matanzima criticised influx control and race laws in SA, describing the Transkei as a 'liberated enclave'. He called for a national convention of all South Africans who embraced the ideals of non-racial democracy and he condemned the exclusion of Africans from the SA government's constitutional proposals while commending Mr P W Botha for his efforts to 'achieve racial reconciliation'. President Matanzima rejected the policy of life presidency adopted in Venda and the Ciskei, in favour of a 'British style of government' under which opposition
parties would not be banned. (All but two of the 150 seats in the Transkei National Assembly are held by the TNIP.) The leader of the opposition, Mr Caledon Mda, criticised the preponderance of chiefs in the assembly, but was told that the Transkei's stability resulted from people showing allegiance to their traditional leaders.231 The Transkei's relations with the SA government were detrimentally affected by the latter's moves to 'repatriate' Transkei 'citizens', among them about a thousand people evicted from the western Cape under influx control laws (see chapters on Urban Africans and African Removals). Responding to allegations of bribery and corruption among Transkei magistrates and prosecutors, Mr T Letlaka, the Minister of Justice, said that the former were underpaid while the latter had often received no legal training, and that these were possible causes of corruption.212 The Assembly approved an increase in President Matanzima's salary to R75 000 a year, excluding allowances. The Transkei Marriage Act removed the right of a wife to maintenance after divorce. The prime minister, Chief George Matanzima, claimed that maintenance was a western concept, that the lobolo system gave a woman sufficient security, and that she could return to her parents.233

**TRANSKEI FINANCE**

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Finance

The Transkei received R41 lm from the SA government in 1982/83. This included budgetary assistance, development aid and technical aid. The Transkei's own income included R55m in General Sales Tax collected from Transkeians working in SA, R98,1m from the Customs Union, and R5,2m in Rand Monetary Area transfers. The Transkei Defence Force (TDF) also received R50,1m from the Economic Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund.214 It was reported that the SA government had provided R30m for the Transkei to strengthen its defence force. The Transkei government's debt totalled R34,4m, borrowed from the public market, the Foreign Bank and the SA government during 1981-82.235

Introduction of the Transkei's own currency was discussed in the Assembly. It was suggested that the unit be called the 'Kei'.

In a 58-page white paper on development, the Transkei government claimed that in 1981 migrant workers from Transkei contributed R600m to the internal revenue of SA. Prime Minister Matanzima said that most of the social costs, as well as the administrative costs of families forced to remain behind, fell on the Transkei. It was necessary to negotiate an acceptable basis to transfer some of the internal revenue generated by the migrants to Transkei, he said. The white paper also claimed that SA's 'aid' to Transkei had declined in real terms since 'independence' by nearly R200m. Proposals for capital expenditure of R1 650m in the next five years, mainly to create jobs, were put forward.236

The Transkei's budgets in 1983/84 and 1982/83 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Prime Minister</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Forestry</th>
<th>Auditor-General</th>
<th>Defence</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>Foreign Affairs</th>
<th>Information</th>
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<th>Interior</th>
<th>Justice</th>
<th>Local Government</th>
<th>Land Tenure</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Industry</th>
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</table>
TRANSKEI LAND AND SECURITY
1983/84 1982/83
(R) (R)
Works and Energy 62 123 000 74 251 000
Welfare, Sports and Cultural Affairs 5 981 000 2 376 000
Total 627 000 000 545 027 000

Anticipated budgetary assistance in 1983/84 from SA was R201 500 000 while estimated revenue from internal sources was R330 200 000.238

Land
The Hendam-Dubugela area in the Queenstown district adjoining the Transkei was acquired by the SA Development Trust but has not yet been incorporated into the Transkei. The Commission for Co-operation and Development submitted proposals to the SA government in connection with this land. Twentyeight farms (9 171ha) in the Matatiele district were handed over to the Transkei on 1 October in terms of September 1976 agreements between the Transkei and Pretoria.

President Matanzima said that the homelands were not free countries but 'little areas of oppression' as long as the biggest portions of traditional land were occupied exclusively by whites. The 'independent' homelands should, therefore, join in the struggle of all oppressed blacks, he said.

Tribal Conflict
An official Transkei claim that 54 Mntafufu tribesmen had died in an inter-tribal clash in January in Pondoland was disputed by other tribesmen who claimed that most of the dead men were killed by Transkei soldiers enforcing a 'demarcation line' between two tribes. Chief Mditchsha, newly installed as a chief of the Emtweni Tribal Authority, attempted unsuccessfully to settle the dispute. He said the Mtambalala had stolen Mntafufu stock and other possessions. The Mntafufu, on their way to retrieve their stock, had been ambushed and killed. A joint Transkei army and police contingent was in the area throughout the conflict.

Police claimed that the tribes' weapons had been hand made by migrant workers on the mines or acquired by trading Pondoland dagga.239 Towards the end of
February the Transkei Defence Force withdrew from the area, having been asked to vacate their base at the Mtambalala school, as tribesmen were afraid to return to their villages. Before they withdrew, the army and police made scores of arrests. 240

Security
Chief George Matanzima said that during 1982, 41 people were held as political suspects in the Transkei. Of these, five had been convicted and 35 released, while one was still in detention. He claimed that both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were intent on toppling the Transkei government, using Lesotho as a staging point to enter the Transkei and SA.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr David Tezapi, said that the Transkei’s security situation had become more sensitive and demanding and the aim of his department was to produce a small, balanced, highly trained army. The Transkei VENDA Defence Force (TDF) is made up of a battalion of conventional and special force troops, while 400 students passed out of the School of Infantry. Transkei’s second officer cadet courses was in progress. A parachute course began in July 1983. The TDF was criticised in the National Assembly for the role played by expatriate white officers. It was alleged that unauthorised expenditure had increased since the arrival of white advisers. Mr Tezapi said that white officers were useful for their ‘foreign expertise’ and that problems in the TDF were due to shortages of funds, transport and arms.241

The Transkei established three refugee camps in the Maluti and Mount Fletcher districts for supporters of the Basotholand Congress Party fleeing from Lesotho. The TDF asked the International Red Cross to assist.242

The Minister of Justice said that the ‘international’ status of the ‘independent’ homelands necessitated reciprocal agreements on such matters as extradition, and that the Transkei would approach Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei in this regard.241

In a trial in January, the treasurer of the opposition Democratic People’s Party (DPP), Mr A S Xobololo, a fieldworker of the Transkei Council of Churches, Mr E N Sigwela, and the chairman of the Mgwali Residents’ Committee, Mr M W Fanti (who alleged that he had been assaulted in detention), were acquitted on terrorism charges under the Transkei Public Security Act (TPSA) of furthering the aims of the ANC. Mr L V Ntikinca was found guilty in June of terrorism for his involvement in Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) activities and theft of nine Transkei travel documents. He was sentenced to an effective four years’ imprisonment and granted leave to appeal against conviction. Eleven DPP members were detained in May, following alleged threats of violence to a headman; they were later charged under the TPSA.

Mr M Saliwa, serving a five year sentence for furthering the aims of the ANC, brought an application against the SA Minister of Police for alleged assault during his detention by the SAP prior to his transfer to the Transkei security police and his conviction in 1982. He alleged that he was being refused treatment for a
ruptured eardrum. Mr J Kati also claimed against the SAP for assault while in detention prior to their handing him over to the Transkei security police. Following a successful application (unopposed by the Transkei government) against a banishment order, six other people banished to the Transkei appealed unsuccessfully against their orders.244

Mr Mzwandile Matutu, the MP for Butterworth, was detained in November in terms of the TPSA. Three Transkei policemen were found guilty on a charge of culpable homicide and three counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, following the death of Mr Adolphus Tetyana and the assault of three others, all murder suspects, in police custody. It was found that Mr Tetyana had died in the Butterworth Hospital of sepsis and shock five days after being struck 53 times while in custody. A Durban advocate, Mr T L Skweyiya, was paid R11 200 in damages by the Transkei government in an out-of-court settlement. He claimed that his 11-day detention had caused him discomfort and public humiliation.

Venda

The opposition Venda Independence Party (VIP) said in February that it would use the 1984 Venda general election as a test of whether there was a role for an

VENDA FINANCE

opposition. The VIP won most elected seats in the elections of 1973 and 1978, but is outnumbered in the Assembly by nominated chiefs and headmen who support the ruling Venda National Party (VNP). Mr Gilbert Bakane, head of the VIP, said the VNP was growing intolerant of his party and that it was difficult to apply the principles of democracy in Venda. The people of Venda rejected the government but President Patrick Mphephu, he alleged, used his power to threaten the chiefs, who in turn threatened to deprive their subjects of land and work if they refused to support them.245 Chief Mphephu was made Life President of Venda in May. The VIP, which holds 25 of the 42 elected seats, decided to disband following the decision. Mr Bakane said there was no purpose in serving as an opposition in the light of the new development. The government was dominated by traditional chiefs without insight into the workings of a modern government, he claimed. However, at a meeting in Sibasa, the party's supporters urged that it fight another election.246

Dr Alex Boraine (PFP) said that SA taxpayers were giving R300m a year to Venda, which he described as a land of 'hunger, corruption and sudden death' where the President lived in 'obscene affluence' in a R750 000 house, where the opposition was in gaol, and where the majority of the people starved on R20 a month. It was reported that only eight percent of the population over the age of five was literate and that President Mphephu himself had been educated only to Standard Five. The Venda government is reported to have spent more than R250 000 on cars for its top officials, who each have two luxury models. Former detainees are reported to have filed more than R300 000 in claims against the Venda authorities for alleged torture while in detention.27 Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that there was nothing he could do about Venda as it was 'independent'.248
The VIP criticised Venda chiefs for forcing additional taxation on their subjects. Venda chiefs are permitted by the government to receive a levy not exceeding R10 per individual from their subjects, but the VIP said that forced additional taxation paid to chiefs through tribal councils was uncalled for as chiefs were being well paid by the government.249

Mr Bakane alleged that drought relief from the SA government was being used selectively to buy fodder and to create employment for friends and relatives of President Mphephu and his government. Aid was being withheld from areas (Vuwani, Mutale and Sibasa) most strongly opposed to the president. Mr Bakane further criticised the ruling party for holding extravagant feasts allegedly financed by forced contributions from poor tribal families.250

Finance
The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs said that R102,4m was paid to Venda in terms of agreements between the two territories in the 1982/83 financial year, including loans in terms of project aid agreements. An additional loan of R8,8m would be paid to cover costs incurred in six projects. A senior SA state official, claimed, however, that Venda received at least R300m in 1982, Venda's National (Police) Force was subsidised by R50m by the SA government, and 300 seconded SA officials cost R70m.251

For 1983/84 revenue was estimated at R37 590 000 from internal sources, R18 480 000 from additional budgetary aid and loans, and R96 443 200 from SA 'aid'.

VENDA LAND AND SECURITY
The following amounts were voted by the 1982/83 and 1983/84:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>National Assembly and Local Government</th>
<th>Transport and Works</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Agriculture and Forestry</th>
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<td>868 90 16 572 30 13 259 00</td>
<td>603 50 769 60 5 739 00 402 50 1 361 90 313 00 371 90 2 498 10 1 522 70 19 80</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A French bank, Banque Worms, arranged to provide R16m in credit to Venda for agricultural and industrial development.

Land
Dr Koornhof said in March that the SA cabinet had taken a final decision on Venda's consolidation, that the addition of land on a large scale would not contribute much to Venda's economic development, and that industrial development and employment provision should be stressed. Consolidation talks were held in Pretoria between President Mphephu and Mr Pik Botha, after which the SA government stated that adaptations could be made to the 'final' plan. Venda agreed in April to the provisions made for its consolidation in the Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Act, No 25 of 1983. It was claimed that land bought from SA farmers for Venda's consolidation had been taken over by Venda's rulers for grazing their cattle.

Security
A non-aggression treaty concluded between SA and Venda in August 1979 was gazetted in June. Two Venda policemen were found not guilty of the murder of a detainee, Mr Tshifiwa Muofhe, whose family were given an out-of-court settlement of R150 000 by the Venda National Force. They had originally submitted a damages claim of R239 000.

Two Lutheran ministers, Dean T S Farisani and the Rev Phosiwa, sued the Venda government for R20 000 each for assault. Dean Farisani was arrested after an attack on the Sibasa police station in October 1981, and claimed he was severely tortured before his release in June 1982.

Mr David Netshizhale, a Venda MP, was acquitted on a charge of contravening the Venda Constitution Act, but convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment suspended for five years on counts of criminal defamation for having said that two Venda cabinet ministers had committed ritual murders. His acquittal was on a charge that he had injured the reputation and dignity of the president by implying he would commit ritual murders. It was reported that a monthly average of four ritual killing cases was heard in the Venda courts. The son of a former Venda cabinet minister executed for ritual murder in 1982 was himself sentenced to death for the same crime in January.

President Mphephu offered the services of the Venda's Defence Force to SA for operational duty to fight 'communist-inspired terrorism'.

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HOMELAND AFFAIRS


HOMELAND AFFAIRS

HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT
Statistical Overview
In 1980, 35.7% of the population of South Africa was resident in the homelands, which, however, produced 3.4% of SA's total Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

The following table shows the GDP of each homeland in 1980, and the relative contributions by the various sectors to their GDPs (rounded off percentages):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Total GDP 1980 (R 000)</th>
<th>Agriculture (%)</th>
<th>Mining (%)</th>
<th>Manufacturing construction electricity (%)</th>
<th>Transport finance and trade (%)</th>
<th>Community social and personal services (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>584 300</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei Gazankulu</td>
<td>131 919 62 329 46 053 425 674</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane KwaZulu</td>
<td>221 685 29 606 547 339 60791 2 109 696</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa QwaQwa</td>
<td>18 28 29 6 27 19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei Venda</td>
<td>71 94 18 15 32 12 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>912 219 17 18 15 32 12 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following proportions of the GDP of each homeland and of their agricultural production were generated in the market and non-market sectors respectively, according to statistics published by the Bureau for Economic Research: Cooperation and Development (BENSO), the government agency monitoring economic trends in the homelands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Total GDP</th>
<th>Market (%)</th>
<th>Non-Market (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>394,940</td>
<td>0.131</td>
<td>0.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>180,888</td>
<td>0.090</td>
<td>0.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>19,184</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>0.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>74,582</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>1,003,272</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>146,405</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>13,974</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>0.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>20,520</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>12,208</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>0.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,775,573</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the GDP and the Gross National Product (GNP) of the homelands is accounted for by income earned by commuters and migrants (see chapter on Employment). Such income is a major part of their GNP, internally generated income (GDP) contributing less than half of the homelands' total income. The following tables give an indication of the relative contributions of commuter income, migrant income, and GDP to the homelands' economies in 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>GDP of foreign Africans (R 000)</th>
<th>Commuter income (R 000)</th>
<th>Migrant income (R 000)</th>
<th>Total income (R 000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>394,940</td>
<td>131,320</td>
<td>110,482</td>
<td>1,326,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>180,888</td>
<td>90,750</td>
<td>56,364</td>
<td>1,767,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>19,184</td>
<td>108,750</td>
<td>56,364</td>
<td>1,574,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>74,582</td>
<td>108,000</td>
<td>41,167</td>
<td>1,673,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>1,003,272</td>
<td>608,130</td>
<td>377,019</td>
<td>2,266,422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>146,405</td>
<td>393,750</td>
<td>178,323</td>
<td>2,001,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>13,974</td>
<td>96,750</td>
<td>27,389</td>
<td>1,65,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>20,520</td>
<td>717,640</td>
<td>502,389</td>
<td>2,71,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>12,208</td>
<td>79,975</td>
<td>56,402</td>
<td>1,67,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,775,573</td>
<td>2,684,610</td>
<td>1,780,807</td>
<td>2,573,022</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The figure for migrant income appears to be total earnings for migrants of each homeland irrespective of what proportion of their earnings is remitted to the homeland. BENSO has estimated (but evidently not taken into account in the above figures) that one fifth of the income of the migrants is remitted to dependants in the homelands. The table below shows GDP, commuter income, and migrant income as percentages of GNP:
The dependence of rural families on remittances from migrants and/or commuters was revealed in a survey of 4,500 households from rural and urban areas in the Transkei conducted by the Institute of Management and Development Studies of the University of Transkei. It was found that more than half of the households in the Transkei survived on a cash income of R80 or less a month and that more than 90% of this income came from migrants. Some 30% of the families survived on less than R50 a month, 95% of which came from migrant remittances. The ability to export labour was found to be the primary economic asset of the homeland. The researchers claimed that it was unlikely that the extent of poverty in the Transkei was significantly different from that in other rural areas.

The purchasing power of Africans resident in the homelands and of nonhomeland Africans in 1976 and 1980 is reflected in the table below, using current prices. (Purchasing power of Africans in the homelands is calculated to be the GDP earned by their African inhabitants, plus commuter income, plus the 20% of the income of migrant workers in the rest of SA that is thought to be remitted to their dependants in the homelands.)

Bophuthatswana Ciskei Gazankulu KaNgwane KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Transkei Venda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purchasing power (R 000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103 029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>598 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 645 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-homeland
The purchasing power of homeland Africans and that of non-homeland Africans as a percentage of total African purchasing power between 1976 and 1980 (between which dates the proportion of SA Africans resident in the homelands grew from 48.7% to 51.5%) was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Homeland Africans</th>
<th>Non-homeland Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976 (%)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977 (%)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the African population of each homeland and of the rest of SA, and the proportion of that population that was economically active and non-economically active in 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Resident African population</th>
<th>Economically active* (%)</th>
<th>Non-economically active* (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>1 323 315</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>669 340</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>512 000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Economically active* (%)</th>
<th>Non-economically active* (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HOMELAND STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Resident African population</th>
<th>Economically active* (%)</th>
<th>Non-economically active* (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>160 600</td>
<td>156 260</td>
<td>3 408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>156 000</td>
<td>200 1</td>
<td>739 460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>3 408</td>
<td>1 739 460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>10 121 420</td>
<td>3 323 650</td>
<td>315 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>739 460</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>156 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>1 739 460</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>156 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>156 260</td>
<td>3 408</td>
<td>1 739 460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of SA</td>
<td>3 323 650</td>
<td>315 545</td>
<td>10 121 420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economically
According to BENSO, 'economically active' people are not only those pursuing
full-time, part-time, or temporary occupations but also those who are unemployed
in the sense that they desire to work but are not employed full-time or part-time.
'Non-economically active' refers to persons who do not work and do not seek
work, including some persons in subsistence agriculture.

According to BENSO, the average annual growth rates in real GDP and in real
GDP per capita in the homelands between 1970 and 1980 and between 1975 and
1980 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>1975-1980 Real GDP Growth (%)</th>
<th>1975-1980 Real GDP per Capita Growth (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The levels of real GDP per capita and 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>1980 Real GDP per Capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>24,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>23,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>23,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>23,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>22,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>22,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>22,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>22,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The levels of real GDP per capita and 1980:
1976
130 69 38 26 47 48 63 67 51
(at 1980 prices) were as follows between 1976
Real GDP per capita (R) 1977 1978 1979
110 115 138
66 71 69
38 38 43
67 47 58
48 44 44
40 38 45
71 80 74
67 71 76
55 60 63
1980
159 70 44 54 45 46 68 85 69

MELAND STATISTICS
The levels of annual gross national income (GNI) per capita (at 1970 prices) were
as follows between 1976 and 1980:
GNI per capita (R)
Bophuthatswana 262 257 262 283 314
Ciskei 171 166 169 163 168
Gazankulu 109 108 108 113 120
KaNgwane 176 216 202 224 229
KwaZulu 170 172 182 187 196
Lebowa 126 120 120 127 137
QwaQwa 258 261 256 235 249
Transkei 150 151 155 160 174
Venda 114 122 131 142 154

General remarks
Economic development of the homelands occurs within the policy of 'regional
development', which encourages decentralisation of economic activity to various
places in and around the homelands. The Decentralisation Board reported that
since the announcement of new incentives in April 1982 the value of approved
private applications for industrial settlement at industrial decentralisation points
had increased from R904m in 1981/82 to R2 500m in 1982/83, while the number
of approved applications had doubled.2

The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, predicted that urbanisation of
Africans would increase from the present 35% to between 66% and 70% by the
year 2000. Whether urbanisation would occur was not a choice, but the
government did have a choice as to where it would take place, he said; the
regional development policy would encourage urbanisation in the rural areas.' In
June, the Department of Co-operation and Development announced an allocation
of R142m for the development of towns in the homelands.' A key factor in the
new regional development policy is the government's effort to obtain the co-
operation of the private sector (epitomised in the Carlton and Good Hope
Conferences of 1979 and 1981 respectively). Another feature is the establishment
of consultative structures with the 'independent' homelands involving a series of
multilateral technical committees for health and welfare; industries, commerce
and tourism; posts and telecommunications; transport; manpower development
and utilisation; agriculture and environment affairs; and financial relations.
A Development Council of Ministers of Southern Africa, established in
November 1982, and comprising 30-odd ministers from SA and the four
'independent' homelands, met to discuss 'inter-state' economic co-operation on 30
May. The council agreed on a memorandum of association for a proposed
Development Bank of Southern Africa, unemployment insurance schemes for
migrant workers, a simplified incentive scheme for small-scale industrialists, and
land to be transferred to the homelands. It also agreed on additional structures,
among them a Multi-lateral Economic and Financial Committee for discussions at
departmental level, regional liaison committees, and an 'inter-state' working group
discussions at 'planning level'.
The Multi-lateral Development Council of Ministers (MDCM) met again in
Pretoria on 25 November and was attended by 34 cabinet ministers from Pretoria,

CORPORATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and Venda. The homeland ministers
voiced criticism of the migrant labour system and of the lack of material benefits
flowing out of the council. Mr B N Pityi, the Ciskei's Minister of Foreign Affairs,
said that after a full year of intensive multilateral activity, deliberations, meetings
and working groups, the same problems were still on the agenda. It was
imperative that the council succeed in achieving practical and tangible results on
some of the issues. Urgent matters raised were employment creation, labour
mobilisation, financing and land use. Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional
Development and Planning, argued that scarcity was a reality of economic life.
All the homelands, both 'independent' and non-independent, remain largely
dependent on Pretoria economically and financially. The government regards its
expenditure on them not as normal public expenditure but as 'aid', and even
'foreign aid' in the case of the 'independent' homelands. An article on the
structures through which SA's 'aid effort' works said the official 'development
assistance programme' dated from 1968, when the Economic Co-operation
Promotion Loan Fund was established. The government also set up a specialised
'aid' agency in 1978 within the Department of Foreign Affairs called the Division
of Economic and Development Co-operation. In 1983 it was manned by a Chief
Director and 25 officials. In 1979, the division set up the Committee for
Economic and Development Co-operation in Southern Africa (KEOSSA), on
which statutory bodies and government departments involved in the
implementation of official 'aid' programmes are represented. This advisory body
considers all applications for development assistance from the 'independent'
homelands, and if they are acceptable refers them for further consideration by the
Department of Foreign Affairs. If an application is approved, Pretoria enters into a
bilateral agreement with the homeland concerned. In 1982/83, 51 such projects
were receiving SA government funding, usually of not more than 60%. The SA
government preferred loans from the Loan Fund to grants from the Technical
Assistance Fund, on the grounds that loans encourage 'self help'. By 31 March
1983, R284m had been disbursed from the Loan Fund (not only to homelands).
Statutory and budgetary assistance to the 'independent' homelands was seen as
temporary. Technical assistance included the seconding of government officials
and private sector experts. In January 1983, there were 1,213 seconded officials in
the 'independent' homelands (excluding seconded Corporation for Economic
Development (CED) officials). Technical assistance also included advice,
training, feasibility studies and preliminary surveys of proposed development
projects. A final form of assistance included emergency aid such as drought relief
aid.'

Corporation for Economic Development (CED)
According to the final annual report of the Corporation for Economic
Development (CED), total capital required for 1982/83 was R181m. The SA
treasury contributed R58m, while the CED generated R49m (as against R84m in
1981/82), the shortfall being obtained on the capital market. The CED repaid
foreign loans of R13m. The CED's managing director, Mr J Nieuwoudt, reported
that difficult economic circumstances and the serious drought had affected its
activities and the homeland 'economies'. Crops were detrimentally affected, and
grazing deteriorated to such an extent that stock farmers suffered severe capital
losses. Industrialists experienced cash-flow problems and many had to decrease
their workforces. Mr Nieuwoudt said that the new decentralisation incentives
announced by

DEVELOPMENT BANK
the government in April 1982 had stimulated intense interest among industrialists,
among them Taiwanese and Americans. But while the private sector played
asignificant role in industrial development in the homelands, it was insufficiently
involved in agriculture. The CED saw better use of the agricultural potential of
the homelands as essential, and was investigating methods of overcoming
obstacles to private sector involvement, such as short leases and lack of sufficient
land for entrepreneurs. It saw use of SA Development Trust (SADT) land as
important in this regard. The CED measured its success by the two criteria of job
creation and cost per job. Mr Nieuwoudt said that greater emphasis should in
future be placed on rural and community development, and on self-help schemes.8
The CED - formerly the Bantu Investment Corporation - was established in 1968
to promote the economic development of the homelands. It was, however, to be
gradually dismantled from 30 June 1983 following the establishment of the
Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). Its functions and assets, along
with those of the state-owned Mining Corporation, were to be decentralised and
transferred to the development corporations of the non-independent homelands, as
has already been done in the case of the 'independent' homelands. (Over the past
two decades a development corporation was established in each homeland, with
the exception of KwaNdebele, where such a corporation was said in November to
be 'under consideration'.)9 It was expected that the executive functions of the
CED would be transferred to the various homeland governments by 31 March 1984: these include its shares and role in the homeland agriculture companies, its industrial decentralisation functions, and its shareholding in the development corporations. Its shares and role in the transport companies were expected to take longer to transfer. 10
Certain CED functions were transferred to the development corporations of Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KwaZulu and KaNgwane in November 1983.11 The functions of the Mining Corporation will be taken over by the development bank (management and control of ‘development aid’) and by the development corporations. The Bureau for Economic Research: Co-operation and Development (BENSO) will largely be taken over by the bank. 12
The bank will take over the role of SA government departments in financing infrastructure and the CED’s loan responsibility. The CED will play a supporting role to the homeland development corporations by retaining experts on industrial and agricultural matters. Much of the CED's staff will perform the managerial functions of the bank or be channelled into the development corporations. The bank will channel loans to its members using the project cycle as the basis for lending and on the merits of projects, as there is no amount guaranteed to each member. The finance will go to the ‘government’ concerned or the relevant development corporation. The CED’s assets of over R700m will be partly retained by the SA Development Trust (SADT) and partly transferred to the development corporations. The control structure of the bank differs from that of the CED in that it contains representation of the ‘independent’ states as full members.3
The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA)
The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), which replaced the CED as SA's regional development agency, was formally established on 1 September, having been initially approved in principle at a 1980 'summit' conference between Pretoria and its four 'independent' homelands. One of the reasons for the delay in launching the bank was evidently fear by officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development that the bank would be too independent of its political influence. The five founding members are the Pretoria government and these four homelands. The non-independent homelands and regional development advisory committees participate as part of the SA representation, and the possibility has been mooted that other southern African states and western countries should be associate members.14 However, Dr Simon Brand, economic adviser to the Prime Minister and first chief executive officer of the bank, said in November that he did not think there was 'any possibility in the near future of one of our neighbours joining (because) the political climate is not right at present'. 15
The bank is managed by a board of governors, a board of directors (consisting of experts in the development and financial fields), and a chief executive. Dr Brand and a special committee under his chairmanship finalised a multilateral agreement which serves as a memorandum of association of the bank and was signed on 30 June in Cape Town. The board of governors, with six Pretoria representatives and four homeland representatives, is the top policy-making body, while the board of
directors is responsible for operational policy. The five member governments each appointed one director and the board of governors a further five. The board of governors consists of Mr Owen Horwood (president), Dr Piet Koornhof, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Dawie de Villiers (all members of the cabinet), Dr Gerhard de Kock (governor of the SA Reserve Bank), Mr S M Qaba (for the Transkei), Mr S L L Rathebe (for Bophuthatswana), Mr G FN Ravele (for Venda), and Chief M E P Malefane (for the Ciskei). The board of governors appointed five leading SA businessmen as directors: Mr John Maree, executive director of Barlow Rand; Dr Pieter Morkel, managing director of Volkskas; Mr Gerry Muller, recently retired chief executive of the Nedbank group; Mr Robin Plumbridge, chairman of Gold Fields of SA; and Dr A P Scholtz of Noord-Westelike Korporasie (to represent the agricultural sector). The other five directors are Mr Marius de Waal of the Industrial Development Corporation; Mr Wynand van Graan, chairman of the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation; Mr Jack Botes, town clerk of Pietersburg (for Venda); Mr Gary Godden, the Ciskei’s Secretary of Planning; and Professor L Mkuhlu for the Transkei.

The capital target is R2 000m, of which only R200m will be paid up by the five member ‘states’ in the first five years, leaving the remaning R1 800m as a liability of the member governments against which loans will be raised in the capital markets. Pretoria is also to make R1 500m available to a development fund administered by the bank in the first five-year period of its existence. This commitment will be extended annually in a five-year cycle, enabling the bank to plan ahead. Dr Brand said it was hoped that the private sector would support the loan issues of the bank and that private financial institutions would provide specialised services for raising funds in the capital market. Most of the infrastructural projects financed by the bank were likely to be contracted to private sector firms and it was intended to draw private sector people on to advisory panels. The bank planned to seek overseas funding.

The bank will grant loans and provide technical assistance and training. It will concentrate on infrastructural development in which the private sector cannot become involved because of the non-profitability of such investment. The bank expects to make R650m available annually for infrastructure and project development by the mid-1980s. Its articles of agreement define it solely in economic terms; involvement in political, constitutional and non-economic issues is prohibited. It will be based in Johannesburg to underlie its ‘independence’ from political influences and to ensure close links with the local and international financial communities. The bank's structure, however, recognises political entities which have evolved in terms of the government's policy, and adopts its guidelines from the regional development policy of the five member 'states'. Mr John Maree, one of the bank's directors, said that the new approach in regional development planning was co-operation across 'political boundaries': the southern African economy was no longer seen as eleven separate economies but as eight regions which formed functional units. The bank would play an important role, he
claimed, in transferring resources from the developed to the less developed regions, thereby reducing disparities. 21

Notes on Employment
The majority of the people in the homelands are unemployed or work in 'white' SA. Many live just within the homelands and commute daily across the borders. A Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) investigation found that the majority of the more than 80 'urban' areas in the non-independent homelands were situated on the borders. 22

In the 1981/82 financial year the following new jobs were created in the homelands by the CED and the various homeland development corporations (the average cost per job opportunity is given in brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Total Agriculture</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>and Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CED</td>
<td>18504</td>
<td>10 509</td>
<td>6 629(R7 881)</td>
<td>1 103 (R13 616)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>2 865</td>
<td>2 143 (R9 000)</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>255 (R5 730)</td>
<td>1 213 (R11 878)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>1 219</td>
<td>- (R9 238)</td>
<td>1 131 (R4 846)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>255 (R5 730)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>1 213</td>
<td>1 213 (R11 878)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>-293</td>
<td>(R9 362)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures for the CED include 3924 jobs created in Bophuthatswana in 1981/82.23

Total cumulative employment in undertakings established by development corporations and on an agency basis as at 31 March 1983 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development Corporations</th>
<th>Agency Basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>10 967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>1 019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>6 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>3 513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>2 195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As at 31 March 1982, undertakings established with CED loans had created 17 731 jobs in Bophuthatswana and 5 221 in the Ciskei.24

The Transkei designed a project to create 12 000 jobs over three years with a total of R18m in 'aid' from Pretoria. Pretoria, however, tried to make the 'aid' conditional upon the acceptance by the Transkei of the deportation of 'illegal' 'Transkeians' from the 'squatter' areas of the western Cape. The Transkei author-

HOMELAND AGRICULTURE

ities disputed this but eventually agreed to receive 1 000 people for every 4000 jobs created. Researchers at the University of Transkei estimated that at least 120 000 people had left the Transkei 'illegally' to search for work in the 'white' areas of the Republic. Transkei officials estimated that 200000 people were looking for work in that homeland.25

The Ciskei's Minister of Manpower, Chief Maqoma, claimed that his department, through its Manpower Development Centre (MDC) (see 1982 Survey pp 384-385) at Mdantsane and district agencies, had placed about 25 000 workers in
employment in SA. He described labour as Ciskei's 'black gold'. The department had introduced a systematic promotion campaign to influence employers to make use of Ciskei labour, he said. He had had discussions with the then head of state security, Lt Gen Charles Sebe, and said it was very likely that a form of disciplinary training on military lines for those workers who broke their contracts for no valid reason, would be implemented in future. Chief Maqoma added that his department had tried to build bridges with employers in SA, but that these were continually broken down by 'irresponsible' and 'unpatriotic' people. Referring to the disciplinary training, Mr Jack Roos, director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said it would be a 'good thing' if this form of training were to improve the 'efficiency' of workers. Mr Jan Theron, general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, said Chief Maqoma had made a 'barbaric' proposal. The statement referring to 'black gold' could have been made by a 'slave trader'. Such repressive measures gave the lie to all the government's talk of reform, he claimed.26

Agriculture
The Drought and Drought Relief
The continuation of the drought in 1983 had a devastating effect on the already poverty-stricken homelands. The Gazankulu government estimated that more than half its population of 500 000 would need food aid in order to survive the winter. Lebowa estimated that 400 000 would need feeding. Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Executive Councillor of KaNgwane, said that the winter would be a matter of sheer survival for most people in KaNgwane as its 11 000 peasant farmers faced that season without any crops. By May, stock deaths in the Ciskei and the Transkei had reached 60 000. In October, homeland authorities reported the death of two thirds of the cattle and the devastation of most pastures as a result of the drought of the previous two years.27

After an urgent meeting in Pretoria the government supplied R20m in drought relief aid to the six non-independent homelands for the following programmes: assistance to African commercial farmers in the form of a 75% transport rebate and subsidies; water schemes; job creation; feeding schemes, and selective feeding of stud livestock to protect the best breeding herds. The aid was designed to create 22 000 jobs, mainly on public works projects, with a wage of R46 per month for eight months. Bophuthatswana set aside R42m for drought relief as harvests were expected to be about 40% of those in 1982.28 It had negotiated a R9.6m loan for relief, operative from December 1982. Pretoria granted the Transkei R6,75m and the Ciskei R7,05m, effective from March. The Transkei also applied for a loan to provide bridging finance for farmers. Venda was granted R6m .29

DROUGHT
Mr Errol Moorcroft, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) spokesman on agriculture, said in parliament that the house paid a great deal of attention to the effect of the drought on the white agricultural community, but that the homelands had been visited by drought, disease and death on a scale unparalleled in the history of SA. They had become a 'charnel house for man and beast', he said. In
the first six months of 1983, more than 130 000 head of cattle had died of starvation in the homelands. The Transkei had lost livestock to the value of R100m. Almost without exception, there had been a total failure of maize and sorghum crops throughout the homelands and by June there was a threefold increase in the incidence of malnutrition at homeland hospitals and clinics. Mr Moorcroft added that when people fled from poverty and hunger in the homelands, they were deemed 'illegal squatters', persecuted, and deported. The government had forced tens of thousands to live in the homelands, and then refused to accept the inevitable consequences.30 Warding off starvation in the homelands was largely left to churches and organisations such as the SA Institute of Race Relations' Operation Hunger project, World Vision, and the Red Cross, aided by companies in the private sector and the general public. Mrs Ina Perlman, manager of Operation Hunger, said that the effects of the drought - retrenchment, stock deaths, and the devastation of the land - would be felt for years to come, and that more than 357 000 people would require some form of relief in 1984 as dozens of rural communities began a painful reconstruction of their lives after SA's worst drought in decades.

Mr Owen Horwood, Minister of Finance, announced in November that the government had spent R500m on drought relief in 1983. Of this amount, it appeared that about R50m had been spent in the homelands. R50m was spent in South West Africa/Namibia.31 It was reported in October that the collapse of already minimal 'subsistence' agriculture in the homelands through drought and overpopulation was pushing a tide of 85 000 people into the cities every month. At the same time, a reverse stream of retrenched workers headed towards the homelands. Community leaders on the East Rand confirmed the influx of people from KwaZulu and Lebowa into the townships in search of work, while an increased flow of people from rural areas to Pretoria was confirmed by the city's authorities. At the same time, police arrested those not registered to be in the urban areas: according to the Black Sash, pass arrests increased from 108 499 in 1980 to 206 022 in 1982. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) predicted that within 17 years, the African population would have grown to 37m, 75% of whom would be living in vast settlements around main cities. The trend would continue, despite government efforts to remove people to the rural areas.32 The Institute of Natural Resources (INR) at the University of Natal warned that the neglect and deplorably poor conditions of SA's African rural areas were the greatest single threat to the long-term stability of the country. A doctoral student at the University of Natal estimated that there were 500 000 'squatters' in the Durban metropolitan area along the KwaZulu / Natal border. He contended that the decentralisation policy had failed to halt urbanisation, as the momentum was too powerful to be put into reverse. The homeland border areas would represent the next potential flashpoint in SA society, he predicted.33

Agencies involved in Homeland agriculture

The 1981/82 annual report of the Department of Co-operation and Development gave details of its involvement in homeland agriculture. A working group on over-
HOMELAND AGRICULTURE

grazing had collected information from all the non-independent homelands and had recommended that higher priority be given to the stock industry and that stock management should be brought about in close co-operation with the tribal authorities and stock owners.

Extension services and training were rendered to the six non-independent homelands, and to the Ciskei and Venda. The department was involved in marketing products produced on SA Development Trust (SADT) land. The most important was timber, of which more than R1m worth had been sold in 1981/82. The department's sisal projects, which produced 3 990 tons in 1981/82 in KaNgwane, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda, were to be handed over to individual African ownership. Ten new co-operatives were registered with the department during 1981/82, making a total of 24 in the non-independent homelands: 13 in KwaZulu, four in Gazankulu, three in KaNgwane, two in KwaNdebele and two in the Moutse area of Lebowa. The co-operatives supplied agricultural production inputs to farmers.

As at 31 March 1982, the following Trust land was leased:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of farms</th>
<th>Ha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to development corporations</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to white farmers</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to African farmers</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The department erected 355km of new fences in 1981/82 to manage pastures and prevent over-grazing. It regarded 'squatting' on Trust farms as one of its biggest 'problems'. As at 31 March 1982, 3 600 families were 'squatting' on Trust land around KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Bophuthatswana, and the Ciskei. The report said that the main factor preventing their resettlement was lack of funds to develop areas for such settlement.34

During 1982/83, the Agricultural Division of the Corporation for Economic Development (CED) invested R15,6m in homeland agriculture, making a total CED investment of R112,8m in this sector. The CED policy was to encourage labour-intensive products, methods and systems. Altogether, 32 000 workers and farmers were involved in CED agricultural activities. The CED and the various homeland development corporations owned equal shares in agricultural companies in the six non-independent homelands. Three companies of the CED also operated on land belonging to the SADT as agents of the trust to maintain levels of production. The CED ran training courses for farmers and potential farmers and undertook 40 investigations and evaluations on behalf of SA government departments, homeland administrations and private organisations. The CED reported that the drought had had a negative effect on production and on financial results in 1982/83, and was expected to have an even greater effect on 1983/84 yields. Maize was planted on 77% of the CED's 52 000ha devoted to annual crops, while cotton and wheat covered 6% and 9% respectively. The CED's perennial crops, of which citrus was the most important, covered 6 100ha. The CED produced 10% of SA's total citrus crop, and its overseas exports
included citrus, litchis, mangoes, and avocados. Between 1979 and 1983, the CED planted 550ha of coffee in Lebowa, Gazankulu and KaNgwane, yielding 130 tons in 1982. CED projects produced 12% of SA's total air-cured tobacco crop.

HOMELAND AGRICULTURE
The CED was also involved in animal production and had a beef herd of 11000, and 1000 sows. Three million litres of milk were produced during 1982/83. During 1982/83 citrus provided 52% of the gross income of the CED's agricultural products, industrial crops 22%, animal production 14% and other activities, such as forestry, 12%.35 The CED undertook pilot projects for fresh water prawns, silk production, and cassava.

The CED report for 1982/83 gave the following details of projects (both agency and management) and employment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Workers</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust farms &amp; other</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The policy of the CED's agricultural division is to lease land from a tribal authority, identify suitable production methods and crops, and enter into a partnership with the tribal authority to set up commercial farming projects. Profits are shared with the tribal authority, which appoints members of the tribe to operate an economic unit of land around the main commercial project.

Unsuccessful farmers are replaced, while successful farmers acquire the use of more than one unit. Agricultural companies initiated by the CED have established 12 projects in Gazankulu, ten in Lebowa, six in KaNgwane, ten in QwaQwa and 13 in KwaZulu.36 In a private study of development projects, it was argued that agriculture in the homelands had been underdeveloped through the labour demands of SA industry and agriculture, and that the homelands had been reduced to a largely subsistence level, becoming hopelessly overcrowded and without meaningful infrastructure. The study said that agricultural development work was largely undertaken by state and quasi-state bodies through agricultural officers working with the tribal authorities. The effect was to reinforce the latter's position by placing more organisational resources in their hands; they were then in a position to exercise considerable control over the lives of rural people. In the Transkei, Zenzele, an organisation of women's clubs connected to the ruling Transkei National Independence Party, controlled the allocation of land for communal gardens. In the Mahlangu area of Lebowa, where there is a large mazie and bean producers' co-operative, the individual plot holders had no say over production and were allowed only a few bags from the crop. The remainder went to pay co-op expenses and to purchase new equipment, which was seen as
belonging to the chief and the government. The various agricultural corporations in the homelands, such as Agricor in Bophuthatswana, set up state farms through which small groups of privileged full-time farmers, selected by the corporation, were established. The centralisation of planning suggested that people in the homelands were to be involved only in the carrying out of official plans. Other involvement in homeland agriculture was through university institutes and the private sector, which usually

AGRICULTURE: BOPHUTHATSWANA
had the effect of reinforcing the position of tribal elites. Only a few small organisations involved in rural development in the homelands had as their priority the need for democratic organisation in communities, outside the control of established elites and government channels.37

Bophuthatswana
A R42m drought relief programme under the Minister of Defence went into operation in May aimed at preserving nearly 500 000 head of livestock, and saving 90 000 farmers financially. An amount of R25m was directed in loans to private farmers assisted by the Agricultural Development Corporation (Agricor) and farmers on Temisano projects. The drought relief plan included a major water reticulation scheme in the extensive western districts of Tlaping-Tlharo and Ganyesa, which had been hardest hit by the drought. Between its establishment in April 1978 and December 1982 Agricor invested R50m in various projects, established 3 000 viable farmers, and, through its Temisano Development Programme, which aims to establish sound rural communities based on economically viable agricultural projects, developed nearly 40 000 hectares of maize farms in central Bophuthatswana. It also developed an irrigation scheme at Taung which covers 4 300ha and supports 530 farmers who produce groundnuts, maize, wheat, and cotton. This will be expanded through an investment of R50m over the next 13 years to produce deciduous fruit and grapes. Agricor is attempting to improve the marketing infrastructure and has constructed three silos to store grain. It has also established 10 000ha of wheat and maize in the eastern part of Bophuthatswana and plans an extensive cattle ranching scheme for the same area. Agricor in addition finances individual farmers who are not part of Temisano projects.

Bophuthatswana is self-sufficient in maize and exports it. Yields average seven tons a hectare. Agricor says that although the homeland is importing beef, it is overstocked with cattle. It has plans to establish more abattoirs, a meat processing plant, and feedlots.38

Agricor submitted a R30m development budget for 1983/84 for the development of maize and groundnut projects in eastern Bophuthatswana and a 4 200ha farm in west-central Bophuthatswana. Also in the plan are a milling company (Sebowana Mills), two irrigation schemes for vegetable production, and a series of grain distribution points to aid smaller maize producers. 39

A trade adviser to President Reagan of the US visited Bophuthatswana in October as a guest of Agricor. He said he was highly impressed with Agricor's agricultural development work and would attempt to find markets for its exports.40
An agricultural distribution company, Temo-Vet, was formed to procure farming requisites for Temisano projects. Vetsak, a SA agricultural co-operative, will hold 50% of the shares, Agricor 30%, and Ditsobotla and Lesedi (Bophuthatswana co-operatives) ten percent each.4

Agricor said that only five percent of the entire donkey population of Bophuthatswana was productive. In May, Chief E M Mokgoko, Bophuthatswana’s Minister of Agriculture, announced that most of the homeland’s 67947 donkeys would be culled by the defence force, as they were grazing on land that could be used by cattle. He claimed that only surplus donkeys that roamed the country doing no work and having no real owners, would be killed.

People who

AGRICULTURE: CISKEI

needed donkeys for productive purposes could apply to chiefs and magistrates in their area to keep them, but donkeys which could not be proved to be absolutely essential would be shot. The culling began in July. Many farmers and villagers expressed horror and bitterness at the operation, claiming that their donkeys were essential to their way of life. Bophuthatswana Defeince Force helicopters circled areas searching for unreported donkeys. No one was allowed to keep more than four donkeys. The chairman of the Pretoria Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) said that he had received numerous reports from members of the public of the maltreatment and mishandling of donkeys. Villagers in the Odi and Moretele districts complained that donkeys were shot at random; they cited the case of two donkeys allegedly shot while drawing a cart carrying bags of mealie-meal. Moiletswane residents complained of the health hazards of unburied rotting carcasses, and were waiting for the police or health authorities to remove them. No compensation was offered to donkey owners. (Donkeys cost about R15 a head in Bophuthatswana.)42 Following summer rains, the authorities suspended culling operations in October, by which time, some sources estimated, 10000 donkeys had been killed.

A silkworm project in Bophuthatswana delivered cocoons to a depot producing raw silk. SA textile manufacturers indicated that they were interested in replacing imported silk fibre with the raw silk.43

Ciskei

According to government and agricultural officials, crop production in the Ciskei was crippled and the severe drought was causing a rural economic crisis from which it would take years to recover. Three years of drought had almost destroyed the Ciskei’s subsistence agriculture. Between January and September, 40 000 of a national herd of 220 000 larger stock, and 50 000 goats and sheep had died as a result of the drought.4

The SA government allocated R6m in drought relief aid to the Ciskei in June 1982, and R7,05m in April 1983. The Ciskei Drought Relief Committee, chaired by Mr Gary Godden, Ciskei’s Secretary of Planning, said the funds were used for the following drought relief programme in 1982 (and again in 1983):

* 13000 public works jobs were allocated to the 50 tribal authorities
according to their populations; the people involved, who were mainly destitute 'subsistence' farmers, were paid R2 per day for digging trenches for cables and pipes, clearing silt from dams, and clearing land of thornbush and weeds;
* a reserve of R500 000 was kept for drought relief jobs on a project basis;
* feeding schemes through the tribal authorities were given R500 000;
* Rlm was given for water distribution through a fleet of 40 water tankers and four mobile water purification plants;
* the remainder of the money was spent on fodder which was sold to farmers, with a 75% subsidy by SA and Ciskei.
The employment programme reached only 13 000 out of 30 000 destitute 'subsistence' farmers, and some tribal authorities reduced the rate for drought relief jobs to R22 a month to stretch the number of jobs.
The South African and Ciskei Defence Forces undertook a co-operative water supply project which supplied 1 million litres of water every week to 6 villages in the Dimbaza, Frankfort and Keiskammahoek areas. Boreholes had dried

**AGRICULTURE: CISKEI**
up one after the other and grazing was virtually non-existent. The Minister of Agriculture, Mr L M Fani, said in January that the government would accommodate the animals of drought-stricken farmers in government camps. For R2 per head a month, they would be fed, dipped and checked by a veterinarian. Members of the Mgwali community near Stutterheim said that they were being refused government drought relief aid because they opposed their removal to the Ciskei. A spokesman for the residents claimed that only card-carrying members of the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) were allowed food relief. At a SA Institute of Race Relations forum in February on black resettlement, Mr Errol Moorcroft MP (PFP) said the Ciskei drought was taking on the proportions of a national disaster unprecedented in this century. Resettlement had contributed to the destruction of Ciskei’s natural resources and many people were solely dependent on pensions and migrant workers' remittances, he said. The SA government had a responsibility to aid the Ciskei’s people. In April, crops worth R100 000 were destroyed in a hail storm in the Ciskei border area. Glenmore farm, part of the Tyefu Irrigation scheme, lost 50% of its crops. In the first five months of 1983, nearly ten percent of the Ciskei's cattle died.
Agricultural scientists at the University of Fort Hare said that stock losses as a result of drought would reduce pressure on the land, allowing it to make a significant recovery. Even with adequate rainfall, it would take 20 to 30 years of proper stocking and grazing management to restore Ciskei land to good condition. In January, the Ciskei authorities impounded white border farmers' cattle found grazing illegally on Ciskei state land in the Frankfort area. Farmers had to pay fines to reclaim their cattle. It was believed that the impounding operation was undertaken as a means of collecting money for Ciskei's drought relief. In June it was reported that hundreds of starving cattle from Ciskei were
crossing SA borders to graze on bordering farms. Farmers said that the animals were infecting their herds with tick-borne diseases.50

The Ciskei Rural Development Programme proposed the identification and implementation of labour-intensive projects to provide infrastructure and support agricultural and small scale manufacturing activity in the rural areas. Initially conceived as an RI Im project to create jobs for 20 000 rural unemployed, the plan has been started in seven tribal areas. (In November 1982, it was estimated that there were 70000 unemployed in Ciskei's rural areas.) Work is provided on a 'piece-work' basis, and includes building and repairing dams, repairing roads, and working on soil conservation measures. It is combined with the drought relief programme financed by SA.51 The SA government decided not to participate in funding the project, but said it would reconsider for 1984/85. Ciskei financed the project with R2m from its own funds.

The Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) Agricultural Division, which is involved in commercial agriculture, runs three pineapple projects in the Peddie district. It supplied 13 800 tons of pineapples to an East London cannery in 1982/83, six million new plants being established during the year. Fifty tons of pineapples were successfully exported on a trial basis in January to the United Kingdom. The CNDC plans to export 1 500 tons by early 1984. The Tainton Pineapple Project was requested to assist the Msutu Tribal Authority with management and expertise in establishing ten hectares of pineapples annually. The CNDC assisted the Department of Rural Development to establish a Pineapple

AGRICULTURE: GAZANKULU

Farmers' Settler Scheme. It has ten farmers growing pineapples on a communal basis for their own account.52 The Ciskei Agricultural Marketing and Development Board assisted producers to market their products. It pays farmers in advance and later pays the full realisation (less marketing expenses). Through the board, livestock sales in 1981 exceeded R3m; 57% of fresh milk sold in the Ciskei was supplied by Ciskei producers; 150 Ciskei farmers used the board's maize and wheat marketing schemes; and a new milling plant was brought into service.51

The Page Report on Ciskei development strategy recommended a gradual change in the size of agricultural smallholdings from one-tenth-hectare to fourhectare plots on a household tenure. It said the traditional communal land tenure system offered little incentive to improve the stock or the land. The report advocated tenure systems of the Keiskamma type, where agricultural holdings administered by or on behalf of the government were leased to farmers, initially on probation, and settlements of the Tyefu type of subsistence project, where small plots in tribal land areas were allocated to the original occupiers in integrated irrigation areas. The purchase of farms under 99-year leasehold in former 'white' areas was also recommended by the report. Four types of agricultural communities were proposed: irrigation schemes of quarter-hectare plots for vegetables grown on a co-operative basis; village dairy products on poorer soil; fat lamb communal schemes; and fattening ranches for cattle. The report said that the Ciskei's
agricultural potential was low and that the only option was rapid urbanisation and intensive agriculture under irrigation. Food processing factories were suggested.54 The Ciskei Minister of Agriculture said that the Ciskei's economy would depend heavily on agriculture for many years: economic viability would be sought in the rural rather than the industrial areas.55

A policy statement of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry in August consequently advocated an emphasis on efficiently run large-scale projects based on irrigation to improve the quality of commercial crops. This would be the responsibility of the Ciskei’s new Agricultural Development Corporation. It also recommended that attention be given to traditional farmers, soil conservation works, fencing, and the clearing of dams. The department was to produce a fiveyear plan.56

The chairman of a regional development advisory committee said that the Ciskei needed to develop a rural urbanisation strategy to ensure that its land resources remained available for primary agricultural production, and to create job opportunities. Some 23 towns were being planned, designed, and expanded he said, and between 15 000ha and 20 000ha would need to be brought under intensive agricultural production before the end of the century.

**Gazankulu**

Gazankulu's cattle herds decreased from 217 000 in June 1982 to 187 000 in February 1983 as a result of the drought and overgrazing. Gazankulu received R4,2m in drought relief. Of this, R3,4m was used for job-creating projects, R317 000 for general relief, and R293 384 for a feeding programme. The projects, through which 5 870 jobs were created, included repairs to fences, water distribution, soil conservation, building of classrooms, brickmaking, dipping tank construction, and the establishment of vegetable gardens. A stock feed project amounted to R6,5m. Available fodder was sold to farmers at a subsidised price of R2 per bale, water at RI per bale. The food distribution programme served an estimated

**AGRICULTURE: KWAZULU**

453 500 people at a cost of R158 023.51

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, regards agriculture as the main potential development sector of the homeland. The strategy of the Gazankulu Agricultural Company (GAC) had been to establish projects to serve centres around which small individual farming units will be developed. Professor Ntsanwisi said that the emphasis should shift away from extensive stock farming to intensive land cultivation to provide more employment and a base for secondary industry.58

The GAC manages ten farming projects, producing cotton, tobacco, vegetables, maize, coffee, citrus, and mangoes. It also has dairy farms in Giyani and Nkowankowa. Total capital investment exceeds R6m and 2 000 are employed. Approximately 350 individual farmers have been assisted. The company also manages large project farms on SA Development Trust (SADT) land. The completion of the Middle Letaba Dam will make 6 000ha of irrigation land available. The Lisbon sub-tropical fruit-producing farm bordering Gazankulu and
owned by the CED employs 600 Shangaan workers from the Mahla district. A citrus and mango farm within Gazankulu called Saringwa, bordering on the Lisbon estate, is a joint venture by the Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation (STDC) the GAC, and CED, and has trained 25 Shangaan farmers in fruit farming. These farmers are regarded as the nucleus of a middle-class farming group developing in Gazankulu. At the request of the STDC, a silkworm industry project, based on the recommendations of the Taiwan Agricultural Improvement Station, was investigated. Agricultural advisers of the CED harvested the first crop of freshwater prawns from the dams of a pilot project in Gazankulu.59

KaNgwane

The KaNgwane Economic Development Corporation (KEDC), joint shareholder with the CED in the KaNgwane Agricultural Company, had several agricultural projects worth over R4m in operation. A large coffee project at Schoemansdal was due to deliver its first crop in 1984. The KEDC wished to promote agro-industries and saw potential for a dairy industry, fruit and vegetable processing, fish breeding, and broiler units. In 1981/82, the Department of Cooperation and Development assisted in the production of sugar at the Lomati Project. It also conducted a forestry potential survey covering 400 000ha and a more intensive survey of 40 000ha to determine the potential for wattle production.60

KwaZulu

The drought had a drastic effect on KwaZulu. The cash crops of the KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) failed totally. The KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry supplied the following information concerning cattle deaths:61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Cattle deaths</th>
<th>Cattle slaughtered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madedlana</td>
<td>12 173</td>
<td>23 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogwini</td>
<td>33 845</td>
<td>17 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpandleni</td>
<td>12 382</td>
<td>13 576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umzansi</td>
<td>14 102</td>
<td>12 890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72 502</td>
<td>67 151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGRICULTURE: KWAZULU

In 1982/83 slightly more than 9 000 head of cattle were sold. KwaZulu received R4,9m from the central government for drought relief. It decided to use R1,7m for water provision, R2,5m for temporary employment, and R0,7m for assisting crop farmers. The temporary employment was for 7 000 people, mainly in forestry and agriculture. Dr Frank Mdhlalose, the then KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, said many boreholes in KwaZulu's 25 districts had dried up. In some areas of Nongoma and Mahlabathini, half had dried up. He said crop failure was widespread, and that in the Mpandleni and Madedlana regions, farmers were unable to repay loans from the KDC. More than 6 900 families required help as a result of the drought. Only 100 boreholes were funded for the 1983/84 financial year although 561 were needed.62

The policy of the KDC is that any development effort in KwaZulu must of necessity have a substantial agricultural component because of the density of
people on the land: 70% of KwaZulu's population lives on the land and almost 36% of the income of these people is derived from agriculture. During 1982/83, the KDC’s agricultural activities were fully decentralised to the four territorial offices at Ngwelezana, Madadeni, Port Natal, and Ulundi. The management of the KwaZulu Agricultural Company (which is responsible for managing SA Development Trust (SADT) farms at Eshowe, Ntambanana, and Ndumu) was handed over to the Ngwelezana office during the year. The four offices granted R1 243 211 in loans to 419 loanees, benefiting an estimated 8 794 people during 1982/83. At both Ngwelezana and Port Natal, the establishment of cane haulage contractors to transport cane from farms to the sugar mills was emphasised. The Ulundi office helped tractor contractors acquire tractors and these contractors ploughed and planted for 162 farmers in the Mahlabatini area.

The Buthelezi Commission, reporting in 1982, found that rural KwaZulu could support 140 000 families or 1.26 million people if tribal agriculture were upgraded to commercial levels of productivity. This would require a migration of 830 000 people from the land, which implied the impossible task of building 170 000 houses within the next eight years. Thus rural development was regarded as an urgent priority.

The KDC established an agricultural training unit at Mfume. The courses aimed to teach a family of eight to live off one hectare of land. Participants were also taught how the unit could be run commercially. The KDC planned initially to hold 18 ten-day courses a year, each catering for 20 people. The groups to be trained would be selected by the Inkatha Development Office at Ulundi.

The Institute of Natural Resources at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, (INR) aims to develop a co-ordinated land-use strategy to reduce overcrowding, unemployment, and malnutrition in KwaZulu. It launched a project called 'The Development of an Agricultural Marketing System for KwaZulu'. Marketing of surpluses in KwaZulu is largely through local informal markets and supply is irregular. While KwaZulu had seven registered co-operatives and the Department of Agriculture was encouraging co-operative growth, the INR said that there was no clear marketing policy in the less developed areas, or any institution to formulate policy. The INR also ran a pilot development project at Biyela to assess the potential for dry land crop production, irrigation, grazing, forestry and groundwater. The INR produced a document entitled 'Agriculture in Natal/KwaZulu: Development Potential'. It said that the 3,3m ha of land farmed in KwaZulu were occupied by 400 000 families of whom no more than 20% could be called commercial farmers in any sense. The average family produced less than half of its own

AGRICULTURE: LEBOWA

food requirements. The document advocated greater co-operation from Natal agriculture and a co-ordinated approach to agricultural development in the Natal/KwaZulu region. This implied the abandonment of consolidation proposals as Natal and KwaZulu would be treated as one unit. The INR advocated the provision of resources - sanitation, water, health, education, tractor hire, credit, fertiliser, seed and marketing outlets- by the government and/or the private sector to aid a transition to small-scale commercial farming. It also called for security of
tenure for Africans in the cities, because migrants could then free their land in the homeland for commercial agriculture.67
Sugar cane production is the most advanced agricultural enterprise in KwaZulu, assistance being granted by the KDC and the Small Cane Growers' Financial Aid Fund. Sugar cane production in 1981/82 was valued at R24m. A sugar cane irrigation project worth R600 000 is being constructed at Mansomini on the Mvoti River. It will eventually irrigate 178ha of Qwabe tribal land. The KDC advanced loans to the 38 participating farmers while the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry was to provide the infrastructure. Glendale Sugar Millers were to install irrigation equipment and construct the water works.68

Lebowa
Lebowa received R8,5m in drought relief. R4,65m was set aside for water provision, R2,7m for employment creation, R700000 for credit facilities and R359 000 for the purchase of fodder.69
Total investment in the Lebowa Agricultural Company (LAC) by the Lebowa Development Corporation (LDC) was R5.2m at 31 March 1983, of which R2.9m was invested in poultry production. The LAC is active in the production of cotton, wheat, citrus, tobacco, potatoes, vegetables, avocados, dairy products, and poultry products. The Department of Co-operation and Development assisted in planning and draining 74ha of land on the Champagne Fruit Farm as well as in the planning and installation of an irrigation system for 200ha of the farm. In 1982 a start was made on a women's extension officer service with the planning of the curriculum for the training of women at the Tompe Seleka Agricultural College.71 Research on Lebowa's capacity for fish farming began in 1973. It was estimated by a research team from the University of the North that Lebowa could have 9 000ha of dam water available for fish production by 1986. A course on fresh water fish production was instituted at the college and a five-year programme drawn up to establish the industry.72
The Ndebele Agricultural Co-operative, which receives help from the LAC, runs ten farms. Irrigation for 60ha was planned. The co-operative delivers maize to the Lebowa Milling Company, and also has an egg producing scheme. Advisers at the co-operative assist farmers in breeding better cattle and sheep. Lebowa is self-sufficient in egg production. There were 11 broiler farms in Lebowa and three others being established.73
The LDC and the Lund Lebowa Company (a poultry project) constructed the Mashashaan hatchery to provide 550 000 newly-hatched chickens annually to supply Lund Lebowa and the Ndebele Co-operative Poultry Project.74
The first phase of the R3m Olfants River Irrigation Scheme, developed by Agricultural Management Services, was handed over to the Department of Agriculture. It entailed cultivation of 300ha and the construction of irrigation canals, pump stations, and pipes.75

AGRICULTURE: TRANSKEI
QwaQwa
QwaQwa was allocated R1,4m by the SA government for drought relief. R400 000 was used for water provision, R300 000 for purchasing fodder, and the
remainder for job creation and feeding schemes. The QwaQwa government purchased 1400 tons of fodder for sale to farmers at subsidised prices. Fifty water tanks were placed in severely drought-stricken areas.76

The QwaQwa Development Corporation (QDC) and the CED (now the Development Bank) are joint shareholders in the QwaQwa Agricultural Company (QAC). The QAC's assets as at 31 March 1983 amounted to R4,64m and its budget for 1983/84 was R2,03m. The QAC emphasises the development of individual Sotho agricultural entrepreneurs.77 The QAC began an asparagus farm in November 1982, employing 35 people, and the first crop will be harvested in October 1985. A co-operative is envisaged to undertake the processing and marketing of the products, which will be exported to Europe. The whole project will eventually provide employment to 1000 people. The QwaQwa Dairy of the QAC serves as a training unit for potential dairy farmers who will be established by the QAC. The dairy supplies fresh milk to QwaQwa on a daily basis and expected production for 1983/84 is 931480 litres. In addition to the Rydal Mount Piggery, a piggery has been established by the QAC at Castle View.78

Transkei

A Transkei delegation met Mr Pik Botha, SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Cape Town in February to discuss drought relief. Aid of R6,7m was granted and a programme launched in the 28 districts through social workers, district commissioners, and district co-ordinators. It included provision of water supplies, livestock feed for key herds, food aid and temporary job creation. Other goods were distributed through hospitals and clinics. About 700 000ha in the Transkei are under subsistence crop production. President Kaiser Matanzima estimated in April that the drought would cost R100m in stock losses. Some 60000ha were planted under maize in 1982 but in many areas the drought caused total crop failure. Between January and September 1983, 120000 cattle, out of a national herd of 1600 000, died.79

Maize is the mainstay of Transkei agriculture, and the Transkei Agricultural Corporation (Tracor) aims for future self-sufficiency in this regard. At present, the Transkei 'imports' 90% of its food requirements from SA. Tracor, which was established in April 1981, showed a net loss of R525 000 for 1981/82. By the end of 1982, Tracor was utilising 7 000ha in nine commercial projects against annual expenditure of R20m, financed by the Transkei itself, profits from its projects, and grants from Pretoria. Tracor was allocated R5m in the Transkei budget for 1983/84. Tracor has developed various irrigation schemes. The Ncora scheme had 3 200ha under irrigation. About 3 000ha were under irrigation at the Qamata scheme. Another scheme had been planned near the Xanxa Dam. There were 15 additional minor irrigation schemes of 42ha throughout the Transkei. These, together with Ncora, produced half of the Transkei's milk needs. Tracor had lent over R500 000 to local farmers up to the beginning of 1983. It uses traditional commonage attached to towns and villages to provide a small income from grazing for the local councils. It hoped to use them more efficiently for maize and beef production, as in the Qumbu region, with 400ha available for crops, and a dairy and feedlot under construction.80
AGRICULTURE: VENDA

Professor T J Bembridge, head of the Department of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development at Fort Hare University, conducted an investigation into factors affecting low levels of agricultural production in three areas representative of semi-intensive and semi-extensive farming in the Transkei. Despite good potential for intensive and semi-intensive agriculture, continuous cultivation and depletion of soil fertility had caused cropping potential to decline, while grazing areas were in various stages of degradation. Lack of farming information, draught power, implements and supporting services of credit, marketing and research were found to be major constraints on output. Many short-comings in extension services were also revealed. Traditionally-owned cattle, sheep and goats made relatively small contributions to the rural economy, and there had been no significant improvement in agricultural production in the previous 27 years.

Professor Bembridge advocated a co-ordinated strategy at national and regional level to remove the barriers to agricultural and rural development, and a policy of encouraging 'more progressive individuals'.

Mr R Clarke, economic adviser to the Transkei government, said that returns per hectare from forestry were ten times as much as from grazing livestock. The yearly revenue from the forestry industry (excluding the 50 saw-mills) was approximately R3m. It employed about 5000 unskilled workers. The Transkei planned to put 20 000 more hectares under forestry. Already, 1.4% of Transkei's area is under exotic forests and 1.6% under indigenous trees.

In a White Paper on Development, the Transkei authorities recommended a shift of emphasis away from formal industry to the development of agriculture and the informal sector. The White Paper projected an expenditure of R234m on agriculture over the next five years, with a view to developing agriculturally-based industry. It also recommended that encouragement be given to people to work the land through the development of group farming operations (which it referred to as 'masizakos'), the provision of irrigation schemes, and loans to individuals.

Venda

Venda was allocated R6m in drought relief. This was used for water provision, fodder, feeding schemes and creation of jobs. The development of irrigation schemes in Venda receives high priority and 3700ha were under irrigation in 1983. Agriven, Venda's agricultural development organisation, is developing and managing the Makonde irrigation scheme. The Tshiombe and Rambuda irrigation projects for 800 small commercial farmers on five-hectare plots are being developed. Venda imports all its staple food but has started commercial production of maize and wheat as a step towards self-sufficiency in food. Agriven has contracts to supply tomatoes, potatoes, peas, and sweet corn for canning. African farmers are being settled on ten-hectare fruit-producing units. Agriven uses 1 400ha of irrigated land for project farming for its own income and to assist surrounding commercial farmers. The development of the red meat industry was hampered by foot and mouth disease control regulations, which can prohibit Venda from marketing beef in SA. Rice is produced in small quantities in the Tengwe Valley. Agriven undertook experiments to ascertain whether fish could
be produced and marketed in Venda. It plans to stock the Njelele dam with fish for commercial purposes. Venda's National Development Policy Paper stated that a leasehold or individual ownership system was necessary to make land available to farmers, as the traditional land tenure system prevented private property ownership.4

HOMELAND MINING

Mining

The value of mineral production, excluding platinum, in each of the non-independent homelands in the 1981/82 financial year was as follows:15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Rm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>20,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>108,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>83,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mining Corporation, the state-owned company devoted to the development of mining in the non-independent homelands, spent approximately R1,8m on mineral exploration there in 1982/83, compared with R1,lm in 1981/82. It also carried out consulting work for Venda. The corporation's revenue for the year was R3,lm but a net loss of R3,8m brought its accumulated loss at 31 March 1983 to R20,5m. A total of R875 000 was spent by the private sector in exploration in the 1982/83 financial year, compared with R3m in 1981/82. The substantial reduction was ascribed to unfavourable economic conditions. The private sector negotiated 13 subleases for mineral exploration with the corporation during the year. Details of prospecting by the private sector in the non-independent homelands up to the end of March 1983 in terms of rights granted by the Mining Corporation were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Number of extent</th>
<th>Africans in</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>employment</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>permissions (ha)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34 856</td>
<td>169 920</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>52 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4 802</td>
<td>60 276</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>41 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20 882</td>
<td>5 504</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16 976</td>
<td>210 768</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>197 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>63 480</td>
<td>428 257</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>114 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>140 996</td>
<td>874 725</td>
<td>1 009</td>
<td>405 609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the year, 51 mines and associated industries were in production in the nonindependent homelands and job opportunities were provided for 7 917 Africans. Details of mining activities up to the end of March 1983 were :16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of producing mines</th>
<th>Number of Africans and associated Minerals in employ</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
industries  Gold Asbestos Chrome Sand Other ment R Private Sector
Gazankulu  2  2  109  36 168
KaNgwane  1  -  1  1 475  2 916 352
KwaNdebele  -  -  -  -  -  -
KwaZulu  28  -  -  -  27 1  636  1 436 266
Lebowa  17  -  1  5  6  5  5 236  13 920 569
QwaQwa
RRS  0

HOMELAND MINING
Number of producing and associated industries Gold Asbestos Chrome Sand Other minerals R Mining Corporation
Number of mines Africans in employ- Earnings

Gazankulu  2  2  354  657 252
Lebowa  1  -1  107  241 032
Total  51  4  2  6  33  6  7 917 20 207639

Commenting on the mining potential of the non-independent homelands, the Mining Corporation said that KwaZulu, Gazankulu and Lebowa had the best potential for mining development in the near future. The corporation also did research in 'independent' homelands, for use in attracting mining investment.

Bophuthatswana
The dominant sector in Bophuthatswana's economy is mining and quarrying. The Merensky Reef, found over a length of 40 kilometres in Bophuthatswana, contains the world's largest platinum reserves. Bophuthatswana's Minister of Economic Affairs estimated the value of the mining industry's production in 1980 at R586m, which declined to R543m in 1981. In 1981 there were 17 operating mines in Bophuthatswana, employing 46500 people. In the mining of platinum group metals, nickel, copper, gold, and silver are produced as by-products. Further important products are vanadium, asbestos, chrome and granite.

A large alluvial diamond mine was opened by Mafikeng Diamonds, a subsidiary of Rio Tinto SA, in Bophuthatswana near Mafikeng. Production began in June and the mine was officially opened in September. It was to have a year's trial operation to determine the distribution and value of the diamonds in the deposit, which is expected to give the mine a lifespan of 50 years at an annual mining rate of 400 000t of alluvial gravel.

Gazankulu
Of the five mines in Gazankulu, only three were in operation in 1983 - the Fumani Gold Mine (at which an additional 29000 tons of gold-bearing ore were delineated), the Giyani Stone Crusher, and the Louis Moore Gold Mine, at which reclamation from old dumps was in progress. Much of the ore discovered in the Mining Corporation's exploration of Gazankulu depended for its profitable exploitation on the development of more sophisticated metallurgical processes, available infrastructure, and market demand.

Lebowa
Active mines in Lebowa include the Atok Platinum Mines, the Driekop Platinum Mine, the chrome mine at Groothoek, andalusite mines at Havercroft and Annesley, and the Penge asbestos mine (run by General Mining Union Corporation, Gencor). The Penge mine employs 2 200 workers and mines 400 000 tons of amosite asbestos per annum. Tailing dumps were being covered with waste and rock and/or grassed to lessen the health hazards. Negotiations for the joint devel-

**HOMELAND MINING**

opment of a platinum deposit in Lebowa were successfully concluded by the Mining Corporation and investigations into its economic viability expected to be concluded within three to four years.9"

**KwaZulu**

Geological exploration in KwaZulu indicated the probability of several new mines coming into operation in future, including anthracite along the coast and coal in the Nongoma-Hlabisa area, and, possibly, small-scale gold mining in the Nkandla area. In addition, Anglo American Prospecting Services is investigating copper and zinc mineralisation in the Nqutu district, while a cement manufacturer is investigating large deposits of limestone in the Umzumbe district. KwaZulu has four significant coal-bearing areas, in the districts of NongomaHlabisa, Somkele, Newcastle, and Ladysmith. Exploration was being carried out in these various areas in 1983 by Gencor, Southern Sphere Mining and Development Company, the Mining Corporation, and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (JCI). The Nongoma-Hlabisa coalfield could come into production within the next five to seven years. A medium-sized anthracite mine will probably be developed in the Somkele area. Richards Bay Minerals was extracting and processing large deposits of mineral-bearing beach sands in the coastal area, while Gencor and Tisand were evaluating deposits south of Richards Bay.91

Towards the end of 1982 Southern Sphere, a subsidiary of the American company Utah International -- which is part of the American General Electric group - decided to sell its prospecting rights for a new anthracite mine in KwaZulu to Gencor. Originally Southern Sphere and Gencor were planning on a 50:50 partnership in the mine - KwaNgoma --- which was expected to produce between 1 and 1,5 million tons of anthracite a year and provide 1350 jobs at a capital cost of R160m. According to officials of the Mining Corporation in Pretoria, Southern Sphere withdrew from the venture because it was apprehensive about press publicity and political pressures. Accordingly, Gencor took over Southern Sphere's prospecting rights and opened a small mine at KwaNgoma, from which it completed the extraction of bulk samples in mid year. It expected to take the final decision as to whether to open the mine after various potential customers had responded.12

**Other Homelands**

The Mining Corporation has, over the past few years, found a uranium deposit of 1,3m tons of ore in QwaQwa, and verdite and barite deposits in KaNgwane. Development of two coal mines in KaNgwane was delayed owing to poor demand
for medium-grade anthracite. Iscor and Venda announced in January that Iscor was to open an experimental coal mine in Venda employing about 170 people and costing an estimated R12m. The mine would be established on a trial basis to determine mining conditions underground and confirm exploration results. Iscor would test the coal and then decide on the feasibility of a full-scale mining operation. About 1000 tons of processed coal would be obtained each week. The mine is in the far north-eastern corner of Venda between the Luvubu and Mutale Rivers and is Venda's first coal mine.93

HOMELAND MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing Industry

The limited industrial development in the homelands made no significant inroads into the unemployment problems there. The Corporation for Economic Development (CED) was involved in homeland industry through the canvassing of industrialists, the evaluation and financing of projects, and the establishment of industrial infrastructure. It identified the clothing, footwear, furniture, electronic, and agro-industrial sectors as target markets. It is expected that by 31 March 1984, the CED will have transferred its industrialisation functions to the governments of the non-independent homelands while the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) will assume its loan responsibilities and infrastructural functions.

During 1982/83, the CED established 31 new factories in the non-independent homelands, creating 2 894 job opportunities and making a cumulative total of 20 954 jobs in industry there. The new factories represented a CED investment of R15m. The CED also approved 99 new projects, with an employment creating capacity of 12 901 jobs. Of these, 64 were new projects (including 16 foreign projects) and 35 were extensions to existing factories. They represented an investment of R67m by the CED and R39,4m by the private sector. The CED established the required infrastructure at Isithebe and Ezakheni in KwaZulu, Phuthaditjiwa in QwaQwa, Seshgo and Lebowakgomo in Lebowa, Nkowankowa and Mkulu in Gazankulu, Botshabelo near Bloemfontein, and Kabokweni in KaNgwane. In July, the CED approved a further R28m investment in factory buildings in Seshgo, Onverwacht, Witsieshoek, Ezakheni, Kabokweni and Madadeni.

The CED gave R8,49m in financial aid to the 'independent' homelands for the establishment of industries and also seconded personnel to the Department of Foreign Affairs for the evaluation of projects there. Industrial activity through CED loans had created cumulative totals of 17 731 and 5 221 employment opportunities in Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei respectively at 31 March 1982.91 Two new companies formed in July, the Brivik Group and Interco Management Services (IMS), aimed to create 20000 jobs in the ten homelands, at a far lower cost per job than government estimates of such costs. They ran a pilot project with a clothing manufacturer at Isithebe in KwaZulu, where they established a shirt factory, creating employment at a cost of R3 500 per job.95

Bophuthatswana
At December 1982 there were 161 factories capitalised at R190m and employing 19300 people at the industrial growth points of Babalegi, GaRankuwa, and Mogwase. The annual report of the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (BNDC) for 1982/83 stated that it had an interest of up to 50% in 23 of Bophuthatswana's best-known companies. The net asset value of its holdings totalled R260.5m at 31 March 1983.96 During 1982, R6m was spent by the BNDC on infrastructure for the Mogwase industrial township and R8m for GaRankuwa. These townships have 57 and 236 serviced sites respectively. By the end of 1982, 30 small industrialists had been assisted in establishing service and manufacturing industries.97 New factories established in 1983 included Turnall Bophuthatswana, manufacturing asbestos products, and Wesglas, a R27m glass factory in GaRankuwa which is due to come into production in July 1984. 

MANUFACTURING: CISKEI

venture by the controllers of Toyota, Datsun, and Sigma. is to serve the motor industry, and evidently chose GaRankuwa as a site primarily in support of the government's industrial decentralisation policy." Mr Wynand van Graan, managing director of the BNDC, announced that by October, industrial projects worth more than R2m had already been approved at Thaba'Nchu (newly incorporated into Bophuthatswana), where total industrial investment is about R18m. The first industrial park established by the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) outside 'white' SA was opened in October in GaRankuwa99

During 1983, a second training school was established at Molopo near Mafikeng (the other is at Mmabatho) to provide skilled labour for the area. It handles 450 students a day and offers courses in building, mechanics, electronics and catering."" The Bophuthatswana administration made it possible for non-citizens to obtain title to land. Formerly businessmen rented factory and commercial buildings from the BNDC. Mr van Graan said that the principle of 'free enterprise' was written into the homeland's constitution and that the maximum tax on company profits in Bophuthatswana other than in the mining industry was 38%.

An Industrial Conciliation Bill was tabled in the Assembly in May (see chapter on Labour Relations)."

Ciskei

The number of agreements between the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) and industrialists was 66 at 31 March 1983. This was a 50% increase on 1981/82. Actual investment in industry increased by R31,3m during the year (a 53% increase on 1981/82) to a cumulative total of R84,7m. (The CNDC's total investment in the Ciskei was R186m.) A total of 11890 jobs had been created by the CNDC in the industrial sector at a cost of R7 127 per job opportunity. The CNDC had invested a cumulative total of R5,6m in industrial infrastructure at 31 March 1983. Its stated policy objectives were, inter alia, improvement of the Ciskei's GNP, improvement of the standard of living of 'Ciskeians' in a free enterprise system, the development of 'Ciskeians' as entrepreneurs, and the creation of employment. 102 The CNDC became known as
the 'Ciskei People's Development Bank' from 1 September, on which date the Development Bank of Southern Africa was formally established. 103
The managing director of the CNDC, Mr Frans Meisenholl, said that, unlike in the eastern Cape cities, 'strikes are altogether unknown in the Ciskei, as the industrial estates have been developed right next to large concentrations of unemployed people'. He referred to the 'inherent stability' of the Ciskei.1114 By May 16 new factories for Dimbaza and Fort Jackson had been approved by the CNDC, and were awaiting fund allocation or finalisation. Nine new factories had been developed in Dimbaza: one of these, Dimbaza Steel Windows, was the first Dimbaza factory owned by a 'Ciskeian'. Two of the nine were relocated from Port Elizabeth. Thirty new industries for the area were in the planning stage. By October, 40 investment applications totalling R50m were being investigated.01 Many factories in Dimbaza expanded considerably: Dimbaza Foundries, for example, had tripled its capacity since its establishment and the Montage company expanded its eight-month old operation with a new R1m factory, which was due for completion by January 1984. "6 A new R8.8m textile factory, Da Gama Home Fashions, was opened in Mdantsane in October, providing 300 jobs in the first

MANUFACTURING: CISKEI

phase. The Thrustor Group, manufacturing industrial and military protective apparel, acquired a new factory at Mdantsane. A new manufacturing factory opened at Sada, employing 150 skilled people. An Italian textile company, Savio SPA (a subsidiary company of a holding company of the Italian ministry of state holdings), signed an agreement in December with Ciskei Mohair (Cismo), in terms of which it would lease Cismo a R12m mill and provide a comprehensive training programme for staff. Agreement was also reached on international marketing of the mill's production and on the mill's management by Savio SPA until competent Ciskeians were available. The CNDC stated its intention to develop Sada, Wesley and Keiskammahoek industrially. 1117
Speaking during the fourth month of the Mdantsane bus boycott, President Lennox Sebe claimed he was unaware of the adverse conditions 'supposedly prevailing' in the Ciskei and that investment was continuing at a steady rate. Despite 'negative propaganda' industrial investments totalling over R15m had been made between July and September, he said.
Up to December 1982 the CNDC had invested R7m in 443 small businesses and industries owned by Ciskeians. President Sebe opened the Small Business Industries complex and the head office of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) in Zwelitsha in May. It was announced in August that a R993 000 small industries complex was to be built in Mdantsane's Zone 11 as a joint venture between the Ciskei SBDC and the SA SBDC. The complex would include factory workshops and mechanical and panel beating business sites. A technikon in Mdantsane was planned to supply industrialists with trained and skilled technicians. 108
A Ciskei delegation led by President Lennox Sebe met some 40 Israeli industrialists at a meeting in Israel arranged by the Manufacturers' Association of
Israel to explain the Ciskei's industrial concession package, which was reportedly regarded by the industrialists as the most attractive in southern Africa. Several leading Israeli industrialists indicated their intention to establish industries in the Ciskei. It was suggested that a team of technical experts covering agriculture, commerce and industry, and housing and construction, be sent to the Ciskei to investigate identified projects and their possible implementation. 109 A deal for the establishment of the first Israeli factory in the Ciskei was announced on 1 December. It is a R2m underwear factory called Ciskatex and a joint venture between the IPD International Corporation and the Schoellerinan Group. Thirteen further applications from Israeli industrialists with a potential total investment of R20m and job creation capacity of 2 000 jobs were being investigated in December.110 Speaking in December at an international conference in Tel Aviv, Mr Meisenholl claimed that the poor economies of African countries could be blamed on 'grandiose and disastrous agricultural schemes which neglected the vital role of industry in development'. He added that while agriculture had been declared to be the basis for economic development in the Ciskei, the Ciskei authorities had committed themselves firmly to industrial development in a framework of 'free enterprise'.

During 1983 it was announced that a clause included in all agreements between the CNDC and industrialists which gave the CNDC the option to purchase industries after a number of years, had been waived with immediate effect. In terms of an act in 1982 enabling industrialists to own land in certain designated industrial areas of the Ciskei (see 1982 Survey p 426), 14ha of industrial land in Fort Jackson were registered in 1983 in the name of Consolidated Textiles of the MANUFACTURING: GAZANKULU

Frame group. This was the first grant of full freehold property in an 'independent' homeland to an industrial concern. The mill would come into production in 1984 employing 800 'Ciskeians' and eventually 2 000 people.111 The Page Report on Ciskei development strategy recommended that the Ciskei give more attention to developing centralised industry within the Ciskei than to border development. It also suggested that the Ciskei produce its own consumer goods to reduce spending beyond its borders. Dimbaza should be seen as a potential industrial capital despite the shortage of suitable land for further development, and be expanded towards Middledrift, about 17km away. Strong links with the economic growth region in the East London corridor should be retained in the short term, however. The report said that an industrial development programme in the Ciskei could take 25 years. The gradual evolution of an economy based on agriculture to one equally reliant on industry would diversify the mix of factories away from physical resource-oriented manufacturing to export goods for foreign exchange, the report said. The Page Report, which had been commissioned in the early 1970s, was presented to the Ciskei cabinet in March. It was criticised for using out-of-date statistics.12

Gazankulu

Industrial development in Gazankulu, promoted by the CED and the Shangaan/ Tswana Development Corporation (STDC), is concentrated at Nkowankowa (the
chief growth point), Giyani, and Malamulele. Nkowankowa has approximately 35 large industries and Giyani five. The STDC has set up some 50 African small entrepreneurs at the three growth points. At December 1982, it had created a cumulative total of 1 755 job opportunities in Gazankulu, while the CED had created 2 905. Giyani lacks rail facilities so the authorities initiated a transportation master plan to link it into the transportation network of Region G, situated in the north-eastern corner of SA, and one of the eight development regions designated by the SA government.

The STDC, the CED, the Gazankulu administration, and the Tzaneen Town Council jointly organised a development conference in Tzaneen in August to promote investment in Region G. Delegates were informed of the incentives offered in the area (higher in Nkowankowa than in Tzaneen); the success of established industrialists; the abundance of unemployed labour in the Nkowankowa township (only 1 700 people of the 17 000 living in the township and surrounding areas are employed); the usefulness of the tribal authority in sorting out disputes; the Gazankulu administration's commitment to 'free enterprise'; and the potential for agro-industry in the area. Professor Hudson Ntswanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, invited the delegates to invest in Gazankulu to provide development opportunities for the Shangaan people. Gazankulu could not be seen as economically viable outside the regional economic context. He commented that Gazankulu offered security of tenure to white industrialists through a 99-year leasehold scheme.

KaNgwane

KaNgwane has had little success in attracting industrialists. The authorities submitted an application for the declaration of Kabokweni as an approved industrial growth point with incentives comparable to those of other homeland growth.

MANUFACTURING: KWAZULU

points, and the CED went ahead with the establishment of infrastructure, due for completion in 1984. By the end of 1982, the KaNgwane Economic Development Corporation (KEDC) had invested R1.6m to establish 35 small industrialists in six industrial complexes and create 206 jobs. The KEDC claimed in its annual report that the proposed incorporation into Swaziland (see chapter on Homeland Affairs) had led to economic setbacks, among them the withdrawal of several entrepreneurs from negotiations. In addition, a number of KaNgwane citizens withdrew applications for business and housing loans. The KEDC's targets were not attained as a result.

KwaNdebele

The Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, Mr Simon Skosana, said that job creation through industrialisation for the population of 255 000 was a key strategy for KwaNdebele's development. Mr Skosana expressed support for the 'free enterprise' system. KwaNdebele would apply for full membership of the Development Bank when it became 'independent', he said. A number of small entrepreneurs are active at Siyabuswa. The KwaNdebele National Development Corporation (KNDC) was established during the year, with its head office in
Siyabuswa. Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, subsequently gazetted a number of regulations concerning the KNDC.1

KwaZulu

Capital expenditure by the KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) in 1982/83 was R24,4m as compared to R35,2m in 1981/82, the drop being due to an acute shortage of capital. The KDC's total investment in KwaZulu amounted to R123,26m at 31 March 1983. It closed down a number of operations that had proved to be a heavy burden on its finances and began a process of restructuring to facilitate greater participation by the private sector in the homeland's business development and the financing of African entrepreneurs. In line with this policy, the KDC formed a joint finance company with the Trust Bank of Africa, offering subsidised interest rates on loans granted to new entrepreneurs and more market-related lending rates for established business. The company expected to make R3m available per annum. The KDC believed that development needs were best served by encouraging African entrepreneurs to create jobs at low cost through private enterprise, as big-scale industrial development, such as at the Isithebe growth point, was limited by the high capital costs of job creation.116

The main growth points in KwaZulu are Isithebe, Ezakheni and Madadeni/Osizweni. Ulundi was earmarked as KwaZulu's priority growth point, while others pinpointed by the KwaZulu administration were the Edendale/Imbai/Swartkops areas and points in the vicinity of Durban and Richards Bay.117 Isithebe had 62 factories employing 5843 Africans by July, with R16 8m invested in infrastructure (mostly financed by the CED). At Ezakheni, a R15m infrastructure programme was under way, and the CED approved a further investment of R7,1m for the erection of 13 factory buildings. In the Madadeni/Osizweni area, the KDC had established 19 small industries employing about 1 500 people by June, and had provided loans and training services to the industrialists. The main employment centre for the 175 000 KwaZulu 'citizens' in Madadeni and Osizweni was, however, Newcastle.18

MANUFACTURING: LEBOWA

New investments during 1983 included R4m in Mintex SA at Isithebe and a R700000 bakery established in Ulundi on a tripartite basis. National Veneer Holdings recorded a net loss of R1,7m from its new KwaZulu factory in the first six months of 1983. Problems were initial training and a very mobile labour force. It expected 1983/84, however, to be profitable.19 A modern malt plant, owned by the KDC, was constructed at Isithebe. The multinational company, Non-Ferrous Metal Works (NFM), SA's second largest producer of copper, copper alloy, and cast products, announced in October that it was to smelt and refine locally generated magnesium-bearing scrap at Isithebe into magnesium and magnesium alloy ingots using Israeli-developed technology. The group's associate works in Israel had been using the process for the past year successfully. NFM acquired 50% of the equity in the Isithebe operation of Castle Lead Works, SA's second largest lead smelters and refiners, in April.

Responsibility for establishing small industries was decentralised from the KDC's head office to four territorial offices during 1982/83. The cost of creating jobs in
this sector was R3 468 per job during that financial year and a new set of factory units for small industry was established at Ngwelezana. (Others are at Umlazi, KwaMashu, Edendale, Mpumalanga, and Madadeni.) The KDC helped 20 small clothing manufacturers and registered 800 new 'sewing circles' during 1982/83. It also established a handicraft centre on the Makhatini Flats for 51 cooperative members. 121)

The shares of the KDC will be transferred from the CED to the KwaZulu administration by 31 March 1984, in line with the policy of winding down the CED. The KDC will receive its share capital from the KwaZulu administration in future. Loan capital is likely to be raised from the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) but the KDC hoped that it would be in a position to negotiate loans directly from the financial sector if it so wished. The KDC will assume the industrial and agricultural development functions from the CED. In a policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, welcomed this development as it would give KwaZulu more influence over decisions; in the past few years the KDC (which favours small-scale entrepreneurial development) had differed strongly with the CED, which had placed too much emphasis on industrial development and allocated too much share capital to it, particularly at Isithebe. Chief Buthelezi stressed that support by the KwaZulu authorities for the DBSA was in no way an endorsement of Pretoria's proposed constellation of southern African states. He expressed concern at the fact that most of the key positions in the DBSA were filled by staff from the CED. The DBSA would co-ordinate the contacting of industrialists, but, while accepting this, Chief Buthelezi said that the KDC wished to have a part in the initial contact stage so that it could present KwaZulu's advantages to investors, particularly its 'political policies, which (had) encouraged stability'.121 The KDC launched an advertising campaign to attract 23 senior staff members to fulfil the added responsibilities produced by the restructuring. 122

Lebowa

The Lebowa Development Corporation (LDC) and the Lebowa government have assisted in establishing 30 small industries in five centres, including Seshego and Lebowakgomo, a relatively new growth point. Production at the 18 factories already in Seshego includes clothing, ceramics, and furniture.123 Lebowakgomo

MANUFACTURING: TRANSKEI

has seven factories, which employ 700 people. The CED has built a number of standard factories there which are leased to industrialists. The LDC plans complexes for six other towns. Developments during 1982/83 included the establishment of an export-based clothing factory with Israeli partners, and a new bakery company. The Batlhabine Brickworks at Lenyene was opened. 124 Dr Cedric Phatudi, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, said that Lebowa was opposed to the nationalisation of industry and wanted industrialists to share in Lebowa's profits. Strikes, unrest and disruptions were unknown in Lebowa, he said. A delegation of Taiwanese industrialists visited the homeland to investigate its investment possibilities. The general manager or the LDC, Mr J Koster, later visited Taiwan and it was reported that he had established business connections
In August, Dr Phatudi made a tour of Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, the United States, and Britain to encourage investment in Lebowa. On his return he said that Lebowa had received firm investment commitments, and that a shoe factory and a post office machinery manufacturer would soon be established.

The LDC staged a clothing exhibition in Pietersburg to attract clothing manufacturers to Lebowa. A new clothing factory, Discreto, was established in Seshgo by the LDC and Israeli businessmen; employing 100 people, it represented an investment of R800 000.

It was reported in the Star that a controversy surrounding the management of the LDC's budget had emerged. It was alleged that money had been used to cover a R900 000 loan to a company of which a top LDC official was a director, to cover the expenses of overseas trips by LDC officials and government ministers, and to pay an architect for designing the home of Mr Koster. Mr Koster denied that there were any irregularities and said that expenditure on all items mentioned had been sanctioned in the normal way. Trips to the US and the Far East in August had been made to promote Lebowa's image among businessmen in those countries, he said.

By the end of 1982, 60 industrialists were established in QwaQwa, mainly at Phuthaditjhaba, where 35 factories provided 2 100 jobs. A new industrial park with 46 sites was being developed there by the CED. A third industrial park for small industrialists was built by the QwaQwa Development Corporation (QDC) in 1983. QDC loans to small business undertakings during 1982/83 totalled R1 097 757. The fixed assets, loans and investments of the QDC at 31 March 1983 amounted to R21 203 918.

By June the Transkei had approximately 95 established factories, situated mainly in the development areas of Butterworth and Umtata. A further 90 applications, involving investments worth R60m, were being considered. The Transkei Development Corporation (TDC) had an investment of R62m in infrastructure and industrial and commercial buildings in the homeland. The Transkei authorities announced that they would make land available to developers on long lease to give them sufficient security to develop housing. This was seen as a major land tenure concession to industrialists. Previously housing was paid for and sold by the Transkei government.

In accordance with the revamped decentralisation policy announced by the SA government, the TDC offers various incentives to industrialists establishing labour-intensive enterprises in the Transkei, such as harbour and rail rebates, labour rebates of 95% of the wage bill up to R110 per worker per month, and a 125% training cost rebate.

The development by the TDC of the Transkei's newest industrial growth point, eZibeleni, began in 1983, with three blocks of factory flats under construction near the homes of the 35 000 unemployed people there. eZibeleni has two factories, which produce clothing and carpets. The Transkei administration announced that studies were under way to determine the feasibility of establishing
a fourth growth point, in eastern Pondoland, with its agricultural potential.’32 A number of Transkei factories expanded during the year: the Transkei Knitting Company of Butterworth invested an additional R150 000 with aid from the TDC, and intended setting up another plant at eZibeleni. The Amendu Bakery in Umtata's new Zamukulungisa industrial area, Sankei Speakers in Umtata, and Butakern (a manufacturer of food acids) at Butterworth also expanded. The Transkei's exports in 1982 included shoes, record cassettes, trout-flies, and food acid.’33

The Department of Industries, Commerce, and Tourism allocated R22m in 1983/84 for incentives to small scale industrialists. The Transkei Small Industries Development Organisation (TRANSIDO) and the TDC built a complex at Ngangelizwe in Umtata to house 24 small industrialists from July. Since its establishment in 1981 TRANSIDO has assisted 600 small industrialists with advice, provisional working capital, and bulk buying. It also has a R1m plan to establish factory flats in at least eight towns during 1983/84.134

The Transkei's Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism said that government spending in industrial and commercial services was expected to decline as more use was made of open market loans and private financial institutions. More emphasis would be placed on rural development, he said. "I The Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, stated that the Transkei would never allow trade unions, as strikes would drive away industrialists. Workers could negotiate through liaison committees, he said. The minimum wage in the Transkei of 32c an hour, amounting to about R60 a month for workers in the manufacturing, building, construction and saw-milling industries, was attacked in the assembly by the MP for Umtata, Mr M Mazwana, while the MP for Nqamakwe, Mr Mndai, referred to the liaison committees as 'dummy bodies’. He commented that while workers were told that industrialists invested in the Transkei to uplift the standard of the region, they in fact invested with big concessions and made large profits. Furthermore, there were still firms not registered under the Workmen's Compensation Act who avoided payment when their workers died or were injured.36

Venda

The Venda Development Corporation (VDC) had created 6 000 jobs in Venda by the beginning of 1983 through R36.8m in total investment. The Venda administration's main objective is to develop a viable trade and services sector. The VDC gives priority to the development of local entrepreneurs through training and financial and other services. It has established 30 small industrialists at factory flats in and around Thohoyandou. There are three factory flat units in Venda, at Palmaryville, Thohoyandou, and Shayandima, where clothing, leatherwork, shoes, woodwork, and furniture are produced.137 It was reported that the VDC

HOMELAND COMMERCE

expected an additional 20 overseas investors in the metal and wood industries by mid-August, representing a R28m capital investment.'3 Commerce
The inability of the homelands to retain their purchasing power within their borders detrimentally affects their economic development, despite rules drawn up by the SA government in 1982 limiting trading within five kilometres of homeland borders (see 1982 Survey p 409) 'to prevent the flow of purchasing power from the national states to SA at the expense of development in the states themselves'. 139

Another issue affecting homeland commerce has been the granting of casino concessions. Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, strongly denied any direct or indirect government involvement in the construction or financing of casinos. He said Pretoria's opposition to casino rights on its 'borders' would be part of negotiation and agreement on the future 'independence' of other homelands. The government would not grant casino rights in 'white' SA as this would cripple those casinos which significantly supplemented homeland incomes. Dr Koornhof said that non-independent homelands had no authority to build casinos or grant casino concessions. 140 Following allegations that he had attended a meeting with KaNgwane and business representatives in 1981 at which the granting of casino rights was discussed, the Deputy Minister of Development and of Land Affairs, Mr Hennie van der Walt, asked in February for the appointment of a Parliamentary select committee. In its report on the 'alleged granting of concessions' in the non-independent homelands, the committee exonerated Mr van der Walt. 41 He was cleared of gaining personally from his involvement in the meeting and of convening the meeting, at which he had claimed that the government's policy regarding casinos was that homelands could grant concessions before 'independence', but not put them into operation. It was found that he had not tried to persuade the KaNgwane government representatives at the meeting to accept 'independence' in return for approval of casino concessions.42 After the committee had reported, Mr van der Walt resigned his government post on the grounds of ill health. MPs from all parties confirmed that his health was indeed not good. The investigation found, however, that fortunes were being made, often under suspicious circumstances, through the buying and selling of gambling franchises. Dr Koornhof said that the former secretary of the Commission for Cooperation and Development, Mr J J van Wyk, had been transferred to the post of Deputy Director of Agriculture after allegations about his involvement. A departmental investigation was launched into his activities. Mr Ray Swart (PFP) said there was evidence of gross irregularities committed by Mr van Wyk and asked that they be referred to the Advocate-General.43 Dr Koornhof said legislation would be introduced if the buying and selling of concessions did not stop.4

Bophuthatswana

The expansion of commercial undertakings in Bophuthatswana is actively encouraged by the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (BNDC) in an effort to retain purchasing power inside the homeland. 45 The Yabeng Investment Holding Company, selling shares in eight Bophuthatswana companies to the public, was launched in June with an issued
share capital of R2.7m, 70% owned by the BNDC. The companies include the Southern Sun hotel group, Checkers, Frasers, and Bophuthatswana Commercial Radio (Channel 702). The Standard Bank of Bophuthatswana, jointly owned by the Bophuthatswana administration and Standard Bank of SA, was officially opened in June. Nineteen shopping centres worth R36m exist in Bophuthswana. An agreement for the erection of a large, modern R20m complex at GaRankuwa was made between the authorities and a West German company; it represented the latest single investment in fixed commercial property by a foreign investor. The next major project will be a business complex at Mabopane. In June, GaRankuwa's biggest wholesale outlet, Tirisano Fedmark, was opened. The second phase of the Mmabatho Central Business Complex was also opened.

Modern shopping and office complexes were built in 1982 at Mogwase, Thaba'Nchu, and Lehurutse at a cost of R18m. A R2.5m bakery complex in Mabopane was due to begin production in mid-1984.

The Bophuthatswana Chamber of Commerce (BOCOC), an affiliate of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), sent a memorandum to the government bringing to its attention the intermittent harassment of small backyard manufacturers by police at Odi. In July, shebeen proprietors inaugurated the Bophuthatswana Metlhotlho National Association to pressurise the authorities to legalise shebeens. It called for a boycott of liquor outlets in Bophuthatswana townships in October following widespread police raids on shebeens in Mabopane, Hammanskraal, and GaRankuwa. Vigilante groups allegedly destroyed large quantities of liquor in these towns in action against shebeeners who defied the boycott call. Fruit vendors in GaRankuwa also alleged that they were harassed by the police.

Bophuthatswana attracted an estimated 1.5 million tourists in 1982, the industry generating approximately R85m and employing 3,000 people. The income generated was expected to increase to R120m by 1985. The BNDC's chairman said that an additional resort hotel at Sun City (Bophuthatswana's main tourist attraction) would be built at a cost of R25m. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement started a blacklist of show-business figures visiting Sun City, following the failure of the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid to produce its own list. It was announced in September that a new casino was to be built at Thaba'Nchu (which was incorporated into the homeland in October).

Ciskei
The Ciskei Chamber of Commerce (CISCOC), which is affiliated to NAFCOC, was formed on 31 May 1983.

The Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) granted 61 new loans valued at R1 688 769 to 'Ciskeians' to establish or expand commercial businesses in 1982/83, bringing the cumulative total of its business loans in respect of 517 loanees to R8 683 857 at 31 March 1983. The CNDC had an investment of R14.8m in 12 commercial ventures. It sold a number of its former projects to 'Ciskeians'. The corporation was also involved in the modernisation of hotels under its control. It said that its own projects and those in respect of which it had management agreements were becoming more profit-orientated. The CNDC was criticised for charging excessive interest rates, over-staffing with white
personnel, and being unconcerned with the people of the Ciskei. Mr Frans Meisenholl, managing director of the CNDC, said in response that the corporation's

**HOMELAND COMMERCE**

11.5% interest rate on business loans was considerably lower than the rates of commercial banks, that 95% of the 517 businessmen assisted by the CNDC had been successful in their enterprises, and that all funds generated by the corporation were reinvested in the development of the Ciskei. He welcomed a bill making provision for the auditing of the corporation's books and accounts by the Ciskei Auditor-General.

Ciskei's first casino, owned by the Southern Sun hotel group - the Amatola Sun Hotel in Bisho, capital of the Ciskei - was officially opened by President Sebe in June.

**Gazankulu**

The Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation (STDC) has established various businesses, among them the Chachulani business centre in Giyani, and the Bindzulani business centre in Nkowankowa. The Twalakule shopping centre at Dwarsloop and the Akanani shopping centre at Lulekani were opened in 1983. The STDC planned to build more shops in Gazankulu's remote areas.

**QwaQwa**

The QwaQwa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which is affiliated to NAFCOC, was inaugurated on 6 February. In the 1982 and 1983 annual reports of the QwaQwa Development Corporation (QDC), it was reported that construction of three rural business centres had begun. A complex at Namahadi accommodating nine small business undertakings had been built. Loans of R1 097 757 were granted to small business undertakings by the QDC in 1982/83. An additional tripartite company had been established and negotiations for the establishment of a further four were far advanced. The QDC had a 100% shareholding in QwaQwa Hotels (Pty) Ltd.

**KaNgwane**

The KaNgwane Economic Development Corporation (KEDC) had nine commercial ventures, mainly beerhalls, in December 1982. The homeland had 13 tripartite commercial ventures and the KEDC erected a commercial complex at Kabokweni worth R1.8m. KaNgwane's first hotel, the Ngwane Valley Inn, was expected to open at the end of 1983. A R4m lease was drawn up between the KEDC and a SA hotel group which planned to make the hotel a luxury resort.

**KwaNdebele**

Shop facilities were built in KwaNdebele for 56 general dealers in 1981 and 71 in 1982. It was reported that the KwaNdebele cabinet had granted Holiday Inns sole casino rights for R500000. Holiday Inns took over Wesjoy, the company originally granted these rights. Dr Koornhof said that non-independent homelands had no authority to grant such concessions or erect casino complexes before
'independence'. Holiday Inns planned a R60m hotel and casino complex as a counter-attraction to the Southern Sun-owned Sun City in Bophuthatswana.

HOMELAND COMMERCE

KwaZulu
The KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) had granted 900 loans for the establishment of commercial undertakings, built ten shopping centres, and established 20 tripartite companies with white entrepreneurs by June. It had invested R20m in the tripartite companies, which have a turnover of some R40m a year while shares of over R600 000 had been bought by KwaZulu 'citizens'. 112 The KDC erected a modern shopping centre in Madadeni to retain the R63m purchasing power of its residents within KwaZulu. 6 A R500 000 shopping centre was opened in KwNdgegezi by the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) as its first project in KwaZulu. The KDC and the local community council selected the tenants. 64 KwaZulu's sixth tripartite bakery was opened, in Edendale, in November as a joint venture between the KDC and the Premier Group's Associated SA Bakeries, with a total investment of R1,15m. The six bakeries, worth R6,6m, had an annual expected turnover of R25m in 1983, while Africans have shares in them worth R1,56m. Opening the Edendale bakery, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, defended the tripartite ventures, saying it was untrue that they had destroyed the small African trader. They enabled Africans, through shareholdings, to start participating in the free enterprise system, he said. 165

The KwaZulu cabinet decided that all applications for off-consumption liquor licences should be referred to the KDC for approval to prevent 'over-trading'. Members of the Durban and District Tavern Owners' Association criticised the KwaZulu administration for its failure to have local shebeens legalised. Chief Buthelezi denied that the KwaZulu administration had refused permission to the association to run shebeens; he agreed to hold discussions with the association.166 Speaking at the organisation's first annual conference, KwaZulu's then Minister of Health and Welfare, Mr D R D Madide, said that the KwaZulu government was losing millions of rands in income and sales tax from illegal shebeeners. They should meet their social responsibilities, he said; licensing and controlling of shebeens would result in a very sizeable contribution to the government's coffers. 167

In an attempt to encourage nature conservation, the Tembe tribal authority set aside 29 000ha for the Tembe Elephant Park in the Ingwavuma area. The KwaZulu bureau of natural resources, which controls the park, said that the reserve would not be ready for tourism until 1985.

The African Bank opened a branch in Umlazi on 1 October.

Lebowa
The Lebowa Chamber of Commerce (LEBCOC), which is affiliated to NAFCOC, has 11 branches, and offices in Seshego. It tries to interest residents of Lebowa in commercial agriculture and trains retailers and industrialists (in cooperation with the Lebowa Development Corporation (LDC) and the Bureau for Black Businessmen at the University of the North).169 The LDC attempts to encourage
commerce in Seshego, as Lebowa residents spend 85% of their purchasing power (R1 14m each year) in neighbouring Pietersburg. The LDC has an investment of R1m in 15 beerhalls.70 During 1982/83, the LDC granted R250 000 in loans to 12 small businessmen. Total LDC investment in businesses owned exclusively by Lebowa 'citizens' is R2.9m. The building of the Chuniespoort holiday resort and the Bushbuckridge Shopping Complex was delayed by the recession. 171

HOMELAND COMMERCE
Transkei

The Transkei Chamber of Commerce (TRACOC), a NAFCOC affiliate, had an associate membership of 181 and an ordinary membership of 408 by January. Its education committee ran various commercial courses during the year. TRACOC submitted a memorandum to the Transkei authorities on licensing policy to protect the interests of retailers.172 TRACOC called on the Transkei authorities to exclude white retail giants from the Transkei, following the authorities' White Paper on development, which said that the government was exploring ways of bringing in such enterprises through joint ventures. While supporting 'free enterprise', TRACOC believed that some measure of protection should be extended towards African retailers so that their standard of business expertise could be brought on a par with that of their white counterparts, as they had been hampered by SA's racial policies. 73

The Transkei Development Corporation (TDC) was accused in the Transkei assembly of being inefficient and TDC officials were alleged to have enriched themselves and opened their own businesses. An act was passed empowering the Public Accounts Committee to investigate the accounts of statutory bodies in the Transkei, thereby bringing the TDC under stricter financial accountability. 174

The TDC runs 11 holiday resorts on the Wild Coast and was investigating the tourist potential of 60 other sites. The authorities accepted a coastal development plan to attract tourists. The casino facility at the Holiday Inns Mzamba hotel complex was enlarged, and the hotel chain planned a new hotel nearby.7 It was alleged in the assembly that many employees at the casino were being paid only R65 a month. The casino managers said that the government had authorised them to pay such wages. The leader of the opposition, Mr Caledan Mda, claimed that the casino was given land free of charge at the expense of rural 'Transkeians' moved from it without compensation. 76

Businessmen in Matatiele complained in August that SA Police roadblocks set up outside the town, preventing hundreds of Lesotho citizens without travel documents from entering it, had had a catastrophic effect on their commerce.177

Venda

The Venda Chamber of Commerce (VENDACOC), a NAFCOC affiliate, consists of four branches, at Sibasa, Vuwani, Mutale, and Dzanani. It organised a tour to Israel in June. 178

The Venda Building Society in Sibasa, which opened in May 1982, launched a marketing campaign to increase its customers and raise capital and reserves by R5m within a year. It had investments from South Africans and more than R10m on deposit. 179 The Venda Development Corporation (VDC) was reported to
have management difficulties. Seven of the VDC’s senior officials resigned and told Mr Fanie Botha, then Minister of Manpower, that the VDC was on the verge of collapse. A senior manager of the Corporation for Economic Development (CED) carried out an investigation. A senior executive officer of the VDC denied allegations that the number of houses under construction for Africans had dropped from 40 to six at a time when the corporation was concentrating on additions to homes of white employees. 80 The licence of Mr Jaap de Villiers to run the casino at the Thohoyandou Hotel was cancelled by an act of the Venda National Assembly. Mr de Villiers had been specifically named in the Casino Amendment Act of 1982 as having sole casino rights in Venda. Following a number of law suits

HOMELAND TRANSPORT

brought by Mr de Villiers and the VDC in the Pretoria Supreme Court, the casino was closed and later reopened under a new company formed jointly by the VDC and Holiday Inns.181 In November, the Pretoria Supreme Court granted Mr de Villiers and a business colleague leave to sue the Venda government for R43m in damages for allegedly breaking a contract made in May 1982 in terms of which they were to establish a state lottery managed by them. The Venda government had undertaken to pass the necessary legislation but had failed to do so.182 In December, the Venda authorities faced two new claims from Mr de Villiers and a Johannesburg attorney, Mr Arthur Kruger, and their companies for alleged breaches of contract: a summons involving a damages claim of R245m was submitted in the Pretoria Supreme Court in October, based on allegations that the Venda government had breached a 20-year contract with Inspiration Investments whereby it was to receive a commission for raising funds and procuring investments for Venda. The second damages claim, for R32.8m, was submitted for another alleged breach of contract: the Venda Government had allegedly broken a contract with a company owned by Mr de Villiers under which the company would let gaming machines to a casino in Venda on certain terms and conditions. Inspiration also claimed R20m in damages from the Venda government on the grounds that it had refused to proceed with a deal in terms of which Inspiration would receive a commission for a loan it had raised.

Transport

The development of transport systems in South Africa is frequently linked to the government’s policy of establishing townships just inside the borders of homelands to house Africans not permitted to live permanently in the ‘white’ areas but whose labour may be required there. In many instances these townships have been established to house Africans removed from older townships adjoining towns in the ‘white’ areas (see chapter on African Removals). Workers living in homeland border townships but working in nearby ‘white’ areas are officially known as ‘commuters’ or ‘frontier commuters’. They commute daily to work in most cases, although some stay in hostels in the ‘white’ areas during the week, returning home at weekends. Their number has grown rapidly in recent years, for three main reasons: relocation of older townships to the homelands under the government’s African removals policy; movement of people from
homeland hinterlands to border townships in reach of work in the 'white' areas; and the redrawing of certain homeland boundaries with the effect that African townships in 'white' areas become incorporated into the homelands, their workers then becoming officially classified as 'commuters'. In some instances the government's decentralisation policy (see chapter on Employment) is linked to the establishment of commuter townships. The government has stated that one of its intentions is to reduce the incidence of migrancy by providing jobs closer to the homelands and so allowing homeland residents who depend on jobs in the 'white' areas to live with their families instead of being separated from them by having to live as well as work in the 'white' areas on year-long contracts, during which time they are usually compelled to stay in hostels or compounds, their families being prohibited by the pass laws (see chapter on Urban Africans) from accompanying them. The government has also contended that the commuting system will enable African workers to have regular contact with western living without removing

**FRONTIER COMMUTERS**

them completely from 'their own cultural context' and allow them to live in a family context in a 'country' where they exercise political rights. The government has also said that the expansion of commuting will assist the development of the homelands by the channelling of purchasing power to the homelands and by the 'step-by-step' distribution of economic activities from the 'white' metropolitan areas to the 'border' areas and hence eventually to the central areas of the homelands.

With the government's revised decentralisation policy, the provision of adequate commuter links has become increasingly important. The government's stated policy is to develop faster and more comfortable transport services in the form of express trains and special railway lines. In this way an increasing number of commuters could be used as labour units in the various kinds of decentralisation areas and transported home efficiently and quickly at the end of the day. The government said that it would take into account in its planning the international standard that a maximum travelling time of ninety minutes between home and the workplace is acceptable. Technological development could make underground rail systems or a new transport method possible. Opening the Belle-Ombre station at the Pretoria end of the new Pretoria-Mabopane line in August, the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said that the only efficient manner in which to transport large numbers of commuters was by train. So far the planning of African commuter systems has occurred particularly in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area and along the Durban-Pietermaritzburg axis. One of the main problems facing the development of commuter systems has been a shortage of finance. Lack of sufficient state finance meant that the onus would increasingly be on the private sector to contribute towards the financing of African commuter transport systems, the government stated in 1978. By 1981 commuters were relying most heavily on the use of buses. The table below shows that over the four years from 1977-1981 bus usage increased in all the ten 'homelands' except KwaNdebele and the Transkei. The highest percentage increase in homeland commuter bus usage was in the Ciskei. In 1981
Bophuthatswana had the highest number of train commuters, while in the Ciskei, train usage nosedived from 21.4% in 1977 to 7.8% in 1981. In most other 'homelands' the use of other forms of transport also fell.

Estimated number and percentage of border commuters 1977-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transport type</th>
<th>Area and year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>70.6</td>
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'FRONTIER COMMUTERS'

Estimated number and percentage of border commuters 1977-1981

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transport type</th>
<th>Area and year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<td>2 700</td>
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</table>

In 1981 the majority of Ciskei commuters (77%) travelled from Mdantsane in the Ciskei to East London to work. Of the remainder, 21% travelled from Zwelitsha, Dimbaza, Tembeni and Tamacha to work in King William's Town and one percent travelled from Mdantsane and Ilitha to work in Berlin. Commuting from
the homelands to work in 'white' areas occurs in respect of rural as well as urban areas. For instance, in 1981 some 81% of commuters from KwaZulu travelled to work in 'white' urban areas of SA while 19% travelled to work in 'white' rural areas. In some cases commuting from rural 'homeland' areas takes place from relocation camps, an example being commuting from Onverwacht in QwaQwa to Bloemfontein. The table below gives further details:

Estimated number of commuters according to transport type 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From: Place of residence</th>
<th>To: Workplace</th>
<th>Bus</th>
<th>Train</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana Moretele I, Odi I Odi I</td>
<td>Odi I, Odi II</td>
<td>Ciskei Mdantsane Mdantsane, Iliitha Zwelitsha, Dimbaza, Tembeni, Tamacha</td>
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<td>Pretoria Rosslyn Brits</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>145 600 All U/A (90%)* 16 600 R/A(10%)t</td>
<td>22 100</td>
<td>400 4 600</td>
<td>3000 4 600</td>
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<td>29 700</td>
<td>500 8 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London Berlin King William's Town</td>
<td>38 400 All U/A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*U/A = Urban Areas T R/A = Rural Areas</td>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>23 900 68,3 1 000 2,8 38 700 70,1 1 200 2,2</td>
<td>1 900 90,5 -</td>
<td>8 900 93,7 -</td>
<td>4 500 70,3 -</td>
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<tr>
<td>'FRONTIER COMMUTERS'</td>
<td>Estimated num From:</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Gazankulu Nkowankowa Other</td>
<td>Kwandebele Allemansdrift, Boekenhout, Bloedfontein</td>
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</table>
Dennilton
Unspecified Kwazulu
Unlazi, Kwamashu,
Inanda, Shongweni,
Mpumalanga
Lebowa
Seshego, Thabamoopo
Qwaqwa
Onverwacht
(Thaba'Nchu)
Transkei
Ezbeleni and other

ber of commuters according to transport type 1981 To:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bus</th>
<th>Train</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Workplace</th>
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<td>3800</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>7200</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>6800</td>
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</table>

5900
Unspecified
5000
Tzaneen
Other U/A
5700 All U/A (59%)
4000 R/A(41%)
7600 Pretoria
100 Die Bron, Loskop
7700 All U/A (89%)
1000 R/A(11%)
172,000 Durban, Pinetown,
Prospecton, Hammarsdale, Kingsborough,
Amanzimtoti 311 400 All U/A (81%) 72 800 R/A (19%)
25 700 Pietersburg 55 200 All U/A (76%) 17 000 R/A (24%)
- 300 6 200 Bloemfontein
- 2 500 8 400 Queenstown and
other
700 R/A

A recent study by the National Institute for Transport and Road Research revealed African dissatisfaction with transport services. The four most unsatisfactory factors experienced daily were: overcrowding, lack of punctuality of buses and trains (especially trains), insufficient and infrequent transport, and high costs. At least 55% of the commuters said they were occasionally late for work while 15% said they were often late for work because of the transport system. This caused workers great anxiety as they feared being fired or having their pay docked.
Researchers appealed to employers to familiarise themselves with their staffs' transport problems. Another factor causing concern was crime. Approximately 47% of the commuters interviewed claimed to have experienced crime either as victims or witnesses of robbery or assault. Generally, commuters were most dissatisfied with the service on longer routes into Bophuthatswana or to Hammanskraal. Although the statistics applied to the greater Pretoria-Bophuthatswana area, the report argued that the experiences of African commuters in that area were widely characteristic of African commuter experiences elsewhere.

CISKEI BUS BOYCOTT
Frustration with inadequate transport services led to physical attacks on modes of transport. In August, for example, commuters stoned buses and plundered a bread van in Pienaar (near Nelspruit) when too few buses arrived to take them to work.

In its 1983 annual report, the Corporation for Economic Development (CED), said that transport services formed an integral part of the economic development process as they provided people with the 'means to sell their labour' and helped provide an adequate standard of living. The CED was involved, through management agreements and/or shareholdings, in various homeland transport companies, including Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings, CTC Bus Company (Ciskei), Gazankulu Transport, KwaZulu Transport, Lebowa Transport, Setsokotsane Bus Service (QwaQwa), and the Transkei Road Transport Corporation. The number of buses owned by the CED’s Transport Division increased from 2222 to 2492 and passengers conveyed from 306 063 704 to 332 382 600 in 1982/83. The CED had seconded 762 transport specialists to these bus companies, which employed 10 505 people at 31 March 1983. The Transkei Road Transportation Corporation and the CED agreed that the CED would manage the corporation on behalf of the Transkei government, the sole shareholder. During 1982/83, the corporation transported 16.5m passengers over 8.9 kilometres in 230 buses. The Ciskei Department of Transport gave R2,7m to the Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) for passenger subsidies in 1982. The SA government provided a subsidy for passengers commuting across the Ciskei's borders. CTC acquired 100 new buses and seven three-axle bus trains during 1982. Of its fleet of 359, 171 old buses were due to be phased out during 1983 and 1984. During 1982, 312 buses carried 65, lm passengers. CTC planned to invest R4,5m during 1983/84 on buses, equipment, land and buildings. CTC consists of Gompo Transport, Bisho Transport, and Hewu Transport. Gompo, with 256 buses, including seven train buses, travelled between Mdantsane and East London. Bisho Transport, with 77 buses, served central Ciskei, Zwelitsha, and King William's Town. Hewu Transport had only 13 buses and operated from Whittlesea.

On 20 June the Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) - which is jointly owned by the Corporation for Economic Development (CED) and the Ciskei administration - announced that bus-fare increases averaging eleven percent would be introduced on routes throughout the Ciskei. CTC said it could not afford to expand services without the increases. On 11 July, two days before the increases took effect, a
mass meeting of Mdantsane (Ciskei) and Duncan Village (East London) residents rejected them. A boycott of the buses of Gompo Transport, a subsidiary of CTC servicing Mdantsane-East London, began on 18 July, people using trains instead. Buses were stoned and police patrolled the bus routes. A state of emergency was declared and curfew regulations were imposed in Mdantsane, the largest Ciskei township. People died at the hands of the Ciskei military forces, the Ciskei police, and Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) vigilantes as well as in counter-violence.

The slogan on the sides of the buses, 'Zezamaciskei Amahle' (roughly translated as 'These buses belong to the beautiful Ciskeians'), served to identify them with the Ciskei authorities, who employed a variety of strategies to try to break the boycott, including sjamboking of people trying to catch trains to work. The Ciskei police were also reported to have confiscated more than 200 private cars and taxis which were being used to transport people to and from East London. Numerous people were detained by the Ciskei authorities. By October there had been eight officially confirmed shooting fatalities by the Ciskei police and army, while at least thirty-two people had been injured. Incidents of counter-violence also occurred. Three children of a CNIP official died after a petrol bomb had been thrown into their parents' home, for example. At the time the bomb was thrown their father was at Mdantsane bus terminus urging people to use the buses (see also the chapter on Homeland Affairs).

The KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) decided to withdraw from the big transport companies it operated and to confine itself to actively promoting small co-operative companies belonging to the Moshav Co-operative run by African entrepreneurs. Accordingly, it sold Dimba Transport and Vermuelen's Bus Service, as they were running at severe losses. KwaZulu Transport, owned jointly by the KDC and the CED, had losses of R10m for 1982/83. The KwaZulu Department of Transport indicated that it would cut subsidies by 20% for 1982/83. Once the CED's shareholding in KwaZulu Transport is transferred to the KDC, the KDC will sell a number of routes to private operators to increase economic viability, create small cluster routes that will be serviced by the Moshav Co-operative, and allow the 'informal sector' to service the remaining routes.88

The CED prepared a final report and recommendations for the SA and Bophuthatswana governments on a new transport plan for transporting commuters from Bophuthatswana to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area. (More than 70% of the economically active population of Bophuthatswana work in the PWV area and 800 buses ferry them to and from work each day.) The planned system is designed to cut commuter travelling time by up to 50 minutes on a single journey, using electrically powered light rail trains, possibly to be financed by the Development Bank of Southern Africa. The system is being considered for the Odi-Moretele 1 District and for Mmabatho, to complement existing bus and train transport. The CED also considered track-guided buses for an internal transport system in the Mmabatho-Mafikeng-Montshiwa area. The average speed of these buses is nearly a third higher than those of
Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings. The CED's recommendations, if adopted, will not come into operation before 1988. It is estimated that by the year 2000, about 175 000 commuters will have to be transported daily to and from Pretoria alone. 89

The massive R134m transport system between Mabopane and the Belle Ombre railway station in Pretoria was officially opened by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, on 6 August. The minister said that it was not just another suburban train service conveying people from townships to work but 'a scheme to bring the citizens of one independent national state, on a daily basis, to another independent state, where their services and labour are needed'. The new railway can carry 60 000 commuters and will eventually transport 180 000 passengers daily.19" Trains began operating on 15 August with bus feeder services to and from the townships starting a few days later. In September the bus service between Mabopane and Pretoria was suspended. More than 2 000 Mabopane commuters demanded in a petition to PUTCO that it be restored. They had been forced to use the new train service as no alternative was provided. '9'

A Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey of bus commuters from KwaNdebele and recommendations for shortening travelling time was released on 26 January. It was conducted as a result of concern about the illness, absenteeism, high staff turnovers and lack of productivity in the workforce that are known symptoms of commuting over long distances for long periods. The HSRC found that most commuters travelled between 110 and 130km to work in

HOMELAND INFRASTRUCTURE

Pretoria, spending two to three hours on a bus each day. They left home before 5am and were away from home for more than 14 hours. Of the average weekly wage of R38,50, 17,5% was spent on transport. Workers often failed to reach work as a result of inadequate transport. Some 85% of commuters wanted work closer to home. The survey concluded that great demands were made on the workers, many complaining of lack of sleep. The HSRC said that it was difficult to plan transport effectively for the future because of the tremendous influx of people into KwaNdebele. It called for improvements to the bus service in the short term and emphasised the need to provide work closer to the homeland as a long term objective. 192

Infrastructure

Bophuthatswana

A R25,7m international airport at Mmabatho is being constructed in three phases, with the first expected to be completed by June 1984. The Bophuthatswana Department of Transport said that flights would continue to be routed through Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg until expanded facilities in Mmabatho made this unnecessary. 193 A temporary fire station was completed in Mabopane and plans for a permanent fire station drawn up.

A consortium of Italian electrical engineering companies claimed it had been awarded a contract to build a R84m power station in Bophuthatswana, but this was not confirmed officially. Bophuthatswana at present draws electricity from SA's Escom grid.94 Bophuthatswana was due to launch a television service in
January 1984, beamed at the Witwatersrand-Pretoria-Vereeniging area and broadcasting in English, Tswana, and Afrikaans. The service is wholly owned by the Bophuthatswana government, which has provided R30m for the main station at Mmabatho and a secondary facility at GaRankuwa. The Department of Works has bought houses in Mafikeng to accommodate the staff of about 70. Israeli experts drew up the plans for the service, trained personnel, and will prepare programmes and provide technical assistance. The SABC is supplying the service with relaying transmitters in SA (see chapter on The Media). Bop-TV will depend on SA for its frequency allocation as it is not recognised by the international community.95

Expansion worth R28.8m began in September 1982 at the Mmabatho and Taung campuses of the University of Bophuthatswana (UNIBO). UNIBO is expected to accommodate more than 3,000 students by the end of 1986.196 A R10m technical institute was planned for Thaba'Nchu, it was announced in December.97 More than R20m was set aside for the upgrading of the telephone network by the Bophuthatswana administration. Ten automatic telephone exchanges will be built in Mabopane and GaRankuwa by the end of 1984.198

Work started on the construction of a R24m civic centre in GaRankuwa to be completed before the end of 1984. It will have a community hall, shops, and offices. Plans are being made for the building of a civic centre in Mabopane. It was reported that there was a waiting list for 2,600 houses in GaRankuwa.99 The Groothoek Dam near Thaba'Nchu was completed at a cost of R12m.200 A R10m hospital was under construction at Lehurutshe, to cater for 100 inpatients. The major contractor was Stocks Bophuthatswana, which built the new government offices in Mafikeng and the Mmabatho Sun hotel.0 When the hospital is completed there will be 11 hospitals in Bophuthatswana. Two secondary schools, at GaRankuwa and Mabopane, were under construction and are due for completion in 1984.202

Ciskei

The SA and the Ciskei authorities signed a R10.1m loan agreement, to be administered by the Committee for Economic and Development Co-operation in Southern Africa (KEOSSA), for the financing of a telecommunications project to provide automatic telephone exchanges at Mdantsane and Dimbaza. It was the first KEOSSA project to be concluded in the Ciskei. It was reported in May that magistrates' offices in Mdantsane and Keiskammahoek were nearing completion. The new Ciskei Parliament buildings at Bisho were completed. The R20.2m Sandile Dam was officially opened on 9 December. President Lennox Sebe said the Sandile regional water supply scheme was one of 18 major schemes identified for development on the Keiskamma River. It would supply sufficient water for the growing industrial centre at Dimbaza, the future growth point at Middledrift, and the Keiskamma and Rabula Valley agricultural schemes. The budget vote of R25m for the Department of Public Works was described in the Ciskei National Assembly as too meagre. President Sebe said it was a 'salary' budget, not a
development budget, and that the SA government should provide enough money to enable Ciskei to build at least two dams a year.2113

The 1981/82 report of the Department of Co-operation and Development said that construction of the Bushman's Krans Dam started during the year at a total cost of R6m, and that 10% of the work was completed. Construction also started on the Zwelitsha-Bisho link road.

Public Works was allocated R25m in the current account of the budget and R30,6m in the development account. Of the former, R10m was allocated for salaries and wages; nearly R3m for maintenance services for buildings, water, sewerage, electricity and roads; R3m for machinery and equipment; and the remainder for the running of the department. The main items in the development account were R16m on 'independence projects', R8m on infrastructure, and R2,52m on roads and bridges. 'Independence projects' include the national assembly and government offices, housing for Ciskei officials, ministerial residences, and police stations. A budget of R17.5m was tabled for the Department of Posts and Telecommunications. This was allocated for the installation and extension of automatic telephone exchanges at Mdantsane, Bisho, and KwaDimbaza and manual, local, and trunk exchanges at Zwelitsha and Alice and in rural areas.21

According to an agreement between Pretoria and the Ciskei, 10000 houses, 40 schools, a sewerage disposal facility, and other infrastructure were to be developed in Mdantsane after 'independence'. Expenditure on infrastructure in Mdantsane in 1981/82 was R6 802 344, while 1327 houses were built at a cost of R4 147 421. In 1982, 1 400 new sites were made available. The Rev W M Xaba, the Ciskei's vice-president, criticised Pretoria for allocating housing it built in Mdantsane to people resettled from Duncan Village. It should provide housing for squatters already in the Ciskei, he said.205 The Department of Co-operation and Development erected fifty temporary flotcraft houses and lavatories at the Seymour resettlement camp at a cost of R38 521.26 The Page Report made recommendations on the housing backlog in the Ciskei, among them that self-help building schemes should be encouraged along with the development of 'social strata' according to class and income. It advised that residential areas should be allocated, where possible, within walking distance of employment centres, or close enough for low-cost transport.207

Gazankulu

The Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation (STDC) has invested R8m in housing in Gazankulu. In addition to its two existing dams, the Nsami Dam at Giyani and the Shingwedzi Dam at Malamulele, the Middle Letaba Dam in the Giyani District, with a capacity of 184 million m³, was due for completion in October 1983. There are 28 reservoirs, of which 20 are situated in the Giyani rural areas. Eight new reservoirs were constructed in 1982/83 by the Department of Works.208

The Lulekane clinic, built by the Department of Co-operation and Development, was handed over to the Gazankulu administration during the year. The total cost
amounted to R286 000. It will start with a staff of 20 nurses and sisters while a doctor from Letaba will visit once a week. 219

A modern post office complex was erected at Thulamahashe by the STDC and leased to the Department of Posts and Telecommunications. 210

KaNgwane

The KaNgwane Economic Development Corporation (KEDC) is involved in developing the town of eMpuhluzi, which has 70 000 people living around it. Some 5000 stands are provided for, of which 600 have been supplied with water, electricity, and sewerage. The KEDC had built a bakery, an abattoir, premises for a wholesaler, a post office, and a shopping centre. 21 By March 1982, the first phase of sewerage works for Eerstehoek and Mayflower was completed, and the Daantjie and Pienaar settlements were being supplied with water from the Kabokweni water supply scheme. 22

KwaNdebele

All KwaNdebele's residential areas are served by the KwaNdebele Regional Water Supply Scheme, which is 90% completed. The total estimated cost was R24m.

During 1982 the Department of Co-operation and Development built 15 houses in KwaNdebele (49 in 1981), while private builders put up 5 560 (14 265 in 1981). During the same period the KwaNdebele authorities did not build any houses. In 1981 the KwaNdebele government erected 10 schools (18 in 1981) as against none by the SA Development Trust (9 in 1981). 213

KwaZulu

A R4,5m bulk water supply and purification works on the White Umfolozi River to supply water to 200 000 people was completed in mid-February as part of the development of infrastructure for Ulundi, which already has a police station, a sewerage treatment plant, a bakery, a hotel, and more than 200 houses. 214 The KwaZulu Water Development Fund, set up in September 1980 by the South African Sugar Association in collaboration with the KwaZulu government,

HOMELAND INFRASTRUCTURE

had collected R900 000 and installed 200 boreholes by June 1983. The cost of a borehole fitted with a handpump, to serve 2 000 people, is R3 850. 215 The second phase of the project to pump water from the Tugela to the Vaal River was to be completed in 1985, and water made available from the scheme to Natal and KwaZulu. 216

A R1 000m plan to improve Inanda, with a 300 000 squatter population, and turn it into a modern 'city' for 650000 people by the year 2000, was tabled in parliament in June. It contained recommendations for the acquisition of further land: the consultants suggested that 3 000 plots a year be made available annually for development. The plan was put before the Planning, Co-ordinating, and Advisory Committee of KwaZulu for recommendations, after which it was to be studied by the KwaZulu cabinet. Sources close to the KwaZulu authorities said that although the plan was welcome, it was unlikely to be accepted without major qualifications: KwaZulu insisted that the planning of Inanda be treated on the basis that Natal and KwaZulu constituted a single economic unit and argued that
urban concentrations in KwaZulu were not there primarily to serve the interests of 'white' Natal. Since 1980, 4,000 sites at Inanda, on which people are erecting shanties, have been allocated. In 1982/83, 610 housing loans were granted. The Urban Foundation built a community centre and a creche was also built. An amount of R5m was granted in the Additional Appropriation Bill for expenditure in 1982. For 1983/84, R7m was allocated for water networks, schools, administration offices, loans for self-help schemes and clinics.17 Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said that the National Plan for KwaZulu provided for the development of a growth point in the Nqutu area. The agricultural and industrial potential of the area could be exploited only if the nonfarming residents could be accommodated elsewhere, he said.2

A major KDC innovation was the formation of the KwaZulu Housing Company, which is aimed at tapping the pension funds of large public and private corporations and other resources for investment in African housing. The Durban City Council invested R2m in the company and negotiations for large investments continued with a number of large companies.19

Lebowa
Lebowa's critical water shortage was exacerbated by the drought, and the success rate of the Lebowa Administration's borehole drilling programme was less than 10%. Lebowa's drought relief aid from the SA government was used to sink and equip boreholes, construct pipelines and reservoirs, maintain dams, and acquire water for irrigation from the Loskop Dam Irrigation Board.22

The building of a R20m hospital at Mankweng, which will begin functioning in 1984, began. Three other hospitals will be built in Lebowa, in Seshego, Kibi, and Lebowakgomo. The central government was building a hospital in Naphuno.22 A researcher said that the SA government's resettlement programme had resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of people in Lebowa's proclaimed townships, betterment rural villages, and closer settlements. Only the traditional villages, which had greatly decreased in number since the late 1950s, were not associated with involuntary movements of people. The research showed that in Lebowa resettlement had not been accompanied by programmes of economic development, and that most settlements lacked a viable economic base. Without such foundations, most settlements would continue to function merely a labour reservoirs.222

HOMELAND INFRASTRUCTURE
QwaQwa
A second dam, the Fika Patso Dam, is to be built on the Namdhdi River. It will be completed in three years but will be able to supply water on a temporary basis within two years. A network of pipes will be constructed to carry water to several rural settlements. 223

Transkei
To meet the needs of its growing middle-class population, the municipality of Butterworth embarked on a R5m programme which includes a scheme for 90 luxury houses, a polyclinic and health centre, a new airport, and expansion of the
bus terminal near the railway line. A major shopping complex will be developed by a consortium of Transkei businessmen.224

Murray and Roberts Construction (Transkei) was awarded a R6.5m contract for the construction of residences on the campus of the University of Transkei in Umtata. It was also involved in building executive homes for the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC) and renovating Umtata's Barclays Bank. The company will also construct an old age home at a cost of R1m and six staff houses at Ikhwezi Lokusa Rehabilitation Centre, and a new R340 000 telephone exchange in Butterworth. The Transkei bought 10 windmills worth R100 000 for erection in the Engcobo district. Domestic water supply for each home and a water-borne sewerage system for every village were also envisaged. The first stage of the project was to ensure that each village had an adequate supply of clean water pumped from boreholes. There are 1 000 boreholes in the Transkei and windmills were installed in more than 300 rural water supply schemes. By July, however, many windmills were useless as a result of a drop in underground water levels.22

In terms of an agreement signed in November, The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) (the recruiting arm of the Chamber of Mines), was to loan a R450 000 borehole drilling rig to the Transkei administration for a year at no charge. A five-year plan to overcome the serious backlog in posts and telecommunications facilities was to come into effect in 1984. The department suffered from a shortage of technical personnel as SA was recalling its seconded staff without replacements.226 The Transkei Electricity Supply Commission (Tescor) generates electricity from two hydro-electric stations near Umtata. It plans to develop two new hydro-electric schemes, at Ncora Dam and on the Bashee River, to lessen the Transkei's dependence on SA electricity.227 A R38m hydro-electric scheme west of Umtata is being undertaken for Tescor by a group of SA companies. Two thirds of the envisaged power from the project was expected to be flowing into the Transkei electricity grid by June 1984 and the rest by the end of 1984.

Financing was done through the Industrial Development Corporation in cooperation with SA banks as well as British sources. The Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation will underwrite the export credit granted to Tescor.28 Following a visit to Britain and Germany, the Transkei Minister of Transport, Mr Armstrong Jones, announced that the Transkei was investigating the possibility of building an international airport and a harbour. The department was to have feasibility studies carried out to determine a site for a port and airport and whether the KD Matanzima Airport could be upgraded to international standards.229

HOMELAND INFRASTRUCTURE

Venda
Venda has undertaken a R20m long-term road improvement scheme. The first phase of work, on the Sibasa-Wyllies Poort road, financed by the Committee for Economic and Development Co-operation in Southern Africa (KEOSSA), was completed, while a section of road west of Sibasa will be tarred at a final cost of R13,7m. Other plans include the improvement of roads to the northern areas of Venda.
LTA (Venda) Construction completed the Venda College of Nursing near Thohoyandou in October 1982 and it was officially opened in mid-1983. The R2m contract was completed in two phases, and the project included roads and infrastructure. The company had completed projects valued at R22m over the past five years. These include the Vondo Dam, the Thohoyandou Hotel, a prison, residences for the President and Chief Justice, duplex flats, 40 houses, a minister's residence and extensions to the National Force Base.230 Projects financed by KEOSSA include the Vondo Dam and supply pipe line, extensions to the water purifications works, the Vuwani pipeline, sewerage purifications works and water distribution between settlements.23' (For more detail on housing in the homelands, see chapter on Urban Africans.)

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2 Growth, September1983
3 Hansard 14 cols 6933-6934
4 Rand Daily Mail23 June
5 Daily Dispatch 31 May
6 Rand Daily Mail 26 November
7 Dr J A Shaw, 'The South African Development Assistance Programme', Africa Insight vol 13, no 1, 1983
8 Corporation for Economic Development (CED) Annual Report, 1983
9 Informa November 1983
15 Financial Mail 4 November
16 Hansard 14 cols 6822-6824 and 6863-6864, Beeld 1 July, Growth August 1983
17 Beeld 1 July
18 Informa November 1983
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23 Table compiled from Hansard 11 Q cols 1004-1006, 15 Q cols 1287-1288 24 Hansard21 Q cols 1696-1697
25 Eastern Province Herald 27 June, Argus 3 March 26 Rand Daily Mail21 May, Daily Dispatch 12 May
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2 Star 29 March, Eastern Province Herald 28 May, Star 17 October
2 Star 19 May, Rand Daily Mail 21 March
2 Evening Post 21 March, Rand Daily Mail 22 March
3 Hansard 18 cols 8819-8823 31 Southern Africa Report 10 June, Star 26 November 32 Star 13 September, 17 October, 18 October 33 Financial Mail 12 August, Star 3 November
3 Department of Co-operation and Development Annual Report 1981/82 35 CED Annual Report 1983
3 Growth August 1983 37 David Cooper, 'Looking at Development Projects', Work in Progress no 26, April 1983
39 Ikonomi July 1983
0 Star 18 October
1 Rand Daily Mail 22 June 42 Star 24 June, Cape Times 24 June, Sunday Express
3 July, Star 4 July, Rand Daily Mail 24 June,
Sunday Times 12 June, Star 13 June 13 Informa April 1983
4 Daily Dispatch 22 January, Rand Daily Mail 23 April, Eastern Province Herald 9 September 45 South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) researcher's interview with Mr G Godden, Secretary of Planning for the Ciskei, July 1983, Paratus March 1983
6 Daily Dispatch 22 January 47 Rand Daily Mail 28 June
4 Eastern Province Herald 25 February 19 Weekend Post 14 April, Eastern Province Herald 28 May, Daily Dispatch 18 May
5 Evening Post 19 January, Daily Dispatch 20 January, 28 June 51 Daily Dispatch
53 Growth December 1982
5 Evening Post 19 March, Eastern Province Herald 18 March 51 Daily Dispatch 27 April
5 Daily Dispatch 30 August 51 Information supplied by the Gazankulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Growth May 1983
5 Growth May 1983
6 Growth December 1982, Department of Co-operation and Development Annual Report 1981/82 61 Financial Mail 27 May, Information supplied by the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry
6 Rand Daily Mail 11 February
6 KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) Annual Report 1983
6 Natal Witness 14 August, Financial Mail 27 May 61 Growth May 1983
1 Department of Co-operation and Development Annual Report 1981/82
7 QwaQwa Development Corporation (QDC) Annual Report 1982 78 Growth August 1983
7 Rand Daily Mail 1 March, Daily Dispatch 25 May, 14 April, Star 24 June, Eastern Province Herald 9 September
81 Daily Dispatch 9 June, Financial Mail 18 February 81 Growth March 1983

414 HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT
82 Star 2 June, 24 June 83 Financial Mail 19 August

HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT
141 Information kindly supplied by the PFP 42 Rand Daily Mail 9 August 165 Star9 August, 11 August, Rand Daily Mail 11 August

HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT

EDUCATION

Finance
Expenditure from the State Revenue Account on education during the 1981/82 financial year was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces (preliminary figures) (white schools) Department of National Education (mainly white universities)</th>
<th>Department of Internal Affairs (coloured education) Department of Internal Affairs (Indian education) Department of Education and Training (African education in 'white' areas) Non-independent homelands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| R | 1
| 188 700 000 | 499 700 000
| 294 300 000 | 154 600 000
| 365 300 000 | 192 000 000
| Total | 2 694 600 000 |

The amount budgeted for 1983/84 for African education in the 'white' areas, which is run by the Department of Education and Training, was R561 318 000, representing an increase of R85 560 000 (18%) over the previous year's budget of R475 758 000. The amount was allocated as follows:

| Administration Pre-primary and primary education Secondary education Tertiary education Vocational and trade training Training of handicapped children Teacher training Adult education Supporting and associated services |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| R | 22 827 000 | 201 688 000 | 112 346 000 | 122 593 000 |
| 16 230 000 | 6 298 000 | 25 023 000 | 7 862 000 |
| 46 451 000 |
| 561 318 000 |

This figure does not include expenditure in the homelands. The Department of Education and Training offers professional and technical help to non-independent homelands, but not direct financial assistance. The homelands are responsible for
their own education budgets, for which they are able to draw on the general grants they receive from the central exchequer. These grants in the case of non-independent homelands are provided for in the budget vote of the Department of Co-operation and Development, and in the case of 'independent' homelands in the vote of the Department of Foreign Affairs. The budgets for education in the homelands in 1982/83 and 1983/84 were as follows:

1982/83 (Actual)
Transkei 115 989 500
Bophuthatswana 84 717 700
Venda 23 468 800
Ciskei 41 000 000
Gazankulu 24 379 196
KaNgwane 13 848 894
KwaNdebele 8 335 433
KwaZulu 109 269 900
Lebowa 72 888 000
QwaQwa 13 600 000

1983/84 (Estimated)
R
138 717 000
30 086 000
137 768 000
507 497 423

The Department of Community Development budgeted an additional R4 621 000 for the provision of facilities for technical and vocational education for Africans.

Expenditure from the State Revenue Account on education for Indians during the 1982/83 financial year amounted to R195 376 000, while the budget for 1983/84 was as follows:

Administration 8 437 000
Pre-primary education 288 000
Primary education 85 821 400
Secondary education 25 000 000
University education 1 445 500
Education of handicapped children 7 448 300
Education of children in need of care 62000
Teacher training 8 556 400
Extra-mural education 4 754 400
Technical and advanced technical education 225 052 000
Auxiliary services 8 293 000

Expenditure on education for coloured persons during the 1982/83 financial year amounted to R390 180 000, while the 1983/84 budget was as follows:

Administration 23 833 200
Pre-primary education 1 748 000
Primary education 234 498 500
Secondary education 500 100
University education 24 117 000
Education of handicapped children 11 020 500
EDUCATION FINANCE

R

Education of children in need of care 5 537 800
Teacher training 18 234 800
Extra-mural education 1 700 000
Technical and advanced technical education 13 524 100
Auxiliary services 16 381 000
Total 450 736 000

The amount budgeted for white education for 1983/84 was R2 062 624 000, allocated as follows:

R (000)

Department of National Education 16 716 057
Cape Provincial Council 7 389 104
Natal Provincial Council 18 168 532
Transvaal Provincial Council 9 672 355
OFS Provincial Council 20 116 576
Total 2 062 624

On the basis of the figures in the above tables, the total estimated expenditure on education for all population groups for the 1983/84 financial year was R3,9bn, made up as follows:

R

African education in the 'white' areas 561 318 000
Education in non-independent homelands 289 891 134
Education in 'independent' homelands 317 509 000
Indian education 225 052 000
Coloured education 450 736 000
White education 2 062 624 000
Total 3 907 130 134

In his budget speech in parliament on 30 March, the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, said that R3,4bn had been budgeted for education for all population groups for 1983/84, an increase of 13% over the previous year's expenditure of R3,1bn. Over the eight years since 1975/76, when R890m was budgeted, expenditure on education had increased by 283%. Mr Horwood said that the systematic elimination of the backlog in educational facilities for all South Africans and the narrowing of the gap between white and African education were receiving high priority.2 He did not specify whether his figure of R3,4bn excluded education expenditure in the 'independent' homelands or not. If not, the discrepancy between his figure and the total of R3,9bn arrived at by adding the allocations for each race group is difficult to explain.

Mr Job Schoeman, public relations chief at the Department of Education and Training, said in a letter published in the Rand Daily Mail on 30 November that his department's budget had increased by 1 603% since 1972.

EDUCATION FINANCE

Per capita expenditure
Estimated per capita spending by the state during 1981/82 on pupils of the different racial groups was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Including Capital Expenditure (R)</th>
<th>Excluding Capital Expenditure (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 221,00</td>
<td>1 048,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>798,00</td>
<td>670,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>418,84</td>
<td>356,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African (in ‘white’ areas and non-independent homelands)</td>
<td>165,23</td>
<td>118,25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Including capital expenditure (R)

Excluding capital expenditure (R)

1 221,00 798,00 418,84 165,23 1 048,00 670,00 356,23 118,25

The estimated per capita spending by the state during different race groups was as follows:

1982/83 on pupils of the White Indian Coloured African (in ‘white’ areas and non-independent homelands)

Including capital expenditure (R)

1 385,00 871,87 593,37 192,34

Excluding capital expenditure (R)

1 211,00 711,16 497,59 146,44

According to Mr Schoeman, the method used to calculate per capita expenditure on African school pupils has been changed. Per capita expenditure is now calculated on actual expenditure by the department and not on estimated expenditure as given in the budget. The new calculations also exclude expenditure on, for example, adult education, which was included in the previous calculation. The revised per capita expenditure on African education (excluding 'independent' homelands) from 1978/79 to 1980/81 was as follows:

Including capital expenditure (R)

67,85 84,40 115,19

Excluding capital expenditure (R)

66,84 75,04 92,19

The budgeted per capita expenditure by the various homelands during 1981/82 was as follows:

Bophuthatswana Ciskei Gazankulu Lebowa KaNgwane KwaNdebele KwaZulu

BURSARIES AND SCHOLARSHIPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Bursaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The comparative figure budgeted in 1981/82 for African school children in 'white' areas was R125.

Speaking at the opening of the Vaal Triangle ‘rechnikon at Vanderbijlpark in February, Mr Horwood said that complete parity in schooling in 1990, at the optimum pupil-teacher ratio and making no allowance for inflation, would require an outlay in that year of some R5 200 000 000, about two-fifths of total government expenditure. He said that the users of educational services (the private sector) rather than the taxpayer per se, would have to bear a fair share of the costs.

Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, said that the inclusion of coloured people and Indians in the new constitution would result in a more insistent demand by these groups for parity in the provision of public services, among them education. He said that if parity in education was to be achieved in 10 years, government spending would have to rise from 15% to 30% of the total budget. However, if an average pupil-teacher ratio of 30 to one were to be achieved for all population groups, the annual central government expenditure required by 1990 would be reduced by 25%.

Pupil-teacher ratios

Pupil-teacher ratios for 1983, calculated from statistics supplied by the Department of Statistics, were:

- White: 18.2 to 1
- Indian: 23.6 to 1
- Coloured: 26.7 to 1
- African: 42.7 to 1

These figures do not include the 'independent' homelands. Pupil-teacher ratios in the 'independent' and non-independent homelands in 1981 were as follows:

- Bophuthatswana: 45.7 to 1
- Ciskei: 40.1 to 1
- Gazankulu: 45.7 to 1
- Lebowa: 49.2 to 1
- KaNgwane: 42.8 to 1
- KwaNdebele: 41.9 to 1
- KwaZulu: 49.7 to 1
- QwaQwa: 31.9 to 1
- Transkei: 48.0 to 1
- Venda: 40.3 to 1

Bursaries and Scholarships

The Department of Education and Training awarded 3793 bursaries, worth R1 063 194, to Africans in 1982. Four hundred, worth R60 400, were for pupils in junior secondary courses; 500, worth R79 600, for senior secondary pupils; 2 880, worth R912 794, for student teachers; and 13, worth R10 400, for students doing technical courses. The Medical University of SA(Medunsa) and the Universities of Fort Hare, the North, and Zululand awarded 4560 bursaries and loans, amounting to R3 494 617, to students in 1982.
The Department of Internal Affairs awarded the following bursaries to coloured students in 1983:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher Training Courses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>R per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Training colleges and Peninsula Technikon (post-matriculation)</td>
<td>2 394</td>
<td>1 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities of the Western Cape and DurbanWestville</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>1 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Open universities'</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

University courses

| University of the Western Cape | 83 | 1 600 |
| 'Open universities' | 46 | 2400 |
| Merit bursaries | 27 | 200 |

The Department of Internal Affairs also granted 142 Indian pupils boarding allowances amounting to R18 644 and 17 280 pupils travelling allowances amounting to R541 491. A total of 2 271 students doing teacher training courses at the Springfield College of Education, the Transvaal College of Education and the University of Durban-Westville, received bursaries.

The SA Institute of Race Relations administers a large number of bursaries on behalf of private companies and trusts and foreign governments, churches and development agencies. In 1983, more than R1 000 000 was spent on bursaries administered by the Institute, with 2 092 bursaries being awarded to pupils and students throughout the country.


On 23 November the government published a White paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa setting forth its views and decisions on the report of the main committee of the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) investigation into education (see 1981 Survey pp 338-345 and 1982 Survey pp 466-469). The HSRC investigation had been commissioned by the cabinet in June 1980 in the wake of disturbances in African, coloured, and Indian educational institutions. Its main committee's report - Provision of Education in the RSA - was published in October 1981, along with an interim memorandum setting out the government's provisional comments. The main committee was chaired by the rector of Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Professor J P de Lange, who was elected chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond in July 1983, prompting protest from the official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), that his impartiality would be compromised. In its white paper, produced by the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, himself a former rector of RAU and chairman of the Broederbond, the government confirmed its earlier acceptance of the eleven 'principles for the provision of education' enunciated by the main committee. The white paper said that the government favoured encouraging private initiative in education and also the devolution of functions to other authorities or the private sector. Although it was not the government's duty to administer all systems for the provision of education, it should nevertheless 'see
that decisions taken on aspects of general importance within these systems are in accordance with a clearly co-ordinated policy which is in line with its aims'. However, the policy should also take into account 'community values' and allow 'full scope for self-determination for each population group in regard to education as an own affair in terms of the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa' (see chapter on The New Constitution).

The white paper added that the 'cardinal premise of the proposed new constitutional system is the distinction drawn between "own" and "general" (common) affairs'. Education at all levels was to be an 'own' affair of the white, coloured, and Indian groups and so take place 'within the context of the particular group's own culture and frame of reference', subject, however, to general law in relation to certain matters. The other main points in the white paper were as follows:

Education Management
Administration and legislation

The de Lange Committee's recommendation of a single ministry of education was rejected by the government. Instead, different government departments will be responsible for white, coloured, Indian, and African education. Education for whites, Indians, and coloured people will be run by three separate ministers, who will be members of the respective councils of ministers. Education for Africans, subject to 'general' policy, will be administered by a minister in the cabinet. A further minister, also a member of the cabinet, will administer 'general' education affairs. The ministers responsible for 'own' education matters will not be subordinate to the minister responsible for general education matters, however. In terms of the new constitution, bills on the educational matters of particular groups will be dealt with by their respective parliamentary chambers, but legislation on education for Africans outside the homelands will be dealt with by parliament as a whole as general legislation.

Under the new constitution, all educational matters that relate solely to a specific population group will be an 'own' affair, the following matters being dealt with as 'general' affairs: (a) norms and standards for financing the running and capital costs of education; (b) salaries and employment conditions of staff and professional registration of teachers; (c) norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations and for certification of qualifications; (d) the provision of bases for deviation from the principle of 'own' education; (e) the assembly of required data; (f) co-operative supporting services; and (g) the conclusion of 'inter-state' agreements with 'independent' and non-independent homelands on education matters.

Although the government is still considering certain aspects of the constitutional position of Africans outside the 'independent' and non-independent homelands, it has decided that any 'general' legislation relating to the abovementioned general matters will also apply to Africans within 'white' SA. The government intends to negotiate with the homelands with a view to the co-ordination of general policy. Institutions that provide education by correspondence to all race groups (the University of South Africa, Technikon RSA, and the correspondence colleges)
EDUCATION POLICY

will continue to remain under the control of the white education department in terms of an agreement with the other education departments.

Advisory structures

The de Lange Report recommended that a council, the South African Council for Education (SACE), be established to advise on macro-policy for the provision of education. The government agreed on the need for a policy advisory structure to advise the minister concerned with 'general' education matters. It also felt that a policy advisory structure in respect of 'own' education matters was desirable, but a decision on this will be taken by the council of ministers and the house of parliament concerned, after the implementation of the new constitution. Although the de Lange Committee recommended that there should be only one advisory council, the government decided that a separate advisory council should be established for universities and technikons.

The SACE, which will be established after the new constitution comes into operation, will consist of approximately 20 specialists from all population groups, appointed by the minister responsible for 'general' education matters in cooperation with the ministers responsible for 'own' education affairs. It will advise the 'general' minister about education at school level, including teacher training. The Interim Education Working Party - whose appointment was announced in the interim memorandum on the de Lange Report - will be renamed the Interim South African Council for Education, and will fulfil the functions of the proposed new body until the latter is established. The Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (UTAC) will advise the ministers concerned with 'own' matters on education at universities and technikons. After the implementation of the new constitution, provision will be made for UTAC to advise the minister concerned with 'general' university and technikon education matters. The Universities and Technikons Advisory Council Act, No 99 of 1983, made provision for the establishment of such a council (see below).

The government accepted the de Lange Committee's recommendation of a body to advise on salaries and conditions of service, deciding that the existing Committee on Education Structures (CES) and its Research Committee on Education Structures (RECES) would advise the minister responsible for 'general' matters on these issues. SACE and UTAC could also provide advice on these matters. With regard to the recommendation of a committee of heads of education departments, the government decided that such a committee should represent the four government departments responsible for the education of the different race groups, the government department responsible for 'general' education matters, and one head of a provincial education department nominated by the present committee of Heads of Education. The committee will advise on 'general' education matters and on co-operation between the 'own' departments of education but will confine itself to school education and teacher training.

Committees of University and Technikon Principals

The government accepted the recommendation that the Committee of University Principals (CUP) be retained. The de Lange Committee had recommended that all
SA universities should be included on the CUP on an equal footing. In terms of the Universities Amendment Act, No 83 of 1983, provision was made for the

EDUCATION POLICY

principals of the Indian and coloured universities to sit on the committee. The government is considering ways in which African universities can be represented. In terms of the Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act, No 84 of 1983, provision was made for the establishment of a Committee of Technikon Principals representing white, Indian, and coloured technikons. Methods are being investigated for granting African technikons representation on this committee. The government thought that, as a committee of rectors of teacher training colleges would be an own affair, the establishment of such committees should be considered by the various houses.

The teaching profession

The government supported the establishment, for all categories of teaching staff upto secondary level, of a teachers' professional council for each race group, and not one for each employing authority, as had been recommended. The government also supported the establishment of a central registering body of representatives of the teachers' professional councils, this body to have the task of laying down the minimum requirements of teaching staff and effecting registration. The government accepted the recommendation that the organised teaching profession should have a share in education planning at all levels, with the proviso that at tertiary level this will apply only to teacher training.

Central statutory certifying council

The government agreed to the establishment of a central statutory certifying council responsible for setting norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations and for the certification of qualifications. The council would be responsible for setting standards for examinations at the various points of withdrawal from school education that lead to entry to the labour market or admission to tertiary institutions. It felt that such a council should also be able to perform a research function to enable it to draw up scientifically acceptable curricula. The committee had recommended that the users of the curriculum should have a say in its design. The government felt, however, that although it was a sound principle that employers (as the users of the products of education) should have a say, their opinions could never be final or decisive.

Co-operative supporting educational services

The government accepted the desirability of establishing co-operative supporting educational services to the degree that it is accepted by the 'own' education departments.

The homelands

With regard to the financing of, and assistance to, the education departments of the homelands, the cabinet had decided in 1982 that the Department of Education and Training would be responsible for: co-ordinating the education budgets for the non-independent homelands; giving the homelands all the assistance and advice possible in the field of education; and making annual recommendations to the Treasury with regard to the provision of funds for education 'aid' programmes
EDUCATION POLICY
in the homelands. The amounts voted will, as in the past, be made available by the
Department of Co-operation and Development. The government emphasised that
the autonomy of the homeland education departments should not be encroached
upon in this process.
Management at the second level
The government felt that as education at the second level will fall under 'own'
affairs, the respective houses of parliament will have to take the final decisions on
their own executive education structures. With regard to white education, the
allocation of functions performed by the provincial administrations will be looked
into after consultation with the provincial authorities, the organised teaching
profession, and other interested parties. African education outside the homelands
is administered on a regional basis through seven regions, each under a regional
director of the Department of Education and Training.
Management at the third level
As the determination of policy for the management of school education at the
local level will fall under 'own' affairs, the government felt that it should be dealt
with by the 'own' departments of education. The government will refer
the committee's recommendation regarding the composition and function of parent
representative bodies to the SACE and the executive education departments for
consideration. However, the government accepted the desirability of parent
representative bodies at the local level.
Private schools
The government is investigating the possibility of a co-ordinated policy for the
granting of financial support to private schools by the executive education
departments concerned. The place of state-aided schools in the management
structure at the local level will be dealt with by each 'own' education authority.
Farm schools
The government accepted that the standards at farm schools, which make a very
important contribution to the provision of education for Africans, will have to be
upgraded to acceptable levels, which it intends to do by appointing inspectors
solely for farm schools and by carrying out an upgrading programme that will
include remedial teaching and the introduction of a class library scheme. The
government is also investigating the provision of more comprehensive and
differentiated secondary school facilities for farm school pupils.
Non-formal education
With regard to non-formal education, the government was of the opinion that a
close link between non-formal education and formal education should be fostered
through the use of the same facilities and possibly also the same lecturers. At
present, non-formal education programmes for whites are given by a number of
bodies, some receiving assistance and financial support from the government.
EDUCATION POLICY
Non-formal education for coloured people, Indians, and Africans was still in its
infancy, but was being given a high priority within the education departments
concerned, the government said. Technical colleges, trade training centres, and technical institutes provided technical, vocational, and commercial education for coloured adults not liable for compulsory education. The establishment of branch colleges was promoted where there was any significant need. Non-formal adult education, chiefly to promote literacy, among Indians, had been provided for several years. Research was also being carried out to determine the need for community learning centres with a view to introducing classes for adults in areas where schools can be used as venues. The Department of Education and Training offered non-formal education for Africans on subjects ranging from literacy training to standard 10 courses.

Provision of Education

The educational structure
The government did not commit itself on the three-phase educational system recommended by the de Lange Committee, as it wished to obtain further advice from the SACE and others. It did, however, adopt policy positions on principles with broad policy implications. It accepted the recommendation regarding pre-basic education, particularly a bridging period of one or two years aimed at promoting school readiness, the financing of this to be given high priority since bridging 'fundamentally affects the efficacy of all further education'. The government considered that the 'own' education department should have the power to decide whether and for how long pupils should be included in the bridging programme. The principle of a bridging programme following basic education, to serve as a complement to non-formal education and/or occupational training, was accepted, as was the idea that there should be a more open interaction between formal and non-formal education and the world of work.

Financing of education
The government accepted the recommendations on 'free' education, by which the de Lange Committee did not mean entirely free, but that the state should accept responsibility for the financing of both capital and current expenditure in formal and non-formal education. The National Education Amendment Act, No 25 of 1982, provided that parents of children at white government schools might be made to pay increased fees towards the education of their children. With the passing of this amendment act the government has provided that education for whites 'need not be free, but may be free'.

The government accepted that equal education should be the 'purposeful endeavour of the state'. An investigation into the designing of a subsidy formula to calculate the financial responsibility of the government towards the executive education departments was accordingly set up. The 'own' educational departments will be authorised to supplement the available financial resources by means of levies, and the Department of National Education will undertake an investigation into financial contributions by parents. The government will also make provision for levies to be collected at local level in order to supplement the financial resources of schools for certain purposes. The government said that while it was
aware that a larger share of the national budget should be allocated to education, education was only one of the numerous urgent needs of the national economy. In determining the priority that should be given to education, it would take into account the place and role of education within the total context of public services to be rendered. The government would also have to maintain a balance between the provision of education for Africans in the 'white' area and those in the nonindependent homelands and between the educational services in the 'independent' and non-independent homelands.

With regard to the financing of tertiary education, the University Advisory Council had completed an investigation into a revised subsidy formula for all universities. A subsidy formula for technikons had already been designed and would be adapted to the basic formula for universities.

Compulsory education
The government accepted the recommendations that school attendance should be compulsory for six years and that education (either formal or non-formal) be compulsory for nine years, provided it is introduced as and when the parent communities agree. Executive education departments may introduce higher requirements if they wish.

The admission of students to autonomous tertiary educational institutions
The de Lange Committee and the Interim Education Working Party recommended that the councils of autonomous tertiary educational institutions should be given the full right to decide on whom to admit as students. During 1983, the Universities Amendment Act, No 83, and the Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act, No 84, were passed, which, the white paper claims, will give the councils of autonomous institutions greater autonomy in the admission of students of other race groups (see below).

Technical and vocational education
The de Lange Committee's view that career education was more suitable than academic education for a large number of young people was accepted. The government agreed on the need for a balance between general academic education and general career education with a view to meeting the manpower needs of the country. However, it felt that all pupils should obtain a basic knowledge and certain skills in their general formative education before choosing. In rectifying overemphasis on academic education, the white paper said over-emphasising career education should be guarded against.

Supportive education services
The government accepted the committee's recommendations on curriculum services, guidance services, and school health services. With regard to educational technology services, the white paper accepted its importance as a valuable aid, but warned that as it is a field of rapid change in the available products, its use should be pursued sensibly and systematically.

EDUCATION POLICY
Teacher training
The government viewed the recommendations on teacher training favourably, and said that the SACE, executive departments, universities, training colleges, and
technikons should co-operate in the planning and co-ordination thereof. It was essential for the qualifications of all teachers to be of uniform standard. The white paper also endorsed the recommendation that Standard 10 or its equivalent should be the minimum requirement for admission to teacher training, the minimum duration of which should be three years.

Provision of physical facilities
The government decided that the setting of space and cost norms of educational buildings and other facilities would be treated as a 'general' matter in terms of the new constitution. It rejected the recommendation that schools under-utilised by one population group should be made available to pupils from another. The de Lange Committee's recommendation that the requirements of the Group Areas Act with regard to the establishment of schools be waived, was rejected on the grounds that the various school systems were geared to the needs of particular race groups, each of which was resident in its own area.

Education of equal quality
The government undertook to ensure equal opportunities and equal standards for all race groups, but said that the extent to which education of equal quality did in fact develop would depend on the community concerned. It warned that the attainment of the ideal of equal education should not be achieved at the expense of the quality of educational opportunities already achieved in certain sectors of education. The new education structures decided upon would provide a foundation for the further pursuit of equal opportunities and equal standards in education for all, the white paper argued.

Responses to the White Paper
Professor de Lange described the white paper as a 'major breakthrough'. He said that in some areas political factors had obviously played a role and other areas still had to be developed. However, in terms of political, financial, and social realities, 'a tremendous amount' had been achieved. Professor de Lange said that he believed that the government had a real commitment to establishing equality and that this would be possible to achieve through the programme envisaged in the white paper.

Dr Ken Hartshorne, chairman of an official working party on education management and a member of both the de Lange main committee and the executive committee, said that the concept of 'equal but separate' was the basis of the paper, but he expressed grave doubts as to whether one could ever have equality under separate systems. Dr Hartshorne said that the government's response, 'which maintains education firmly within the apartheid mould', did not come as a surprise, as in its interim memorandum in 1981 the government had set down five guidelines or 'non-negotiables', which included a commitment to Christian National Education and to separate schools and education departments.

Dr Hartshorne listed three aspects of the white paper which provided room for positive movement, however: the government had gone on record that its overriding objective was equal opportunities and equal standards in education; the
establishment of the SACE, which could serve as a useful monitoring role in those areas regarded as 'general' affairs; and the government's acceptance of the recommendation on curriculum, guidance, and school health services, buildings and equipment, educational technology, and the education of children with special needs. But he believed that the positive aspects of the paper would not have the effect they should because they would operate in a system 'that enjoyed no legitimacy in the eyes of African or coloured people'."

Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Union of Teachers' Associations of SA (UTASA) and of the Cape Professional Teachers' Association, rector of the Peninsula Technikon and a member of the de Lange main committee, expressed 'dismay but not surprise' at the white paper. He was particularly disturbed by the rejection of a single ministry of education and felt that the establishment of four ministers maintained the racial basis of education. He also condemned the government's refusal to waive the Group Areas Act to accommodate children from overcrowded black schools in under-utilised white schools. While he welcomed several aspects of the paper-- for example, the formation of the SACE to advise on macro-politics, the educational opportunities created for the underprivileged, and equality in planning and in the evaluation of the school building and subsidy formulae- Dr Sonn 'abhorred the perpetuation of apartheid in education'.

Mr Pat Samuels, president of the (mainly Indian) Teachers' Association of South Africa (TASA), said that control would remain at the white-dominated central level. He also expressed concern that the great cost of setting up separate ministries and departments would place a heavy burden on the funding for education. Mr Samuels was also concerned that the imposition of levies 'could prove to be the thin edge of an ever-intruding wedge' and that the cost of education could be 'enormous' for the African community.

The SA Teachers' Council (SATC) welcomed the emphasis on the role of the teaching profession in the planning of teacher training, as well as the establishment of a central registration body for all teachers and a professional teachers' council for each population group, but felt that the functions and powers of these bodies would have to be spelt out more carefully. The president of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, Miss Elizabeth Niemeyer, welcomed the government's undertaking to provide equal opportunities for all races, but criticised the rejection of a single ministry of education. The Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging greeted the paper with confidence, but stressed that the manner in which the new policy would be executed would play an important role in making it acceptable. The Natal Teachers' Society regarded the paper with 'scepticism', believing that it would accelerate racial polarisation.

Dr Franz Auerbach, immediate past president of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said that equal opportunities and standards in education could not be reached within SA's existing social, economic and political framework. However, the acceptance by the government of many of the de Lange Committee's recommendations could bring SA much closer to these goals even within the apartheid framework.
Mr Ken Andrew of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) described the paper as a 'grave disappointment' and 'totally inadequate'. He said that provision was made for numerous councils and advisory councils, but that it failed to address the real issues. 'Rigid apartheid, a gross under-utilisation of facilities, unequal opportunities, and wasteful duplication are to remain distinctive features of education in SA,' he argued.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), said that the white paper would not improve African education, as the basic problem was not lack of money or facilities, but the motive behind the education system. He said that education was being used as a tool by the government to serve apartheid.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, president of the National Education Union of SA (NEUSA), claimed that the system laid down in the white paper entrenched apartheid and provided no significant solution to the crisis in African education, and that the emphasis on technical education satisfied the demands of industry for a cheap and ready supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour.

Dr C T D Marivate of the University of SA welcomed the apparent promise that there would be parity in the per capita expenditure in the education of the various race groups, but criticised the fact that the 'basic principle of separation was still ingrained in the whole arrangement'. He said that as long as Africans had 'no direct participation in shaping their educational affairs, there could be no fairness'.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, described the white paper as disappointing, saying that it would politicise education - something which the de Lange Committee had specifically wished to avoid. Dr Dhlomo said that by linking the white paper to the new constitution, the government apparently intended to separate rural African education (controlled by ministers of 'independent' and non-independent homeland governments) from urban African education (to come under a minister in the white dominated central cabinet). He said he feared that the present inequality between urban African education and the more poorly financed rural education would widen.

School Education Teachers' Organisations
The June edition of Mondstuk, the bulletin of the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging (TO), cautioned teachers against indoctrinating pupils and warned that those who brought politics into the classroom could expect no mercy from the authorities. This was in response to a statement made by Mr A Nothnagel of the National Party (NP) in parliament in May that some teachers 'think that it is necessary and a good thing to disparage and criticise the state, and the symbols of the state, in their classrooms'. The TO's view was supported by the 'Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA) president, Mr E Brown, who said that his organisation was against teachers abusing their positions to promote party politics, and that it would stand behind the SA Teachers' Council in
any disciplinary action taken. At the annual conference of the SA Onderwyssersunie (SAOU) in June the chairman, Mr N Smit, said that the SAOU would not be prepared to discuss educational matters which had political undertones. However, Mr Michael Gardiner, immediate past president of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), said that in SA education and politics were linked and until teachers'

AFRICAN SCHOOLING

organisations realised this they would remain ineffectual. The annual conference of the SA Teachers' Association (SATA) resolved to speak out on issues with educational implications, even if they were controversial and political. Mr R Cope, former general-secretary of SATA, said that English-speaking teachers had a responsibility to speak out and in so doing assist the country in moving towards a society based on freedom and justice. At the annual conference of the Transvaal Association of Teachers the president, Mr S Jacobs, said that politics and education were inseparable and teachers should work towards achieving dignity for all South Africans irrespective of race.

In June, Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Union of Teachers' Associations of SA (UTASA) and the Cape Professional Teachers' Association (CPTA) and rector of Peninsula Technikon, said that apartheid was the root cause of the present crisis in staffing coloured and African high schools with properly qualified teachers. The government should admit openly that education was nothing more than the 'handmaiden of apartheid', he said.

Mr R Peteni, president of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA), criticised the 'master race mentality' that held that equal education was not possible in SA and said that refusal by the authorities to yield to demands for change was a 'prescription for disaster'. At the SATA conference a motion condemning apartheid as detrimental to education was passed overwhelmingly.

Teachers' Salaries

In September, the government announced a 12% salary increase, effective from January 1984, for all public sector employees, including teachers. Mr Hamilton Dlamlenze, secretary of the African Teachers' Association of SA (ATASA), said that the salary gap between white and African teachers was very wide and such a small increase would not narrow but increase it.

African schooling

Age limits

In January, Mr Job Schoeman, public relations chief at the Department of Education and Training, said that the aim of the controversial age limit regulation (see 1982 Survey pp 469-470) was twofold: to have pupils of the same age in the same class (syllabuses, text books and teaching methods took into account the age of pupils, and large age differences in the same class had a retarding effect on the normal development of pupils and could create serious disciplinary problems); and to bring the Department of Education and Training into line with other education departments. At the beginning of the year the department sent a directive to schools that pupils who were 21 years of age or older and who had failed matriculation, and Junior Certificate pupils who were 18 years of age and
older, would not be allowed to repeat. This directive affected thousands of students who failed their examinations at the end of 1982. The number of pupils turned away from schools as a result of the age restrictions is not known; however, in response to a question in parliament, the then Minister of Education and Training, Mr D W Steyn, said that 63 pupils in Soweto had been refused admission to schools due to their ages. Pupils who have been refused admittance to schools because of age limit restrictions may register at adult education centres as private candidates.

AFRICAN SCHOOLING

Mr T W Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand and former Soweto school principal, alleged that the age limit had been brought into operation after the 1976 unrest because the department wanted to eliminate pupils who had been active in the unrest. He claimed that anger was mounting in the townships, and that by enforcing the age restrictions the department was creating a situation similar to that of 1976.

Compulsory Education

In 1982, according to the annual report of the Department of Education and Training, 40,394 Sub A and 34,636 Sub B pupils in 237 schools in the Republic were involved in compulsory education. This total of 75,030 represents only 2.5% of the total African school population of 3,026,577 for 1982. Compulsory education has been introduced only in those schools where the school committees have requested it.

Textbooks and Stationery

The Minister of Education and Training said that the estimated cost to his department of supplying stationery, textbooks, and prescribed books free of charge to primary and secondary school pupils during the 1982/83 financial year was as follows (free stationery is provided only to those pupils who are subject to compulsory education):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>R5,450,000</td>
<td>R2,879,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prescribed books</td>
<td>none supplied</td>
<td>none supplied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School Statistics

There were the following numbers of African schools of various kinds, teachers, and pupils in the 'white' areas and the homelands in 1982:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Department of Education and Training ('white' areas) Non-independent homelands 'Independent' homelands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White!</td>
<td>Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>799,578 not given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The types of schools may be broken down as follows:

### Primary
- Secondary
- Technical
- Teacher training
- In-service training (teachers)

### Dept. of Education and Training
- 6 659
- 297
- 16 911

### Non-independent homelands
- 3 493
- 870
- 22

### Teachers
- Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dept. of Education</th>
<th>Non-independent</th>
<th>and Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>39 834</td>
<td>43 908</td>
<td>37 013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>755</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### AFRICAN SCHOOLING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dept. of Education</th>
<th>Non-independent</th>
<th>and Training</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technikon training</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical college training</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational training (girls)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial training</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special education</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7020</td>
<td>4419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This total differs from that in the earlier table, as some schools provide education of more than one kind and information on the 'independent' homelands is not available.

The departmental annual report gave the following details about the numbers of classrooms in 1982 (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dept. of Education</th>
<th>Non-independent</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>and Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>homelands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>27 154</td>
<td>25 241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>4515</td>
<td>7 135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher training</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>361</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32 385</td>
<td>32 982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the report, 36 new primary schools and 13 new secondary schools were completed during the 1982/83 financial year. At the same time, 1 500 classrooms were added to existing primary schools and 287 classrooms to existing secondary schools in the 'white' areas. Provision for the erection and maintenance
of buildings for primary and secondary schools for Africans for 1983/84 in the 'white' areas amounted to R92 732 000, made up of R39 800 000 for primary schools and R52 932000 for secondary schools. Despite the increase in educational facilities, many schools, particularly in the Port Elizabeth area, were extremely overcrowded and thousands of pupils could not be admitted when schools opened for 1983. In an advertisement placed in British newspapers at the end of November, the government claimed that 'every school day, twelve classrooms for blacks were completed'. A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training said that at this rate the classroom backlog would be caught up with by 1987.

At the end of November Mr Gunther Merbold, Cape Regional Director of Education and Training, announced that no new schools would be built in the African townships of Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa in the western Cape. All new schools and extensions to schools would be built only in the new township of Khayelitsha. This decision was condemned by Mr Nic Olivier of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) as 'highly irresponsible'. He said that it was obviously aimed at forcing residents from the existing townships to Khayelitsha but warned that it was unlikely to succeed (see chapters on Urban Africans and African Removals).

AFRICAN SCHOOLING
The following were involved in double sessions (the same teacher for two classes per day) or the platoon system (two teachers for two classes but in the same room) during 1981 and 1982 (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei):66

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Double sessions (Sub A-Sub B)</th>
<th>Platoon system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of schools</td>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1 869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 (Sub A -Std5)</td>
<td>1982 (Sub A -Std8)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1982, subsidies by the Department of Education and Training for the erection of farm school buildings amounted to R1 435 124. The department received and accepted 312 applications for building subsidies for 548 classrooms, benefitting 24 660 pupils. The Minister of Education and Training told parliament that at the end of 1982 there were 5 057 farm schools in the 'white' areas of the Republic, 10362 farm school teachers, and 455 644 farm school pupils. These farm schools accounted for about 72% of all schools controlled by the Department of Education and Training.

Enrolment
Enrolment figures for 1982 were as follows:

Sub A Sub B Std 1 Std 2

'White' areas
308 831 249 368 224 714 179 598

'Independent' & non-independent
homelands
700 107 518 930 465 526 395 006

Total
1 008 938 768 298 690 240 574 604

of total
19.0 14.4 13.0 10.8

Total lower primary 962 511 2 079 569 3 042 080 57.3

Std3 161 210 365 153 526 363 9.9

Std4 134 082 307 123 441 205 8.3

Std5 117 161 264 280 381 441 7.2

Total higher primary 412 453 936 556 1 349 009 25.4

Total primary 1 374 964 3 016 125 4 391 089 82.7

Std6 86 790 208 536 295 326 5.6

Std7 63 993 173 667 237 660 4.5

Std8 50 096 144 487 194 583 3.7

Std9 28 448 83 935 112 383 2.1

Std10 16 523 55 978 72 501 14

Total secondary 245 850 666 603 912 453 17.3

Combined total 1 620 814 3 682 728 5 303 542 100.0

AFRICAN SCHOOLING

This table shows that 31% of African schoolgoers are at school in the 'white' areas and 69% in the homelands.

Illiteracy and the drop-out rate

A report by the Research Institute for Education Planning at the University of the Orange Free State showed that 156 558 African pupils left school in 1982 without having passed Sub A and were therefore illiterate. In the same year, 192 380 left school semi-literate, having been educated to between Sub A and Standard 2. A total of 310 309 pupils left school literate, having obtained education between Standard 3 and Standard 10. The estimated pupil outflow at different levels of education according to area in 1982 was as follows:

African school leavers with

Area Less than SubA Sub A-Std2 Stds 3-5 Stds 6-8 Stds 9-10 Total

Bophuthatswana 3 191 14 053 11 249 12 937 6 498 47928

Ciskei 11 037 5462 3300 7 180 3998 30977

Gazankulu 5 641 7 259 3 174 3 137 1 878 21089

KaNgwane 1 280 2 113 1 285 2 119 916 7713

KwaZulu 21 110 34565 16764 24027 13 597 110063

Lebowa and KwaNdebele 9 191 13682 15988 15031 9308 63200

QwaQwa 205 1 029 956* 2 009 1 780 4 067
According to the report, this negative figure could possibly be attributed either to a high failure rate or to entry to the schools of a large number of pupils from other areas in SA, resulting in a higher pupil enrolment in the next standard than the total of the previous year in the lower standard.)

Dr Marius Barnard, the official opposition's spokesman on health, suggested that the high drop-out rate among African pupils was due to malnutrition. He cited estimates that 2.9 million children under the age of 15 in SA and its 'independent' homelands suffered from malnutrition and that approximately one-third of all school-going African children showed some signs of malnutrition (see chapter on Health). Research had shown that children with a history of protein energy malnutrition had a failure rate twice as high as a control group among their school equals. Dr Barnard suggested that school-feeding schemes should be introduced on a national basis in an attempt to overcome malnutrition and thereby decrease the high drop-out rate among African pupils.70

Mrs Tania Vergnani of the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch said that many children were permanently handicapped by malnutrition before entering school. Physical and mental stunting, hearing and sight defects, and sheer hunger resulted in apathy, low concentration, lack of maturation, low achievement, absenteeism, repeating of standards, and finally drop-outs, she said.71

According to a report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) on the promotion of literacy in SA, some 6m adults in the 'white' areas of SA and in the homelands have not received enough education to be regarded as literate. The literacy rate among Africans was estimated at between 50% and 60% and among whites at 98%. The report found that adult literacy was a low priority in the Department of Education and Training and the education departments of most homelands, which devoted less than one percent of their annual budgets to it. The exception was Bophuthatswana, where the figure was 1,6%.72

According to a report by the Bureau for Economic Research: Co-operation and Development (BENSO) in Pretoria, the literacy level (persons 15 years and older with the ability to read and write) of the African population in the non-independent homelands and the 'white' areas of SA by ethnic group was as follows in 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa (Ciskei)</td>
<td>1 437 320</td>
<td>72,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>2 104 740</td>
<td>65,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>320 060</td>
<td>64,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sotho</td>
<td>803 480</td>
<td>61,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Ndebele</td>
<td>98 460</td>
<td>44,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AFRICAN SCHOOLING

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
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<tr>
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<td>64,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sotho</td>
<td>803 480</td>
<td>61,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Ndebele</td>
<td>98 460</td>
<td>44,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
South Ndebele 133 160 59,7
Tswana 601 960 67,9
South Sotho 793 940 73,5
Shangaan 331 720 58,5
Vhavenda 84 640 65,3
Other 61 540 68,1
Total 6 771 020 66,9

Examination Results
The following results of the examinations written at the end of 1981 were extracted from the Department of Education and Training's annual report (the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei excluded):

Standard 8
Candidates 110 274
Number passed 71 185
Proportion 64,5%

Matriculation
Candidates 37 718
Total passes 20 178
Proportion 53,5%
Passed with matriculation exemption 4 841
Proportion of total number of candidates 12,8%
Passed with school leaving certificate 15 337
Proportion of total number of candidates 40,7%

The results of examinations at the end of 1982 (Transkei only excluded) were as follows:

AFRICAN SCHOOLING
Matriculation
Candidates 60 108
Total passes 30 541
Proportion 50,8%
Passed with matriculation exemption 6336
Proportion of total number of candidates 10,5%
Passed with school-leaving certificate 24 205
Proportion of total number of candidates 40,3%

The results in the Transkei in 1982 were as follows:

Matriculation
Candidates 9 616
Totalpasses 3 538
Proportion 36,8%
Passed with matriculation exemption 772
Proportion of total number of candidates 8,0%
Passed with school-leaving certificate 2 766
Proportion of total number of candidates 28,8%

Mr Job Schoeman, public relations chief at the Department of Education and Training, attributed the poor matriculation results to under-qualified teachers, and
said he expected a similar pass rate for the next four to five years until sufficient qualified teachers were trained. Mr Schoeman said that in the past, the department had concentrated on primary school teaching in order to eliminate illiteracy. As long as many pupils were not advancing to matriculation level, there were few candidates to be trained as higher-grade teachers.76

Mr Bennett Zikhali Ndlazi, vice-chairman of the Sindawonye Higher Primary School Committee in Mamelodi, alleged that the education system for Africans based on apartheid was meant to keep Africans below their white counterparts. Until the present education system was changed, the examination results would be the same every year.77 After the results were released, the department announced that a thorough investigation would be conducted. Mr T W Kambule, lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, claimed that such statements had been made 'year in and year out' but that nothing concrete had come out of them. The investigations were left entirely in the hands of the department, which was often exonerated, he said.78

Of the 72 168 pupils who wrote their matriculation examination in 1983 (Transkei only excluded), 48,3% passed and only 9,8% obtained matriculation exemption.

Commenting on these results, Mr Schoeman said that they had reached the 'bottom of the curve' and he was confident that they would begin to improve. He attributed the poor results to the fact that Africans generally came from a 'culturally deprived environment', and that the number of matriculants had jumped from 11 000 in 1977 to 76 000 in 1982. He said that a single ministry of education for all population groups was not the answer. Dr Ken Hartshorne, a member of the de Lange main committee and executive committee, said that the results would improve only when a single ministry was introduced and African education 'taken out from the cold'. He said that the number of university entrance passes had started dropping in 1978, whereas previously there had been an average university pass of 33%. Dr Hartshorne said that the drop in matriculation

AFRICAN SCHOOLING

exemptions could be traced back to the events in African education between 1976 and 1980. Those difficult years affected African teachers, who had not yet recovered their morale.79

Matriculation examination results from 1960 to 1983 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>No. passed</th>
<th>% passed</th>
<th>Matric exemption</th>
<th>% exemption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>17,9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1 339</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>61,8</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>24,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2 846</td>
<td>1 856</td>
<td>65,2</td>
<td>1 013</td>
<td>35,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>8445</td>
<td>5 400</td>
<td>63,9</td>
<td>3520</td>
<td>41,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>9 593</td>
<td>7 996</td>
<td>83,4</td>
<td>3 404</td>
<td>35,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>8 225</td>
<td>5 899</td>
<td>71,7</td>
<td>2 294</td>
<td>27,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>9 804</td>
<td>7 468</td>
<td>76,2</td>
<td>3 806</td>
<td>38,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>14 574</td>
<td>10 706</td>
<td>73,5</td>
<td>4 136</td>
<td>28,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>29 973</td>
<td>15 935</td>
<td>53,2</td>
<td>4 714</td>
<td>15,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>48 571</td>
<td>25 963</td>
<td>53,5</td>
<td>6 069</td>
<td>12,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1982  60 108  30 541  50,8  6 336  10,5  
1983  72 168  34 876  48,3  7 108  9,8  
(The 1977 and 1978 figures exclude the Transkei and Bophuthatswana; 1979 and 1980 exclude the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda; 1981, 1982, and 1983 figures exclude the Transkei only.)

In October, Mr Mark Orkin, a senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr Greg Classen, a graduate student at the same university, said that research concerning African and white students who completed their first year of a BA degree in 1982 revealed that African students with low matriculation results did better than their white counterparts with similar results. This led them to believe that African matriculation results were suspect, and that 'there was a downward bias in Africans' reported aggregate matric symbols'. Mr Schoeman denied the allegation. 80

In November, several Soweto higher primary school headmasters claimed that an official of the department had ordered that 20% of Standard 5 pupils be failed, as there was insufficient classroom accommodation for pupils moving into Standard 6. The Rev Sam Buti, chairman of the Alexandra Liaison Committee, said that if the allegation were proved correct, it would confirm African suspicion that the aim of government policy was to retard their progress for as long as possible .81

On 24 November, about 17 000 matriculation pupils had to rewrite their mathematics examinations following a widespread leak of the paper. Two pupils were stabbed and killed after an argument broke out over stolen examination papers.82

It was reported in last year's Survey (p 475) that the department was investigating the phasing out of Standard 8 (Junior Certificate) as an external examination. In the July edition of Educamus, the official organ of the department, it was announced that from 1984 Standard 8 would be an internal examination. The responsibility for setting, drafting, and correcting Standard 8 examination papers would be undertaken by every school and the principal and staff would be responsible for ensuring that the right standard was maintained. 83

AFRICAN SCHOOLING
Teachers
The following table shows the qualifications of teachers in African schools for 1982 (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei):84

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior certificate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical certificate</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 10 with primary teacher cert.</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>10 770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 10 with secondary teacher cert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree incomplete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree complete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special teacher certificate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16  4462  
49  1 266  
539  1 590  
7  279  
Total  
7 911 40 598  
110 11 104 4 478 1 315 2 129 286  
Sub-total  
998 66 933 67 931 81,1  
No professional qualification, but with  
Junior certificate or lower  29 11 336 11 365 13,6  
Technical certificate  209 45 254 0,3  
Matriculation or senior certificate  50 3 773 3 823 4,6  
Degree incomplete  8 70 78 0,0  
Degree  83 208 291 0,4  
Sub-total  379 15 432 15 823 18,9  
Total  1 377 82 365 83 742 100,0  

If a post-Standard 10 teacher's certificate or diploma is regarded as the minimum acceptable qualification for a teacher, it can be seen from the above table that only 23,1% of the teachers in African schools are properly qualified. The Department of Education and Training and some homeland education departments continue to offer in-service training courses for the upgrading of teachers' qualifications, while several private organisations have introduced teacher upgrading schemes. In March, the 1820 Foundation in Grahamstown held a course on the teaching of English and Afrikaans. The Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Port Elizabeth has instituted a programme for the upgrading of teachers in higher primary schools who have Standard 8 and two years' teaching qualifications. Promat College in Pretoria offers a full-time one-year course preparing African adults for matriculation examinations, the majority of the college's students being teachers.

At the beginning of 1982 the Department of Education and Training began phasing out all post-Standard eight and two-year teachers' courses. After 1983, colleges under the control of the department will no longer offer such courses. According to the department's 1982 report, there were 9 teacher training colleges for Africans under its control in 1982 and 22 under the education departments of the non-independent homelands. Enrolment at these colleges was as follows:

**Courses**
- Pre-primary
- Primary
- Secondary

Number of students
- 18
- 8 743 3 963

**AFRICAN TEACHER TRAINING**

**Courses**
- Homecraft
- Woodwork
- Physical education
- Trade
- Technical

**Total**

Number of students
Of the 6 686 student teachers in the 'white' areas of SA and the non-independent homelands who wrote their final examinations in 1981, 6 320 (or 94.5%) passed. In the 'independent' homelands, a total of 6 084 students were enrolled in teachers' training colleges in 1982: 2 114 in the Transkei; 2 709 in Bophuthatswana; 704 in Venda; and 557 in the Ciskei. The examination results are not known. The following students were enrolled in the education faculties at African universities in 1982:

University
Fort Hare The North Zululand Transkei Bophuthatswana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>458 622 665 172 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A considerable number of African students were enrolled for degrees in education at the University of SA and at some of the 'white' universities. The following teaching degrees and diplomas in education were awarded in 1981:

University
Fort Hare The North Zululand Transkei Bophuthatswana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 25 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 239 351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Education and Training said that in 1982 his department had granted 3 157 bursaries, worth R908 900, to African student teachers. According to the department's annual report, R 341 000 was voted for such bursaries during the 1982/83 financial year. In 1982, the Venda Education Department granted 105 bursaries, worth R34 980, to student teachers. Professor Napier Boyce, past rector of the Johannesburg College of Education, said that by the year 2020 an extra 250 000 teachers would be needed by African schools and a massive teacher education programme would be necessary to supply this need.

Diploma
32 85 122
Total
50 110 186

ADULT EDUCATION

Adult Education

According to the departmental report there were 323 adult education centres in operation in the 'white' areas in 1982, in the following regions:

Northern Transvaal 57; Highveld 79; Johannesburg 20; Orange-Vaal 40; Orange Free State
These centres employed 3,946 teachers, whose qualifications were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professionally qualified, with</th>
<th>Std 8 or lower</th>
<th>Std 10</th>
<th>Degree incomplete</th>
<th>Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1,522</td>
<td>1,239</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-total: 3,504 (88.8%)

No professional qualification, but with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-total: 442 (11.2%)

Total: 3,946 (100.0%)

There were 46,914 adults enrolled at these schools in the following courses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory Course I (Std 3-4)</td>
<td>5,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course II (Std 5)</td>
<td>4,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course III (Std 8)</td>
<td>11,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course IV (Std 10)</td>
<td>8,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total primary</td>
<td>17,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total secondary</td>
<td>19,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>9,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46,914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1982, there were 183 adult education centres in Venda, with a total enrolment of 2,088. In Bophuthatswana there were 112 centres, employing 737 teachers and with a total enrolment of 5,749. The Ciskei also ran adult education centres, but the exact numbers involved are not known. There were in addition 44 night schools in KwaZulu, employing 309 teachers and with a total enrolment of 4,342. There were also two night schools in the Transkei.'

Some comments on African education

The chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, claimed that an inadequate and unjust education system had caused more anger, unrest, and suffering than almost any other social or economic issue. Mr Chris Ball, deputy managing director of Barclays National Bank, said that Africans had a non-education compared to that available to whites and Indians, the latter having achieved a good standard largely through their own efforts. With existing standards of education, Africans were virtually unemployable without further training. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu administration, described education in the homelands as 'glorified literacy.
campaigned ... parading as fully-fledged educational systems'. He identified the
major problems in homeland education as: inadequately qualified teachers; poor
conditions of service for African teachers; a high drop-out and failure rate;
inadequate facilities; lack of compulsory education; and home environments not
conducive to study and mental stimulation.9' According to the 1980 Transkei
Census, 56% of the population had received no schooling at all. The Minister of
Welfare, Sport and Culture, Mr H Mlanyeni, said this number was further
increased by the high drop-out rate in the first four years of primary education.92
In August, Bophuthatswana teachers were informed that a R3 monthly levy would
be deducted from their salaries, to be used by the Bophuthatswana Foundation for
the improvement of education and recreational facilities. It was also announced
that every pupil would have to pay a five-cent levy each week. As a result of
criticism by teachers, the foundation agreed that the teachers should be given a
chance to consider the levy. 93
Coloured schooling
School statistics
The number of schools for coloured pupils in SA in 1983 was as follows:94

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-primary schools</th>
<th>Primary and secondary schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State</td>
<td>State-aided Subsidised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cr&amp;ches</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>866</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State-aided</td>
<td>1 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special (including 3 schools of industry)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 056</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The current backlog of classrooms for coloured pupils is put at 3 111, affecting
105 774 pupils. It is estimated that it would cost R93 000 000 to eliminate this
backlog.95
The Director of Coloured Education said the numbers of coloured pupils and
teachers involved in double sessions in 1983 were as follows:

COLOURED SCHOOLING
Classes affected Number of schools Number of pupils Number of teachers
Cape
1 374
467 37 168 1 374
Enrolment
The number of pupils enrolled in coloured schools in (estimates) was as
follows:96
Standard
Sub A Sub B Std 1 Std 2 Std 3 Std 4 Std 5 Adaptation classes
1982 Number
In 1983, 1 761 Indian pupils and 1354 coloured persons attended schools for examination results.

Of the 10 207 coloured candidates who wrote the matriculation examinations in 1982, 6 868 (67,3%) passed and 3 339 (32,7%) failed. This represents an 11% increase over the 1981 pass rate. Matriculation exemption was granted to 1 696 pupils (16,6% of the total number of candidates). Mr Randall van den Heever, principal of the Spes Bona Senior School, claimed in April that the matriculation examinations written by coloured pupils were much harder than those written by their white peers and that this could account for the great difference in the pass rates for white and coloured pupils. Some coloured students who had difficulty passing examinations of the Department of Coloured Education passed examinations for white candidates with ease, he claimed.

Of the 11 076 candidates who wrote the matriculation examination at the end of 1983, 71,3% passed, with 15,1% of the total number of candidates obtaining matriculation exemption.

OFS
43 9
1 515
Natal
1 31
Transvaal
44 9
not available
44
Total
1 462
486 38 714 1 462

COLOURED SCHOOLING
Teachers
The qualifications of coloured teachers in 1983 were as follows:

104 909 99 058 95 698 89 015 83 853 75 241 64 534 5 894
13,7 12,9 12,5 11,6 11,0 9,8 8,4 0,8
1982 (revised) and 1983
1983 Number
100 910 95 105 92 943 87 821 83 761 76 887 66 874 6 166
13,1 12,4 12,1 11,4 10,9 10,0 8,7 0,8
Sub-total
618 202 80,7 610 467 79,4
Std6
49 324 6,4 51 303 6,7
Std 7
41 857 5,5 43 655 5,7
Std8
29 343 3,8 29897 3,9
Std9
16609 2,2 22516 2,9
Std 10
10844 1,4 11 444 1,5
Sub-total
147 977 19,3 158 815 20,6
Total
766 179 100,0 769 282 100,0

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OFS
43 9
1 515
Natal
1 31
Transvaal
44 9
not available
44
Total
1 462
486 38 714 1 462

COLOURED SCHOOLING
Teachers
The qualifications of coloured teachers in 1983 were as follows:
Professionally qualified with Number %
A university degree 1,627 5,5
Matriculation or equivalent 10,489 35,4
Junior certificate or equivalent 15,107 51,0
Other (eg technical) 12 0,0
Sub-total 27,235 92,0

No professional qualifications, but with Number %
A university degree 269 0,9
Matriculation or equivalent 1,148 3,9
Technical or vocational qualifications 34 0,1
Less than matriculation 917 3,1
Sub-total 2,368 8,0
Total 29,603 100,0

If a post-Standard 10 teachers' certificate or diploma are taken as the minimum qualification for a teacher, the above table shows that 59% of coloured teachers are underqualified.

The Coloured Persons Education Amendment Act, No 85 of 1983, amended the Coloured Persons Education Act, No 47 of 1963, in terms which only state and state-aided schools under the control of the Department of Internal Affairs could admit coloured pupils. The amendment made it possible for private schools registered with any other state department or provincial authority to admit coloured pupils. It also extended the principle of compulsory attendance to coloured pupils at private schools. Previously compulsory education applied only to pupils in state and state-aided schools. The principal act was also amended to allow teachers and staff members at coloured schools to become members of political parties provided they did not use their positions to promote or prejudice the interests of a political party or to preside or speak at any public political meetings.

During the 1982/83 financial year, R15,570,700 was allocated for teacher training, excluding university training. The amount budgeted for the 1983/84 financial year was R18,234,800. As at 31 December 1982 there were 3,525 students enrolled for teacher training courses throughout the country. At the end of 1982, 2,306 students qualified as teachers. There were 3,722 student teachers registered at June 1983.

According to the Director of Coloured Education, the following coloured persons had senior posts in education: Inspectors of education 43; subject advisers 56; professors or heads of departments at the University of the Western Cape 5; university lecturers 37; lecturers at technikons and technical colleges 102; and principals of schools 2,029.

Adult Education
From 1 April, adult education for coloured persons was decentralised to the various regional offices of the Department of Internal Affairs for control and administration purposes. As at 30 June the following statistics applied: "2

INDIAN SCHOOLING
Part-time primary
Part-time secondary
level classes
32
5 700
496

Indian schooling
School statistics
There were 27 pre-primary and 446 primary and secondary schools for Indians in the Republic in 1983, classified as follows:103
Pre-primary schools
State
State-controlled Subsidised 6
Private 18
Creches 1
Pre-primary schools with crches 2
Total 27
Primary and secondary schools
State 315
State-aided 116
Private Special (including 2 schools of industry) 15
Total 446

According to the annual report of the Department of Internal Affairs,14 21 new secondary, 25 new primary and additions to three secondary and nine primary schools were under construction in March 1982. In the 1981/82 financial year capital expenditure on new schools and additions to existing schools was R14 973 770. The number of pupils, classes, and schools involved in platoons decreased by 2 973, 85, and 18 respectively between 1981 and 1982 as more schools were built. Platoons are conducted in Natal only. The report gave the following statistics in respect of the platoon system for 1982:
Number of pupils Number of classes Number of schools
5 426 162 28

Enrolment of pupils in Indian schools in 1982 (revised) and 1983 (estimates) was as follows: 105
Centres Pupils Teachers
Total 123 7807 668

INDIAN SCHOOLING
Standard
Sub A Sub B Std 1 Std 2 Std 3 Std 4 Std 5 Special
1982 Number
21 127 21 606 21 667 22 995 22 697 20 967 19 186 1 169
1983 Number
20 319 21 291 22 241 21 803 23 738 22 321 21 803 884
8,9 9,3 9,7 9,5 10,4 9,8 8,9 0,4
Total primary 151 414 67,7 152 915 66,9
Std6 18 116 8,1 18 780 8,2
Std7 17 125 7,6 17 230 7,5
Std8 16 285 7,3 16 533 7,2
Std9 12 255 5,5 13 917 6,1
Std10 8 550 3,8 9 362. 4,1
Total secondary 72 331 32,3 75 822 33,1
Total 223 745 100,0 228 737 100,0

In areas where there are no schools for coloured pupils, they may attend Indian schools. In 1982 the number of coloured pupils attending Indian schools was as follows:106 Natal 729; Transvaal 625; and Cape 293. This gave a total of 1 647.
The 10 special schools (for the blind, deaf, and cerebral palsied) and training centres subsidised by the department had an enrolment of 724. 117

Examination results
The results of the 1982 senior certificate examination were as follows:108
Passed with matriculation exemption Passed with school-leaving certificate Failed
Number 2 411 3 042 1 039
37,1 46,9 16,0
Total number of candidates 6492 100,0

Teachers
The qualifications of teachers in schools and colleges of education in 1982 were as follows:19
Professionally qualified, with
A university degree Std 10 or equivalent Std 8 or equivalent

Indian
2 157 5 801
637
Coloured/
White Total
43 2200
57 5 858
16 653
Total 8595 116 8711 89,0
22,5 59,8 6,7

INDIAN TEACHERS
No professional qualification, Coloured
but with Indian White Total %
A university degree 138 - 138 1,4
Std 10 or equivalent 692 - 692 7,1
Std 8 or equivalent 201 - 201 2,0
Technical qualifications  26  22  48  0,5
Total               1 057  22  1 079  11,0
Grand total         9 652  138  9 790  100,0

If a post-Standard 10 teacher's certificate or diploma is taken as the minimum qualification for a teacher, the above table shows that 17.7% of the teachers in Indian schools are underqualified.

Towards the end of June, the South African Indian Council (SAIC) prohibited direct communication between the Teachers’ Association of South Africa (TASA) and the Department of Internal Affairs, directing that all future communications by TASA had to be channelled to the executive of the SAIC through the Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog. TASA has previously refused to have anything to do with the SAIC, whose move was interpreted as an attempt to force TASA to recognise it. Mr Amichand Rajbansi, SAIC executive chairman, described the move as a 'mild' reaction to TASA's negative attitude towards the council. TASA sought legal advice on the possibility of taking legal action against the SAIC, and a door-to-door petition campaign was launched. Mr Rajbansi claimed that Indian education had 'improved and grown enormously' under the SAIC's control, which came into effect at the beginning of 1976.

Enrolment of student teachers at the two colleges of education for Indians and the University of Durban-Westville in 1982 was as follows:1
Springfield College of Education  1 291
Transvaal College of Education  377
University of Durban-Westville  1 021
Total                     2 689

During the 1982/83 financial year, R6 046 000 was allocated for teacher training, excluding university training. The amount budgeted for the 1983/84 financial year was R7 448 300. A total of 2 271 students received bursaries in January 1982 to enrol at the three training institutions. At the end of 1981, 551 teachers qualified.

Adult Education
The department operated four adult education centres in 1982. The number of students and teachers involved was as follows:11
Centre                  Students  Teachers
Chatsworth Secondary School  510   16
Crossmoor Secondary School  241    9
M L Sultan Stanger Secondary School  137    7
M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg Secondary School  130    8
Total                   1 018   40

WHITE SCHOOLING
White schooling
School statistics
Statistics with regard to schools for whites in 1983 were as follows:114
Pre-primary schools
Provincial  118
Provincially controlled (private institutions with teachers' salaries paid by the province)  267
Subsidised (subsidised by the province according to enrolment and parents' income) 179
Private 255
Creches 201
Pre-primary schools with creches and/or after school centres 273
Total 1 293
Primary and secondary schools
Provincial 2 328
Provincially aided 66
Private 135
Special 157
Total 2 686

In January, Mr Fanie Schoeman, Member of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration in charge of education, revealed that an R1 000 000 scheme had been launched towards the end of 1982 to provide temporary classrooms for white schools in Pretoria and other parts of the Transvaal, in order to overcome the shortage in these areas. Mr Schoeman said that a survey by the Transvaal Education Department (TED) had shown that, apart from additional temporary classrooms at existing schools, a further 52 new schools, each capable of housing 750 pupils, were needed. 'renders would be solicited for some these in 1983. 15

In July, a Chinese child, Hweiming (Bibi) Koo, was refused permission to attend a government primary school in Harrismith in the OFS. The refusal was based on an OFS ordinance dating back to 1891 which prohibits Indian and Chinese people from living or working in the province. After much publicity, the school board eventually agreed at the beginning of August to accept Miss Koo, but by then she had already enrolled at a private school in Johannesburg.

Enrolment
The enrolment of primary and secondary white pupils in different categories of school in 1983 was as follows:’6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>924 902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincially aided</td>
<td>17 370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>44 004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>986 276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WHITE TEACHERS
Enrolment by standard was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub A Sub B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 1 Std 2 Std 3 Std 4 Std 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special classes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary classes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83 865 82 495 84 600 85 763 87 781 89 602 86 908 10 231 1 282
Total primary 612 527 62,1
Altogether 57 844 teachers were employed in white schools in 1983. In December, the Department of National Education announced that as of 1 January 1984, women teachers would no longer have to give up their permanent posts when they married. Previously married women teachers were employed on a temporary basis. 77

The Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, gave the following figures with regard to inadequately trained physical science teachers in white schools: 18

Department
Natal OFS Cape Transvaal National Education
% inadequately trained
42,0 52,3 23,8 56,2 13,0

The following numbers of student teachers were enrolled at teachers' training colleges in all the provinces during 1982 (revised figure) and 1983 (estimated figure) (Figures for student teacher enrolment at universities were not available): 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2 358</td>
<td>7 622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2 302</td>
<td>7 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9 980</td>
<td>9 601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

There were 18 colleges of education for whites in 1982 and 1983; most of these institutions were under-utilised. In the Transvaal, about a quarter of the 8 500 student places offered by the five white teacher training colleges were unfilled. In the Cape, the enrolment of first-year students at such colleges has dropped by nearly half since 1977. In 1981, there was a 38% decrease in men enrolling, while the number of women dropped by 11.8%. At the Bloemfontein Teachers' College in the OFS the male student enrolment dropped from 21.8% of the total in 1980 to 16.4% in 1983.121

Schoolfees

The National Education Amendment Act, No 25 of 1982, made provision for parents of pupils at white government schools to be made to pay increased fees towards the education of their children. In August, government Notice No R1702 made provision for the Minister of National Education to determine the tuition
fees payable by pupils attending government schools. Despite this provision, a
spokesman for the Department of National Education said that compulsory school
fees would not be introduced immediately. Mr Eddie Brown, president of the
Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA), said that the TTA welcomed the
introduction of compulsory school fees provided it was not to the detriment of
poorer schools. The TTA saw the move as a way of giving parents more
involvement in their children's education. However, at a TTA conference in
September, delegates called on the TED to consult teachers before imposing
compulsory levies on parents.

Technical Education and Industrial Training
According to Mr Steve Naudé, chairman of the National Training Board, in 1983
more people than ever before would be trained to higher skills in SA, the majority
through in-service training schemes. Mr Naudé said that in 1981, although the
economy was booming, there had been a danger of its 'running out of steam'
because of a lack of trained people. In 1982, when the economy entered a
recession, more than 500 000 people received in-service training, a figure which
would increase in 1983. Mr Naudé believed that commerce and industry had learnt
that in slack periods they had the breathing space necessary to build up the supply
of skilled people for the next upswing in the economy. Despite the increasing
number of people being trained, Mrs F Dowie, a training officer of the Federated
Chamber of Industries (FCI), said SA was still far from training enough people
for its own needs. This view was supported by personnel agencies in
Johannesburg, which said that despite widespread unemployment in SA there was
a shortage of skilled labour.

In July it was announced that the Human Sciences Research Council and the
National Training Board would jointly conduct an investigation, due for
completion at the end of 1984, into the training of apprentices and artisans.
The Education and Culture Laws Amendment Act, No 28 of 1983, amended the
Technical Colleges Act, No 104 of 1981. In order to meet the increasing need for
tuition by correspondence at technical college level, the definition of 'postschool
education' was amended to include technical education provided by
correspondence, which had previously been excluded. According to the Minister
of

AFRICAN TECHNICAL EDUCATION
National Education the first correspondence technical college was to be
established in 1984. It would be open to all race groups, taking over the provision
of post-school education at technical college level by correspondence from
Technikon RSA, which could then confine itself to correspondence tuition at a
tertiary level.

African Technical Education and Industrial Training
Practical subjects
The number of schools offering practical subjects and the enrolment of pupils by
standard in 1982 was as follows (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana,
Venda, and the Ciskei):

Subject
Agriculture Art  
Home economics Housecraft Needlework and clothing Woodwork Total  
Number of schools offering  
Junior Senior level level  
1 362 231  
29 2  
16 5  
476 92  
134 25  
93 19  
Enrolment by standard  
6  7  8  9  
114084 83002 56597 20013  
839 850 420 21  
724 654 459 139  
26681 16 197 9632 2917 7958 4937 2834 611  
4 405 3 545 1 772 262 154 691 109 831 2917 435  
Technical and Commercial subjects  
The numbers of schools offering technical courses and the enrolment in each standard in 1982 (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana Venda, and the Ciskei) were as follows:4  
Subject  
Building construction Electrical work Motor mechanics Plumbing & sheetmetal work Welding and metalwork Technical drawing Electronics  
Bricklaying and plastering Basic course Woodworking Fitting and machinery  
Schools offering Junior Senior courses  
6  20  
3 3 30  
24 15 15  
1  
13  
4  
courses  
2 197  
2 499  
2 216  
1 10  
1 831  
4 1 963  
1 513  
-- 435  
43  
-- 240  
-- 95
Enrolment by standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 064</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>821</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>43</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 5 042 2 895 1 296 319 150 9702

The schools and pupils involved in commercial courses in 1982 were:

Subject

Accountancy Business economics Commercial mathematics

Schools offering Junior Senior courses courses

| 426 | 135 |
| 177 | 104 |
| 5 |
| 6 |
| 28 961 |

Enrolment by standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 066</td>
<td>14 302</td>
<td>6 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>11 854</td>
<td>11 074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 809</td>
<td>28 5505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 140</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2041</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 745</td>
<td>3003</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 665</td>
<td>30 931</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AFRICAN TECHNICAL EDUCATION

&hools offerin,

| Junior | Senior Enrolment by standard courses courses 6 7 8 9 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Subject | courses | courses | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Economics | 120 | 78 | - | - | 6070 | 6028 |
| Typing | 81 | 22 | 2 817 | 3 947 | 1 956 | 604 |
| Total | 31 778 | 32 013 | 34 182 | 24 754 |
During 1982, the establishment of technical sections at 12 secondary schools was approved and a technical secondary school was established in Thabong (Welkom). Approval was given in principle for technical fields of study to be introduced at schools situated next to technical centres. Approval has also been given for technical fields of study at five schools being planned in Springs, Tembisa, Middelburg, Potchefstroom, and Carletonville.

Departmental Technical Centres
The numbers of students enrolled in 1982 in the 16 departmental training centres offering technical orientation subjects were as follows (the four 'independent' homelands excluded):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Standard 6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brickwork</td>
<td>5021</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical work</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalwork and fitting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork &amp; plasticwork</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enrolment by standard 6 7 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>643</th>
<th>738</th>
<th>699</th>
<th>889</th>
<th>801</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total enrolment: 15,426

The sixteenth centres in operation in 1982 were situated at: Atteridgeville (Pretoria), Bloemfontein, Guguletu (Cape Town), Imbali (Pietermaritzburg), Katlehong (Germiston), KwaThema (Springs), Lamontville (Durban), Mamelodi (Pretoria), Mezodo (Dobsonville), Molapo (Soweto), Nancekol (Soweto), Sebokeng (Vanderbijlpark), Tembisa (Kempton Park), Thabong (Welkom), Uitenhage, and Zincedeni (New Brighton). The Thlabologo centre in Klerksdorp opened in January 1983 and a centre in Kroonstad was completed during the year. The Department of Education and Training is planning to build another 26 centres over the next five years.

Technical Colleges
In 1982, there were 17 technical colleges in the 'white area' of SA offering trade training, while there were also four in Lebowa, one in Gazankulu, five in KwaZulu, one in QwaQwa, and one in KaNgwane. Enrolment at these colleges in 1982 was as follows in the two- and three-year courses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watchmakers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry, joinery, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabinetmaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Year of study

2nd 3rd Total
ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Course
Concreting, bricklaying, and plastering Electricians Motorbody repair work Motor mechanics Plumbing, drainlaying, and sheetmetalwork Tailoring Leatherwork Painting and glazing Upholstery and motortrimming Welding and metalwork Diesel fitters Fitting and machining

Year of study 1st 2nd
84 90
74 43
55 52
50 86
44 80
23 16
20 11
16 16

Sub-total 1 394 615 111 2 120
A further 173 students were enrolled for the one-year course introduced at the beginning of 1982. The total enrolment at these colleges was therefore 2 293.

Advanced Technical Education
In 1982, there were four institutions for the advanced technical education of Africans: the Mabopane East Technikon and the Shikoane Matlala Technical College under the Department of Education and Training, and the Mangosuthu Technikon (Umlazi) and the Edendale Technical College under the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. Enrolment in 1982 for advanced technical training was as follows:8

Course
Water purification officers National Diploma in Public Health Community health nursing science Medical technology Civil engineering technicians Electrical engineering technicians Mechanical engineering technicians Mechanical engineering (pre-technicians) Pre-technicians
Geology and survey technicians Architectural draughtsmanship Building surveys Construction supervision Chemical plant operation Analytical chemistry Sugar technology Diploma in Public Administration National Diploma in Commerce National Diploma in Cost Accountancy Institute of Administration and Commerce Certificate in Business Education National Secretarial Certificate National Diploma - Private Secretary

Total
Year of Study
1st 2nd 3rd 4th Total
55 - - 55
48 29 28 55
48 29 28 - 105
AFRICAN TECHNICAL EDUCATION

University courses
The University of Fort Hare and the University of the North offer degree courses in agriculture. There is a degree course in land surveying at the University of Fort Hare, and one in pharmacy at the University of the North. The Medical University of SA offers degree courses in such subjects as dietetics and pharmacology.

African students wishing to study architecture, quantity surveying or engineering may enrol at certain white English-language universities, provided they have obtained ministerial consent.

State Training Centres
The Manpower Training Amendment Act, No 1 of 1983, empowers the Minister of Manpower, with the concurrence of the Minister of Finance, to provide financial assistance to state training centres from moneys appropriated by parliament. Prior to 1981, when the Manpower Training Act abolished the practice, the eight existing centres received financial assistance for the purchase of equipment and the erection of buildings in terms of the Black Employees In-service Training Act (1976). A total of nearly R100 000 000 had been voted for this purpose. After the 1981 amendment, however, it became clear that the centres could not raise adequate funds for day-to-day running. This led to the commissioning of an investigation of the centres by the post-graduate management school of the University of Pretoria. Its conclusion, which was accepted by the minister, was that special financial assistance by the state to the centres would be necessary. The act retains the provision empowering the
minister to impose a levy on employers to help finance the centres, which, according to the minister, offer 16 000 approved training courses.

Group training centres
The number of Africans who received training during, 1982 at the eight group training centres, previously known as public in-service training centres, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Number of Trainees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apex</td>
<td>2 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boithusong</td>
<td>1 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boskop</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandor</td>
<td>1 992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emthonjeni</td>
<td>2 037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinetown</td>
<td>2 680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebokeng</td>
<td>1 883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waltloo</td>
<td>1 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14 068</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Private in-service training courses
At the end of 1982, 389 training centres and 889 training schemes were registered with the Department of Manpower for tax exemption purposes. (In 1973 the government introduced tax concessions for companies that established in-service training centres.) In 1982, 36 330 Africans received training at these centres.

AFRICAN TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Ad hoc border industrial schemes
In 1982, 894 African factory operators in the border areas were trained in four ad hoc training schemes.

Ad hoc state industrial schools
Four ad hoc state industrial schools in KwaZulu and one in QwaQwa offer intensive 13-week courses in bricklaying, plastering, joinery and woodmachining, plumbing, sheetmetalwork, and welding to adults who do not qualify for admission to technical colleges. In 1982, 740 people enrolled at these schools.

Technical Education in the 'independent' homelands
In 1982, four vocational and industrial schools operated in the Transkei employing 28 teachers and with an enrolment of 270 pupils. The Umtata Technical College had 34 teachers and 587 students. Several secondary schools in the Transkei offer technical subjects. The Ikhezi Lokusa Technical skill centre was established in 1981 to provide technical subjects which can be used in nearby secondary schools as well as in part-time classes to adults. The centre had 16 teachers and 206 students in 1982. A second skill centre, Ezibeleni, is planned for West Tembuland.

Various secondary schools in Bophuthatswana offer vocational subjects. In 1982, 16 773 pupils enrolled in subjects such as accountancy, typing, economics, business economics, home economics, house craft, needlework/dressmaking, and woodwork. In addition, the President Mangope Technical High School, the only purely technical high school in Bophuthatswana, offers electrical, welding, and secretarial courses. Industrial training is offered at the Babelegi Industrial Trade
Training Centre, where 13-week crash courses are offered in welding, carpentry, metalwork and plumbing, and bricklaying and plastering. During 1982, 120 people received training at this centre. Vocational training for girls is offered at the Direpotsane Vocational School. The entrance qualification is standard 7, and tuition is offered in accountancy, business economics, and typing up to standard 8. A crèche course, dressmaking, and house management are also provided. In 1982, 275 girls received training at school. Trade training is offered at six institutions, Baitiredi Technical Institute, Boitseanape Technical College, Moroka High School, President Mangope Technical High School, Temba Technical Institute and the M-Setlogelo Technikon, which together had 626 students during 1982. In addition to trade training, the M-Setlogelo Technikon offers fashion design, secretarial courses, and courses for laboratory technicians. Sixty-five students enrolled for these courses in 1982.14 Finyazwanda Technical Institute is the only technical institution in Venda. Courses are offered in motor mechanics, electrical work, plumbing and drainlaying, carpentry, building, welding and metalwork, upholstery, and motor trimming. In 1982, 320 pupils were enrolled at Finyazwanda, 25 of whom were female. 15 The Vulindlela Training Centre in the Ciskei offers technical training for two and half hours a week to school pupils from Standard 6 to Standard 8. The pupils all take technical drawing with additional training in one of the following trades: building construction, carpentry, metalwork and welding, and electrical work. The Buchule Technical High School, erected by Barlow Rand in 1978, provides, academic education as well as tuition in practical technical subjects and technical

**COLOURED TECHNICAL EDUCATION**

drawing. The two technical colleges in the Ciskei, the Maqoma Technical College at Alice and the Zwelethemba Technical College at Zwelitsha, offer the N1, N2 and N3 diploma courses in carpentry, bricklaying, electrical work, motor repair, motor mechanics, plumbing, upholstery, welding and dressmaking. In 1982, 196 pupils enrolled at these two technical colleges. The Mdantsane Textile School continued to train women for the textile trade. Attendance is on a part-time basis.6 Coloured Technical Education

According to the Director of Coloured Education, in 1983 there were eight secondary schools for coloured pupils offering technical subjects. 17 Total enrolment in standards 6 to 10 inclusive was 1 002. Of 632 coloured students who entered for technical courses in the senior certificate in 1982, 477 passed. The director said that there was one state-aided vocational school, with an enrolment of 56 in 1983, offering carpentry, upholstery, shoemaking, masonry, and tailoring. The 1982 examination results at this school were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Entered</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NTC I</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTC II</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTC III</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Students enrolled at the one technikon and the seven technical colleges for coloured people in 1983 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full-time</th>
<th>Part-time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peninsula Technikon</td>
<td>1 575</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L C Johnson Technical College</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld Technical College</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R C Elliot Technical College</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethelsdorp Technical College</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athlone Technical College</td>
<td>2 089</td>
<td>1 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proteaville Technical College</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape College of Printing</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of the NTC I, NTC II, and NTC III examinations at these institutions in 1982 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Entered</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NTC I</td>
<td>2 635</td>
<td>1 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTCII</td>
<td>2 137</td>
<td>1 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTC III</td>
<td>1 898</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indian Technical Education

Four secondary schools, three in Natal and one in the Transvaal, offer technical secondary education for Indian pupils. Enrolment by standard in the technical study direction in 1983 was as follows:

| School                  | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | - | 92 | 85 | 91 | 42 | 54 | - | 107 | 227 | 249 | 195 | - | 79 | 94 | 38 | 35 | - | 92 | 497 | 733 | 712 | 538 |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| Clairwood               | 226| 321| 383| 254|
| M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg | 92 | 85 | 91 | 42 | 54 |
| M L Sultan Stanger     | 107| 227| 249| 195|
| M H Joosub             | 79 | 94 | 38 | 35 |

In September, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, executive chairman of the South African Indian Council (SAIC), said that the council had decided to build technical secondary and pre-vocational (career) secondary schools over a five-year period from 1982 to 1987, costing R40m, at Lenasia, Pietermaritzburg, Stanger, Phoenix, and Chatsworth.

Of the 420 Indian pupils who entered the senior certificate examination conducted at schools which offer a technical direction of education, 105 (25%) passed with matriculation exemption and 241 (57.4%) passed with school leaving certificates. Of the 189 who entered the senior certificate (practical examination), 184 (97.3%) passed.

The Department of Internal Affairs also controls one technical college comprising five schools. Enrolment at these schools was as follows in 1983:

| Apprentice School (Sastri College) | 703 |
Catering School (Sastri College) 188
The Loram School of General Studies 407
School of Home Economics (Sastri College) 117
School of Physical Education Speech (Sastri College) 1133
Total 2548

The M L Sultan Technikon in Durban continued to provide training for Indians at tertiary level. During the 1982/83 financial year, grants-in-aid from the state amounted to R4 305 332, made up of general subsidies worth R3 398 114 and adhoc grants amounting to R907 218. Enrolment at the Technikon in 1982 was as follows: i8

Art and design Management, administration and computer science Secretarial studies, communication and languages Home economics Physical education Applied science Health science Hotel and catering administration Electrical engineering Mechanical engineering Building and civil engineering Total

Full-time Part-time
77 12
224 955
87 78
52 408
-- 1 006
47 168
143 19
201 36
148 4
160 46
139 7
1 278 2739

White Technical Education

Ten technical colleges for whites were declared autonomous state-aided technical colleges in 1982. The remaining nineteen will be similarly classified in terms of the Total

1311 382 876 258
2 827

WHITE TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Technical Colleges Act, No 104 of 1981, over the next three years. As from I May 1982, all 42 technical institutes for whites were declared state-aided technical colleges. In 1982, there were seven technikons for whites in SA. Tenders for a white technikon in the District Six/Zonnebloem area were invited in 1983.19

Figures for 1981 enrolments at institutions for technical and vocational training were extracted from the latest report of the Department of National Education, as follows:21

Institution Idl-time Part time Total
Technikons 18 903 20 887 39 790
Technical colleges 20 045 12 651 32 696
Technical institutes  7 190  9 235  16 425 
Total  46 138  42 773  S8 911 
Examination results for the period 1 November 1981 follows: 
Course 
Telecommunication Civil engineering and building Mining 
Physical sciences Biological sciences 
Number of candidates 
774 737 924 957 113 
to 31 October 1982 were as 
Certificates issued 
566 13 
Diplomas issued 
71 6 
1 13 05 
39 
Agriculture  1t,26 
Supplementary health services  2 623  46  454 
Engineering  7 651  738  666 
Other  382  71  90 
Commerce, management, administration  20 506  3 200  7(10 
Art  763  17  219 
Teacher training  367  -  72 
NTC I  9 750  4 154  --NTC II  12 
161  5 057 
NTCII  16 178  4 756 
NTCV  5 193  1 428 
NTCV1  1 081  256 
National Technical Diploma  -  36 
Total  93 898  23 720  2 923 
The numbers of adults who enrolled for, completed, or left before completing each course at the Trade Training Centre for Adults at Westlake during the period May 1981 to April 1982 were, respectively, 202, 186, and 16. 
The Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act, No 84 of '1983, amended the Advanced Technical Education Act, No 40 of 1967, by granting greater autonomy to the councils of technikons falling under the control of the Department of National Education. It also provided for the establishment of a committee of Technikon Principals, with provision for the principals of coloured and Indian technikons to sit on this committee. A further clause provided that the admission of black students to 'white' technikons would be subject to a quota or ceiling, which may differ for different technikons, race groups, and study courses. The granting of state subsidies will be subject to the implementation of this clause.
UNIVERSITIES
by the technikons. All three opposition parties refused to support the bill, as they objected to this clause. The official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), said that it would have been happy to support the bill, but that the quota clause made it totally unacceptable, being discriminatory and offensive to other race groups in SA. Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP) said it was in the interests of society, good race relations, and the economy that workers of different colour and racial backgrounds should be allowed to work, study, and train together without hindrance. He accused the government of sabotaging SA's economic effort by the application of apartheid through the bill.21 The Conservative Party (CP) said the bill was a step on the road towards integrated education. Mr S P Barnard (CP) said that the difference between the old permit system and the quota system was that the former allowed people of other races to attend technikons for whites as a privilege, while the quota system elevated such attendance to a right. Mr F A H van Staden (CP) said that the government, by allowing coloured and Indian technikons to be represented on the Committee of Technikon Principals, was doing away with the self-determination of each group over its own education.23 The New Republic Party (NRP) said that any decision to open tertiary institutions to all races should be a 'local option'.
UNISA 37 902 3 150 5 748 144 12 680 - 59 624
Venda 2 - - - 781 - 783
Vista - - - - 3 010 - 3 010
Western Cape 58 4 487 176 - 31 - 4 752
Witwatersrand 13 877 213 891 226 583 - 15 790
Zululand 3 1 3 - 3 858 - 3 865
(Figures for Fort Hare University were not supplied: in 1982 it had 3 113 African, 44 white, 24 coloured and three Indian students.)

UNIVERSITIES
Of a total of 41 023 students at the four white English-language universities, 1 547 (3.8%) were African, 2 407 (5.9%) were Indian, and 1 642 (4.0%) were coloured. The remaining 86% were white. The five white Afrikaans-language universities and the University of Port Elizabeth had 511 (one percent) African, Indian and coloured students out of a total enrolment of 53 723.
The numbers of African, coloured, and Indian students who applied for and were granted or refused permission to study at white universities from 1.980 to 1983 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1 046</td>
<td>1 175</td>
<td>1 013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1 391</td>
<td>1 221</td>
<td>1 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1 545</td>
<td>1 314</td>
<td>1 724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2 605</td>
<td>1 371</td>
<td>1 679</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Universities and Technikons Advisory Council Act, No 99 of 1983, provided for the establishment of a council to advise the Ministers of National Education, Internal Affairs, and Education and Training on matters in respect of universities and technikons for whites, coloured people, Indians, and Africans. The advisory council will consist of a chairman appointed by the Minister of National Education, a public servant appointed by the minister as executive officer of the council, and twelve members. Two of these will be nominated by the Committee of University Principals and two by the Committee of Technikon Principals (from which African universities and technikons are excluded) and a further eight, appointed by the minister, will have ‘special knowledge and experience of educational, economic and financial matters and of the functions of universities and technikons’.
The PFP rejected the bill because, although the council will advise the Minister of Education and Training on African universities and technikons, these institutions are excluded from membership of it. The PFP also said that since most of the
members of the council were to be appointed by the minister, it would not be independent of the government. The CP rejected the bill because it provided for coloured people, Indians, and whites to advise on one another's education, and 'placed the seal on integration at tertiary and higher technical education level' The NRP supported the bill.

In terms of the University of the Western Cape Act, No 78 of 1983, and the University of Durban-Westville Act, No 81 of 1983, autonomous status was conferred on these two universities, giving them the same legal status as the eleven 'white' universities. The status and powers of the autonomous universities are defined by the Universities Act, No 61 of 1955, supplemented by the specific provisions of their own incorporating acts. The Universities Amendment Act, No 83 of 1983, amended the definition of a 'university' to include the universities established for coloured and Indian people.

UNIVERSITIES
The Universities Amendment Act also amended the Extension of University Education Act, No 45 of 1959, in terms of which black students wishing to attend a 'white' university had to apply to the Department of National Education for permission. The amendment provided that the university authorities would be responsible for the admission of individual students, but subject to certain conditions specified by the minister, including conditions relating to the number of students attending universities established for other race groups. Different such quotas might be applied to different race groups, different universities, and different faculties within universities. The amendment provided that the quotas would be determined by the minister in consultation with the university authorities. An amendment to section 25 of the Universities Act, No 61 of 1955, which provides for the granting of government subsidies to universities, stipulated that the granting of such subsidies would be subject to the quota system being implemented. The University of SA was excluded from this provision.

When the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, introduced the bill in parliament, he said that the permit system contained in the 1959 act had met strong criticism because it was seen to be an infringement of the autonomy of universities. The intention of the quota clause was to depolitise decisions about individual admissions and to give universities greater autonomy. However, university autonomy was not absolute, but had to be exercised within the broader policy laid down by the government. Dr Viljoen also said that there were no sound grounds for claiming that complete autonomy in the admission of students was an essential ingredient of academic freedom. He added that, in terms of the government's new constitutional proposals, if a chamber of parliament did not wish to admit students of other races to universities under its jurisdiction, this would be classed as an 'own affair'. However, if a chamber wished to open its universities to all races, this would be classed as a 'general affair' as the decision affected other race groups.3 Dr Viljoen said that a quota system also had a practical side. The large number of black students at white universities meant that the administration of individual permits was time-consuming and inevitably led to delays and frustration. A quota system would not only improve administrative
efficiency, but also take into account the well-known aversion which black people had to permits. Dr Viljoen also said that he intended stipulating that universities would have to provide separate accommodation for each race group in the relevant group areas. Students of different race groups would not be able to reside together.4

The PFP voiced the strongest objection to the bill. Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP) described it as 'flagrantly racialistic and blatantly discriminatory' and listed several 'disastrous consequences' which would result from the quota clause.5 These included the possibility of SA degrees not being recognised overseas; SA graduates and academics being turned away by overseas universities; SA academics being barred from international conferences or publication in overseas journals; increased pressure to dissuade foreign academics from visiting SA; the withholding of books, microfilms and international library loans; and the withholding of scientific and technical information. The NRP rejected the bill too, Mr Ron Miller (NRP) asking the minister to adopt the alternative of 'local option' instead. He said that universities should be allowed to decide for themselves whom to admit, retaining their group character if they wished but without being forced to do so. The CP rejected the bill on the grounds that it contradicted the policy of separate development. Mr F A H van Staden (CP) said that under the

UNIVERSITIES

guise of imposing certain limitations, the quota clause really had the effect of regulating and stabilising racial integration at university level.

The councils, senates, staff, and students of the four white English-language universities -the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Natal and Rhodes --publicly condemned the quota proposal at mass meetings and in other forums. Staff and students called upon their universities to defy the bill. At the University of Natal (Durban), 2000 students signed a petition protesting against the government's interference in the university's autonomy. The University of Cape Town placed an advertisement in the press condemning the bill. In June more than 2 000 students and staff of the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), including the principal and the vice-principals, marched through Pietermaritzburg. At Rhodes University, approximately 400 students marched on the vice-chancellor's office in protest. In April, the principals of the four universities issued a joint statement condemning the quota system, describing it as 'another expression of political interference in an academic function'. They said that 'a university should be able to determine the terms on which it appoints staff and admits students. The only proper grounds for admission to courses of study are academic and not race, colour or creed'.6 The University of the Witwatersrand called a general assembly of staff and students to protest against the bill.

At the end of August, Dr Viljoen announced that the government would not implement the clause on racial quotas. However, it would remain on the statute book and the government would watch the numbers of black students at white universities closely and would reconsider the position if necessary. Dr Viljoen made this decision after consulting the English-medium universities and noting that the policy to limit student growth 'to at most their average growth over the
past few years' was unlikely to result, in the immediate future, 'in a substantial change in the composition of their student bodies'. Dr Viljoen said that ministerial permits would still be required for black students wishing to register for medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, nursing, paramedical courses, optometry, surveying, agriculture, and veterinary science at 'white universities'.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries in October, Dr Viljoen announced that the government was considering a new subsidy formula that would make universities more selective in admitting students. The current system placed too much emphasis on student numbers, which resulted in universities admitting students who did not have a reasonable chance of success, he said. In terms of the new formula, half the subsidy would be given when the student registered and the other half only if he or she passed.

In October, it was reported that the University of the Witwatersrand would increase its entrance requirements and substantially restrict the power of discretion of the deans of faculties to admit students with lower marks. The Universities of Natal, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth subsequently made similar statements. This move was strongly criticised by some academics, who believed that it would have the effect of excluding a large number of black students, whose matriculation results were generally low.

Courses at Vista University began in January at four decentralised campuses: Mamelodi (Pretoria), Soweto, Batho (Bloemfontein), and Zwide (Port Elizabeth). It is expected that two other campuses, for the Vaal Triangle and the East Rand, will open in 1984. In October, disciplinary rules for all Vista campuses were laid down. Students will be subject to disciplinary action if they are guilty of misconduct on or off campus; no student organisation may be established without the permission of the university council; students may contact or join only organisations recognised by the council; meetings of organisations other than approved student organisations may be held only if permission is obtained from the university authorities; student publications and pamphlets may be issued only with the rector's permission; and no student or student organisation may issue any press statement or grant any interview which involves the bodies or persons in charge of the university.

Towards the end of April the council of the University of the Witwatersrand unanimously decided to omit the national anthem, Die Stem, from the university's graduation ceremonies, while not approving a resolution by the SRC and university choir that the anthem Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika be sung in its place. In March Potchefstroom University's Students' Representative Council (SRC) approved the establishment of a branch of the Progressive Federal Party on the campus. The official student magazine 'Die Wapad' reported that the move had considerable support from politically-orientated student organisations such as the liberal Polstu and the campus branch of the Conservative Party. In May the SRC approved in principle the opening of the campus to students of all races but stipulated that the Afrikaans character of the university should be maintained.
August, a political students' committee at the University of Pretoria, which included members of the National Party, the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party, rejected the government's new constitutional proposals. The committee's report was to be presented at a mass meeting to test the reaction of students but the SRC shelved it on the grounds that it had been drawn up before the constitution was debated in parliament. The report was seen in some circles as an embarrassment to the government. 14

In October, members of the black students' movement at Rhodes University voted overwhelmingly to affiliate to the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) rather than to the black-consciousness orientated Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM). In October, the Bophuthatswana authorities announced that they would set aside more than R20m for the expansion and modernisation of facilities at the University of Bophuthatswana, specifically at the main campus in Mmabatho and two satellite campuses in Taung and Garankuwa, in order to reduce Bophuthatswana's dependence on SA universities for tertiary education needs.5 In 1984, a new satellite campus at Odi will become operational and offer courses in agriculture and the technological field. Also in 1984, a fifth school, on the main campus, for health and social sciences, will enrol its first students. The existing four schools are those of administration and business, agriculture, education, and law.16 In November, the Ciskei authorities announced that from 1 January 1984, students who were not bona-fide citizens of the Ciskei would have to apply for permits to study at Fort Hare. Such applications had to be sent to the Department of Internal Affairs and Land Tenure, which would then decide if the students could be admitted.

Student Organisations

The 1983 theme of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was 'Education for Change', reflecting an emphasis on the need for students 'to educate themselves about broad political questions as a basis for their active support of struggles and campaigns in the broader community'.17 At the annual July festival, Ms Kate Phillip, NUSAS president, said that the role of democratic white students in the movement for change in SA was 'an ideological and supportive role, complementing the practical role facing black democratic students'.18 Mr Sechaba Montsitsi and Mr Murpheson Morobe, former members of the Soweto Students' Representative Council and recently released from Robben Island after serving sentences for their role in the 1976 student unrest, addressed the conference and reiterated the need for progressive white student participation in the movement for change. 19 In February, thousands of fraudulent pamphlets entitled 'Campus News' were distributed on all NUSAS-affiliated campuses, linking NUSAS to Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the external mission of the African National Congress. The pamphlet was laid out in the format of a NUSAS publication, NUSAS NEWS. NUSAS issued a statement saying that the pamphlets were an attempt to discredit the organisation and to undermine their 'legitimate stand of opposition to apartheid'.20 In August, referendums were held at Rhodes and Natal (Pietermaritzburg) Universities on the question of affiliation.
to NUSAS. At Rhodes, where the university had previously been affiliated, the students decided to disaffiliate. At Pietermaritzburg, which was not affiliated to NUSAS, the students voted in favour of affiliation.

The Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) held its 35th Congress, on 'Freedom', in Pretoria in July. In an apparent attempt to maintain student unity in the face of deep divisions in Afrikaans ranks, the congress opened with an address by Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party, and closed with a speech by Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party. The conference voted to continue the ASB as a cultural body, taking into account the increasing political polarisation within Afrikanerdom; project a unified front and strive towards Afrikaner unity; encourage open political discussion; and steer clear of party politics.21 Mr Andre Bartlett, president of the ASB, said that differences of opinion, and different political parties, signified a 'healthy democracy'.22 Most of the motions passed at the conference were worded widely enough to satisfy both NP and CP supporters among the delegates. Another speaker at the conference, Mr Simphiwe Mxumalo, an executive member of the Inkatha Youth League, warned delegates that Africans might resort to violence unless whites showed a willingness to share political power.23 It was reported in last year's Survey (p 150), that there was a possibility that Stellenbosch University might re-affiliate to the ASB, which it had left in 1968. A sub-committee of the SRC was established to look into the issue but in May it unanimously recommended against re-affiliation on the grounds that the ASB was a conservative (verkrampte), stagnant organisation, entrenched in useless political dogma.24

For information on black student organisations see chapter on Black Politics.

Disturbances and other events

Schools

After two years of relative calm, conflict in black educational institutions increased in 1983. Boycotts and demonstrations affected about 10 000 pupils in all four provinces and the homelands. Many grievances concerned particular local issues, among them opposition to certain teachers or headmasters, lack of communication between teachers and pupils, the transfer of teachers, lack of facilities, and dissatisfaction with the education and examination system. In the Ciskei, classes were boycotted in response to specific political circumstances. The government blamed agitators and 'bodies who want to abuse the schools and pupils for political purposes'.1 Many people were detained, particularly in the Ciskei, and schools were sometimes closed. The police frequently attempted to break up demonstrations with teargas and sjamboks and on a few occasions they used firearms.

In September, the Director-General of Education and Training, Dr A B Fourie, warned that continual school unrest would result in stricter controls being introduced, as effective education required 'conditions of orderliness and discipline'. He said there were sufficient avenues for complaints and problems to be brought to the attention of the authorities. 'Pupils from a number of Soweto...
schools who formed a 'committee of concern' criticised Dr Fourie for threatening stricter controls when their problems were excessive corporal punishment, lack of genuine democratic representation, unqualified and underpaid teachers, and shortages of textbooks. The committee demanded autonomous student representative councils, the re-opening of schools that had been closed, the unconditional re-admission of pupils, and an end to police interference. Another problem, particularly in Soweto, arose from the presence of white teachers in African schools. According to Mr T Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, the employment of white teachers was seen as a form of nepotism - white officials creating jobs for whites where there were sufficient African teachers to fill the posts. Another educationist said that African pupils believed that white teachers were placed at their schools by the state to monitor their activities. These accusations were denied by the Department of Education and Training. Dr Fourie said that of the 2 083 teachers in Soweto, only 166 were white. Teaching posts were advertised and African applicants received preference. Only where sufficiently qualified Africans were not available were whites appointed. Although boycotts and demonstrations frequently arose in response to specific issues, Mr Pule Monama, national organiser of the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM), said school problems should not be seen in isolation from the political struggle. The boycotting of classes, problems with teachers, and confrontation with police would continue while Africans remained underprivileged, he argued. Mr Curtis Nkondo, president of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), said that as an immediate measure the Department of Education and Training should change its bureaucratic and authoritarian nature. The shortage of classrooms at Katlehong on the East Rand resulted in unrest in February when 650 pupils from Tshabalala Higher Primary School were distributed between three other schools to make classrooms available for 1200 Standard 7 pupils who could not be accommodated in existing secondary schools. The 1 200 pupils arrived at Tshabalala School but were prevented from entering. A fight began, and several classrooms were damaged. The police were called in and the pupils dispersed. A week after the incident the Department of Education and Training announced that it had abandoned the plan to accommodate the Standard 7 pupils at Tshabalala School. Also in February, pupils at Ibhongo Senior Secondary School in Soweto protested against a group of teachers called the 'Committee of Nine' who were allegedly victimising 'politically minded' pupils. A boycott was launched. Twelve pupils suspected of being 'ringleaders' were suspended and their parents told they would be readmitted only if they attended a meeting at the school. Other pupils refused to attend classes until their colleagues were readmitted. After a meeting between the parents, the staff and the school inspector, it was decided that the boycotters would be readmitted. It was believed that a teacher thought to be the leader of the committee of nine had either been fired or had resigned.
On 24 March, riot police using teargas broke up a demonstration at two high schools in KwaZulu, Geogtown High School and Edendale Vocational School. The pupils were demonstrating against attempts to register them for standard rather than higher grade matriculation examinations. They also demanded that a students' representative council be established. As a result of the demonstration the schools closed early for the Easter holidays. Two other schools in the area came out in support. The Edendale circuit inspector, Mr D N Nyandeni, said that matriculation students had the freedom to choose between higher and standard grade. He also said that he saw the need for better communication between students and school authorities, but that SRCs were out of the question. 1

On 19 April, students at another Edendale school, Sobantu High School, began boycotting classes when some of the matriculants were told that they would not be allowed to write their examinations on the higher grade. The police were called in and teargas used. The students were given until 27 April to return to classes, failing which their names would be removed from the register. Mr W J Ltz, Regional Director of the Department of Education and Training, said that the inspectorate decided at the end of each year which Standard 9 pupils should be allowed to enter for the higher grade, and that this decision was stated on their reports. It was not possible for them to change so late in the year, he added. 1

On 9 June, police using teargas dispersed protesting school-children at Zwelithini Higher Primary School in Soweto. The trouble began after the principal, Mr C M Mkwanazi, expelled four pupils for allegedly cheating in examinations. The following day the four returned to the school and stabbed him. After this other pupils cut the school's telephone lines and threw stones which damaged two police cars and broke many school windows. Eight policemen were injured. 12

On 4 July, 250 pupils at Ibongo Secondary School in Soweto boycotted classes in protest against the return of an unpopular principal, Mr R T Venter. They complained that he was the first principal in Soweto to enforce the age-limit regulations. After a week-long boycott, during which the police fired teargas into a crowd of demonstrating students, the school was closed. Following a meeting between the parents and the department it was announced that Mr Venter had agreed to withdraw and that pupils would return to classes on 20 July. Some duly reported to school but left to march to St Hilda's Church to hold a meeting. They were stopped by police using teargas and sjamboks, injuring some of them. Sixteen pupils were arrested but later released. The following day the pupils returned to classes. However on 25 July, four pupils, all members of the Azanian Students' Movement (ASAZM), were detained, which resulted in a boycott of classes until they were released. The pupils returned to classes on 27 July. The four detainees were released at the beginning of August without having been charged. 13

Another Soweto school, Progress Secondary, faced a brief boycott in July by about 900 pupils protesting against the dismissal of two black teachers and their replacement by whites. Two other schools, Ngungunyane and Senoane Secondary, boycotted classes for a day in sympathy.

Some 600 pupils at Makhabu Secondary School in Seshego near Pietersburg boycotted classes for several days in July following the suspension of the principal, Mr D Khukubje, for 'disciplinary reasons'. The pupils demanded that he
be unconditionally reinstated as the tutors teaching his subject were incompetent.14

SCHOOL DISTURBANCES
On 22 July 700 pupils at Jiyane Secondary School in Tembisa protested against the use of corporal punishment. The police were called in, were stoned, and fired automatic handguns into the ground. The police then left and the pupils smashed windows in the school's administration block and tried to set other school buildings on fire. A teacher was stabbed. On 25 July the pupils all returned to their classrooms after being addressed by a school inspector. 15

In the last week of July, 600 pupils at Mountview Senior Secondary School in Hanover Park began a boycott which lasted nearly four weeks, after the principal, Mr P Snyders, expelled four pupils for 'gross insubordination'. The boycotters demanded the unconditional reinstatement of the four and the immediate transfer of Mr Snyders. During the boycott 16 other pupils were suspended, allegedly for intimidation and incitement. A petition signed by 2000 members of the Hanover Park community supporting the students' demands was handed to the Directorate of Coloured Education, a spokesman for which said that it was 'largely a fake'. On 13 August, the 32 matriculation pupils at the school were warned that if they did not return to classes they would be disqualified from writing their exams. They refused and reiterated their demands. The directorate stated it would 'not be held to ransom by these children' and refused to transfer Mr Snyders or reinstate any of those expelled or suspended. On 15 August, three inspectors addressed the pupils and urged them to return to classes, but they again refused. On the same day pupils also burnt Mr Snyders' diary. On 19 August, more than 2 000 students from the University of the Western Cape as well as pupils from most coloured high schools in the area participated in a 'Day of Action' in support of the Mountview pupils. On 20 August a meeting of pupils and parents decided to end the boycott on 22 August on condition that Mr Snyders, who had taken compassionate leave, did not return. The Director of Coloured Education, Mr A J Arendse, announced shortly afterwards that the expelled and suspended pupils would be allowed to return if they apologised, which they did. 16

On 29 July, police using teargas broke up a demonstration of more than 500 pupils at Bophagonang Secondary School in Huhudi near Vryburg. The pupils, who were protesting about 'problems between teachers and the student body', attacked teachers and caused an estimated R44 000 worth of damage to school buildings, which resulted in the school being closed. Thirty-one pupils were arrested. On 2 August about 1 000 pupils marched towards the local police station to protest against the detentions. The march was broken up by police using dogs and teargas. Twenty-three of the 31 were charged with public violence. After a meeting between the Department of Education and Training and the school committee held at the end of August, it was agreed that the school could reopen on 1 September on condition that the 23 students not be admitted, age restrictions be applied more stringently, complaints receive immediate attention, and, if any new incidents occurred, the school be closed immediately. 17
On 15 August more than 1000 students at Orlando High School in Soweto boycotted classes and stoned their headmaster in protest against the transfer of three teachers, refusing to resume classes until they returned. A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training said the teachers had 'left willingly' to help out at other schools. The boycott ended on 22 August when the three teachers returned.

On 29 August pupils at the Ntwalume High School at Msinsini on the Natal south coast boycotted classes, apparently because of the transfer of the principal to another school. The following day, two inspectors of the KwaZulu Education Department came to the school to investigate the matter, and the pupils set their car alight. Police were called in to disperse the crowd and 14 of the pupils were arrested.

At the beginning of September, the Jabulani Technical High School in Soweto closed after pupils boycotted classes to demand that the headmaster, Mr Louw Riekert, be removed because he was 'unapproachable and lacked insight into pupils' problems'. The boycott began with the Standard 10 pupils, who were later joined by the entire school. The pupils threw stones at policemen, cars and buses, and slashed the tyres of vehicles belonging to the Department of Education and Training. Dr Fourie accused 'intimidators or outsiders who have ulterior motives' of inciting the pupils, who retorted that they had 'eyes and brains to see and think'. Their complaints included a shortage of textbooks and dissatisfaction with unqualified teachers. On 13 October, the then Minister of Education and Training, Mr Danie Steyn, decided to reopen the school on 19 October for pupils from Standards 6 to 9 and to start a special programme for them to make up for lost time. The matric students were allowed to stay at home to prepare for their final examination, which began on 27 October.

The conflict surrounding the boycotting of buses in Mdantsane in the Ciskei, which began in July, spread to schools in Mdantsane and other areas in and around the Ciskei. On 4 August when the Ciskeian police fired at commuters trying to board trains, killing five and injuring at least 45 people, 1000 pupils at Wongalethu High School in Mdantsane decided to boycott classes. By 7 August more than half of the 7000 students at secondary schools in Mdantsane had joined the boycott. Two schools in the area were totally boycotted, while attendance at other schools ranged between six and 76%. A few days after the boycott began, the pupils decided to return to school. However, vigilante groups entered the school grounds and assaulted them. At the same time, many students were detained. As a result, the Mdantsane pupils decided to resume their boycott on 13 August, while pupils in Duncan Village decided to join in sympathy. During the course of the boycott, several schools were damaged by fire. By the end of August ten schools had been destroyed or damaged by arson. Several members of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) were arrested in connection with a petrol bomb attack on the house of the Ciskei's Deputy Minister of Defence. By the end of September more than half of the East London branch of COSAS and almost the entire executive in Zwelitsha were in detention. President
Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei described COSAS as a 'ruthless' organisation. By October, most schools in Mdantsane were 90% empty. Only one school in the area, Mzomhle High School, had a substantial number of pupils attending. When the Ciskei authorities decided to withhold salary cheques of teachers at schools affected by boycotts, the teachers at Mzomhle High School returned their salary cheques in protest.

In an attempt to end the school boycott parents were given an ultimatum that their children should return to school by 10 October. The Detainees Parent Support Group (DPSC) in East London claimed that when the pupils refused to return to school, they became the major target for vigilantes who went from house to house taking children to isolated spots and beating them with sjamboks and sticks.

Children of schoolgoing age seen in the streets during the day were beaten or apprehended. Another development was the alteration in the school starting time from 7am to 9am. According to a report by Mr Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, this

UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES
change 'hardened' the pupils' attitude towards returning to school as the implication of the shift in starting time was that it enabled vigilantes and police to coerce parents on to buses as they left for work between 5am and 7am and then 'commence working on the students'. Apart from Mdantsane and Duncan Village, the boycott affected schools in Zwelitsha, Litha, and Sada21 (see also chapter on Homeland Affairs).

Technikons, teacher training colleges
Following the expulsion of eight students from the Mabopane East Technikon, more than 200 decided on 22 July to boycott lectures. The technikon administration claimed that the students had been expelled for poor academic performance, but they produced evidence that they had passed their semester examinations. On 25 July, the rest of the student body joined the boycott and resolved not to return to lectures until the eight were readmitted. As a result, the technikon was closed and the students given until 8 August to apply for readmission. However, they refused to return as the technikon director, Mr M Wijnbeck, had refused to readmit the eight. As a result, the technikon was closed indefinitely. Following the closure, the eight students brought an application before the Pretoria Supreme Court for their reinstatement, but their application was dismissed with costs and they were refused leave to appeal. At the end of August the technikon reopened, and the other students returned.22

On 31 August, the Transvaal College of Education closed down after students boycotted classes in sympathy with five colleagues expelled for being pregnant. The previous day the entire student body had converged on the college hall demanding an explanation for the expulsions. They were ordered to return to classes or leave the campus within ten minutes. The students refused to move and began singing freedom songs. The police were called and patrolled the surrounding areas. The college reopened on 19 September but the five pregnant students and ten other students who were expelled following the boycott were not
allowed to return. The ten students brought an application before the Pretoria Supreme Court, which ordered that they be reinstated. On 1 August, the Mangosuthu Technikon in Umlazi was closed following a week-long boycott of classes by students protesting against the expulsion of three students following an investigation into a Sharpeville commemoration service held on the campus on 21 March. The students refused to return to classes until the three were unconditionally reinstated. The technikon reopened on 15 August after the technikon council decided the expelled students would be suspended for a year.

Universities

University of Bophuthatswana

In September, students boycotted classes for two weeks, complaining about inadequate hostel accommodation. After talks with the university authorities failed to bring about a solution, they called on the Bophuthatswana administration to intervene. The Minister of Law and Order, Chief B M L Motsatsi, asked them to return to classes before their grievances would be considered, and without setting any conditions. The students, who had asked for their test and assignment dates to be rescheduled as they had missed some assignments during the boycott, decided to continue the boycott until the dates were rescheduled. President Lucas Mangope addressed the students and told them that the university had been built at great cost and that he did not want to see it become a 'white elephant'. A mass meeting of students decided to end the boycott unconditionally, and on Monday 3 October they all went back to class.

University of Durban-Westville

In August the rector of the University of Durban-Westville, Professor J C C Greyling, suspended the SRC and banned all political meetings, giving as his reasons the financial position of the SRC and the 'illegality' of its constitution. According to Mr Abba Omar, the SRC chairman, the SRC had not received any money from the university administration for two years. Mr Omar claimed that the suspension of the SRC took place in a context of increasing harassment and intimidation of students by campus police, including the banning of a student meeting which was to have been addressed by two leaders of the Natal Indian Congress, Messrs Mewa Ramgobin and George Sewpersad, and the arrest of students by campus police, who handed them over to the security police. At the time of writing, lawyers for a student action committee and the university administration were drawing up a new constitution for the SRC.

University of Fort Hare

Following a demonstration at the university's graduation ceremony on 1 May 1982 (see 1982 Survey pp 511-512), 18 people were found guilty of public violence and fined R400 (or 200 days' imprisonment) each. A further 300 days' imprisonment was suspended for five years. The 18 were to appeal against their sentence.

During the year under review, the university once again experienced unrest. On 9 June 2,000 students demonstrating against the hanging of three
members of the African National Congress (ANC) overturned a car and stoned the campus security office. Police arrested 21, of whom 14 were charged with public violence, charges against the others being dropped. Unrest also occurred in August, when students protested against an increase in residence and tuition fees, the refusal by the university authorities to supply buses for them to attend funerals of fellow students, and the lack of heating in the residences. On 26 August about 150 students marched through the campus stoning buildings and setting fire to the staff centre, causing damage estimated at R100 000. The demonstration was broken up by the campus security guards, who put out the fire. In September students boycotted classes in sympathy with commuters who were boycotting buses in the Ciskei (see chapter on Homeland Affairs). Also in September, following a commemoration service for Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention in 1977, students marched through the campus throwing stones and breaking windows. Forty-five were arrested when police broke up the protest. The university administration claimed that the police did not use violence and that nobody was injured, but the students alleged that several had been shot. Two who were severely injured were admitted to hospital, but other injured students were said to be afraid to go to hospital for fear of being arrested. The students decided to return to lectures after the 45 were released on bail and to send a delegation requesting to be allowed to write tests missed during the boycott. However, before they could send the dele-

UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES

gation, the police arrived and ordered them to attend classes. The university's public relations officer said the police had been called in to protect students who wanted to attend classes. The students claimed that although they had returned to classes, the police continued patrolling the campus at night, enforcing an 'undeclared curfew'. Later in September, the students staged a one-day boycott to protest against the arrest of three students in connection with a molotov cocktail which had been thrown through one of the hostel windows. The university council announced that the students would be allowed to write the tests they had missed.29

The Medical University of South Africa (MED UNSA)
The Medical University of South Africa in Garankuwa, near Pretoria, which has been in existence for five years, experienced its first incidents of unrest in 1983. In March, the entire student body boycotted the university food for four days. After complaints to the university authorities about the food went unattended, the student's council obtained food from outside campus to be sold cheaply to students. The boycott was called off after the university administration and the food service company involved agreed on a temporary menu proposed by the students while the university investigated a long-term solution to the problem.30

In June, two members of the students' council, Mr Paul Sefularo and Mr Confidence Moloko, were suspended after they discussed with first-year students the implications of a proposed visit to the Pretoria State Theatre, organised by a lecturer. The university authorities claimed that the two students were intimidating the first-year students. The student body boycotted classes and
refused to return until the two students were reinstated. When the students failed to meet an ultimatum to return to classes, the university was closed. On 21 June, the disciplinary committee ruled that the suspension of the two students should be lifted after the university authorities were unable to substantiate allegations of intimidation. The students agreed to return to lectures, and by 23 June classes had resumed.31

University of Natal

In May, aides of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi allegedly used truncheons and sticks to attack a group of University of Natal (Durban) students who walked out of a speech given by him and chanted slogans and songs. According to Mr E S E Ngubane, Chief Buthelezi's private secretary, there was an 'exchange of fists' after one of the aides had been assaulted.32

University of the North (Turfloop)

In February, the entire student body boycotted lectures for two days after the registration of seven students was withdrawn. The students ended the boycott when the seven students were re-registered 'on humanitarian grounds'.33 At the beginning of June, the students boycotted classes for a day after police had baton-charged students who were staging an anti-Republic Day protest. No injuries were reported.34 Towards the end of June the university was closed, in the midst of examinations, after students had held a service to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the 1976 disturbances. After the service, the Lebowa police raided the university hostels with batons and more than 200 students were injured. Eleven students were arrested and charged with public violence. The students

UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES

requested that their examinations be postponed until the beginning of the second semester, which would give the injured students time to recover. But the university authorities decided to close the university for two weeks and resume examinations on 1 July. On 29 June, the students returned to the university to continue negotiating a postponement of their examinations. A mass meeting addressed by the rector, Professor P Mokgokong, was dispersed when police baton-charged and threw teargas at heckling students. Many students fled to a nearby village while others returned to the hostels under 'maximum police protection', and began writing their examinations. Approximately 400 students did not write their examinations as they claimed they were not aware that the boycott had ended. They were ordered to leave the campus. Two of the 400 brought an urgent court application for their re-admission to the university and in the middle of August the court ordered that the two be allowed to attend lectures and be provided with hostel accommodation at the discretion of the rector until the university authorities and the Minister of Education and Training submitted answering affidavits. The court also ordered the two not to engage in any activities which might bring them into disrepute with the university authorities.”3

At the beginning of November, students staged a one-day strike in protest against violence at the University of Zululand at the end of October, in which five people were killed in clashes between some of the students and members of Inkatha (see
The students burnt an effigy of Chief Buthelezi to demonstrate their anger. 36

University of the Western Cape

In March about 1 000 students marched on the university's administration block, insisting that the rector, Professor Dick van der Ross, should give them 'a clear answer' to their demands, which included improvement in the food in the hostels and cafeteria, the appointment of a student-approved dietician to monitor menus, and the ending of harassment of students squatting on the campus. Following the march, Professor van der Ross agreed in principle to meet the students' demands.”

University of the Witwatersrand

The offices of the Black Students' Society (BSS) at the University of the Witwatersrand were raided by police twice during the year. Professor D J du Plessis, the vice-chancellor, criticised the police action, saying that it unsettled students and interfered with the work of the university. The BSS said that the harassment would not deter students from 'exposing the injustices of the SA apartheid system'.38 In August a former member of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), Mr Nestor Heita, was invited to speak on the campus by the rightwing Students' Moderate Alliance. The meeting was disrupted by members of the BBS who refused to allow Mr Heita to speak, calling him a sell-out and chanting pro-SWAPO slogans. 39

University of Zululand

In June police were called to the University of Zululand when students demonstrated against the hanging of three members of the African National Congress (ANC). The students marched around the campus singing and chanting, a police car was set on fire, and R50,000 worth of damage was caused before they were dispersed.41 In August more than 100 students disrupted a seminar on black political thought addressed by, among others, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu administration. They said they objected to the presence of Dr Dhlomo, and they reportedly sang derogatory songs about Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. The conference was then moved off the campus. 42

On 29 October violence at the university resulted in five people being killed and more than 100 injured, some seriously. Students boycotted classes on 28 October to protest against a meeting to commemorate the Zulu king Cetshwayo due to be addressed by Chief Buthelezi the following day at the invitation of the university's branch of the Inkatha Youth Brigade. An article in City Press43 claimed that students made a 'desperate plea' to Chief Buthelezi to cancel the meeting as they allegedly feared a large contingent of armed hostel dwellers would be among the Inkatha supporters. The students also sent a 'crisis committee' to Durban to obtain a court order to stop the event, but were informed that such an application would not succeed. Students also decided to stage a march, according to one version of the events. The rector, Professor A C Nkabinde, called in the police, who dispersed them with teargas and batons. The police also teargassed the hostels and
11 people were arrested. Following this police action, many students decided to leave the campus.44

The following day, according to press reports and claims by some students, students were awakened at about 6am by chanting members of the youth brigade carrying knobkieries, assegaias and pangas. The Inkatha youth surrounded the women's hostel and demanded that the women come out and chant praises to Chief Buthelezi; they were allegedly beaten if they refused.45 The Inkatha youth then entered the men's hostel and began assaulting the students and dragging them outside. The reports claim that the Inkatha youth were attacking people indiscriminately but were also looking for specific people. For example, one of the students killed, Mr Fumane Marivate, was allegedly singled out because of the prominent role he had played in disrupting the August seminar. Some students allege that the Inkatha youth assaulted Mr Marivate in the hostel until he was semi-conscious, dragged him out, hanged him from a tree by his legs, and beat him until he died. Some students also claim that injured students were made to dance and praise Chief Buthelezi. Mr Robinson Manzi, chairman of the university's 'crisis committee', subsequently claimed at a United Democratic Front (UDF) rally that about 500 'warriors' directed by lecturers and students had entered the university residence complex on the pretext of fetching Inkatha members. 'Furniture was overturned, sheets torn and blood thrown over them and UDF posters torn to shreds,' he alleged.46 According to a report in The Sowetan47 some of the students claimed to have been trapped in the hostel rooms when Inkatha 'impis' attacked them in the early hours of the morning. According to allegations reported in the Sunday Tribune48 the early morning mist had hardly lifted when Zulu warriors armed with spears, cowhide shields, knobkieries and battle axes slipped on to the campus. The report went on to claim: 'Unaware of the impending terror, students said they were eating leisurely Saturday breakfasts, sleeping in or discussing the previous day's meeting when the stillness was shattered by the pounding of sticks and shields and war cries as the impis swept through the campus. Most students ran into the closest hostels and barricaded themselves in bedrooms. But the attackers surrounded the hostels, stoning windows, before storming inside to break down doors and attack the barricaded students.' According to other reports, a lecturer at the university who is a member of Inkatha led the warriors in their attack on the students. Mr Marivate and three other students were killed, the fifth person killed being Mr Eric Ngcobo, an Inkatha youth brigade member, who was allegedly killed by students who caught him alone later in the day.

The violence and Inkatha's alleged role in it were condemned by a wide range of organisations including the UDF, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO). Mr Tiego Moseneke, president of AZASO, charged that the university authorities had to be held responsible for the violence because of their refusal to heed students' calls not to allow Chief Buthelezi to hold a rally on the campus.49 The office in Lusaka of the external mission of the African National Congress (ANC) reportedly launched a strong
The joint academic staff association of the University of Natal called on Chief Buthelezi to resign either the presidency of Inkatha or the chancellorship of the University of Zululand. A meeting reportedly comprising about half of the 300 staff at the University of Zululand also called on Chief Buthelezi to resign as chancellor. However, Professor Nic Wiehahn, chairman of the council of the University of Zululand, said that Chief Buthelezi could not be asked to resign because staff members demanding his resignation were in the minority. Following the violence the university, where more than R18 000 worth of damage had been done to property, was closed, examinations being postponed until January. Eleven students were arrested. No member of Inkatha was arrested, it was reported.

In a statement to the KwaZulu legislative assembly on 31 October, Chief Buthelezi denied the claims in City Press that a plea had been made to him to stay off the campus. He alleged that on 28 October students had tried to burn down the office of Mr J S Maphalala, a member of the Inkatha central committee who taught at the university. 'Quite clearly, on the day before the event was to take place, a clique among the students attempted to create the kind of chaos which would prevent the function taking place,' he said. The police had intervened. Chief Buthelezi said that the members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, who had begun arriving on the night of 28 October and congregated the following morning, had been greeted by songs derogating him and had suddenly found themselves pelted with stones.

In a memorandum prepared for the Minister of Education and Training, Mr D W Steyn, Chief Buthelezi said that the Inkatha youth, under instructions from their leaders, had ignored the abuse and continued with their preparations. They had begun marching but were confronted by students who stoned them. The Inkatha youth had retreated but had been pursued by students throwing stones, when the students had depleted their supply of stones, the Inkatha youth had turned and driven them back into the hostel. They had then re-formed to commence their preparations for the commemoration, 'only to find they were being pelted with stones and other missiles, such as plates and bottles, from the windows of the hostel'. This attack was 'far more serious because stones, missiles, and bottles hurled down from a height amount to lethal attacks. Once more the Inkatha group retreated, to be pursued yet again by students who once more emerged from the hostels.' At this juncture, Inkatha youth had turned upon the students and pursued them into the hostel. Chief Buthelezi added: 'In this violent confrontation, there was a tragic loss of life, for which I and Inkatha have been roundly condemned. Two questions are of crucial importance. The one question is the question of whether Inkatha youth in responding to attacks on their lives and attacks on their honour used more violence than was necessary to secure their persons and honour; and the second question is who was to blame for the violent confrontation.'
inevitable counter-violence'. He continued: 'We all deeply regret the violence which occurred on Saturday. Our youth were faced with violence and would have been maimed and perhaps even killed, if they could not fend for themselves. We hope that it is now abundantly clear that they can in fact do so.' He also said: 'It is a malicious lie to say that I was going to import knobkierie-wielding and assegai-thrusting hostel dwellers to protect the youth on the campus. Inkatha youth need no protection, as the events on Saturday clearly showed. I must warn South Africa that if this kind of provocation continues which we experienced on Saturday, Inkatha youth will demonstrate their strength and prowess.'

Mr Ntwe Mafolie, national organiser of the Inkatha youth brigade, which, he claimed, had 350 000 card-carrying members, said the movement abhorred violence but reserved the right to defend itself, and that it had become involved in the clash with students at the university only after its members had been attacked.5 Dr Dennis Madide, Minister of the Interior in the KwaZulu administration, denied allegations that adults or 'impis' had been involved in the clash. One hundred students out of a campus of more than 3 000 had set themselves the task of opposing the function 'by every means at their disposal despite the fact that this was unreasonable and undemocratic'. The KwaZulu police denied allegations that they had assisted Inkatha 'impis' during the attack. They had provided Chief Buthelezi with 'a numerically strong screen of protective aides' because of threats to his life, but these aides had arrived on the campus at 10am, three hours after the outbreak of violence. Inkatha subsequently made available anonymous 'Away with Inkatha' leaflets, allegedly distributed on the campus, in which, inter alia, it was stated that 'Maphalala, who is propagating this nuisance, must be stoned to death.' Mr Maphalala was described as 'that history lecturer who is notorious in spreading Inkatha doctrine and dividing students'. It was also stated that 'if Nkabinde does not stop the massacre that will happen, we will die with him. It will be written in history that a rector was killed by students.' Mr Manzi later denied that such leaflets had been distributed by any 'organisation recognised by the students' and claimed that he had never seen such leaflets on the campus. Other pamphlets, also allegedly distributed on the campus, urged the students to demonstrate peacefully.

Chief Buthelezi said that Professor Wiehahn and Professor Nkabinde had been asked to set up an exhaustive enquiry into the affairs of the university. Towards the end of November, following a request from the university council to the government, Mr Justice Neville James was appointed as chairman and sole member of a commission of enquiry.16

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September 1983

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Echo 21 April 12 Rand Daily Mail 10 June 13 Rand Daily Mail 18 July, Star 21
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Daily Mail29 September, 1 and 3 October 26 Leader2 September, Varsity 21
September, Star3 October 27 Star 6 July
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Star 24 November

HEALTH

Policy and Legislation
The effect that the new South African constitution would have on health services and policy was commented on by a number of people. The Director-General of Health and Welfare, Dr Francois Retief, said that his department could provide primary health care to only nine percent of the population it served, because of the shortage of trained staff. Under the new constitution, the department would be reduced to a planning and co-ordinating body, while the bulk of medical services and responsibilities would be handed over to SA's 478 local authorities, thereby promoting health, he claimed.1 The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MPC for Houghton, Mrs Irene Menell, described the constitutional proposals for provincial health services as 'lunatic'. Health would become an 'own affair' administered by each chamber for its own population group, one consequence of which would be that racially mixed hospitals would be controlled by racially separate health administrations.' The PFP parliamentary spokesman on health, Dr Marius Barnard, called for health matters to be controlled by one ministry, on the grounds that health services would deteriorate through a fragmented system. He said that an 'own affair' health policy would be unfeasible, as African, coloured, and Indian communities did not have adequate health personnel. Delegates at the first annual congress of the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) voiced similar criticisms, and proposed the formation of a national action committee to
co-ordinate and implement a campaign to inform local, national, and international bodies of the implications of the new constitution for health.3

Dr Simon Brand, the chief executive of the new Development Bank of Southern Africa, said that substantial additional claims on public spending were likely to arise from political and constitutional development. The principle of striving for parity in the provision of public services such as health, education, and housing had gained wide acceptance even before the implementation of the new constitution, he said, and it was going to become increasingly difficult to resist. This could only result in very considerable increases in public spending, which could be accommodated only if expenditure on certain services was severely cut back. Expenditure on items such as defence was unlikely to be reduced. A successful alternative would therefore be to find additional sources of income from which the public sector could finance public services. It would need to reduce the level of its commitment to whites to one that it could afford to extend to the other population groups over a reasonable period, he argued. The state's involvement in providing services could be reduced further if it limited itself within strictly-defined norms while leaving financing outside these norms to the private sector.

HEALTH POLICY

Dr Willie Breytenbach, senior planner in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, expressed similar views on the effect of the new constitution: because of the large gaps in services available to the different race groups, the Indians and coloured people, now that they were to be included in parliament, would want to improve their physical lot. This would be necessary to legitimate the new political system, whose authority depended on the participation of those it was aimed at. Outlining two development theories -- that of the necessity for basic needs to be provided by the state, and that of community development-- Dr Breytenbach concluded that increased state expenditure on basic needs (such as health) would become necessary, but that it should be balanced by 'scaled-down demands from the political leaders in the communities'.

An article by a group of doctors and others analysing SA's health care system argued that changing economic and political considerations had compelled the government to make some attempt to improve health services, particularly for urban Africans. However, fiscal and other constraints had prevented substantial changes, and efforts had therefore been made to thrust the burden of health care upon the individual, the 'community', the private sector, and homeland health authorities. This had been accompanied by an ideological offensive promoting such concepts as 'self-reliance', 'the responsibilities of the individual and the private sector', and 'community participation'. The article discussed SA's health policy, which is framed in the Health Services Facilities Plan of 1980 drawn up by the National Health Policy Council (established in terms of the Health Act of 1977) and whose starting-point is health services for the greatest part of the population in the most economic way. The policy emphasises health education
(lack of which is seen as one of the main causes of ill health) and primary health care, which is to be provided by community health centres, community health nurses, and self-help programmes.

The article claimed, however, that few of these structures had been established. It contended that what was meant by 'community involvement' was that voluntary organisations should do their bit to relieve the state of its responsibilities. 'The plans seem to be nothing but a justification for the status quo, dressed up in the language of community participation', the article said.

No major health legislation was enacted during the year. The Health Amendment Act, No 21 of 1983, made minor amendments to the Health Act, No 63 of 1977, empowering the Minister of Health and Welfare to make regulations on the compulsory notification of births to facilitate immunisation against diseases. The amendment also enabled the minister to make regulations controlling or prohibiting the gathering of products from the sea-shore for human consumption. This was a measure to control the cholera epidemic. The Fund-Raising Amendment Act, No 82 of 1983, amended the Fund Raising Act, No 107 of 1978, to establish the 'State President's Fund' for the rendering of aid, assistance, and medical treatment to victims of 'terrorism' and their dependants. The fund was to be financed by contributions from the public and the government.

Finance

Dr Marius Barnard, official opposition spokesman for health, said that preventive medicine was allocated less than four percent of the health budget, while

**HEALTH FINANCE**

curative medicine received 94%. There was a need for more attention to be directed towards socio-economic upliftment and health education to improve health but, firstly, general education should be adequate, he said.

Health expenditure in SA falls into three categories: that of the Department of Health and Welfare (for all race groups); that of the four provincial administrations; and that of the health departments of the homelands. About R1,33bn was voted for the Department of Health and Welfare for the 1983/84 financial year (an increase of R165m on the 1982/83 vote). Of the total vote, R336409000 was allocated to health for the following programmes (the remainder being allocated to welfare and administrative costs):

Infectious, communicable and preventable diseases

Mental health Medical care Health protection Associated and auxiliary services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(R)</th>
<th>1983/84</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74 595 000</td>
<td>118 182 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 887 000</td>
<td>15 251 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89 404 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>359 319 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Internal Charges</td>
<td>(22 910 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336 409 000</td>
<td>283 910 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The provincial administrations allocated the following amounts for health services in 1983/84:

1983/84 (Estimates) 1982/8-3 (Revised)
Welfare, which includes pensions, forms a large proportion of some of the homelands' health and welfare budgets. (In others, pensions are allocated from the budgets of the departments of interior.) Allocations for health and welfare in the homelands for 1983/84 were as follows (excluding KaNgwane and KwaNdebele, which have riot taken over health services): 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Health &amp; Welfare</th>
<th>Total Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>48 477 000</td>
<td>618 221 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>17 486 000</td>
<td>1498 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>79 558 000</td>
<td>519 346 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>4 712 676</td>
<td>285 020 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>79 558 000</td>
<td>115 076 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>4 712 676</td>
<td>62 690 456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda*</td>
<td>79 558 000</td>
<td>456 627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pensions included

**MEDICAL PERSONNEI**

Medical personnel

Doctors

The following personnel were registered with the SA Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) and the Pharmacy Council on 31 December, 1977 to 1981: 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Doctors</th>
<th>Dentists</th>
<th>Pharmacists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>14 309</td>
<td>2 257</td>
<td>5 372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>14 526</td>
<td>2 369</td>
<td>5 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>14 948</td>
<td>2 426</td>
<td>5 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>15 663</td>
<td>2 654</td>
<td>5 740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>16 736</td>
<td>2 750</td>
<td>5 920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The PFP's health spokesman, Dr Marius Barnard, criticised the lack of incentive given by the government to doctors to practise in the rural areas. More than half of SA's doctors were in private practice in Johannesburg or Cape Town, he said. Professor A N Boyce, former rector of the Johannesburg College of Education, said that there was one doctor each for every 330 whites, 730 Indians, 1 200 coloured people, and 12 000 Africans. The supply of doctors for Africans was comparable to that of the most underdeveloped countries of the world, he said. The situation in the homelands was critical, with one doctor each for every 14 000
people in the Transkei, 17 000 people in Bophuthatswana, and 19 000 people in
Gazankulu. While suffering was most intense in the rural areas, most doctors
practised in the urban areas. Dr Barnard was reported to have visited
Mozambique and drafted a plan for newly-graduated SA doctors to work there. If
they were willing to do so, he would assist them, as people had the right to be
treated by adequately trained personnel, irrespective of the country they resided
in.3 Only nine of 28 doctors, mostly SA Indians, who studied in India or Egypt
due to a lack of training facilities in SA passed an examination in April to gain
recognition to practise in SA.14
The president of the Medical Association of SA (MASA), Professor N S Louw,
said that health care costs would become so exorbitant that the public would not
be able to afford them. Another 25 000 doctors would be needed within the next
25 years to meet population growth. The seven medical schools would not be able
to fill that demand.15
After refusing a request by the SAMDC for increases in statutory medical and
dental tariffs, the Minister of Health said that the medical profession was
acquiring a materialistic image as a probable result of the periodic 'public
bickering' over fees. Legislation was envisaged to remove state intervention from
the determination of medical tariffs in SA, he said. The minister approved a 15%
fee increase for doctors and dentists from 1 September.16
Students qualifying as doctors at each medical school at the end of 1981 and 1982
were as follows:17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MEDICAL PERSONNEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details of the number of (a) applications and (b) acceptances to medical schools
in SA for the first-year course in 1982 were as follows (the numbers including
students who applied to more than one university): 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The acting dean of the medical faculty of the University of the Witwatersrand called on the Minister of National Education to free the faculty from all racial constraints in admitting students. He said that he deplored the minister's decision that black students would continue to need ministerial permits to be admitted to the medical school, following the withdrawal of the controversial 'quota bill' (see chapter on Education). The need for black doctors and paramedical personnel was so great that no political or racial deterrents should be permitted to stand in the way of black students' receiving medical training at the school of their choice, he said.9 The Medical University of SA (Medunsa), adjoining the Garankuwa hospital, produced its first graduates in the medical and dental faculties in 1982. By its completion it will have cost R100m and will accommodate 3 500 students annually. It will train 200 doctors, 50 dentists, 50 veterinarians, and 300 paramedical specialists annually over the next five years. It has a high pass rate.2 Medunsa's acting rector, Professor Thomas Dunston, said that the emphasis at Medunsa was on providing for community health care, particularly in the rural areas, in order to attract doctors out to rural clinics. The other medical schools produced enough doctors for the whole of SA, he said, but the distribution resulted in the neglect of the rural African population.21 Students at Medunsa boycotted classes in protest against the suspension of two student leaders in June (see chapter on Education). The academic dental hospitals of Tygerberg and Pretoria will fall under the control of the Director-General of Health and Welfare from the beginning of 1984. The Director-General, Dr Francois Retief, said it should not be seen as a direct takeover of dentistry facilities but in the light of better co-operation between the department and the universities.21 One of the main topics at the 54th Congress of the Medical Association of SA (MASA) was coronary artery disease and hypertension associated with poor dietary habits. Another was occupational health and safety. Mr Rod Ironside, president of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries, urged employers to take responsibility for health and safety before it became an additional area of conflict between management and labour. The congress also questioned SA's ability to afford large, expensive luxury hospitals apart from teaching hospitals.23

MEDICAL PERSONNEL
In an article in the SA Medical Journal, the executive committee of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Cape Town called on doctors to take a stand against the destruction of shelters at the Crossroads squatter camp in Cape Town, as such practices jeopardised people's health. Dr Essop Jassat, an executive member of the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) and president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said that doctors should work on a voluntary basis in communities to ease medical problems caused by SA's apartheid laws. Professor John Gear, head of the Department of Community Health at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that doctors' knowledge of the causes of ill health gave them a responsibility to speak out against the demolition of squatter camps. The SAMDC registrar, Mr M Prinsloo, said that the call did not fall within the purview of the council, and declined to commenta.2 A Cape Town doctor, Dr
Margaret Elsworth, formally requested the SAMDC to investigate the ethical behaviour of doctors in the Department of Health who, she alleged, had done nothing to prevent illness among the KTC squatters, who had also been subjected to the destruction of their shelters by the Western Cape Administration Board (see chapters on Urban Africans and African Removals). She said that the Department of Health should protest against actions of the administration board which deprived people of shelter: what one department built up, the other destroyed. In July, the Transvaal-based Health Workers' Association condemned the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) for forcing squatters at Chicken Farm in Soweto to live in corrugated iron shacks without considering the health implications; many of the squatters had serious chest ailments, it said.26

NAMDA, which had been formed in 1982 to provide an alternative association for doctors and dentists disillusioned with MASA, held its first annual congress, in Durban, in December. A spokesman said that while MASA acted primarily in the interests of its members, negotiating fee increases and other benefits forthem, NAMDA focused more on the needs of the community, questioned the role of the medical profession in maintaining the status quo, was committed to the belief that health was a basic human right which should be available to all, and sought to create the conditions for optimum health, which could only exist in a free and democratic society. Dr Farouk Meer, a founder member, said NAMDA was trying to work towards a situation where health was promoted for the sake of people and not merely for profits. Addressing the conference, Dr Jassat said that NAMDA would provide progressive doctors and dentists with a forum to express opinions on social, political, and economic factors affecting health and act as a pressure group. At its conference, the body called for the abolition of forced removals and detention without trial on the grounds that they were contributory factors to ill health and suffering.

Despite a petition in February 1982 from a group of doctors seeking an inquiry into the role of four doctors who treated the black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko in 1977, the SAMDC rejected the demand on the grounds that no new evidence had come to light. It had accepted the explanations submitted by the four doctors involved and decided that no further action would be taken against them.27 MASA's chairman, Professor Guy de Klerk, said that the outcome of the meeting was an unhappy one and that MASA was very concerned about it. The British Medical Association expressed the opinion that SA medical bodies did not seem to have the ethical machinery capable of dealing with the situation.28 Professor Frances Ames, one of the doctors involved in bringing the demand for an inquiry, decided to seek a court order to force an SAMDC inquiry. She said that

**MEDICAL PERSONNEL**

this was an attempt not to make scapegoats of the doctors involved but to have the nature of the medical management of detainees fully scrutinised, as Mr Biko had been only one of many detainees who had died in detention. The application was submitted on 9 September, the complainants including Professor Phillip Tobias of the University of Witwatersrand. Legal proceedings continued.21
In what were believed to be the first union recognition talks between doctors and workers in the medical profession, the Black Health and Allied Workers Union of SA (BHAWUSA) was recognised by a central Johannesburg pathologists' laboratory.3

Nurses

According to the 1982 Annual Report of the Department of Health and Welfare, the number of nurses registered with the SA Nursing Council (SANC) at 31 December was as follows: 29 694 white, 22 149 African, 1002 Indian, and 4479 coloured nurses, a total of 57 324. The total average population ratio to nurses was 1 to 148 for whites, 1 to 549 for coloured people, 1 to 707 for Africans, and 1 to 745 for Indians. (The recommended international standard for nurse to population ratios for an efficient health service is 1 to 500.) The Minister of Health and Welfare said that SA would require an additional 95 000 nurses by the year 2000 to keep up with its health-care needs. Given that SA's policy is that patients be nursed by nurses belonging to the same population group, 47 692 African nurses would be required, 39 304 white nurses, 6 559 coloured nurses, and 1487 Indian nurses." The following statistics indicate the number of nurses who completed their training in 1981 and 1982 (figures excluding the Transkei):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2 882</td>
<td>2 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>3 627</td>
<td>2 918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 5 318 people registered as student nurses in 1982. Applications to train as nurses and vacancies available at institutions for the training of nurses during 1982 were:33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Applications</th>
<th>Vacancies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>4 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>7 576</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>3 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SA Nursing Association (SANA) submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Health and Welfare recommending that training facilities should be extended, particularly for African nurses.34 Mrs Di Bishop, Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MPC for Gardens, said at a Black Sash conference that despite the country's nursing shortage, there had been a sustained refusal to admit African women for training in Cape Town, even if they had residential rights: of the 165 Africans who applied at Cape Provincial hospitals in the first half of 1982, none were accepted.35 This was because of the official coloured labour preference policy in the western Cape, while at the same time official policy was that each population group had to nurse members of its own population group, she said.36 Coloured nurses were, however, recruited for Bloemfontein's Universitas and National hospitals, whose
future was in jeopardy because of a nursing shortage of almost 50. A random survey by the newspaper The Friend found that most Bloemfontein residents disapproved strongly of the decision. A number of coloured nurses resigned following racial comments allegedly made by white nurses. The Orange Free State (OFS) provincial administration attempted to recruit white nurses in England, Belgium, and West Germany for the Bloemfontein hospitals and received more than 200 applications.37

In the eastern Cape, the ratio of nurses to people was 1 to 148 whites, 1 to 869 for coloured people, 1 to 602 for Indians. There were 38 training institutions for white nurses in the eastern Cape and 18 for other race groups (including three in the Ciskei and two in the Transkei).38 Since 1979 the University of Cape Town has offered four-week courses in paediatric and primary health care for nursing sisters at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in the Ciskei. The course has reportedly alleviated the health services crisis in the Ciskei as these nurses treated 50% to 60% of paediatric patients.39 It was reported that the Ciskei Department of Health and Welfare was in the process of establishing an independent nursing council. A registrar had been employed to compile and maintain a roll of Ciskei nurses and take responsibility for the training of nurses and the drafting of legislation.40 The Transvaal provincial hospitals reported a shortage of 5836 nurses at the end of 1982, and 1 500 beds remained unused in Transvaal hospitals as a result; of these, 844 beds were in the Johannesburg Hospital.41

Pharmacists

It was reported that SA had only 15 African pharmacists. Fifty had qualified since African universities began offering the degree some years previously. Most were practising outside SA, while of the 15 in the country, the majority were in the Cape.42

Health Services

Professor John Gear, head of the Department of Community Health at the University of the Witwatersrand, claimed that irrational decision-making was the norm in health services planning in SA. The annual running cost of the Alexandra township clinic serving 80 000 people was equal to that of keeping alive 20 chronic kidney failure patients for a year. The mal-location of health resources in SA also resulted in the fact that only five percent of doctors were practising in rural areas, where half the population lived and where the infant mortality rate was up to ten times greater than in urban areas. Professor Gear said that a 1982 survey of final year medical students showed that almost 30% intended leaving SA permanently.43 Professor H Philpott, dean of the medical faculty of the University of Natal, said that in 'the new Azania' there would be a need for a new health-care system based on the recognition that money was better spent on providing piped water and better housing and agriculture than on a Rlm scanner.' The director of the Centre for the Study of Medical Education at the University of the Witwatersrand said that no changes in the health-care system could be brought about
without basic social change. Health services were segregated according to race, a criterion irrelevant within a health-care system, and striking differences between the various race groups included an average life expectancy of 65 years for whites and of 52 years for coloured people.49

‘White’ areas

Apart from long-term psychiatric, tuberculosis, mine, and industrial hospital beds, a total of 27 205 hospital beds are available to whites, while 43 935 are available to Africans, Indians, and coloured people in the ‘white’ areas. The norm applied for the provision of hospital beds allows for two beds per 1 000 of the population if all preventive measures are taken and if adequate provision exists for primary health-care; if these basic facilities are lacking, four beds should be provided per 1 000 people. On the basis of the former norm, the shortage of beds for whites is 9056 and for blacks 40716; on the basis of the latter there is a shortage of 18 112 beds for whites and 81431 for blacks.41

Attention was drawn during the year to severe overcrowding at many African hospitals and to the inadequacy of SA health services. The Transvaal Director of Hospital Services reported that during 1982, 42% of the 38 facilities for Africans had a bed occupancy rate of over 100%, while 60% had a rate of over 90%. While the average occupancy rate in white hospitals was 59%, that in African hospitals was 95.2%. The annual running cost of Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, which treated 119 501 patients in 1982, was R61m, while that of the (white) Johannesburg Hospital, treating 33 784 patients, was R56m. Doctors at Baragwanath claimed that critical overcrowding and a severe shortage of staff had strained the hospital to breaking point. In the department of medicine, more than half the patients admitted were having to sleep on the floor. Patients were allegedly discharged while still ill to make way for the steady stream of new patients, and each doctor treated an average of 47 patients a day. There was anger that priority was given to a new administrative wing at Baragwanath while plans for a new African hospital for Soweto had been shelved.17 The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) called for the opening of 850 unused beds in the Johannesburg Hospital to African patients to relieve overcrowding at Baragwanath. The authorities said that this was unviable as the hospital was not fully staffed and, if it were, would be fully utilised by white patients.48 Following an official investigation it was decided that no immediate relief was possible but that the situation could be eased by filling vacant houseman posts. Military doctors were sent to Baragwanath following approaches to the Surgeon-General of the SA Defence Force for immediate relief in the medicine department.49

Overcrowding at the Kalafong hospital near Atteridgeville led to patients' complaints of sleeping on floors, sleeping two to a bed, exorbitant fees, and a shortage of food. Patients at Leratong hospital near Krugersdorp alleged that they were made to sleep on the bare floor minutes after giving birth. Women in the maternity ward at the Benoni-Boksburg hospital complained of having to share beds.50

In Natal, the King Edward VIII hospital, with 2000 beds, was reported to hold up to 2 600 patients at times. During 1982, 100 000 patients were admitted and another 90000 screened, diverted, or treated. It was estimated that 85% could be
HEALTH SERVICES

Dr Fred Clarke, Natal MEC for hospital services, described the hospital as 'dilapidated, derelict, and inadequate', an average of 145 patients sleeping on the floor each night. In the Cape, health services in Port Elizabeth's African townships were described by the Medical Officer of Health, Dr J N Sher, as chronically inadequate. Zwarte and New Brighton were each served by a hospital, but 'Soweto', with 80000 people in 8 471 shanties, had none. Dr Sher said that long-term solutions lay in an improved health service infrastructure, improvement of living conditions, and education. People at Mitchells Plain, a coloured township near Cape Town, voiced concern that the provision of medical facilities for the 144 000 residents was being neglected. Mitchells Plain had only five clinics, and the nearest hospital was the overcrowded Victoria Hospital in Wynberg. The Director of Provincial Hospital Services, Dr R L M Kotze, said that his department had been informed that the Mitchells Plain population would be essentially middle class and would therefore generate its own private medical services. A community health centre for the township was in an advanced stage of planning, but construction would begin only when finance became available, he said.

Onverwacht, the four-year old resettlement area in the Orange Free State (see chapter on African Removals) with a population of between 200000 and 300000, had six doctors, one dentist, 38 community health workers, and three community health centres. It was reported that more than 4 000 deaths had occurred there during the four years of Onverwacht's existence, the majority of them children under the age of five who died of kwashiorkor, other forms of malnutrition, or gastro-enteritis. A clinic was completed in 1982, four doctors treating up to 300 cases daily.

A number of health facilities were opened during the year. A 2 000-bed hospital for whites opened in Parktown, Johannesburg in September. A new 878-bed hospital worth R7,9m and serving Sebokeng was opened in Vereeniging in February. The Katlehong Health Centre, worth R500 000, was handed over to the Germiston city health department in January. In Natal a private specialist hospital on the south coast with 35 beds was opened. It was financed by 47 Indian doctors. Emergency night services were introduced in Chatsworth (near Durban) for the first time, in June. The new R50m Greys Hospital in Pietermaritzburg, with 500 beds, was expected to open in May 1984. In the Orange Free State, a R5m hospital with 136 beds opened in April. Due to open in December was the R18m, private, multi-racial City Park Hospital in Cape Town, which would cater mainly for medical aid patients.

Additional health services were planned for a number of areas: in the Transvaal, an 800-bed hospital for Brakpan and 1 200-bed hospitals for Soweto, Pretoria and GaRankuwa were planned. Each would take approximately eight years to complete. The Transvaal executive committee on health services said that the Soweto hospital had been delayed by a shortage of funds but that it was receiving highest priority. Community health centres, of which five were already under construction in Soweto, were also on the programme for 1983/84.
1983/84, R6.4m was budgeted by the Transvaal Provincial Administration for expanding Baragwanath, as part of a R24m project. The community council of Mamelodi approved a site for a new hospital, as the small day hospital was inadequate for the township's population of 100 000. The Orange Grove Rotary Club was to finance a dental clinic worth R1.5m in Alexandra township. Lenasia's first private hospital, the Lenmed Clinic, was under construction and due to become operational by mid-1984. It was financed by a holding company formed by a group of Lenasia doctors and by shares purchased by the Lenasia community. It

HEALTH SERVICES

will cater for private and medical-aid patients. A new hospital to be situated on the East Rand between KwaTema and Tsakane was planned and expected to be in operation by the end of 1985. It would accommodate 8 000 in-patients and serve thousands of out-patients as well. A R7m, 108-bed hospital was being built near Witbank for the employees of Rand Mines and their families, and was due to open in March 1984. The new coal mines developed there had placed enormous pressure on the existing hospital. Plans to relieve the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban through the building of a medical school for Indians and coloured students and a 1 000-bed hospital at Cato Manor, at a cost of R137m, were approved. At a university forum called to discuss the plans in October, medical students, graduates and some faculty members criticised the Cato Manor scheme, contending that the money would be better spent on primary health-care centres in black townships and rural areas. The Medical Graduates' Association said that nearly 65 % of patients at King Edward VIII were self-referred cases not serious enough to warrant the treatment offered there. Another speaker doubted whether the proposed medical school would produce more doctors, on the grounds that the standard of black education was falling and would not produce enough matriculants. Professor Philpott said, however, that if the offer were refused, it would be made to another university in Natal and would not be used to improve primary health-care. Dr Fred Clarke, the MEC in charge of hospital services in Natal, said that the hospital would be built anyway, as demographic trends indicated the need for it. Provincial plans also included the modernisation of King Edward VIII and of the Clairwood Hospital, a new hospital at Phoenix, and a number of community health centres in densely populated suburban areas. The province also set aside R1.2m for a network of nurse-oriented clinics throughout Natal. The Cape Provincial Administration approved plans to construct a R9m radiotherapy and cancer chemotherapy building adjacent to Tygerberg Hospital in Parow. It was to be built over the next 33 months. Building of the new R131m, 1 722-bed Groote Schuur hospital in Cape Town began in September. Two new hospitals were planned for the Bethlehem area of the Orange Free State. Financial shortages inhibited many plans for the expansion of health services. The Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, said that hospital projects were threatened by critical shortages of funds, and that the planned Soweto and
Pretoria hospitals were in jeopardy. In a cost-saving attempt, the Transvaal Hospital Services was investigating the possibility of providing community health centres, and a co-ordinating committee for Transvaal health services was established.70

Dr Clarke reported that Natal provincial hospitals were R6m in the red. Applications to the Treasury for aid had been unsuccessful. He said that patients had been streaming over homeland borders, from KwaZulu in particular, placing a strain on the province's facilities. Dr Clarke said that health services in Natal and KwaZulu were integrated, despite being separate on a political level, and that when KwaZulu standards began to deteriorate, it placed an additional strain on Natal's overburdened hospitals. It was hoped that KwaZulu would soon be able to sort out its health problems, he said, as Natal's hospital services were already in a critical condition, with a shortfall of 3 000 nurses and a lack of funds. Patients who could afford to were encouraged to use private medical facilities. There were plans, Dr Clarke said, to develop a network of simple community health centres to relieve the pressure on overcrowded provincial hospitals. The only permanent

HEALTH IN THE HOMELANDS

solution, however, would be a massive injection of state funds into hospital services.71 The New Republic Party (NRP) spokesman on health, Mr A G Thompson, said that in 1982, 63% of the patients admitted to King Edward VIII were from the homelands and of the outpatients, 57% were homeland 'citizens'. The cost of serving people from the homelands was R45m, he said, and this had caused the R6m deficit.72 The Association of Divisional Councils of the Cape likewise reported that it was providing health facilities to people pouring in from the homelands (the Transkei and the Ciskei). It requested financial aid from the department.7

With effect from 16 June, in-patients at provincial hospitals were required to pay a deposit of between R20 and R175, depending on their income, as bills left unpaid during 1981/82 had totalled R1,5m.74 Out-patients would have to pay between R2 and R13 before treatment was given.75 The Azanian People's Organisation said that the new requirement would bring much suffering to many people. Health services were a basic right which should be available to all free of charge, it said.76 Ambulance fees in the Transvaal for all population groups were increased from R5 to R10 in February.77

Homelands

The Bureau for Economic Research: Co-operation and Development (BENSO) supplied the following statistics regarding health facilities in the homelands in 1981:78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population per</th>
<th>Clinics</th>
<th>Government Hospitals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number Clinic</td>
<td>Number Beds</td>
<td>Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>10 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13 474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15 626</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HEALTH IN THE HOMELANDS

During 1981/82, the Department of Co-operation and Development undertook building works at seven homeland hospitals. It also paid out compensation for two mission hospitals, leaving a remainder of 12 still to be bought out. It built clinics at Ntuzuma, Umlazi, Onverwacht, and Blouwberg.

The article referred to at the beginning of this chapter expressed the opinion that of 'all the ways in which the state tries to limit its responsibility, the creation of homelands and homeland health services is the most important'. The four 'independent' homelands were even excluded from health statistics. The homelands were increasingly functioning as reservoirs for the economically redundant and the health of their inhabitants was not a priority, the article contended. It claimed that the amount of money available for health in KwaZulu was about the same as the annual running costs of the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town. Potential migrant workers, it further claimed, were screened to ensure that only the fittest and strongest were employed, so minimising the disease burden they would place on services in 'white' SA. The writers argued that 'it appears that the health sector is being used as an experimental area in an attempt to force "independence" bit by bit upon those homeland authorities refusing to accept it as one package'. The Nursing Act of 1982, for example, forced homeland nurses out of the SA Nursing Council and the SA Nursing
Association: 'the act effectively declares that the non-independent homelands are no longer part of SA'.

Speaking at a meeting of the SA Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town, Ms Sue Mydral, a community health worker, argued that government policies were to blame for the high incidence of disease in the homelands, where underdevelopment had undermined health and where an estimated 240 out of every 1000 children in resettlement camps died before the age of one, compared, for example, to ten out of every 1000 white children in Cape Town.8'

Speaking on rural health care, the head of the Department of Community Health at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor John Gear, said that the major problems of rural health care were related to the broader issues of housing, education, water, and poverty, and to the provision of an adequate health-care service. The pattern of malnutrition, childhood diseases, and problems associated with mothers and children rather than middle-aged productive men was peculiar to SA’s rural areas because of the population structure resulting from migrant labour and influx control and because of the inadequate infrastructure and the scarcity of health professionals. Decentralisation and the restructuring of existing facilities were desirable where the community controlled decision-making but not where people were expected to do what an oppressive health-care system dictated, he argued. The level of decentralisation was debatable; for a minimum level of care for as many people as possible, the local clinic should take precedence over the health centre, he said, as it was better to put 15 nurses in 15 villages than in one sophisticated centre. The provision of high-level services was not justified unless an adequate basic health infrastructure existed at village level. Professor Gear expressed the opinion that every qualified doctor should do two years of compulsory ‘rural service’. The responsibility of doctors was to tackle the poverty in rural areas to ensure a more equitable distribution of resources and where possible reduce the effects of poverty. Doctors, however, also had an obligation to challenge the political predisposing factors to poverty. 82

A Human Sciences Research Council study into health awareness among

**HEALTH IN THE HOMELANDS**

1600 rural Zulus and Southern Sotho found that many of them did not know about the dangers of smoking and alcohol or about balanced diets and immunisation. Although most believed that a medical doctor could cure mentally-disturbed people, 49% believed a witchdoctor could do the same. Only three percent of Zulus and six percent of Southern Sothos, preferred traditional doctors to medical doctors, however.83

Ciskei

A number of Ciskei doctors and other medical personnel formulated a health service development plan for the Ciskei as a basis for requesting financial aid from Pretoria. Their report outlined a list of priorities for improving the Ciskei’s health services. Current policy in the Ciskei, which they said should continue, emphasises decentralisation of health services through the division of the homeland into health areas, each with a strong controlling body situated at a hospital and empowered to provide and control all aspects of health care within its
specified area. The policy also stresses preventive health services through the use of fixed and mobile clinics and community nursing services reaching all levels of the community. The policy's implementation had, however, been inhibited by general poverty, which caused widespread malnutrition and associated diseases; high infant and peri-natal mortality rates; a serious shortage of medical personnel; and 'an almost total absence of safe domestic water and sewage services, except in a few newly-developed urban areas'. Resettlement of large numbers of people had also placed an added strain on already over-strained resources (see chapter on African Removals). The report said that for a minimum basic level of health there were four requirements: safe drinking water, sufficient food for human subsistence, sewerage and waste disposal, and adequate housing. Also required were health education and primary health-care. In the latter sphere the greatest need was for more community health centres and clinics, providing at least family planning, immunisation, daily sick patient treatment, tuberculosis and communicable disease treatment and prevention, venereal disease treatment, child care, cancer checks, and maternity services.

The report said that the promotion of the existing scheme for the training and utilisation of village health workers on a semi-voluntary basis was the most urgent priority. A 350-bed hospital for the Hewu district was urgently needed, along with a 500-bed general and psychiatric hospital at Middledrift to replace the use of hospitals outside the Ciskei. Mobile clinics to service small isolated communities without health services were also needed.84

The Ciskei has 78 full-time doctors, 28 part-time doctors, 2 659 nurses, and 80 paramedical personnel. According to the official Ciskei statistics, the hospitals provided or proposed to provide the following services in 1982:

| Clinics and/or Mobile Treatment | Proposed mobile District Hospital subclinics teams points clinics units schools |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Cecilia Makiwane              | 19                              | 3                                | 4                                | 130 |
| Mount Coke                    | 54                              | 4                                | 103                              | 7   | 138 |
| St Matthews                   | 24                              | 5                                | 10                               | 7   | 121 |
| Nompumelelo                   | 10                              | 2                                | 6                                | 79  |
| Victoria                      | 6                               | 1                                | 7                                | 5   | 2   | 50  |

HEALTH IN THE HOMELANDS

During 1982, 34 204 in-patients and 206 171 out-patients were treated at the five hospitals, while 990429 attended the clinics of the six districts. Immunisation against tuberculosis and polio was conducted by mobile teams through house-to-house visits, the target groups being pre-school children. The department's 74 environmental health inspectors carried out 1035 house inspections, as a result of which there was an improvement in the collection of household refuse and nightsoil at Mdantsane and Sada. Fourteen teams decentralised from Amatola Clinic were responsible for combating tuberculosis, the greatest health problem in the Ciskei, through house-to-house visits, tracing of treatment defaulters, and immunisation. Village health workers promoted preventive health in their communities by following up cases of malnutrition, tuberculosis contacts,
treatment defaulters, and through conducting house-to-house visits. There were
119 810 participants in family planning during 1982, of whom 70 770 used Depo
Provera, and 48 487 oral contraception."
Health services are overburdened: each of the 22 clinics in Hewu (which has no
hospital), for example, handled 3 000 to 10 000 cases each year. The single clinic
at Potsdam, which has three nursing sisters and one community health nurse, saw
100 cases daily, while the Ndevana clinic, with a staff of three nurses and one
nursing sister, treated 1000 cases monthly. Furthermore, because of financial
constraints a freeze on posts was declared at all clinics and hospitals in the Ciskei
for 1983/84 at least, and nursing sisters qualifying at Mount Coke Hospital were
having great difficulty obtaining employment. The Ciskei had no psychiatric
hospital and the post of psychiatrist remained vacant. Out-patient departments,
mobile teams, and a psychiatric sister were responsible for psychiatric services. In
all districts, advisory health boards have been set up consisting of chiefs,
community leaders, government department representatives, members of the
Ciskei assembly, the matron and superintendent of the hospital, the local
magistrate, and the security police.86
KwaNdebele and KaNgwane
The Department of Health and Welfare in Pretoria is responsible for health
services in KaNgwane and KwaNdebele. During 1981/82 expenditure on health in
these two homelands was R15,9m, while R17m was provided for 1982/83.87
With an unofficially estimated population of 400 000, KwaNdebele has no
hospital, but is served by the Philadelphia hospital in Moutse. It has 18 clinics,
eight doctors, one dentist and 36 nurses. The Department of Health and Welfare
established a regional office during 1982 in preparation for the take-over of health
services by the KwaNdebele government after 'independence' (due towards the
end of 1984). Health services were rendered at 16 community health centres in
1982, and about
7 000 out-patients were treated monthly.88
KwaZulu
A critical shortage of doctors in KwaZulu's rural hospitals coping with
widespread malnutrition, cholera, tuberculosis, and bilharzia, was reported. In
May doctors reported a 50% increase in malnutrition over the number of cases
reported in 1982.89 According to the KwaZulu health department, KwaZulu in
1983 had 314 doctors, 5 120 nurses, and 259 paramedical personnel serving an
official resident population of 3,4 million. The SA Defence Force posted 32 army
doc-

HEALTH IN THE HOMELANDS

tors, ten dentists, three pharmacists, and an optometrist to KwaZulu in 1983.90
The Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund was to build several clinics
in KwaZulu's rural areas: one was opened at Izingolweni in February."
Fee increases at KwaZulu hospitals and clinics came into effect on 1 May (R4 to
R6 daily for in-patients and R2 to R6 for out-patients, depending on income).
Doctors reported a dramatic drop in attendance at the Charles Johnson Memorial
Hospital in Nqutu and warned that the outlook for thousands of rural people living
on the border of starvation was bleak unless the new fee structure was altered or implemented sympathetically. The hospital reported that it had to accept that it was normal for patients to die on the floor under the beds of other patients and that more than half of the malnourished children admitted to the hospital died. 92 A typhoid outbreak in Madadeni in January, with 135 reported cases, resulted in five deaths. The KwaZulu Department of Health and Welfare related the outbreak to the lack of sanitation and organised water supplies as well as to ‘dense uncontrolled squatting’. The KwaZulu Water Development Fund began a borehole drilling programme as a short-term measure. 93

Lebowa

Lebowa had 144 doctors (only one-third of posts for doctors are filled), 2,985 nurses, and 50 paramedical personnel in 1983. Lebowa's Secretary for Health, Dr Machupe Mphalele, said that typhoid and other gastro-intestinal illnesses were a real danger as most rural settlements in Lebowa had no safe piped water and no sanitary facilities. The drought affected the water supplies of the few medical facilities that do exist in the remote rural areas: many clinics had no water supply and had to fetch water from hospitals. It was reported that the blinding eye disease trachoma was particularly rife in Lebowa and was directly related to the critical shortage of water there. It was estimated that by the age of ten, nearly every child in Lebowa had been affected by trachoma. Some were totally blind, while others had their eyesight partially impaired. Constant re-infection caused blindness.94

Transkei

The Medical Research Council found that pellagra and cancer of the oesophagus had reached epidemic proportions in the Transkei.95 The Transkei was to receive R17,5m in project 'aid' from Pretoria over four years for the following health programme: the building of 25 clinics to achieve the 10 000 people-per-clinic ratio recommended internationally; the upgrading of facilities in district hospitals; a R3,2m hospital at Cofimvaba; and two new tuberculosis wards at Greenville Hospital. During 1982/83, three clinics were established, three buildings converted into further clinics, a psychiatric unit built at Umzimkulu, and St Elizabeth's Hospital extended to reduce massive overcrowding. The Minister of Health, Dr Charles Bikitsa, said that many children under the age of five had not been immunised against infectious diseases. He appealed to the Transkei Minister of Agriculture to make healthy water supplies a priority in his department. He also said that only 124 of the 201 available posts in his department were filled, and that overseas recruiting was continuing. A nursing shortage also existed. Doctors had had to delegate much work to specially trained nurses. His department was preparing a one-year course for health assistants, who would alleviate the shortage of health inspectors.96 A typhoid outbreak in the Qumbu and Mount Frere districts of the Transkei affected 43 people and claimed six lives. The health department chlorinated the springs there and sent in water tankers.97

Venda
Venda, which has a population of about 500,000, has only three hospitals and 11 doctors. Speaking at Operation Hunger’s annual general meeting, Dr Joe Jivhuho, leader of a group of doctors who visit Venda monthly offering free medical services, said that many adult people in Venda had never seen a doctor or a nurse. There was a high rate of infertility among Venda women as a result of the prevalence of pelvic diseases. Over six years the group had treated 4,000 patients, 85% of whom required immediate hospitalisation. Dr Jivhuho claimed that the SA government had insisted that permission be denied for his group’s operation in Venda.98

Family Planning

The Science Committee of the President’s Council produced an outline plan for an effective population strategy called ‘Demographic Trends in SA’. The report said that the white population was rapidly approaching zero population growth, while African population growth was still in the ‘explosive’ stage. Compared to eight million in 1980 the number of Africans living in the cities would increase to between 57 million and 96 million in the year 2050, depending on the success of a national population programme. The plan stressed the need for an improvement in the quality of life of all South Africans as opposed to simply more efficient family planning and emphasised the necessity of creating ‘a socio-economic climate which paves the way for a desire to change fertility behaviour by stimulating the socio-economic factors that influence fertility trends’. The plan recommended mass literacy programmes, decentralisation of health services, improvement of housing, an improved rural agricultural development programme to reduce the impoverishment of the underdeveloped areas of SA, and immediate health programmes to equalise the mortality rates of the different population groups. It stressed the urgency of the situation and said there were signs that the country no longer had the capacity to cope satisfactorily with the current population growth. An average of two children per mother should ultimately be achieved, so that the population would taper off at 80 million by the year 2020.99 The government decided to evolve a ‘Population Development Programme’ in the light of the report. A point of departure would be that the state alone did not have the responsibility for the social, economic, and physical development of communities, the Minister of Health said. The programme would involve reducing mortality rates, improving birth control, and community enrichment. 100

The natural growth-rate of SA’s African population was reportedly 2.7% annually, which would double the population within 29 years. About 43% of the entire African population is under the age of 15 years.01 Between 1970 and 1979 the coloured birth-rate fell from 35.9 to 28.5 per 1000 of the population and the African birth-rate from 40 to 36 per 1,000.102

Of the government’s family planning budget of R23m during 1982/83, R9m was used in education and community development to promote a ‘positive attitude towards family planning’, R1.3m for advertising, and R3.6m to assist other family planning organisations.
The Conservative Party called on the government to take action to increase the birth-rate of whites. The Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk argued that the growth-rate of the white population should be prevented from falling so low that it put the country in danger.

In Nairobi in November the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) suspended the SA Family Planning Association from membership on the grounds of alleged non-compliance with the requirement that it should not discriminate regarding race, creed, colour, politics, or sex. Although the SA association had merged its two Johannesburg clinics, the IPPF still said it did not have enough evidence that consolidation and combination of staff and facilities had been fully achieved. It also called for a better racial balance in the central and regional sectors of the association.

The medical director of Upjohn, the manufacturers of Depo Provera in SA, estimated that approximately one million SA women were using the drug as a contraceptive. Banned in the US, it is widely criticised as medically dangerous and has produced cancer in beagles and monkeys. This is seen by some experts as sufficient cause to block use of the drug.

Abortion

Between 1 December 1981 and 30 November 1982, 464 legal abortions took place in SA, involving 324 white, 71 coloured, 57 African, and 12 Indian women. Social welfare workers and doctors said that at least 75 000 illegal abortions were performed on African, Indian, and coloured women each year. In 1982, abortions due to septic miscarriages were reported by 73 whites, 80 coloured people, 87 Indians, and 1 091 Africans. Incomplete miscarriages resulted in abortions for 6167 white, 4 001 coloured, 2 084 Indian, and 19 838 African women.

Regulations gazetted in March tightened up abortion and sterilisation procedures, though grounds for abortion remained unchanged. Doctors and the women involved will have to swear on oath that the abortion application was not refused by another doctor. Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said in parliament that backstreet abortionists were doing a roaring trade in SA because of the stringent regulations regarding legal abortions. She called for a commission of inquiry into abortion, to be composed of a judge, and women of all races. Mrs Suzman said that the SA Medical Research Council reported 33 421 incomplete and septic miscarriages in 1982. She added that 571 SA women had obtained legal abortions in Britain in 1981, while the poor had to risk backstreet abortions. The government turned down Mrs Suzman's request for a commission, contending that the legislation governing abortion worked very well and that there was no reason for a commission of inquiry.

Diseases

The Department of Health and Welfare gave the following information concerning the notification of diseases in SA between 1977 and 1981 (homelands being excluded from the statistics as they became 'independent'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cholera</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 381</td>
<td>4967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Leprosy 119 110 142 101 111
Measles (no information available) 3 826 17 343 14 293
Meningococcal infection 814 938 1 265 1 132 1139
Polio 91 50 88 91 118
Trachoma 127 23 32 61 1109
Tuberculosis 45 298 44 311 47 872 48 291 51828
Typhoid 2 624 2 843 3 784 4 105 3 913

Speaking on the incidence of various diseases among Africans and whites in SA, Professor Charles Isaacson, head of the Department of Anatomical Pathology at the SA Institute for Medical Research, said that, after violence, hypertension was the biggest killer in the African population, killing young people by causing kidney failure or strokes. Unlike in the case of whites, however, hypertension among Africans rarely resulted in heart attacks: although the incidence was increasing, deaths through heart attacks among Africans were very few. At Baragwanath, only one such death was reported in 1959, but 14 were reported in 1976. Rheumatic heart disease related to overcrowding and sub-economic conditions remained a scourge among Africans, with no significant decline, and, like tuberculosis, would decline only when socio-economic conditions were improved. Liver disease among Africans had increasingly become associated with the heavy consumption of western-type liquor that followed the liberalisation of the liquor laws in 1963. It had formerly been associated with heavy iron deposits in the liver produced by the consumption of traditional beer and which took a far longer period to manifest itself (about 30 years) than alcoholic liver disease (which takes 12 to 15 years). Of malignant tumours occurring in Africans, cancer of the oesophagus was of the greatest significance: while there were 12 cases at Baragwanath in 1955, there were 250 to 300 cases there annually by 1983. The incidence in Soweto was approximately half that in some areas of the Transkei. Indications were that this cancer was related to vitamin deficiency, Professor Isaacson said. While breast cancer was uncommon among African women, they suffered from an epidemic of cervical cancer, with an incidence of over 40 per 100 000 annually at a conservative estimate. As a result of their dietary pattern, Africans showed very low incidence of stomach and large bowel cancer. There had been changes in the patterns of liver cell cancer, with the male/female ratio changing from 16 to one 20 years previously to 2.5 to 1 in recent years, and with the cases at Baragwanath being about 16 years older than subjects 20 years previously. While on the one hand, because of dietary and other environmental factors, Africans were protected from certain diseases, such as coronary thrombosis and cancer of the colon, that were rife among whites, urban Africans were not particularly healthy, being afflicted with the diseases mentioned, coupled with tuberculosis and paediatric killer diseases such as gastro-enteritis and broncho-pneumonia. There had, however, been areas of improvement, such as a decrease in the urban infant mortality rate, Professor Isaacson said.
It was reported that African children in SA had one of the highest incidences of eye cancer (retinoblastoma), which is common in lower socio-economic groups throughout the world. A study over 16 years in the paediatric unit at King Edward VIII hospital in Durban highlighted the prevalence of preventable diseases: most children admitted were severely malnourished, the principle reasons for admission being malnutrition, infectious alimentary tract and respiratory diseases, and other infectious diseases, while the principal causes of death (between 1973 and 1975) were gastro-enteritis, pneumonia, and malnutrition, followed by tuberculosis, typhoid, and amoebiasis.1"2 It was reported that the greatest cause of death among whites and Indians in SA was heart attacks and that SA, with 11 deaths daily, had the highest incidence of heart attacks in the world."

Tuberculosis

According to the SA National Tuberculosis Association (SANTA), ten people die daily in SA from tuberculosis (TB) and 150 new cases are reported daily. Between 50000 and 60000 cases are notified annually but surveys have suggested that more than 100000 more cases remain unreported and untreated. SANTA said that overcrowding under 'atrocious environmental conditions', coupled with malnutrition and rising unemployment, spread the disease."14 An editorial in Santa News said that 1984 would be a crisis year for the organisation as the toll taken by the drought would become evident and it was feared that TB cases would soar to new heights. The latest figures showed that 61 980 new cases of the disease were reported in 1982, of which 40 578 were among Africans. Provisional figures for 1983 showed that more than 46 000 people contracted TB outside the homelands between January and September. 15

The Minister of Health and Welfare gave the following statistics on T13 for 1982:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reported cases</th>
<th>Hospitalised cases</th>
<th>TB deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>20 887</td>
<td>12 611</td>
<td>1 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>6 287</td>
<td>11 074</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>3 552</td>
<td>2 654</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>16 480</td>
<td>18 475</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister said there were no reported cases of TB in KwaNdebele. 16 SANTA said that the eastern Cape, including the Transkei and the Ciskei, had the highest incidence of TB in SA: two percent of the Ciskei's adult population and four percent of the Transkei's were TB sufferers. 117 During 1982, 14 TB teams were decentralised from Amatola Clinic in the Ciskei and attached to various hospitals and clinics to offer out-patient treatment, treatment of contacts, and immunisation. Committees of the Ciskei Anti-Tuberculosis Association (CATBA) have been formed in most villages."8 Dr Reg Coogan, the Medical Officer of Health (MOH) in Cape Town, said in his annual report in June that the government's housing and migrant labour systems helped spread infectious diseases and that TB was likely to remain the greatest infectious disease problem until the migrant labour system and the housing crisis were solved. "9 Dr Coogan
said that there had been a 33% increase in the number of TB notifications in Cape Town over the previous seven years, 3,778 new cases being reported in the city in 1982. The mayor of Paarl said that TB had reached epidemic proportions in the town, and western Cape health officials reported that the rate of TB notification among Africans in the western Cape had doubled in four years, while the white rate had dropped. Half of the new reported TB cases were among the African population, which constituted only 11% of the Cape population. Some R59m was allocated to the Department of Health and Welfare to combat TB in the 1983/84 financial year, compared with R48m in 1982/83. Of this amount, R40m was allocated to hospitalisation, R10m to out-patient treatment, R6.7m for the supply of tuberculostatics and vaccination apparatus, and R660 000 for preventive measures. Altogether 10 658 beds were available to TB patients in 1982.

Cholera

A third cholera outbreak, highlighting the relationship between health and living conditions and the lack of clean water supplies in rural areas, began on 7 August 1982. The first, in 1980/81, claimed 42 lives out of 3,950 reported cases, while the second, in 1981/82, claimed 218 lives out of 11,141 reported cases. The epidemic occurred in Natal, KwaZulu, the Transkei, and the northern Transvaal. A KwaZulu health department spokesman said that there were many unreported cases in the rural areas. Between August 1982 and the end of May 1983 the outbreak had claimed 54 lives, while 19,269 people had been treated for the disease. Statistics of cases and deaths (in parentheses) for the main areas were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>3,712</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Transvaal</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Transvaal</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>2,946</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department of Health and Welfare said in its 1982 Annual Report that it had dealt with the cholera epidemic by educating the population as regards preventive measures, early effective treatment, surveillance of water sources in suspected areas, and transport of safe drinking water to areas where natural water supplies were inadequate. Dr Marius Barnard said that it was useless to distribute pamphlets about preventing cholera if people were not provided with adequate supplies of clean water.

Measles

A measles epidemic affecting Africans and coloured people in Port Elizabeth, and related to the overcrowded slum conditions in the townships, coupled with inadequate health services, had claimed 237 lives by the end of June out of approximately 1700 cases. 'Soweto' (Port Elizabeth), Zwide, and 'Site and Service' were the hardest-hit townships. About 37% of those who died were suffering
DISEASES
from malnutrition. The Medical Officer of Health for Port Elizabeth, Dr J N Sher, said that the 330 000 people in the area were served by only three clinics and that the influx of people from the Ciskei because of drought and unemployment had overstrained the facilities. A short-term rescue operation through four mobile clinics was introduced but Dr Sher said that the long-term solution demanded improved living conditions and an adequate health infrastructure. Most of the deaths resulted from complications such as broncho-pneumonia and gastro-enteritis. Many people could not afford the cost of transport to the provincial hospitals at New Brighton or Korsten.

Bubonic Plague
During 1982, 18 cases of bubonic plague were reported in the Cape Province. In 1983 the eastern Cape was regarded as a plague endemic area. Some 450 cases and five deaths from bubonic plague were reported from the Ovambo war zone between November 1982 and September 1983.

Malnutrition
The government allocated R1,2m in 1983/84 for the prevention of nutritional diseases, of which R764 000 was allocated for information collection and education and R355 000 for financial aid to local authorities for the treatment of protein energy malnutrition.

In a study of malnutrition released by the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch, it was claimed that approximately 2,9 million children under the age of 15 in SA suffered from or showed signs of malnutrition, at a conservative estimate. As kwashiorkor is no longer a notifiable disease, the incidence of overt malnutrition can only be surmised from infant mortality rates and death-rates from diseases associated with malnutrition, among them gastroenteritis, tuberculosis, and pneumonia. Official infant mortality rates (ie. the mortality rate per 1 000 live births in the first year after birth) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>78,3</td>
<td>22,8</td>
<td>17,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>69,9</td>
<td>25,0</td>
<td>14,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>61,9</td>
<td>20,4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to figures released by the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef), SA had one of the highest infant mortality rates in relation to national wealth in the world, along with Brazil, Oman, and Saudi Arabia. Figures for 1981 produced by Unicef showed that there were 90 infant deaths per 1 000 births in SA, while the Gross National Product per capita was calculated at about R2 300. Figures for rural areas in SA were estimated to be far higher than the national average. A study among Xhosa women in 1977, which was quoted by the Stellenbosch study, found that some 25% of all infants among the rural group died within the first year of birth, while the infant mortality rate in the rural Ciskei was estimated at between 180 and 240 per 1 000 live births. In 1981 some 55% of all Transkei and 38% of all Ciskei pupils left school without finishing sub-standard A. The
The Stellenbosch study said malnutrition was one of the most important contributory factors in these high drop-out rates.

Professor Allie Moosa, head of the Department of Paediatrics at the University of Natal, claimed that between three and four children died each hour of malnutrition-related causes in SA in a long-term starvation process where children died simply because they did not eat enough. He said that the causes of malnutrition were socio-political and that relief could only be temporary as long as sufferers were sent back into the socio-political environment that had caused their malnutrition.130 In response, the Minister of Health and Welfare, Dr 'Nak' van der Merwe, said that responsibility for the high-death rate among children suffering from malnutrition should be shared by people who 'bred uncontrollably'. He claimed that there were too many people and too little food and that 'people cannot simply continue to multiply uncontrollably'.131 Dr van der Merwe was criticised as irresponsible by a number of organisations, among them Operation Hunger and the PFP, which emphasised that it was poverty which contributed to high birth-rates. 132

The drought of 1982 and 1983 worsened the chronic hunger problem in SA. The SA Institute of Race Relations’ Operation Hunger programme, the SA Red Cross, and World Vision (organisations involved in feeding schemes throughout SA) formed a consultative committee to co-ordinate responses to the drought crisis.133 It was estimated that 2.4 million people in the homelands needed emergency food relief. The manager of Operation Hunger, Mrs Ina Perlman, said that there had been a dramatic increase in adult and teenage pellagra, resulting in dementia. In the past this condition was virtually unknown, she said. The worst affected areas were KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda, the Transkei, and the Ciskei.134 The Director of Health in Lebowa said that malnutrition was threatening the lives of 25 000 children there. At Subiaco clinic children died at the rate of one a week after being admitted with advanced malnutrition, prior to the intervention of Operation Hunger. Authorities at hospitals and clinics in the northern Transvaal reported a 200% to 300% increase in kwashiorkor and malnutrition cases: crop failure, the retrenchment of migrant workers, and the unavailability of seasonal labour had reduced thousands of rural families to the brink of starvation. In a survey of four mission hospitals in KwaZulu a high incidence of malnutrition was found among young adults, suggesting an even greater incidence among the young and the aged. A third had marasmus, and of those, 56% had infections and 38% tuberculosis. 135

The Stellenbosch study concluded that the situation of the 2.9m children suffering from malnutrition was ‘sharply in contrast to those better-off members of SA society who show increasing signs of diseases associated with excessive food intake’. The report stated that ‘malnutrition in SA is intimately linked with the basic political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions which prevail in the country and cannot be solved by palliative measures’.

Mental Health
The Mental Health Society claimed that stress cost SA between R300m and R500m annually through lost production, absenteeism, loss of purchasing power, alcoholism, and the cost of treating psychiatric and psychological problems. It related stress to the boredom of assembly-line work, overload in management jobs, and unemployment. Mental health associations around SA reported an increase in depression and attempted suicides, which they linked to the recession and increased unemployment.

**DISEASES**

The total cost to the taxpayer of mental institutions administered by the Department of Health and Welfare was R67,967,664 in 1981/82, while other such agencies cost it R18,468,383. A sum of R18,182,000 was allocated to the programme 'mental health' in the 1983/84 budget. Of this amount R97,523,500 was allocated to hospital treatment and R9,060,500 to treatment of out-patients. According to the department's 1982 annual report, the state's 21 mental institutions continued to suffer personnel shortages. Building projects were completed at 12 centres and the private Springfield Sanatorium was taken over by the department and administered as part of King George V Hospital. Out-patient clinics at the department's 15 hospitals were provided at 553 different points and dealt with 495,252 clinic visits. The department continued to render psychiatric community services in KwaZulu and the Ciskei. During 1983, 1,377 State President's patients were being held in state institutions, 250 of them at Weskoppies psychiatric hospital in Pretoria. A number of them alleged that there were delays in the release of those successfully treated, and that patients were neglected. The Director-General of Health launched an investigation.

The PFP drew attention to the inadequate psychiatric facilities for African patients in the eastern Cape, following a party visit to the Kowie, Tower, Elizabeth Donkin, and Dora Nginza hospitals in March. No in-patient psychiatric facilities for African patients were available in Port Elizabeth. The shortages of wards, staff, and sanitary facilities were also criticised. In response, the department said it had investigated the feasibility of providing a psychiatric service to Africans in the Elizabeth Donkin Hospital in Port Elizabeth and had also made provision for 40 beds at a cost of R0.8m at the Dora Nginza Hospital for 1985/86 and for the construction in 1988/89 of a 932-bed psychiatric hospital and a care and rehabilitation centre for Africans in Port Elizabeth at a cost of R56m. The SA Institute of Marital and Family Therapy arranged a conference at Sun City. A non-racial ad hoc committee of numerous prominent SA organisations was established to campaign against the venue, on the grounds that it was unethical for a conference on marital and family therapy to be held against a backdrop of family deprivation and disintegration. The venue would endorse the injustices of the apartheid system as Sun City was a 'glossy cover up for a system of economic oppression, enforced political impotence, and human indignity'. Two Tara Hospital psychologists distributing pamphlets urging a boycott were handed over to the Bophuthatswana security police, who released them after four hours of questioning. A former SA psychologist, Dr John Domnisse, urged at a Washington meeting of the World Federation of Mental Health that SA be
expelled from international medical bodies for committing 'psychological terrorism' against black people through apartheid, which made them feel inferior.' It was reported that members of the Royal College of Psychiatrists in London were putting increased pressure on the college to put SA in world focus with a view to having it forced out of or censored by the World Association of Psychiatrists on the grounds that apartheid created mental hardship for blacks. One psychiatrist involved in the campaign, Dr Sashi Sashidharan, said that he had seen no evidence of psychiatric abuse in SA of the type reported from the USSR but he claimed that systematic abuses, such as the creation of special institutions for pass law offenders, closely paralleled what happened in Russia. He also referred to the cases of SA detainees who required psychiatric treatment following detention or interrogation. Dr Sashidharan attacked SA psychiatrists on the grounds that they refused to condemn alleged police malpractices. This raised serious ethical issues, he said. 142

References
1 Rand Daily Mail 8 August
2 Star 19 July
3 Daily Dispatch 20 May, Natal Mercury 12 December
4 Rand Daily Mail 10 November
5 Star 17 November 6'Health', C De Beer, Dr E Thompson, S Myrdal, Dr A Zwi, SA Review One: Same Foundations New Facades, 1983
7 Evening Post 24 March " Estimate of the Expenditure to be defrayed from the State Revenue Account during the Financial Year ending 31 March 1984
4 Hansard 6 0 cols 535 -536, Star 4 May
Social welfare services for the different race groups are the responsibility of various government departments. The Department of Health and Welfare is responsible for white services, Internal Affairs for services to Indians and coloured people, and Co-operation and Development for services to Africans resident in the 'white' areas. The ten homeland authorities are responsible for welfare services to their residents, all having their own health and welfare departments, except KaNgwane and KwaNdebele where such services are handled by their departments of Community Affairs and Internal Affairs respectively.

It was reported that welfare in SA was in deep crisis, with inadequate state subsidies and increasing dependence on public support. Many welfare organisations said they would be forced to close unless they found more money. Financial and social problems were exacerbated by the economic recession and the retrenchment of breadwinners. A Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report on a meeting of social workers indicated an increase in problems of
depression and in the number of attempted suicides; that handicapped people were the first dismissed in a recession; and that welfare organisations were experiencing increasing difficulties as donations dwindled while greater demands were made. Child care associations reported an exceptionally high incidence of cases of child cruelty and neglect.1 The Community Chest, supporting 136 welfare organisations and other bodies, reported an alarming drop in funds during 1983.2 The Johannesburg Child Welfare Society's income increased by 17% in 1982/83 over 1981/82. However, its level of activity since 1979 had increased by 250% and its grant from the Johannesburg City Council had remained essentially unchanged.3 The Johannesburg Association for the Aged said that it spent R111 750 in excess of what it received in grants from the city and the state monthly.4 Mr Howard Ferreira, director of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society, which serves all races in greater Johannesburg, said that racially discriminatory state grants and pensions placed welfare agencies in a financial mess: subsidising the state grants to achieve a degree of equity between the races absorbed a large proportion of the society's funds each year. He said that the lowly status of the Director of Social Services in the structure of the Department of Health and Welfare epitomised the low priority afforded by the government to social work. Only 2,35% of the government's total budget went to white welfare work (it was not possible, he said, to isolate the amount spent on the other race groups). Mr Ferreira criticised the fragmentation of welfare services as being a hindrance to welfare work: there were 24 regional welfare boards in SA split geographically and racially, and a lack of co-ordination between them.

WELFARE LEGISLATION
The Minister of Finance confirmed in parliament that he had been approached in 1981 and 1982 by approved welfare organisations to make donations to welfare organisations tax-deductible. The request had been turned down consistently because it would be inconsistent with the policy that only expenditure necessarily incurred to produce income directly was tax-deductible. Donations were voluntary disposals. The Commission of Inquiry into Fiscal and Monetary Policy in SA had recommended tax concessions in regard to donations to certain educational institutions on the grounds that supplementing the shortage of trained manpower promoted economic development but that a similar concession should not be made in respect of donations to charitable or religious institutions.5 The Minister of Health and Welfare, speaking at a conference of the Orange Free State regional welfare board, said that there was a great need for more community involvement in welfare programmes. The state and welfare organisations were partners in social welfare. The proposed new political dispensation guarded against the development of a welfare state, through the policy that either private organisations or local authorities should provide welfare services. This, the minister claimed, had the advantage of bringing about personal contact between the users and the suppliers of services.'

Legislation
The Child Care Act, No 74 of 1983, replaced the Children's Act of 1960 and provided for the establishment of a Child Welfare Advisory Council (CWAC) to
coordinate the functions of state departments and other child welfare services, the establishment of children's courts and the appointment of a commissioner of child welfare, the protection of certain children and the adoption of children, the establishment of child welfare institutions, and for contributions towards children's maintenance. The bill was controversial in both parliament and the social welfare fraternity. It was argued that it perpetuated the illogical and racial fragmentation of social services reflected in the three departments concerned (Health and Welfare for whites, Internal Affairs for coloured people and Indians, and Co-operation and Development for Africans in the 'white' areas). This racial fragmentation was extended to regional welfare, where, instead of the old nine boards, there were now 24. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) contended that in a social welfare sphere already overloaded with bureaucratic bodies the CWAC was simply another such body, and that it was weighted in favour of government officials. Social workers, upon whom the bill's implementation depended, had extremely low salaries and poor conditions of employment and their recommendations had been ignored. The PFP also said that the bill should have made social workers' reports compulsory, in response to which the Minister of Health and Welfare said that compulsory reports were not feasible as the bill dealt with all race groups and social workers were not available in all cases. Another PFP criticism was that the bill prevented subsidised adoption whereas subsidies were desirable for less well-off families. Moreover, although the bill made compulsory the notification by medical personnel of undernourishment, abuse, or ill-treatment of children, children in sub-economic groups were often not attended to by dentists, doctors, or nurses. Another criticism was that the bill omitted to remove racial discrepancies in foster care grants. The PFP also argued that the drought would accelerate African urbanisation and increase the need for African child care at a time when facilities were already inadequate. The PFP criticised the use of police cells as places of safety. The minister said that because of the lack of facilities, particularly in coloured and African areas, there was often no alternative to using police cells as places of safety, but that the department's policy was to build as many places of safety as possible.

**WELFARE FINANCING**

of police cells as places of safety. The minister said that because of the lack of facilities, particularly in coloured and African areas, there was often no alternative to using police cells as places of safety, but that the department's policy was to build as many places of safety as possible.

**Finance and Facilities**

The following amounts were allocated to welfare services in 1983/84 budgets: the 1982/83 and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health and Welfare (white)</td>
<td>429 157 000</td>
<td>469 317 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Affairs (Indian)</td>
<td>67 099 000</td>
<td>71 429 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Affairs (coloured)</td>
<td>256 373 000</td>
<td>266 802 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operation and Development (Africans in certain areas*)</td>
<td>194 738 000</td>
<td>1983/84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*not applicable
Children

The following amounts were allocated to child welfare in the 1982/83 and 1983/84 financial years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Certain Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>64 497 300</td>
<td>26 147 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/84</td>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>73 244 900</td>
<td>27 671 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Director of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society, Mr Howard Ferreira, criticised the government for providing unequal social welfare services, particularly unequal child welfare services. A major concern of his society was the racial differentiation in state grants. Although foster care was the best form of substitute care for children, black foster parents were difficult to find because of the low grants. Grants paid by the state in respect of children in foster care were R106 per month for whites, R70,80 for Indians and coloured people, and R36 for Africans. During 1982 a total of 2 856 white children, 189 Indian children, 563 coloured children, and 276 African children were placed in adoption.

Children's allowances paid out in terms of the Children's Act of 1960 to foster parents, unmarried mothers, widows, and others in respect of children in their care during 1982/83 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Certain Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>40 897 30</td>
<td>127 170 17</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>21 768 089</td>
<td>27 793 611</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHILD WELFARE

On the basis of the above statistics, it appears that the average per capita expenditure on such grants during 1982/83 was R532 for whites, R899 for Indians, R610 for coloured people, and R244 for Africans.

Attention was drawn to the shortage of day-care centres for children of all races in SA. Forty-five white creches and day-care centres are subsidised by the Department of Health and Welfare at a rate of 80c a day per child and 91 such centres for Indian and coloured children are subsidised by the Department of Internal Affairs at a rate of 50c a day per child. The government said that four centres for African children were subsidised by the Department of Co-operation and Development at a rate of 7,5c a day per child. It was reported, however, that the government had withdrawn its subsidy to day-care facilities for African children during the year: the Department of Co-operation and Development, which formerly gave 10c a day to African creches for each child where parents
earned less than R50 monthly, believed that local authorities should subsidise African creches 'in the spirit of community involvement and development'. The chairman of the Soweto community council said that it had been compelled to keep the grant-in-aid to Soweto creches at a minimum of R29 000 a year compared to the original R77 000 because of its shortage of funds. 12 The African Self Help Association (ASHA) in Johannesburg, which provides welfare services to 42 000 African children, said that over the previous ten years the cost of maintaining creches had risen by 1 000%. The Soweto council had cut its annual grant to the association, which had to raise an extra R60 000 each year. 13 It was believed that fewer than a tenth of Soweto's pre-school children went to day-care centres. The remaining 90 000 were left at home in the care of siblings, locked inside alone, or left to roam the streets.14

Per capita monthly maintenance grants payable to welfare societies were a maximum of R178,98 for white, R118 for Indian and coloured, and R60 for African children." At 30 September 1982 there were 869 registered places of care, accommodating 40 966 white children, of which 740 were privately owned and 129 under the control of welfare organisations. A total of 1180 children were in state places of safety and 1 339 in children's institutions.16 At 31 March 1982, services for coloured children consisted of 104 creches, six state places of safety, 24 private registered children's homes, and a school of industries in Atlantis for 200 coloured boys. Services for Indian children consisted of one place of safety in Durban, two schools of industries in Newcastle, and six children's homes. 17 At 31 March 1982, there were six children's homes for Africans in 'white' SA, six places of safety and detention (four state-run and two private), and 195 registered places of care for 23 000 African children, subsidised by administration boards. The Elandsdoorn Reformatory for 85 children was taken over by the Department of Co-operation and Development from the Lebowa government service in 1981/82. 11

New facilities were being built in Soweto: the Othandweni Centre in Mofolo South was being built by the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society, with facilities for abandoned babic s, battered wives, and unmarried mothers and their families. The society said that there was no registered children's home in the whole of Soweto and Alexandra.9 A new R1,5m home in Orlando for abandoned children and orphans being built to replace the old home was expected to be completed in 1984.210 An African children's home was planned for Grahamstown to accommodate 100 children.2

WELFARE SERVICES: AGED
Old People
The following amounts were allocated for the care of the aged in the 1982/83 and 1983/84 budgets (including old age and veterans' pensions):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>295 761 600</td>
<td>317 972 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>20 613 300</td>
<td>22 085 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>104 660 600</td>
<td>105 677 700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Certain Africans: 129 571 000 132 167 100

According to departmental reports, the facilities for the white aged consist of four state homes, 344 subsidised homes (subsidised by an amount of R26.2m in 1982), 88 private homes, and 50 welfare service centres (subsidised by an amount of R1.2m in 1982). During 1981/82 the Department of Health and Welfare spent R25.7m in subsidies for old-age homes for whites.22 During 1982/83 the Department of Community Development spent R29.3m on the erection and improvement of white old-age homes.23 Dr Margaret Barlow, Chief Medical Superintendent of Addington Hospital in Durban, announced plans to raise R3m for the care of the aged in Natal over the following three years. The plans included an old-age home for coloured people, a new home for whites on the south coast, and a home for Indians on the north coast. She said that the state could not assume financial responsibility without the participation of the private sector.24

Services for coloured aged people consisted of one state home for 245 indigent aged and chronic sick and 26 registered private homes. There were only two subsidised homes for the Indian aged in 1982.

According to the Department of Co-operation and Development, care of the African aged is provided for in the homelands, where institutions are being erected with funds from the SA Development Trust. During 1981/82, the department negotiated with the non-independent homelands for the admission of Africans from 'white' areas to these institutions. There were five institutions for the aged in these homelands in 1980. They accommodated 528 people. In 1983 Bophuthatswana had three old-age homes: the Boiketlong Old-Age Home, the TCEsterhuisen Old-Age Home, and the Gelukspan Old-Age Home, accommodating 165 old and 340 chronically sick people altogether.25 A privately run oldage home, subsidised by the Transkei authorities on a 100% basis, was due to open in the Transkei in October.26 The Ciskei in 1983 had one institution for the aged, at Ekuphumleni, accommodating 404 aged and 32 disabled people.27 A National Council for the Care of the Aged was launched at Hewu in the Ciskei, with a branch in Mdantsane.28 Outside the homelands, there were seven registered homes for 408 aged people and three private homes under construction, in Soweto, Guguletu, and Port Elizabeth, in 1982. The Rotary Club of Johannesburg in association with Soweto Care of the Aged and the National Council of the Aged planned to build an old age home in Soweto in 1984 to accommodate 128 permanent residents and provide meals for 300 people.29 The Johannesburg Association for the Aged reported that it was in severe financial difficulty and that the 10000 old people for whom it cared in the city faced severe cutbacks in services. It received a government subsidy of R13 250 a month and spent an average of R125 000 monthly, providing health services, poor relief, subsidised accommodation and a home for the frail aged.3" Prefabricated homes were to be provided in Alexandra township by various organisations for the aged who had not been allocated new homes under a scheme to develop the township.3

DISABLED PEOPLE

month and spent an average of R125 000 monthly, providing health services, poor relief, subsidised accommodation and a home for the frail aged.3" Prefabricated homes were to be provided in Alexandra township by various organisations for the aged who had not been allocated new homes under a scheme to develop the township.3
The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) said in parliament that the cost of accommodation had become a nightmare for the aged, who were forced to prune expenditure on food to maintain an independent lifestyle. The Minister of Health and Welfare said that he thought the housing subsidies for the aged were adequate. The Deputy Minister of Welfare and Community Development called on private enterprise to back up government and municipal efforts in providing housing for the aged. Pensioners’ housing should not be left entirely to the state to look after he said.2

Disabled people

The following amounts were allocated to welfare services for disabled people in the 1982/83 and 1983/84 budgets (excluding pensions):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>5 769 000</td>
<td>7 158 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>81 000</td>
<td>99 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>305 000</td>
<td>485 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certain Africans</td>
<td>527 000</td>
<td>801 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 43 subsidised institutions for white handicapped people in 1982.33 The Department of Internal Affairs subsidises a training centre at Athlone for disabled coloured people and two protective workshops for the Indian disabled.34 The Natal Indian Cripple Care Association (NICCA) was forced to take over the care of handicapped Indians in Pietermaritzburg because, in terms of the legislation governing welfare organisations, the Pietermaritzburg Cripple Care Association was not allowed a fund-raising number in respect of its Indian clients.35 A new national organisation for the disabled was formed in Durban. It aimed to bring together various self-help groups of disabled people and to challenge the isolation of the disabled from the mainstream of SA society.36

Building of a R3.5m international sports complex in Soweto for the physically disabled began in March. It will include indoor sporting facilities, an international standard swimming pool, and a workshop for 50 paraplegics doing assembly work, watchmaking, repair work, and packaging.37 The Phillip Kushlick Building in Soweto for cerebral palsied children was officially opened in November and can accommodate 200 children. The Transvaal Association for Blind Black Adults (TABBA) planned a Rlm workshop for the blind in Soweto as there were no such facilities in the Transvaal.38 The Department of Education and Training planned to build a new secondary school for handicapped children in Soshanguve. It was placed there as it would be in the vicinity of institutions such as the Mabopane East Technikon. The building of the Nokuthula Centre for handicapped children in Alexandra township began in November, with finance from the public and the private sector.39 The Vita Nova Centre for handicapped children at Springs was granted R850 000 by the government for an expansion pro-

SOCIAL PENSIONS

gramme.40 Chris Steytler Industries, the only multi-racial factory providing work facilities for the disabled, moved to new premises in Bellville in the Cape,
employing 60 people. The Theodore Blumberg pre-primary school for deaf children in Mdantsane in the Ciskei opened, accommodating 60 children. The Ethembeni School for cripples at Ichanga near Pietermaritzburg was under construction and the first pupils were expected to enrol in 1985. According to the Department of Co-operation and Development, care of crippled, cerebral palsied, and severely physically handicapped people is left to the homelands. The only institution for the African cerebral palsied still subsidised by the department was the Madadeni Institution for Educable Children, with 80 places. All African people disabled by leprosy are referred to the Venda government for admission at the Hayani home there. Blind people who cannot be employed in the open labour market are admitted to workshops in the homelands or to the two training centres in Port Elizabeth and Kimberley. Bophuthatswana has one workshop for the blind (the Itireleng workshop), which accommodates 273 people. The Transkei has an institution for the blind and deaf (for 400 people) and one for paraplegics (for 300 people). The Efata Welfare Organisation and the Ikhwezi Lokusa Rehabilitation and Sheltered Employment Society in the Transkei provide sheltered employment for 160 people.

The Ciskei planned a rehabilitation centre called Nontsapho, to provide sheltered employment for the physically handicapped.

### Social Pensions

The following amounts were allocated to social pensions in 1983/84:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Certain White</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>(R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old-Age pensions</td>
<td>241 415 000</td>
<td>21 541 500</td>
<td>94 500 000</td>
<td>130 584 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans’ pensions</td>
<td>23 649 000</td>
<td>282 000</td>
<td>8 750 000</td>
<td>756 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind Persons’ pensions</td>
<td>1 280 000</td>
<td>259 000</td>
<td>1 574 600</td>
<td>2 536 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44 926 600</td>
<td>16 778 000</td>
<td>63 000 000</td>
<td>56 269 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>270 600</td>
<td>38 860 500</td>
<td>167 824 600</td>
<td>190 145 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following amounts were allocated to pensions in the following homelands in the 1982/83 and 1983/84 financial years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>34 000 000</td>
<td>35 070 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>20 156 000</td>
<td>20 586 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>7 633 220</td>
<td>9 944 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>64 801 600</td>
<td>88 119 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>34 989 030</td>
<td>46 374 430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>4 208 480</td>
<td>7 209 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>33 639 400</td>
<td>72 489 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>8 592 100</td>
<td>8 934 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SOCIAL PENSIONS

The total number of social pensioners in each race group (including old-age pensions, war pensions, blind pensions, disability grants and maintenance grants) were as follows at 28 February 1983:
White 202 940
Indian 55 105
Coloured 218 021
African 326 875 ('white areas') and 287 555 (in 'national states')
The above figures appear to exclude the 'independent' homelands.
On the basis of departmental reports, it appears that the per capita annual expenditure on old-age pensions during 1981/82 was R1 467 for whites, R847 for Indians, R835 for coloured people, and R429 for Africans. The respective amounts for war veterans' pensions were R1 578, R929, R903, and R455. For blind pensions, the respective amounts were R1 415, R819, R839, and R438, and for disability pensions, R1 471, R855, R858, and R427.
Social pensions were increased with effect from 1 October as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old maximum</th>
<th>New maximum</th>
<th>Bonus payout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>in May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amount</td>
<td>amount</td>
<td>(R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian/Coloured</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>57 (R114 every 22 second month)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to new means tests, an income of R160 per month or more and/or fixed assets of R42 000 or more disqualify a white person altogether from receiving a pension. The same applies to Indians and coloured people with an income of R80 per month or more and/or fixed assets of R21 000, and to Africans with an income of R40 per month and/or fixed assets of RIO 500 or more. 17

The SA National Council for the Aged (SANCA) conducted a survey of more than 2 000 pensioners in the Transvaal, which indicated that African pensioners would prefer to receive monthly instead of bi-monthly pensions and that they would rather collect their pensions from post offices, banks, or building societies than stand in the lengthy queues that are a common feature of pension payout points in the townships.4 A spokesman for the Commissioner for Co-operation and Development in Cape Town said that his office had made a number of requests to the Minister of Co-operation and Development that Africans' pension payments be made monthly instead of every second month. The reply had been that this would involve too much administration, he said. The Cape Town organiser of the Black Sash, Mrs Sue Joynt, commented that it was iniquitous that people at the bottom end of the pension scale should be treated so unfairly. She said that other problems included long delays between the application for and the granting of a pension and pensions being stopped for no apparent reason.49 The Human Awareness Programme (HAP), in a special report on pensions, said state pensions for Africans in particular were well below the minimum needed for survival and were racially discriminatory. Furthermore, homeland administrations were often without sufficient money to pay all pensioners their pensions. With mounting unemployment in the homelands, pensions were often used to support the pensioner's unemployed family members as well. The report recommended

ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION
at pensions be linked to subsistence levels and that unemployment benefits be raised.50 The Black Sash warned that a meagre private pension could hurt retired workers because the means test then prevented them from receiving a full state pension. It appealed to employers to pay considerably larger monthly sums than the state pension.51

The Black Sash reported in March that two Africans had died in the eastern Cape in pension queues, one having allegedly been trampled to death. There was often a sense of panic among Grahamstown pensioners in case 'the money ran out', it said. At Glenmore many people lost their pensions through their removal from the eastern Cape and had had to re-apply through magistrates in Alice in the Ciskei. Some who had lost a year's pension received only a small percentage of the amount due to them when their pensions were reinstated. The Black Sash's Durban office reported that during 1981 and 1982 it had managed to claim more than R60000 for pensioners with arrears due to them.52 The Ciskei Department of Health and Welfare reported that due to shortages of funds, some services, such as the May and November 1982 bonuses and the 1 October 1982 increases, were not given to its 44 000 pensioners. At the end of 1982, 5 825 new pension applicants had had to be deferred with effect from 1 January 1982 because of the unavailability of funds.53

During the parliamentary debate on the Health and Welfare vote Mr Brian Goodall of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) said that there would be a rapid increase in the number of aged people and that the cost of old-age pensions could amount to R17bn by the year 2000. The cost of the equalisation of pensions for coloured and Indian people would be considerable, he said. He suggested that legislation be introduced to compel employers to create compulsory pension funds for their employees. Mr A F Fouche of the National Party (NP) urged the government to establish a parliamentary select committee to investigate the possibility of phasing out old-age pensions. The government had in the past gone out of its way to provide for the aged in many respects, he claimed, but too many people still expected the state to look after them in their retirement.14

**Alcoholism and Drug Addiction**

The following amounts were allocated for rehabilitation services for alcoholics and drug addicts in the 1982/83 and 1983/84 budgets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982/83 (R)</th>
<th>1983/84 (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6 097 900</td>
<td>7 813 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>51 500</td>
<td>80 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 207 000</td>
<td>1 321 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certain Africans</td>
<td>380 000</td>
<td>695 400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1 October 1981 and 30 September 1982 a total of 7 408 white people were admitted to rehabilitation centres. The Department of Internal Affairs handled 8262 cases of coloured people with alcohol-related problems and 227 Indian cases during 1982/83, representing an incidence, respectively, of 324 and 28 per 100 000 of the coloured and Indian populations.55 The department controls one rehabilitation centre for 290 coloured people and it planned to
complete another, for 100 coloured people, in 1984. A private centre for 60 coloured women was to be erected in Athlone. The government planned to build a R4m alcohol and drug rehabilitation centre for 100 Indians at Newlands in Durban. The Madadeni Rehabilitation Centre for Africans can accommodate 150 to 160 people. During 1981/82, 90 alcoholics and six drug dependants were committed and 78 voluntary cases received short term treatment.

The SA National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) launched a centre for the study of alcohol and drug abuse in Johannesburg to establish preventive education programmes for children. SA Breweries made an initial grant of R50 000 to launch a pilot programme at six private schools in Johannesburg and six in Soweto in January 1983. The organisers hoped that the programme, if successful, would become part of the normal school curriculum. SANCA claimed that untreated alcoholism cost SA companies R456m annually in lost production and absenteeism. It estimated that half of SA’s work-force of 8 665 700 were consumers of alcohol. The National Advisory Board on Rehabilitation Matters reported that alcohol remained the most abused dependence-producing substance in SA, accounting for the vast majority of admissions to rehabilitation centres. Nearly 80% of white vagrants were dependent on alcohol, it said. Mr Justice G G A Munnik, Judge President of the Cape, urged the government to create cottage industries and rehabilitation programmes in western Cape cities for the numerous vagrants who drifted there, as individuals should not be expected to solve the problem without assistance.

Social workers in the Ciskei formed a branch of Alcoholics Anonymous in Zwelitsha to serve the township and nearby villages. According to SANCA there were more than 30 000 convictions for drug offences during 1982 in SA. According to the Commissioner of the SA Police abuse of dagga remained the most serious drug problem. Between June 1981 and June 1982, a total of 33 291 people were prosecuted for illegal possession of dagga and trading in it. A total of 24 000 people had been convicted on dagga charges during 1979/80. Two professional people involved in rehabilitating drug dependants said that drug abuse in the western Cape was reaching epidemic proportions: hard drugs were not a threat, but dagga and drugs freely available in pharmacies were widely used by adolescents. Mandrax usage was a major problem in the Cape Peninsula and usage was widespread on the Cape flats and spreading among schoolchildren, according to the SA Narcotics Bureau of the Western Cape. Cape Town was the destination of nearly 70% of tens of thousands of Mandrax tablets smuggled from Bombay in India into SA. At SA’s request Swaziland revised its drug legislation to make penalties more severe, following reports that several southern African states were used as a safe gateway to SA by couriers carrying hard drugs. Speaking at a conference in Durban on dagga, the Minister of Health and Welfare said that the penalties for drug abuse were being investigated by a committee. Higher penalties for dealers should be imposed, while for users the emphasis should be on treatment rather than punishment.
Social Workers
The shortage of social workers remained a problem during 1983. During 1982 there was a 50% decrease in the number of students registered for social work courses. The major grievances were seen to be low salaries and status, excessive workloads, and general dissatisfaction with conditions of service. Excessive workloads for social workers were reported by the SA National Council for Child and Family Welfare (the largest employer of social workers), which said that its white social workers were handling up to 70 cases a month and its African and coloured social workers well over 100.67 The three regional welfare offices serving Indians in Natal reported that, as result of staff shortages, social workers had an average caseload of 119 a month, although the accepted norm was 60 cases per worker.6“ The Minister of Internal Affairs announced in May that the Commission for Administration had completed its investigation regarding registered social workers and that a revised dispensation, including revised salaries, would be implemented from 1 July. The starting salary of white, Indian, and coloured social workers was increased from R544.50 to R804 while that of African social workers was raised from R429.50 to R735. Maximum salaries were increased from R838.50 to RI 050 for whites, Indians, and coloured people. The Progressive Federal Party welcomed the increases but said it would continue to fight against discrimination in social welfare in SA.

The government subsidises social work posts in approved welfare organisations. During 1981 the Department of Health and Welfare subsidised 813 social work posts (for whites). The Department of Internal Affairs subsidised 371 in 1982 (for Indians and coloured people). During 1981/82, the Department of Cooperation and Development paid out R1 093 314 in subsidies to African welfare organisations.

Monthly subsidies payable to welfare organisations for social workers' salaries are R1 167.81 for white, R1 139.97 for Indian and coloured, R705 for African male, and R686.50 for African female social workers.6’ The Johannesburg Child Welfare Society said it spent R86 000 annually to offset the discriminatory state subsidy for social workers.”

It was proposed that the South African Indian Council (SAIC), which has advisory powers over social welfare for Indians, should take over welfare services. Various welfare organisations, among them the Durban Indian Child and Family Welfare Society and the Social Workers' Federation, criticised this move in the grounds that it would dissolve the prevailing partnership between the state and voluntary organisations and disunite the community, which had rejected SAIC. A SAIC member put forward a motion that SAIC also reject the handing over of social welfare services to the SAIC executive on the grounds that the aim of SAIC was to strive towards an integrated society with integrated welfare services, that the state's move had been rejected by various bodies in Natal and the Transvaal, and that SAIC was not in a position to handle the professional side of welfare. A motion put forward by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of SAIC, to
accept welfare responsibility was carried. He said that while it was ideal to have a common welfare service for all citizens, SAIC already had part control of welfare services in the Indian community, and refusal to accept further responsibility would be to deny the Indian community a role in decision-making. Thirteen social workers and four other staff members at the Chatsworth Child and Family Welfare Society were dismissed after a strike in support of a demand for the reinstatement of a dismissed fellow worker. The society's former chairman warned that there would be serious repercussions in the community unless the social workers were reinstated. The Ministers of National Education, Internal Affairs, and Education and Training gave the following details of the number of degrees in social work conferred in 1981 and 1982:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban Westville</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potchefstroom</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rand Afrikaans University</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of SA</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zululand</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
1 Rand Daily Mail 22 March
2 Argus 16 August
3 Star 13 September
4 Star 25 July
5 Hansard 10 Q col 945
6 Friend 9 June
7 Citizen 8 March
8 Hansard 15 Qcol 1299, l6Qcol 1369
9 Hansard 17 Q cols 1451-1452, 1434-1435 10 Hansard 16 Q cols 1414-1416 11 Star 4 May
12 Sowetan 18 May
11 Rand Daily Mail 26 August 14 Star 4 May
Among other things, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, No 59 of 1983, amended section 2 of the Trespass Act, No 6 of 1959, by increasing the penalty for trespass from a fine not exceeding R50 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, to a fine not exceeding R2 000 or imprisonment for up to two years. During the debate on the bill, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) asked for the severe penalties under the Trespass Act to be reduced, suggesting that they might be used against squatters. The PFP also suspected that persons who had no intention of committing offences (eg by visiting a black servant in a white
household) could be subject to penalty. The PFP rejected the bill, but the New Republic Party (NRP) supported it.

Personnel
The Minister of Justice, Mr H J (Kobie) Coetsee, said that the staffing situation in his department was more satisfactory than in 1982. The proportion of certain posts filled was as follows: administrative officer - 95%; senior administrative assistant - 53%; administrative assistant - 72%; senior clerical assistant 50%; and typist - 87%. The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said that in the Department of Justice full parity with whites in salaries had been achieved for 1956 coloured and Asian state prosecutors and advocates, magistrates, lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, warrant-officers, sergeants, and warders. Fifty-one Africans had achieved parity in the categories of chief court interpreter, lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, and lieutenant. Parity in other categories would be achieved when funds were available, the minister said.

Criminal Statistics
The annual report of the Director-General of Justice, Mr J P J Coetzee, for the year ending 30 June 1982 summarised the number of prisoners admitted and the sentences imposed on prisoners that year as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 208</td>
<td>162 137</td>
<td>1 500</td>
<td>34 657</td>
<td>205 502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sentenced prisoners:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death penalty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life imprisonment</td>
<td>Habitual criminals</td>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>5 to 10 years</td>
<td>2 to 5 years</td>
<td>6 months to 2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months to 2 years</td>
<td>4 to 6 months</td>
<td>2 to 5 years</td>
<td>1 to 4 months</td>
<td>Up to 1 month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodical imprisonment</td>
<td>Corporal punishment only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>2 220</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>718</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>611</td>
<td>11 552</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2845</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>786</td>
<td>15 614</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>5 950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603</td>
<td>17 054</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>6 405</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 110</td>
<td>46 068</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>12 221</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>775</td>
<td>36 734</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>8 974</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>4 368</td>
<td>130 994</td>
<td>1 186</td>
<td>37 631</td>
<td>174 179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Other categories admitted during the year:
(i) State President’s patients | 2 | 11 | - | - | 13 |
(ii) Mentally ill (other than (i)) - ....
(iii) Judgement debtors: 1 419 2 317 740 2 812 7 288
(iv) Arrest - - -
(v) People in detention:
(a) Sec 185 Criminal Procedure Act -
(b) Sec 12 (a) Internal Security Act: 3 - - 3
(c) Sec 12 (b) of the above Act: 28 - - 28
(d) Sec 6 of the Terrorism Act: 3 36 1 20 60
(e) Sec 10 (1) (a) of the Internal Security Act (1950) - 3 - - 3
(f) Regulation R252 (Ciskei): 48 12 - - 60
Sub-total: 1 472 2 410 741 2 832 7 455
Grand-total: 13 048 295 541 3 427 75 120 387 136
(a) empowers the Attorney-General to detain a witness in a criminal trial
(b) empowers the Attorney-General to refuse an accused bail for the duration of his trial
(c) empowers the Attorney-General to detain a person as a state witness
(d) provides for the holding of detainees incommunicado for interrogation purposes
(e) provides for the holding of persons in preventive detention
(f) provides for detainees to be held for 90 days without trial

Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Awaiting-trial</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>21 057</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2 628</td>
<td>24 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sentenced prisoners:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death penalty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life imprisonment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual criminals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 10 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 5 years</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months to 2 years</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1 155</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>1 466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 6 months</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2 142</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>2 708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 4 months</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15 587</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2651</td>
<td>18 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1 month</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>18935</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5 126</td>
<td>24 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodical imprisonment</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal punishment only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>38 257</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>8 583</td>
<td>47 270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JUSTICE: STATISTICS

I Awaiting-trial
1 137
7
268 729 3 146 15 114 22 466 24 272 59 710 46 877
585 868

JUSTICE: STATISTICS
Females

3 Other categories admitted during the year:
(i) State President's patients (ii) Mentally ill (other than (i)
(iii) Judgement debtors
(iv) Arrest
(v) People in detention:
(a) Sec 185 Criminal Procedure Act (b) Sec 12 (a) Internal Security Act
(c) Sec 12 (b) of the above Act (d) Sec 6 of the Terrorism Act
(e) Sec 10 (1) (a) of the Internal Security Act (1950)
(f) Regulation R252 (Ciskei)

White Africans Asians Coloureds Total
255 804 127 817 2003
2 8
1 3
6
13 23
4 8
6

Sub-total 258 822 127 834 2 041
Grand total 1 068 60 136 333 12 045 73 582

A comparison of the sentences imposed change: 2

Long-term prisoners (2 years or more)
6 months to 2 years Less than 6 months Other categories
in 1980/81 and 1981/82 shows little
1980/81
8,64% 10,64% 77,22% 3,5%
1981/82
8,64% 10,37% 76,96% 4,03%

In his annual report for the year ending June 1982, the then Commissioner of Police, General M C W Geldenhuys, provided statistics showing the increases and decreases in certain categories of crime.

Cases reported
Murder Robbery Rape Burglary Car theft Stock theft Serious assault
1980/81
7 434 39 816 15 816 120 194 36 558 19 906 123 310
1981/82
8 084 39 626 15 535 139 273 44 483 20 474 119 898

According to the annual report of the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, for the year ending June 1983, serious crime was on the increase. There were 1 210 178 offences reported in the 1982/1983 year as against 1 164 828 the previous year. There was an increase in the number of cases solved in 1982/1983 (59,26%) as compared to 1981/1982 (58,9%).

In reply to questions in parliament on rape, the Minister of Justice gave the following statistics for the period 1 July 1981 to 30 June 1982:

Prosecutions
Convictions 9 974
Death penalty 5 179
Suspended sentence 3
Partially suspended sentence 304

JUSTICE: STATISTICS
Juvenile rapes reported between 1 January and 31 December 1982 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victims</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White males</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black males</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2 061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost 9 000 prosecutions for rape were instituted between July 1982 and June 1983, the Minister of Justice said. Of these, there were 1940 convictions in the Transvaal, 644 in Natal, 331 in the OFS, and 1 809 in the Cape.

Mrs Mana Slabbert, a criminologist at the University of Cape Town, claimed that there was enough evidence to suggest that SA's system of justice generated more crime than it prevented. Citing the interim report of the Hoexter Commission (established in 1981) into the structure and functioning of the courts, she said that the administration of justice had reached breaking point because of staff shortages, that the possibility existed of accused persons being wrongfully convicted because facts of advantage to them were not brought to court, that 60% of commissioner's court cases showed irregularities, that prisons were unhygienic and unsafe, and that prisoners were bored and unproductive, which encouraged the formation of gangs. Mrs Slabbert said that the crime rate in SA, which was the highest in the western world, would be drastically reduced if conditions were improved.

Mr Harry Schwarz, a Progressive Federal Party (PFP) member of parliament (MP), warned that an increase in crime such as SA was witnessing was a precursor of 'revolutionary action and destabilisation'. He rejected as 'simplistic', the view that the increase in crime should be attributed to the economic crisis and said that there were people for whom crime had become a 'way of life'. Black citizens should not be allowed to feel that law enforcement agencies were unable to protect them against crime, Mr Schwarz added.

A report on 'Crime and the Community' by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) observed that 60% of the coloured and Indian community and 40% of the white community described sentences meted out to criminals as too light. Between one and two percent of all interviewees described sentences as too heavy.

The national chairman of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), Mr Justice R J Goldstone, said in his annual report that there was increasing support for community service as an alternative to imprisonment. The implementation of this alternative had been very
successful, particularly in Cape Town, he said. NICRO had emphasised that a solution to SA's crime problem depended on participation by citizens in crime prevention and the rehabilitation of offenders. Mr Justice Goldstone added that the public's over-dependence on judicial processes and prison resources had been a great source of concern to NICRO.7 Addressing a seminar in Kimberley on 'The over-crowding of Prisons' in November, Mr Justice G Viljoen, chairman of the SA Law Commission, said that the imposition of alternative sentences was being preached not only to bring about less crowded prisons but also as a move to a more enlightened punitive policy. The Minister of Justice asked delegates at the seminar to consider not only alternatives to prison sentences but also the shortening of prison sentences, the imposing of fines, and the giving of suspended sentences.s

Commenting on the rape statistics, Mrs Pat van Rensburg, co-founder of Rape Crisis, said that most rape cases went unreported. A representative of People Against Women Abuse (POWA) said that most women coming for coun-

JUSTICE: CRIME
selling after being raped did not report their cases to the police, because there was a lack of qualified sympathetic staff among police, court officials, and district surgeons.9

Crime in Densely Populated Areas
Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Strydom, head of Port Elizabeth's murder and robbery squad, said that in 1983 one person was murdered every 40 hours in the area. Some 202 people were murdered in the African areas, the lowest monthly figure being 33 (July) and the highest 44 (October). Eight gang murders, 15 armed robberies, and 17 rapes occurred. Some 80% of the cases had been solved, Lt-Col Strydom said. 10

However, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, refused to give details of violent crime reported at police stations in the Cape Peninsula in 1982. Mr le Grange told Mr Colin Eglin (PFP) that compiling the reply would involve 'too much time and effort'. Commenting that the citizens of Cape Town were seriously disturbed by the increasing incidence of crime in the Peninsula, Mr Eglin said that he believed they were entitled to know the facts and to judge whether crime prevention measures were sufficient.I

The following cases were reported at the Sandton, Bramley, Alexandra, Parkview, and Norwood police stations in northern Johannesburg in the period 1 January to 31 December 1982:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Trials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault</td>
<td>509</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent</td>
<td>229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housebreaking and theft</td>
<td>2052</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following cases were reported to police stations in Soweto in the period 1 January to 31 December 1982 (the number of cases brought to trial being given in parentheses):3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Trials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>1141(479)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rape 1116 (643)
Culpable homicide 297 (128)
Assault with intent 5897 (3811)

In Soweto 255 women were raped between January and March 1983, 81 of them teenagers 16 years and younger, according to Brigadier J J Victor, Chief of the Soweto Criminal Investigation Department (CID). In the first 11 months of the year, 1304 people were murdered in Soweto, and in the first half of December another 66 people were murdered. Statistics showed a steady increase in murders from July (101) to November (203). In 1982, 1275 people were murdered.5 The new Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee, who was appointed in May, said that crimes of violence such as murder were on the increase, while car thefts and burglaries had risen by 25% during the economic recession. In black areas there had been a marked increase in the number of murders, which police attributed to rising unemployment and alcohol abuse. During one week in September, an average of four people were murdered each day on the East Rand, and

JUSTICE: PUNISHMENT

in 10 days in September, 89 people were murdered in Soweto and the East Rand townships. These figures were much higher than cities such as Chicago and New York. East Rand community councillors emphasised the need for greater police protection in the area. 16 Mr A P Khumalo, chairman of Katlehong's community council, pointed out that for 235 000 residents in Katlehong there was only one police station. He also cited three other major factors that increased the crime rate: overcrowded and inadequate housing; a very large hostel population; and a significant influx to the townships from rural areas, where people could not make a living because of the drought (see chapter on Urban Africans). Editorials in the Sowetan referred to the changing nature of crime in the Soweto area. The higher incidence of violent crime was attributed to such socio-economic factors as overpopulation and 'economic pressures', while sociological problems were said to be created when men's hostels with poor living conditions were situated near family residential areas. 17

The PFP expressed concern about the increase of crime in Johannesburg's northern and central suburbs. Mr Alan Gadd, the Mayor of Johannesburg, appealed for a police station to be built in Yeoville, and for increased police patrols.11 Mr Schwarz said that more policemen should be released from border duty in the South African Defence Force (SADF) to cope with the growing crime problem in cities. 19

For the year June 1982 to July 1983 the Departments of Justice and of Law and Order had R898m allocated to them to combat crime. The South African Police (SAP) regularly undertook 'swoops' in cities, which resulted in large numbers of arrests. NICRO launched campaigns in the Transvaal to inform the public how to prevent or reduce crime in the townships, and in certain areas residents have taken the initiative to establish their own groups to deal with the problem. In Yeoville a 'crime committee' meets once a month with Hillbrow police, and in Atteridgeville township (Pretoria) residents have formed an 'anti-crime' organisation which
offers training to the community. The police have said that constant efforts are being made to involve members of the community in crime prevention.

**Punishment**

**Corporal punishment**

The following numbers of persons were sentenced to corporal punishment between 1 July 1982 and 30 June 1983:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured people</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>13300</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>24292</td>
<td>40004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, 654 people were sentenced to corporal punishment as well as imprisonment (9 whites, 178 coloured people, 8 Asians, and 459 Africans) and a further 795 to corporal punishment coupled with imprisonment that was suspended (50 whites, 189 coloured people, and 556 Africans).

**JUSTICE: PUNISHMENT**

**Capital Punishment**

The Minister of Justice said that the following numbers of people (all of them males) had been executed in 1982:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The crimes for which the death sentence was imposed in 1982 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murder</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murder and rape</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housebreaking with the intent to rob and robbery with aggravating circumstances</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murder and rape</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1983, two whites, 65 Africans, 23 coloured people (all males) were executed. The crimes committed were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murder</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robbery with aggravating circumstances</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murder and rape</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housebreaking with the intent to rob and robbery with aggravating circumstances</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murder and rape</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high treason</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thirty-two Africans, six coloured people, and two Asians (all males) had their sentences commuted in 1983.

In April, Mr Dave Dalling, a PFP MP, called for a commission of inquiry into capital punishment. Describing it as an 'archaic form of retribution', he said such a commission would be 'in the interests of the good name of the humane and enlightened administration of justice'. Responding to this, the Minister of Justice said he saw no need for a commission of inquiry, but that he would ensure that the application of capital punishment did not cause SA embarrassment overseas.

An international campaign was launched to urge the SA government to commute the death sentences of six African National Congress (ANC) members convicted of high treason. Messrs A Tsotsobe, J Shabangu, and D Moise were sentenced to death for attacks on the Booysens police station and on Sasol II in 1981. Three others, Messrs S Mogoerane, J Mosololi, and M Motaung, were sentenced to death for attacks on three police stations, a railway line, and an electrical station (see 1982 Survey p 236). The six appealed to the State President for clemency on the grounds that various white persons convicted of treason had not received the death sentence. The British Foreign Secretary, 50 US Congressmen and Senators, the governments of 10 European countries, and the UN Security Council called on the SA government to grant the men reprieves.

In SA, the 'Save the Six Committee', church leaders, the South African Institute of Race Relations, student and political organisations, and the Federation of SA Women all gave support to a plea for clemency. The death sentences on Messrs Tsotsobe, Shabangu, and Moise were commuted to life imprisonment three days before they were due to be hanged, but Messrs Mogoerane, Mosololi, and Motaung were executed on 9 June. Meetings planned for that morning were banned by the chief magistrate of Johannesburg. In Soweto, church bells pealed on the morning of the execution.

According to the Department of Justice, in December 1983 there were 189 people on death row in Pretoria Central Prison. Among these were 138 Africans, 41 coloured people, nine whites, and one Indian.

The following numbers of death sentences were commuted in each year from 1975 to 1982:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

South Africa's Legal System

The relationship between parliament and the courts was discussed during the year. Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies of the
University of the Witwatersrand, claimed that the government distrusted the courts despite the fact that it had appointed persons sympathetic to its own outlook to key judicial positions. The fact that courts were prohibited by legislation from pronouncing on a wide range of issues within the 'sensitive' areas of race relations and security was indication of this distrust. Moves to overrule court decisions would cause a loss of confidence in the courts' ability to resolve conflicts between individuals and government and would encourage the 'politically powerless' to seek redress outside the system. Discussing the new constitution, Professor Dugard argued that the distrust of the courts by the government was illustrated by its relegation thereof to an even more insignificant constitutional position by failing to use them as regulators of conflict (see chapter on The New Constitution). Mr Harry Schwarz of the PFP said that provision should be made in the new constitution to strengthen the role of the courts in order to protect the rights of the individual. Under a democratic government the individual should not look upon the law as a means to 'oppress' him but rather as a set of rules designed to safeguard him against the inroads of others into his legitimate rights.27 Mr Justice P J Rabie, the Chief Justice, said that the 'war of liberation' that SA's enemies claimed to be waging had resulted in significant inroads being made into the powers of the courts. Legislation eroding traditional freedoms had already left its

SOUTH AFRICA'S LEGAL SYSTEM
blemish on the courts.28 Mr Justice Rabie said.

The General Council of the Bar, representing more than 700 advocates, called for judges to be appointed by their professional peers and not solely by the government. A divorce between the executive arm of government and the judiciary would enhance the prestige and dignity of the Bench, it said.21 Mr Ken Andrew, a PFP MP, called for an urgent investigation into all commissioners' courts by the Hoexter Commission. He described the Langa commissioners' courts as 'disgraceful instruments of oppression' where African people could not expect a fair trial.3° He said that in 1982 the courts had handed down fines of R250 000 or imprisonment for 684 years 'for the crime of attempting to work and live together as a family' in the Cape Peninsula. Each person who appeared in the courts was dealt with in an average of five minutes and 22 seconds.3' Professor Dugard said that one-third of all Africans who appeared in SA courts appeared in the commissioners' courts and that procedures used in these courts did not enhance respect for the legal system.32 A study of the commissioners' courts in Johannesburg by Mr R Monama, research officer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said that the fact that different procedures were employed in magistrates' courts and commissioners' courts was 'disturbing' since it suggested that a lower standard of justice was maintained in commissioners' courts (see chapter on Urban Africans).3"

In October the Minister of Justice announced that the Hoexter Commission's recommendation that a small claims court be established had been accepted by the cabinet. The main features of the court were that only private individuals would be allowed to sue, that only claims and counter claims not larger than R750 would
be dealt with, that no legal representation of parties would be allowed, that no costs between parties would be awarded, and that there would generally be no appeal against decisions. The minister said that the 'people's court' would not be implemented immediately because it would have to fit into the larger pattern of the judicial system. Mr Harry Pitman, a PFP MP, the Consumer Council, and the Housewives League of SA welcomed the move and said it would help poorer people to establish their rights in civil cases. Mr Justice Rabie commented that the high cost of litigation made it possible for only a few people to have their disputes settled in court. The president of the Cape Law Society, Mr M Hales, said that the shortage of lawyers meant that millions of people were denied access to the legal system. There were 6 000 attorneys for a population of 29m. Mr Hales also called on 'prejudiced' local authorities to allow black lawyers to open offices near courts in white areas.

A Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) investigation into the role of the judiciary revealed a serious lack of control over the administrative powers of government authorities, and insufficient protection for ordinary citizens against unlawful action by government authorities. Professor J C Bekker of the University of Zululand, who conducted the survey, said that as long as courts were forced to adjudicate on the grounds of race they would be accused of having a 'racist' approach to the administration of justice. Because the courts were required to enforce laws such as the Immorality and Separate Amenities Acts, judicial officers such as magistrates were used as government agents to enforce administrative matters. Professor Bekker said that courts in SA should be given the right to decide on the validity of laws, and that the role of the courts should be reconsidered in the new constitutional dispensation.

At a meeting to mark International Human Rights Day on 10 December, some speakers argued that the concept of

SOUTH AFRICA'S LEGAL SYSTEM
human rights as accepted by the free world was impossible in SA because of the security laws and legislation which discriminated against citizens on the basis of race. The new constitution was also seen as a further step away from basic freedoms.

In August, Professor I Cotler of McGill University, Canada, and chairman of the International Human Rights Advocacy Centre, visited SA. He said his organisation aimed to fight human rights violations such as apartheid by providing assistance for specific cases, by making representations to other governments to pressurise the SA government, and by promoting laws in other countries to discourage co-operation with apartheid. The US-based Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law told a UN sub-committee that an investigation into the deaths of 59 detainees had claimed that the SA courts often ruled that key evidence was inadmissible, ignored facts indicating guilt, and found nobody to blame. Laws requiring magistrates to check on detainees contained so many 'whenever possible' clauses that they were often ignored, the committee claimed.

Legal Aid
The Minister of Justice gave the following statistics on legal aid for the period 1 April 1981 to 31 March 1982: total number of applications - 34 269; applications granted - 8 640; number of cases solved through mediation by representatives and officials of the Legal Aid Board, or by state or other institutions - 9 638; applications refused for reasons other than the means test - 3 906; cases refused in terms of the means test - 7 209; and cases still under consideration - 4 876.

Numerous groups have called for the government to allocate more funds to legal aid. Mr Peter Gastrow, a PFP MP, said that the government's allocation of R2,91m in 1983 suggested that it attached a low priority to legal aid. He also said that only a very small number of people who qualified for legal aid seemed to benefit from it. An editorial in De Rebus Procuratoriis, a legal journal, supported this view. It said a much greater awareness of the need for legal aid for unrepresented and 'unsophisticated' accused was required by those involved in the administration of justice. Many people did not use legal aid because they did not understand court procedure, and they were often convicted as a result. Mr Justice A J Milne, Judge President of Natal, said that 90% of the work done by the Legal Aid Board was for civil offences, although criminal offences far outweighed civil offences. He concluded that most black people were unaware of the existence of the Legal Aid Board, did not understand court procedure, and did not understand the need for legal assistance.

Makgotla

Over the years vigilante groups, or makgotla, have been formed in African townships to combat crime. They fine and flog people allegedly responsible for crime and have often been criticised for inflicting injuries. In January, Mr S Manthata, leader of 18 makgotla groups in Soweto, said that he had made repeated requests to the Minister of Law and Order for permission for the makgotla to patrol the townships. These requests had been refused. He attributed the low crime rate during the new-year period to the 'diligent' patrols of the makgotla. In February, the head of police in Soweto, Brigadier D J J Jacobs, said that the makgotla would have to register as police reservists if they wanted to apply for firearms.

POLICE

Samuel Dlamini, Zondi branch makgotla leader, said that members of the makgotla were often involved in skirmishes with Soweto residents, making firearms essential. Mr David Thebehali, the then chairman of the Soweto Community Council, said that the council had decided that the makgotla should cease to operate in Soweto. Brigadier Jacobs welcomed this, but Mr Manthata said that the council was trying to win support for forthcoming elections, because it was not recognised by the people.

Writing in the Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa, Dr J Hund of the University of Cape Town and Miss Malebo Koturammopo of the University of SA said that the makgotla were viewed as a form of popular justice. A survey in Mamelodi, Pretoria, showed that 79% of the residents saw vigilante groups (such as the makgotla) as the best solution to the problem of violent crime in the community. Other informal neighbourhood networks had also been set up.
for the protection of property. Dr Hund and Miss Koturammopo said that the rise of the makgotla in the township had come about because the official machinery for the administration of justice had failed to satisfy the community's sense of justice. The residents' perception of the police was that they accepted bribes and acted in a lawless and aggressive manner, while their main function was to protect state property, the researchers claimed. They pointed out that while there was much to be said in favour of the makgotla, they were, like the jury system, open to abuse.47

Police

The Police Amendment Act, No 24 of 1983, empowered the police to search without warrant any vehicle and to seize certain articles which might be found in or attached to it, at roadblocks set up more than 10km from the country's borders (previously this right existed only within 10km of a border).

Personnel

The authorised South African Police (SAP) complement for 1982 was 23531 whites and 20469 blacks, while the actual complement was 18302 whites and 18824 blacks. During the year 3392 whites, 577 coloured people, 2037 Africans, and 245 Indians joined, and 2038 whites, 204 coloured people, 1129 Africans, and 72 Indians left the SAP. In the same year 2537 people joined the police reserve, while 1080 reservists retired. Eight white and 24 black policemen lost their lives in the execution of their duties and 74 were seriously injured. The Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said that 600 policemen had died in the course of their duties during the last 70 years.

Responding to concern expressed by opposition parties at the increase in crime, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced that the police force was to be increased from 43000 to about 69000 in the next few years.49 He said recruiting had shown a marked improvement during 1982, the intake being 3600 higher than in 1981. Eighteen coloured women had completed their police training by June 1982 and a further 37 were selected for training. Seventeen Indian women were selected for training at the Police Training College in Durban. Mrs Indira Chetty, who joined the police in May 1982, became the first Indian woman to be promoted to the rank of lieutenant, in June. In July, the first

POLICE CONDUCT

group of African policewomen began their training at Hammanskraal. Brigadier D Botha, commanding officer of the women's force, said that because of insufficient training facilities, only 20 women had been enrolled.1 The minister refused to disclose police salaries in parliament but said that white, coloured and Indian, and African constables' salaries had been increased by 14%, 17.23%, and 18.31% respectively in 1982, and those of sergeants by 16.7%, 15.37%, and 16.9% respectively.52 In October Mr Le Grange announced the promotion of the first coloured and Indian policemen to the rank of colonel. They were Lieutenant-Colonel W E Carstens, station commander at Paarl East, and Lieutenant-Colonel M Chetty, commander of the training college for Indians at Chatsworth. Mr Le Grange said that young people were applying 'in great numbers' to the SAP and that coloured policemen had almost reached parity in salaries with their white
colleagues up to the rank of major, while there was absolute parity from the rank of lieutenant colonel upwards.53

In May, it was announced that the Commissioner of Police, General Geldenhuys, was retiring and that General P J Coetzee, head of the security police, would succeed him.54 General Coetzee described the ANC as the 'opposition' in the country, and said that the fight against it depended on how successfully the SAP penetrated its 'support structures'. He saw as his biggest crime problem the high rate of car theft, and said that he wanted to modernise crime prevention and detection methods. General Coetzee said that the SAP needed 6 874 recruits.5

Police Conduct

According to government statistics, the following numbers of adults and juveniles were shot and killed or wounded by the SAP in the execution of their duties in 1982 and 1983 (the figures in parentheses denoting those killed or wounded while allegedly attempting to escape arrest):56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>Juveniles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>10 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>17(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>150(94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>4(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>- (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>29(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>169 (99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those killed by the police in 1983, 111 were found to be armed, South African Railways Police shot and killed 14 persons, and wounded 47 others in the performance of their duties. Four persons were shot dead and another four injured at road blocks in 1983.

POLICE CONDUCT

Three persons were shot and killed by the police at roadblocks in 1982 and four seriously injured. During that year, 886 731 cars were searched in roadblocks and 3 700 people arrested for serious offences. Items confiscated included 68 firearms, 288 stolen vehicles, 13 698kg of dagga, and 450 dozen bottles of illicit beer. The Minister of Law and Order said that effective combatting of crime, terrorism, and other threats against public order and internal security would be impossible without roadblocks, whose manning during the year involved 72 000 policemen.7

In 1982 Mr D Somes, a former detective-sergeant in the SAP, was charged with the murders of four African prisoners who were in his custody (see 1982 Survey p 214). Mr Somes fled to Britain while on bail. The SAP negotiated with the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office to get an extradition order for Mr Somes, who
held both British and SA nationality. However, the UK directorate of public prosecutions turned down the request, because no formal extradition agreement existed between SA and Britain. A charge of murder against Mr Somes was withdrawn in London's Bow Street court in January because there were no witnesses against him.58

In 1982, 286 policemen were convicted of crimes. Among these, 55 white and 139 black members of the SAP were convicted of common assault, 10 white and 31 black members of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and five white and one black policeman of culpable homicide.59 In 1983, 189 policemen were convicted of common assault, 40 of assault with intent to grievous bodily harm, 14 of culpable homicide, and three of murder. In the first seven months of 1983, 502 people were shot, 140 fatally, by the SAP. Mr Harry Pitman, Progressive Federal Party (PFP) spokesman for law and order, described these figures as 'disgraceful'. In 1982 an average of 15 people were killed by police each month, while statistics for 1983 showed an increase of 25% over 1982. Mr Pitman said that since the Minister of Law and Order had issued an order to the police in March to exercise restraint, more people had been shot by them. Commenting on the deaths of two policemen in Durban and Boksburg in shootouts with alleged criminals, Mr Le Grange said that those who campaigned for stricter control over the use of firearms should take note of the tragic circumstances in which the two policemen died.60

Police conduct was severely criticised on several occasions in 1983. Mr Pitman said that the minister had to carry some of the moral responsibility for the fatal shooting in February of Mr B Eudey of Pietermaritzburg by Constable M Barnard, who mistook the sound of Mr Eudey's vehicle backfiring for a gunshot and opened fire. Constable Barnard was later found guilty of culpable homicide, fined R3 000, and given a suspended prison sentence of three years. In March, Warrant-Officer Stephanus Swanepoel fatally wounded Mr K Duvenhage when he allegedly mistook him for a car thief and shot at him. In June, WO Swanepoel was convicted of culpable homicide and given a three-year prison sentence suspended for five years. He was given leave to appeal. After the deaths of Messrs Eudey and Duvenhage, the PFP and the New Republic Party (NRP) called for a commission of inquiry into police regulations on the use of firearms. Mr Le Grange said that the careful use of arms was drilled into trainee policemen and at other levels as well. While the use of arms was a serious matter in the police force, the number of shootings was a small percentage in relation to the amount of crime in the country.61 Speaking on the Duvenhage case, he said that there was no need to suspend the policeman involved because there was no evidence of 'dishonesty, malice, or intent to kill an innocent man'.62 In March, Mr Le Grange announced

POLICE CONDUCT

that all police patrol vehicles would have positive identification and that 'police would have to identify themselves before using any force'. Opposition parties welcomed the move and said that it was long overdue.63
In April, Mr Saul Mkhize, a prominent community leader, was shot dead by police at a meeting in Driefontein to protest against the forced removal of residents from the area. A police statement said that a crowd of 500 Africans attacked two policemen who tried to disperse the meeting. Eyewitnesses said that Mr Mkhize had asked the crowd to disperse and that the shots had been fired after most of the crowd had dispersed. Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokeswoman for justice and prisons, said that the police version of the shooting was 'totally unacceptable'. Describing Mr Mkhize as 'a moderate', she attacked Mr Le Grange's 'misplaced loyalty in his men which prevented him from condemning their outrageous action'.6 Mr Mkhize's death was condemned both in SA and internationally. Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that the SA government 'deeply regretted' such incidents. In May police opened a murder docket into the death of Mr Mkhize and a policeman, Mr Johannes Nienaber, appeared in court in November on a charge of murder (see chapter on African Removals).

Allegations of police brutality in Lamontville and Chesterville, Durban, were made by the press and members of the PFP. Residents alleged that the police action was related to protests against rent increases in the townships. The minister challenged the PFP to come forward with proof in support of the allegations. In August 22 affidavits were handed to the minister by Mr Peter Gastrow (PFP). They contained allegations of assault with batons and whips, and of the shooting of people with metal pellets. It was also alleged that two infants had died as a result of excessive exposure to tear-gas, but Mr Le Grange said that a postmortem examination had showed that both infants had died of natural causes. Mr Pitman pointed out that there were no private doctors in attendance at the post mortem, however.65 Mr Gastrow accused the minister of 'not doing his job properly' because he refused to appoint an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the complaints. He also accused Mr Le Grange of 'hiding behind' section 27 of the Police Act by keeping the press under constant threat of legal action if it published details of the affidavits. Under section 27 of the Police Act it is an offence to publish untruths about police activities. 66 In September, 33 people filed claims for damages against the minister for injuries sustained during the unrest in Lamontville and Chesterville.

Several people died while in police custody. In March Mr S Mndawe was found dead in a cell in Nelspruit police station after apparently hanging himself. In May, two residents of Driefontein, Mr T Manana and Mr Z Sibanyoni, who were being held in the Dirkiesdorp police station on an allegation of stock theft, died in custody. The minister said that a pathologist had found that Mr Manana's death was consistent with asphyxia 'probably due to electrocution'. A police docket was sent to the Attorney-General.67 In November Mrs Manana, widow of Mr Manana, sued the minister for R115 000 for loss of support for her seven children.68 In July, a white policeman was suspended following the death of Mr P Malatji shortly after his arrest. Mr Malatji, who was held at Protea police station in Soweto, died of a bullet wound in his head (see chapter on Security Matters).69 In November, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal ordered an investigation into the death of a taxi driver, Mr V Mlambo of Mamelodi, who was shot after a
scuffle with a policeman when he was reprimanded by policemen for not parking his car properly.70

POLICE CONDUCT
Various allegations of maltreatment were made in criminal and civil trials. In October, five out of seven policemen were acquitted on charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm in the Pietermaritzburg regional court. The charges occurred after the three policemen allegedly assaulted three suspects in the investigation of a robbery. The other two policemen had their case remanded pending further investigation. In November, in the Protea regional court in Soweto, a police constable was acquitted on a charge that he had assaulted a man being held in connection with a charge of attempted murder. The magistrate ruled that since there were no other witnesses, there were insufficient grounds to convict.71

In October, Mr Marais Steyn, SA Ambassador to Britain, in an address to the Conservative Party's centenary conference in London, said that 'when a few people are shot in Soweto' this receives publicity, but that the 'world ignored what SA was doing for its people'.72

Claims against the police
Compensation was paid as follows by the police in 1982 and 1983: Assaults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Assaul ts</th>
<th>Unlawful arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>418 914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>4 922 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>186 094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>160 701</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was ordered to pay R8 049 to Mr M Hati and Mr M Qhobela of Vereeniging after an appeal against the dismissal of their claim for damages after being assaulted by four policemen in 1977.73 Other successful claims included R1 700 and R1 750 awarded to Mr Merlin Jack and Mr N Boshiego, respectively, for wrongful arrest and assault; R4 200 to the fathers of four pupils at the Riverlea senior secondary school for the pain and suffering inflicted on their children when police teargassed and assaulted them during a demonstration at their school in 1981; and R72 000 to a Mozambican citizen, Mr J Khoza, after he was shot in the back by police in February 1982.74 Other claims instituted against the minister were still pending at the end of the year. These included claims for R100 000 by the family of Mr Michael Williams of Western Township, Johannesburg, following his shooting by police on the doorstep of his house on 31 December 1982; R10 000 by Paris Mkhize for assault by police at Piet Retief (Paris is the teenage son of Mr Saul Mkhize, who was himself killed by a policeman during a protest meeting); R375 000 by Mrs 0 Lutchman for loss of support after police shot her husband in August 1982; and claims for amounts of up to R1 500 each by 33 residents of Lamontville and Chesterville for alleged assault and damage to their property by police during unrest in these townships.

In 1979, Mr Dan Montsitsi, former president of the Soweto students' representative council, claimed R6 750 from the Minister of Police and subsequently from the Minister of Law and Order for assaults in detention
between June 1977 and July 1978. The Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court ruled that he could not proceed with his claims because they had been lodged more than six months after the event. Mr Montsitsi argued on appeal that it had been impossible for him to bring them any earlier because he was being held incommunicado under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. In November the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court ruled that Mr Montsitsi could proceed with his claim.7"

PRISONS

Population

According to the 1981/82 report of the Department of Justice, the prisons service faced an overpopulation problem of 22%. On 30 June 1982 there were 91 092 prisoners in custody, while approved accommodation existed for 74 423 prisoners. This shortage was to be alleviated by the completion of new prisons in Durban, Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, to accommodate a further 10 860 prisoners. The Diepkloof prison outside Johannesburg, which opened in January, was overpopulated by 1 400 by April.76 The Minister of Justice, Mr H J (Kobie) Coetsee, said that in March 1983 the average daily prison population was 106 534, and that this high figure could be attributed to an increase in petty crime because of the economic recession. He maintained that prison overpopulation was a world-wide phenomenon, and revealed that a special departmental working group had been set up to investigate the problem. Some R12m had been spent on the establishment and renovation of prisons in the past few years, he said. All SA prisons met the minimum conditions laid down by the first United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in 1955, and subsequent conditions, he said.77 Mr Coetsee said that some prison farms which supplied rations to prisoners were seriously affected by the drought and might have to close, resulting in further overcrowding at other prisons.78 Speaking to the East Rand branch of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, said that in September there was an overpopulation of 36% in SA prisons. The daily prison population in the last three months had been 106 000, he said. Nearly 15000 awaiting-trial prisoners were in custody daily, more than 51000 prisoners had been released on parole during 1982, and each prisoner cost the state R6,52 per day, he added. The Minister of Justice said that SA prisons were 'mildly overcrowded' in 1983, with an average daily population in December of 105 509 against a capacity of 74 378.

In July there were 1 227 sentenced juveniles under the age of 18 and 743 unsentenced juveniles in prisons.

Personnel

The 1981/82 report of the Department of Justice noted a staff gain of 853 against a gain of only eight in the previous year. Terminations of service decreased by 486 in the same period, and there was an increase of 389 in the number of appointments. The staff turnover with regard to white members was the lowest in the past six years. The report observed that the increase in the number of
appointments and the decrease in the number of terminations of service was related to the recession (which meant that there was a smaller loss of personnel to the private sector). Salary adjustments which came into effect from 1 April 1982 also helped reduce the loss. Of a total of 2 341 people recruited into the prisons service there were 944 white men, 430 white women, 312 coloured/Asian men, 19 coloured/Asian women, 594 African men, and 42 African women. The low number of black women recruited was attributed to the limited number of vacancies in the prison service. In 1983, 15 prison warders were seriously injured by prisoners.

Speaking at a passing-out parade of 285 probationary warders at Zonderwater, Mr J P J Coetzer, Director-General of Justice, said that the prisons service

PRISON CONDITIONS
offered equal opportunities for all its members. He emphasised that the service was constantly being watched by the community and the media. Negative incidents in prisons were therefore likely to be given wide coverage in SA and abroad.79 In June the Commissioner of Prisons, Lieutenant-General J F Otto, announced the creation of a prison service reserve force to ensure that the prisons service could rely on its trained manpower resources in emergency situations without making a demand on the manpower of other services. Lt-Gen Otto said that there was a need to expand the service in order to lower the staff-prisoner ratio.8° In October, Lt-Gen Otto died, and Lt-Gen W H Willemse was appointed acting commissioner.

The Department of Justice report said that sound relations and close liaison existed between the SA prisons service and the prisons services of the 'independent and national states'. Some 274 members of the prisons services of these states were receiving formal training in the SA prisons service, while 21 members of the SA prisons service were employed in the independent states as seconded technical/administrative personnel.81

Conditions
Sixteen unsentenced prisoners died in prison between July 1981 and June 1982. Of the 16, 11 died of natural causes, two as a result of assaults by fellow prisoners, one through suicide, and two as a result of injury before admission. Of the 183 sentenced prisoners who died in prisons, seven committed suicide, while 153 died of natural causes, 11 as a result of assault by fellow prisoners, one after an alleged assault by members of the prisons service, five as a result of accidents, one from poison allegedly taken before arrest, two after being shot while allegedly attempting to escape, one because of post-operative complications, one in a fire, and one because of an injury before admission.82 In 1982, 11 prison warders were seriously injured by prisoners and 23 prisoners killed by fellow prisoners.83 In 1983, 167 prisoners died of natural causes, while 19 were killed by fellow prisoners.

Statistics released by the prisons service in September showed that during the year reviewed up to 30 June 1980 the number of escapes was 1598. In the year up to June 1981, it was 1371, and in the year up to June 1982, 1256. Lt-Gen Otto said that although the number of escapes was decreasing, the actions of prisoners
during and after escape were becoming increasingly violent. According to the 1981/82 report of the prisons service the number of escapes was 8.3% lower than the previous year. The Minister of Justice said that this was the lowest figure recorded in the last 13 year. In the first six months of 1983, 520 prisoners escaped from prisons. Of these, 77 escaped from inside jail, 408 from outside work-teams, 22 from hospitals, and 13 during transfers. In the first four months of 1983, 49 prisoners escaped from the new Diepkloof prison outside Johannesburg. A spokesman for the prisons service said this could be attributed to 'possible structural shortcomings' in the jail. New security measures had been introduced since the escapes and an inquiry into security at the prison had been held. Lt-Gen Otto, writing in Nexus, a prisons service journal, said that prisons were not 'rehabilitation factories' where the shortcomings of society could be put right. He said that prisons still had their place in society, and that his approach to the problems in prisons was one of compassion, rather than 'emotive pity' or 'sickly humanism'.

In March, the prisons service launched an investigation into the death of an awaiting-trial prisoner, Ms L Mareme, a diabetic, who died eight days after her arrest. Relatives made repeated attempts to visit her in hospital before her death but were refused entry. They claimed that if she had had adequate treatment she would not have died.

In June, Mr S Makau, a prisoner at Leeuwkop maximum security prison, gave evidence about the death of a cellmate. He said that he would not reveal the names of prison gang members unless he was moved to another prison, as he feared for his life. Referring to gang rivalry in prison, Mr Makau said that new prisoners were told by the prison authorities to decide which of five gangs they wanted to join. He joined a gang 'for protection', he said. Nineteen prisoners in Leeuwkop were charged with culpable homicide and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, but in October they were acquitted. A report published by Mr Nicholas Haysom, research officer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, showed that prison gangs had their roots in the late 19th century. Mr Haysom said that each gang had a specific role in the prison structure: some specialised in combat, others in theft and organising escapes. Punishment by gangs took the form of assaults, and sometimes death. Gangs were not an extension of street gangs but a prison-based phenomenon. Communal cells encouraged gang formation, Mr Haysom claimed. A prisons service statement said that prisoners were warned against joining gangs, and that prisoners who were intimidated into joining could be offered protection against them.

The Barberton prison

In August, eight warders from the Barberton prison, four of them white and four African, were charged with three counts of murder and 34 of assault. It was alleged that they repeatedly beat inmates with rubber truncheons while they were pushing wheelbarrows laden with gravel on 29 December 1982 in a temperature of 35°C. Other allegations included assaults on 28 December at Durban's Point Prison, a 1 000km trip in a prison truck from Durban without food or water and
the prisoners shackled in pairs, and vicious assaults by plain-clothes warders on their arrival at Barberton.

Dr W Pretorius, Barberton district surgeon, giving evidence before Mr Justice D Vermooten in the Nelspruit circuit court, said that on 30 December he was called to the hospital section of the Barberton prison farm, where he found three dead men and 34 others who had been seriously assaulted. He said that the marks on prisoners' bodies could have been caused by rubber truncheons, the effect of which could be traumatic shock resulting in heart failure.90

At the start of the trial, the 34 complainants refused to give evidence unless they were transferred to other prisons. They said they feared reprisals by prison staff at the Barberton and Nelspruit prisons. The court and the 34 complainants were transferred to Witbank. The complainants gave evidence of systematic assaults until prisoners were unconscious, and inhumane treatment such as deprivation of water. The complainants also described seeing the three prisoners, Messrs M Khumalo, E Makhatini, and M Xaba, being beaten to death while crying out for assistance. They further alleged that it was the white and not the black warders who assaulted them. During the trial two witnesses claimed that threats by warders against witnesses had spread from the Barberton to the Witbank prison and that witnesses were being deprived of food.91

The eight warders, all of whom pleaded not guilty to the charges, chose not to testify. A defence witness said that prisoners had been forced by prison gang leaders to tell the court that warders had murdered the three prisoners. Prisons service officials testified that instructions about heat illness and prison work in extreme heat conditions had been issued only in the past four months.

Mr Justice Vermooten found the four white warders and two of the African warders guilty of common assault and of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm. The two other African warders were acquitted. The warder in charge, Mr L Smit, was sentenced to an effective eight years' imprisonment, Messrs C Horn, J Stoltz, and B van Dyk to varying sentences between two and five years, and the African warders, Messrs W Kabyane and J Madonsela, to three and a half and one year respectively. Mr Justice Vermooten admonished the six warders for abusing their authority and said that they had 'dragged the name of the prisons service through the mud'.92 An application for leave to appeal against all sentences was refused.

In August, three more prisoners died at the Barberton prison, in what was officially described as a 'brawl'. In September one prisoner died after being beaten with a stick by a warder while allegedly trying to escape, and four other prisoners were shot dead by warders after the warders were allegedly attacked by them. A statement issued by the Minister of Justice said that he and the Acting Commissioner of Prisons, Lt-Gen W H Willemse, would personally investigate these latest incidents. The minister said that the investigation would focus on prison gangs, threats, intimidation, and overcrowding, among other matters.

Referring to the Barberton prison trial, the minister described the incidents as 'unfortunate' and said that it was government policy to maintain 'civilised values
and standards' at all times in the treatment of prisoners.93 A few days later, the minister said that the 'bad elements' who were hardened and dangerous criminals had been transferred to another prison. Mrs Helen Suzman, opposition spokeswoman for justice and prisons, called for a judicial inquiry into prison conditions.

In November, letters of demand from 28 prisoners of the Barberton prison were served on the Minister of Justice and the former acting head of the prison, Lieutenant J W Niemand. The letters claimed almost R1m on behalf of the prisoners for injuries, pain and suffering, and medical costs, and blamed the prisons service for 'aggravating factors' which had increased their suffering.94 In December, the Minister of Justice, said that the prisons service 'had nothing to hide' and that it was unfortunate that prisons could not be opened to the general public. SA was kept informed of the activities of the prisons service through the media, which were 'responsible and objective'.

Political Prisoners

On 28 February 1983 there were 286 prisoners on Robben Island serving sentences for crimes committed against the security of the state. Of these, 40 were serving life sentences. None of them was under 18. Some 264 people sentenced for other crimes were also imprisoned on the island. The Minister of Justice said that although his department was persevering with plans to close the Robben Island prison, no fixed date had been set for this. Prisoners from Robben Island would be transferred to different prisons on the mainland.95 He said that the prison service was aware of Robben Island's cultural and historical value and of the role it had played in nature conservation. Emphasising that it would be several years

POLITICAL PRISONERS

before the South African Defence Force (SADF) took control of the island, the minister said that when it did, it would consult the Department of Environment Affairs on the conservation of plant, marine, and animal life.96 Dr David Rabkin, a former political prisoner who obtained a three-year remission on his 10-year sentence and was released in December, alleged that it was 'nonsense' for the government to say that political prisoners were treated like other prisoners. The security police were taking control of the prison life of 'political prisoners', he claimed. Dr Rabkin also claimed that a senior SA prison official had told him that there had been an 'unprecedented' increase in the intervention by the security police in the cases of political prisoners during the past few years. Dr Rabkin claimed that Father Timothy Stanton, who was jailed for refusing to give state evidence and who was in his late sixties and suffered from arthritis and a crippled hip, was brought to prison in leg-irons. Brigadier Hennie Botha, chief liaison officer for the prisons service, denied allegations that treatment of political prisoners was different from that of others. He also denied that 'other elements' were allowed to interfere in the administration of the prisons service.97 Several other political prisoners were released in 1983. Among them were Messrs Raymond Suttner, Thami Mazwai, Carter Seleke, Sipho Somacele Thabo Ndabeni, and Dan Montsitsi, a former president of the banned Soweto students'
representative council. The SA Council of Churches (SACC) claimed that only five percent of released political prisoners managed to get employment. An SACC spokesman, Mr Tom Manthata, claimed that many political prisoners were highly motivated, and much better educated than when they were jailed. Former political prisoners claimed that they were being victimised by employers by not being offered jobs because of their imprisonment.98

Complaints about the conditions of incarceration of Mr Nelson Mandela were heard before the United Nations human rights commission. It was claimed that Mr Mandela, who had been moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town, was sharing a cell with five others, which made it difficult for him to pursue his studies. He had also expressed concern to his wife about his conditions (eg damp in his cell). The Mandela family believed that he had been moved from Robben Island to increase the severity of his punishment. Denying this, a prisons service spokesman said that Mr Mandela's treatment and incarceration conditions did not differ from those of any other prisoner.99 After receiving information that the conditions at Pollsmoor were unsatisfactory, Mrs Suzman visited Mr Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, and four other prisoners in July. She noted that Pollsmoor prison had fewer facilities than Robben Island (eg sports facilities), and that it did not have a library.0(1 Between 9 March and 22 March, about a third of the prisoners at Pollsmoor went on a hunger strike. The Minister of Justice said the strike was called to protest against the system of privileges for individuals.101 Throughout the year calls were made by overseas governments and groups for the release of Mr Mandela. In March more than 4 000 foreign personalities signed a declaration to this effect. In SA, the Transvaal Release Mandela Committee was established in August to call for the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners. Branches in Natal and the eastern Cape were already in existence. Two rallies planned for September by the Transvaal RMC were banned. A rally was held in Pietersburg in October. A spokesman for the committee said that 'SA would not experience democracy until all political prisoners were released'. 102

The conference of the SACC called for the release of all political pris-
JUSTICE, POLICE, AND PRISONS
50 Commissioner of Police Report op cit
5 Rand Daily Mail 26 April 12 Hansard 5 Q cols 470-1
3 Star 22 October m Natal Witness 3 April 55 Star 11 June 56 Hansard 4 Q cols
350-352, Hansard 3 0 cols 169-170, 1984 57 Eastern Province Herald 4 March
8 Rand Daily Mail 27 January 59 Star 29 April 60 Rand Daily Mail 31 August,
Hansard 2 Q col 95, 1984, Hansard 2 Q cols 105-6,1984 61 Natal Mercury 9
March 62 Rand Daily Mail 9 March
6 Eastern Province Herald 16 March
6 Star 17 April 65 Star 3 August
6 Argus 17 August 67 Star 7 September
6 Rand Daily Mail 5 November 69 Diamond Fields Advertiser 14 July
7 Sowetan 2 November 71 Sunday Times 20 November 2 Rand Daily Mail 4
October I Rand Daily Mail 31 March, Hansard 9 Q col 867
7 Rand Daily Mail 27 September 75 Star 26 November 76 Star 21 April I Hansard
6 Q col 614
1 Rand Daily Mail 28 April I Rand Daily Mail 8 June 11 Friend 9 June 61
Department of Justice report op cit 82 Ibid
83 Hansard 12 Q col 1096 84 Sunday Express 18 September 85 Star 26 April
6 Rand Daily Mail 5 April 81 Star 12 April I Rand Daily Mail 8 June 89 Post5
November I6 Rand Daily Mail 19 August 91 Rand Daily Mail 13 September 92
Star 29 September 93 Rand Daily Mail 2 October I Rand Daily Mail 23
November 91 Hansard 18 Q col 1515 9 Hansard 18 Q col 1531 97 Citizen 6
December 96 City Press 10 October 99 Star 15 June 166 Diamond Fields
Advertiser 4 July 161 Rand Daily Mail 14 April 162 Sowetan 2 September 103
Star 24 June
SECURITY MATTERS

Intelligence Matters
In September, the Director-General of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Dr Neil Barnard, asked for an extension of the capabilities of the NIS, so that it did not lag behind other services in the world. He said the future of SA was partly dependent on the success of the intelligence service.

At his trial in London on charges of stealing documents from the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) offices, Mr Bertil Wedin, a Swede, claimed that he had been employed by Major Craig Williamson of the SA security police to provide information on various anti-apartheid organisations. He said that he operated through a company set up by Major Williamson called the African Aviation Company, whose London representative was Mr Peter Caselton. Mr Caselton was convicted in 1982 on similar charges in connection with the PAC. Mr Wedin was acquitted after the judge asked the jury not to consider important police evidence because of improper police interrogation of him. In May the British government ordered a search for alleged SA spies who had stolen confidential documents from the offices of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in London.

Zimbabwe's Minister of State Security, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, claimed that the SA government had offered to exchange 115 Angolan prisoners and 'one Soviet spy' for two SA 'agents', Mr Colin Evans and Mr Phillip Hartlebury, who had been acquitted on charges of being foreign agents and illegally possessing arms in Zimbabwe, but who had been detained indefinitely under Zimbabwe's security laws. Mr Munangagwa quoted confessions by Messrs Evans and Hartlebury to the effect that they had spied for SA and were involved in the murder of the African National Congress (ANC) Zimbabwe representative, Mr Joe Gqabi, in August 1981. The confessions had been ruled inadmissible by a magistrate because they had been obtained under duress. The SA government refused to comment.

Security policemen who had infiltrated various organisations featured prominently as key witnesses in several security trials. Warrant-Officer Karl Edwards, who gave evidence in the trial for high treason of the Rev Cedric Mayson, claimed to have infiltrated the National Union of SA Students (NUSAS) in 1976 and the ANC in 1977 and to have set up an ANC courier network and an escape route between SA and Botswana. In the trial of Mr Karl Niehaus and Miss Johanna Lourens on charges of high treason, Warrant-Officer Robert Whitecross, who had shared a house with the accused and assisted Mr Niehaus in various illegal activities, said that he had been recruited by Major Williamson in April 1980. In December, Mr Alf James, secretary of the students' representative council (SRC) at the University of the Witwatersrand, claimed that he had been approached to provide information on radical students in return for large sums of money. Student leaders at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Cape Town, and Natal called on university authorities to make new students sign state-
ments that they would not pass on information to the NIS, security police, or military intelligence.'

Banning of People

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said that in February 61 people were restricted under the Internal Security Act. Of these, 16 had left SA. At the end of December there were 12 people restricted under the Internal Security Act.

In November 1982, a petition was circulated calling on the government to lift the banning order on Dr Beyers Naudé, former director of the proscribed Christian Institute. By March it had received the support of 96 prominent people representing churches, the business community, and academic institutions throughout SA. The petition collected more than 2 000 other signatures.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, banned wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, was raided by the security police in Brandfort in January, shortly before a visit by two Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MPs, Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Peter Soal. The police confiscated books, posters, and other documents. Mrs Suzman condemned the raid and said that Mrs Mandela was subject to continuous harassment.

In March a Johannesburg attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, pleaded guilty to breaking her banning order in July 1982 by leaving the magisterial district of Johannesburg and going to Durban. Mrs Jana said that she had gone to visit her sick mother. She was given a suspended five-year sentence. In July Mr Peter Jones pleaded guilty to attending a social gathering in contravention of his order. Mr Jones said he had not intended to attend the party, but 'found it impossible not to join in the food and drinks'. Mr Jones's banning order expired in July and in August sentence on him was postponed for three years.

In May it was suggested that the government might be 'easing up' on banning orders in response to criticism and pressure from western countries. It was observed that no person had been banned since October 1982, that 15 people whose banning orders had lapsed in the past year had not had them renewed, and that several newly-released political prisoners had not been banned, as had previously been a normal occurrence.

Section 73 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, provided for all banning orders to continue for 12 months from July 1982, during which period they would be reviewed, and after which they would be renewed or allowed to lapse. In July 1983, of the 66 people under restriction, only 10 had their orders reimposed. They were: Mrs F Mswayne, whose banning was to run to 30 June 1985; Messrs M Madlingozi and D Makhanda (31 March 1986); Messrs B Cekisani, M Tsebu, I Nathaniel, and A Cassiem (31 June 1986); Mr J Issel (31 July 1986); and Mr Rowley Arenstein and Mrs Winnie Mandela (30 June 1988). All those rebanned were given 14 days within which to make representations to the government to give reasons as to why they should not be banned. Even if they did not do this, in terms of the Internal Security Act their cases would be automatically reviewed after a year. Sources close to Mrs Mandela said that she would not apply for a review of her banning order, since this would lend legitimacy to the government's system of banning and credibility to the review.
board. Messrs Makhanda, Madlingozi, and Cekisani and Mrs Mswane were also said to have adopted this position. 14
Among the people whose banning orders were not reimposed were: Mrs Al-
RRS-T

BANNING OF PEOPLE
bertina Sisulu (wife of ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu), who was serving her fourth banning order and had been restricted for 15 years; Dr Mamphele Ramphele, who had been banned and banished to the Lenyenye township, east of Tzaneen; Mr Andrew Boraine, former president of the National Union of SA Students (NUSAS); Messrs Phil Mtimkulu and Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, both journalists; Mr Kenneth Rachidi, a black consciousness leader; Ms Sheila Weinberg, a member of a politically active family; Messrs M J Naidoo, Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpersad, Pravin Gordhan, and A S Chetty, all officials of the Natal Indian Congress; Professor Fatima Meer, a Natal academic; and Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, secretary-general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference. Some of those now free to speak out criticised the system which had permitted their ‘incarceration’ with no recourse to the law and condemned the continuation of the restrictions on the ten other people. Many said they would continue with their previous political activity against the ‘injustices of apartheid’.
Some observers linked the lifting of the banning orders to the American policy of 'constructive engagement'. Mr Alan Romberg, a spokesman for the US state department, said that the lifting of the banning orders was a victory for those in SA working to strengthen the rule of law. Describing the banning system as ‘a fundamental violation of the rule of law’, he said that those who were accused of a crime should be charged and allowed to defend themselves through recourse to the judicial system. Those who remained banned, such as Mrs Mandela, created great concern.
In August, Mr Mordecai Tatsa, who had been in detention since 1979, was released, and placed under a banning and house-arrest order for three years. Mr Tatsa's order restricts him to Soweto, and to his house between 6 pm and 6 am daily and on public holidays and over weekends.

'Listing'
In July, the government, in terms of the Internal Security Act, published the names of 134 people to be entered on to a 'consolidated list' to be kept by the Director of Security Legislation. Among those on the list were SA exiles, people who had previously appeared on a consolidated list, certain individuals convicted of high treason, and certain individuals held in preventive detention. In terms of Section 56 (1) of the Internal Security Act, no 'utterance, speech and statement' of a 'listed' person may be published or disseminated without the permission of the Minister of Law and Order. A number of people whose names appeared on the earlier consolidated list (which had about 450 names) did not appear on the new list.6
Passports
The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said that in 1982 a total of 242,297 applications for passports and the renewal of passports were received. Applications by nine coloured people, 33 Indians, 37 Africans, and 29 whites were refused. In 1983, a total of 317,703 applications for passports were received. Applications by nine coloured people, 20 Indians, 25 Africans, and seven whites were refused.

In March, a passport application by Mr Hassan Howa, chairman of the Western Province Cricket Board and former president of the SA Council on Sport

BANNING OF GATHERINGS

(SACOS), was refused for the eighth time. Mr Saths Cooper, vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), had his application for a passport turned down for the seventh time since 1969. In July, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, was granted a temporary travel document to attend conferences in the USA, Canada, and New Zealand. A further application for a passport by Bishop Tutu, to attend a United Nations conference in Geneva in October, was refused.

Banning of Gatherings

At least 22 meetings were banned during the year under review in terms of section 46 of the Internal Security Act, on the grounds that they would endanger public peace. In April the Minister of Law and Order prohibited meetings that were not held 'within four walls' for one year by notice in the government gazette. Organisations such as AZAPO have claimed that meetings have been banned in some instances by notices pinned on hall doors by local police. Several United Democratic Front (UDF) meetings were banned, including a rally in East London in September and a secretariat meeting in October. In November the Wynberg chief magistrate prohibited a public meeting to be held by the UDF in Rondebosch, Cape Town. A supreme court order set aside the magistrate's decision, so allowing the meeting to take place. (However, an appeal was made by the state against the decision. A full bench of the Cape provisional division of the Supreme Court, sitting in January 1984 confirmed the magistrate's decision.) In an open letter the UDF urged the Prime Minister to stop the banning of meetings as the first step away from the government's 'dangerous path of confrontation and conflict'. A South African Black Alliance rally went ahead in Durban in May in defiance of a ban by the chief magistrate, drawing a crowd estimated at 8,000. In June a fund-raising braai/leis of the Soweto Committee of Ten was banned. Various meetings called by the 'Save the Six Committee', the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the Congress of SA Students (COSAS), and other organisations to mourn the death of three ANC members convicted of treason who were hanged in June, were banned. Three meetings to mourn the death of the former ANC and SA Communist Party leader Dr Yusuf Dadoo were banned in September. A rally planned by AZAPO to launch 'Biko week' in September was banned, as were two attempts to launch a Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal and a TIC meeting on the proposed new SA constitution in October in Pretoria. Despite denials by COSAS members that they had planned a meeting, a government gazette notice specifically banned a COSAS meeting in East London in October.
In the same month, a meeting called by students at Rhodes University to mark the clampdown on black organisations in October 1977 was banned. All meetings in Johannesburg to commemorate the same event, including a mass rally in Soweto to be addressed by members of the UDF and AZAPO, were banned. The banning of meetings was strongly condemned by various people.25

Detention
The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said that 4 140 people had been held under section 6 of the Terrorism Act, No 83 of 1967, since its introduction in 1967 until 1 July 1982, and 130 people under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, from its introduction in July 1982 until February 1983 (section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act replaced section 6 of the Terrorism Act, which provided for persons to be held incommunicado for interrogation).26

Eight people under the age of 18 were detained under security laws in 1982. Of these, one was charged but subsequently acquitted of furthering the objects of communism and participating in the activities of an unlawful organisation. The remainder were released without charge.27 Three people were held in preventive detention in 1982 under section 28 (1) of the Internal Security Act, for 130, 330 and 366 days respectively. Sixteen people were held (as potential state witnesses for a security case) under section 28 (1) of the act, for periods of between 130 and 168 days.2 Eighty-four persons were detained in 1982 (held as potential state witnesses) under section 12(b) of the Internal Security Act, No 44 of 1950, and six (also as potential state witnesses for a criminal case) under section 185 of the Criminal Procedure Act, No 51 of 1977. Persons held under Section 12 (b) were detained for between 11 and 216 days, and those under section 185 of the Criminal Procedure Act for between 62 and 181 days.29 According to the minister, of the 210 people detained in 1982 under security legislation, 170 were Africans, 17 white, and 23 Asian and coloured people. He said further that, between January and 16 May 1983, 48 people, 38 of them Africans, were detained.3 He said also that 149 persons were detained under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act in 1983, one of whom had died in detention. The minister had received representations from seven people being held under section 29 (1) for a review of their detention in 1983, but none of the representations had resulted in the release of the detainee. In 1983, no statistics were kept of persons detained by security police under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act (which provides for persons to be held as suspected criminal offenders for up to 48 hours). He also said that the police code issued in December 1982 to regulate the interrogation of detainees under the Internal Security Act did not apply to persons held under the Criminal Procedure Act. No code would be introduced for this short-term detention, since he considered the provisions concerning detention under this Act to be ‘adequate’.31

The statistics on detention in 1983 which are given below were compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations from information collected by itself, the
Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC), and the Dependents' Conference of the South African Council of Churches. The statistics include people detained in the four 'independent homelands' (Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) and the rest of SA. The figures cover the following categories of detention: persons known or believed to have been detained under security legislation; persons detained under unspecified legislation but apparently in connection with alleged security offences; and persons held under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act in connection with alleged security offences as opposed to routine criminal investigation.

The compilation of statistics is hindered by the fact that the government does not publish comprehensive figures. Accurate information about detention in the homelands is also difficult to obtain, particularly in the case of the Ciskei. Nor is newspaper coverage comprehensive. The statistics below are thus as accurate as possible, but not definitive.

Records indicated that 306 people had been taken into detention in the period between 1 January and 31 August. Of these, 143 were detained in the 'independent homelands'. By 31 August, 114 of the total had been released without charge, and 58 had been charged. The highest number of detentions was in the Ciskei, with 88. The numbers of people detained in July and August (181) were higher than those detained between January and July (123). By 31 August 132 people were still in detention.

At the end of December, 453 people had been taken into detention during the year, 215 of them in the 'independent' homelands, and 238 in the rest of SA. Of those detained in the homelands, some 180 were detained in the Ciskei. On 31 December, there were 90 people still in detention. Of the 453, 285 had been released without charge. Detentions in 1983 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School pupils, students, and teachers</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unionists and workers</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and political workers</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchmen</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations unknown</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

453

The large increase in detentions is mainly attributable to the fact that the number of people detained in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei rose from 83 in 1982 to 215 in 1983 (an increase of 159%). The number of detentions in the rest of SA rose from 181 to 238 (an increase of 31%). The total number of persons taken into detention in 1983 was lower than in 1981 (630 to 30 November 1981) and 1980 (995 to 30 November 1980).

Mr Le Grange accused the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) of being a front for the African National Congress (ANC) and the communists and said he would treat them 'as such'. An analysis of the DPSC led him to the conclusion that it was a 'pressure group' helping SA's enemies.32 A DPSC
spokesman, Dr David Webster, described Mr Le Grange as a 'bully' hiding behind parliamentary privilege, and challenged him to repeat his allegations outside parliament so that 'the libel laws of this country can test his courage'.3

Mr Le Grange said that 'good relations existed between the SA Police (SAP) and the Ciskei police, thus facilitating the handing over of detained persons from one to the other. In August he confirmed that four East London trade unionists had been detained by the SAP and later handed over for offences allegedly committed in the Ciskei (see chapters on Homeland Affairs and Labour Relations).

Speaking at a national conference of detainees' support committees, Mr Glenn Moss, a member of the Johannesburg DPSC, pointed to certain trends that had emerged in detentions in 1983. He noted that section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which could be used to detain any suspected criminal offender for 48 hours, was used also to detain people for investigations into alleged security offences, thereby apparently reducing the numbers of those detained under security legislation, and so avoiding negative publicity. In other instances, accused persons were held for long periods as awaiting-trial prisoners. Citing the cases of Miss Amanda Kwadi and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, who were detained and charged a few days before national women's day, Mr Moss claimed that this form of 'preventive detention' was politically useful in removing certain important political leaders before major events. There was also an apparent increase in the number of members of youth, student, trade union, women's, political, and church organisations being called in for questioning and held for periods from a couple of hours to a whole day.34

DETENTIONS

Detainees' support committees and other organisations continued to protest against detentions and to call for the abolition of security legislation and the unconditional release of all people held under such laws.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said that between 1 January and 1 July 1982, detainees being held under section 6 of the Terrorism Act were visited 659 times by inspectors and 847 times by magistrates. Fourteen complaints of assault were reported in 1982, of which 12 were referred to the Attorney-General concerned with the particular province." Referring to 10 reports of assault made by detainees to the inspector of detainees prior to March 1982, the minister said that four were referred to the Attorney-General, who refused to prosecute, and six found to be groundless after a police investigation.36 Mr Le Grange confirmed that from July 1981 to December 1982 twelve actions for damages had been brought against him and the police by persons who had been detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. The plaintiffs were Messrs M Motaung, J Ngwenya, S Radebe, A E Mbatha, Y Mohamed, P Gordhan, S Mtimpuku, A van Heerden, M Narsoo, S Ndou, Mrs R Ndzanga, and Miss M Loate. All actions were pending at the end of December 1983.11

The Minister of Health and Welfare, Dr C V van der Merwe, said that an unspecified number of reports were submitted by state doctors in 1982 on the health of detainees to his department. The reports were scrutinised by senior departmental medical officers, and no further action was deemed necessary by his
department on the basis of these reports. In 1983, 662 visits were made to detainees by inspectors, 701 by magistrates, and 448 by state doctors. Of the 18 complaints of assault made by detainees held under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act, eight were being investigated by the Attorney-General, while he had declined to prosecute in the remaining 10.

In February, the Association of Law Societies of SA called on the Minister of Law and Order to improve on the guidelines he had issued in 1982 on the treatment of detainees held under the Internal Security Act (see 1982 Survey p 254). The association drew attention to the absence of any provision for detainees to consult an attorney, the prohibition of contact with a private doctor or relative, and the absence of any limitation on the period during which a detainee might be held in solitary confinement. It also called for closed-circuit television to be installed in interrogation rooms so that senior officers could monitor the proceedings; for the maximum duration of interrogation to be stipulated and a uniformed member of the police to be present as an observer; and for police records to reflect the number and duration of interrogation sessions, the names of members of interrogation teams, and the results of all medical examinations.

Lawyers for Human Rights, in a report entitled 'Any hope for detainees?', claimed that there were certain fundamental inadequacies in the minister's guidelines, which were merely internal administrative directives that could not be enforced by the courts or any independent body, thus leaving the 'police to police themselves'. The directives failed to give magistrates and inspectors right of access to detainees at any time. Inspectors and magistrates were perceived as officers of the state by the detainees, who were thus unwilling to place their full trust in them. Moreover, the directives did not exclude the possibility that a complaint to an inspector or magistrate would be transmitted to the detainees' interrogators, as had happened previously. While the directives explicitly called for 'humane treatment', as defined in article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, it was evident that police would have 'little or no regard' for this interpretation.

DETENTIONS
The directives had too many 'escape clauses' which would allow the police to evade 'the spirit of the instructions'. Examples of these were the provisions that police should not take firearms into interrogation sessions 'unless there are compelling reasons to do so' and that detainees should have decent facilities 'where practicable'. The report further noted that as long as section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act continued to allow for indefinite detention without access to lawyers, doctors, or family, it was difficult to provide effective protection for the detainee. The report recommended that safeguards should be given the force of law, terms such as 'torture' and 'inhuman or degrading treatment' given specific form so that their meanings were not left to interpretation by the police, an independent ombudsman appointed to ensure compliance with the directives, and that security police be given proper education about the dangers to the health of detainees.
In April, the Medical Association of SA (MASA) issued recommendations on the medical care of prisoners and detainees. Among them were that a statutory right be given to district surgeons to have free access, without prior police authorisation, to detainees at all times; detainees be allowed independent medical attention if they requested it; detainees be medically examined within 24 hours of detention; and that no detainee be kept in prolonged isolation for more than seven days.

An announcement by the Minister of Law and Order that closed-circuit television would be placed in detainees' cells to prevent deaths in detention was criticised by legal organisations and detainees' support committees, which said it would constitute an invasion of the detainees' privacy and increase mental pressure; instead, they suggested, the television should be placed in interrogation rooms.

The minister said he would seek more expert advice before implementing the plan, which he was also prepared to abandon altogether.

Pupils, Students, and Teachers

Mr Siphiwo Mtimkhulu, a Congress of SA Students (COSAS) executive member and former detainee who disappeared in April 1982 soon after he had made a claim for R150 000 against the Minister of Law and Order, was still missing in 1983 (see 1982 Survey p 214).

In March, Amnesty International appealed for the release of Miss Cynthia Ntshingwa (17), a member of the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU), who was detained on 28 May 1982 under section 6 of the Terrorism Act and later transferred to section 31 (1) (held as a potential state witness) of the Internal Security Act. Mr Le Grange said that Miss Ntshingwa had been visited by a magistrate 20 times and by a district surgeon 33 times. In April, Miss Ntshingwa was released, not having been called to give evidence in the trial of Mr Joe Thloloe and eight others, for which she had allegedly been held.42

In March the general secretary of the Vaal branch of COSAS, Miss Elizabeth Makheta, was detained for two weeks under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act. In the Ciskei a number of COSAS members were detained between July and September. By the end of September, almost the entire COSAS executive in that area was in detention. President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei claimed that COSAS was a 'ruthless' organisation, while COSAS maintained that it was 'non-violent'. In August two COSAS members who were also executive members of the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO), were held in detention for one and two months respectively before being released without any charge.43

In September four members of COSAS were detained in Port Elizabeth and later called as state witnesses in a security trial. Two were freed after testifying and two jailed for six months for refusing to testify. Four executive members of the Port Elizabeth branch of COSAS were detained under section 29 (1) at the end of December.

In June Mr Saleem Badat, an MA student at the University of Cape Town and vice-chairman of the university branch of the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), was detained for two weeks under section 29 (1). Dr Stuart Saunders,
vice-chancellor of the university, called for Mr Badat's immediate release and said that 'detention without charge or trial has no place in a civilised society'. Another AZASO member, Mr Thomas Nkoane, was detained for the month of June in Johannesburg. In November Mr Andile Reve, chairman of the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) AZASO branch, was detained. At the end of December, he was still in detention.

Messrs H Hlahla, P Monama, J Hlapolosa, and G Naidoo, all office-bearers of the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM), were detained for two days in July under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act after they had helped to pitch tents for squatters in Kliptown near Johannesburg.

In August Messrs Robert Whitecross (who later said he was a security policeman), Tom Wasp, and Gavin Evans were detained overnight, and Mr Darryl Glaser for five days. Mr Karl Niehaus and Miss Johanna Lourens were detained for one month, after which they were charged with high treason. Miss Catherine Hunter, who was detained in early September, was released seven weeks later. Miss Hunter, Miss Lourens, and Mr Niehaus were members of the Young Christian Students, and Miss Hunter and Miss Lourens were members of the National Education Union of SA. In Cape Town in February, Miss Daphne Williams and Miss Zelda Holtzman, teachers, and Mr Headley King and Mr Mike Coetsee, students at the University of the Western Cape, were detained under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act. Miss Williams was released a month later, Mr King was charged and convicted under security legislation, and Miss Holtzman and Mr Coetsee were transferred to Section 31 (1) of the Internal Security Act. Miss Holtzman was later charged after she refused to give evidence but acquitted, while Mr Coetsee was charged with perjury after declaring a statement he had made in detention to be false.

During the bus boycott in the Ciskei, many pupils and teachers were detained. Among the former were four who staged a hunger strike while in detention and were released three months later. Mr Steve Tshwete, a teacher and an executive member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) of the Border region, was detained at the end of September and was still in detention at the end of December. In Pietermaritzburg in November Mr George Martins, organiser of the DCO Matiwane youth League, Mr Duma Gqubele, a student at the University of Transkei, and Mr Mlungisi Maphumulo were detained. Mr Gqubele and Mr Maphumulo were still in detention at the end of December.

Church people
Sister Mary Bernard of St Mary's Convent, Mr Isaac Genu, vice-chairman of the Kagiso Residents' Association, and Mrs Anna Mogase and Mrs Lettie Nzima, organisers of the Self-Help Centre of the Apostolic Faith Mission church, were detained in March. Sister Bernard and Mrs Nzima were later charged with possessing banned literature and Mr Genu for 'promoting the aims of the ANC', while

DETENTIONS
Mrs Mogase was released.
In November the secretary-general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, was detained in the Ciskei after addressing students at the University of Fort Hare. (Mr Mkhatshwa was detained for four months in 1976 and subsequently twice banned, until the lapsing of his order in July 1983.) Mr Mkhatshwa's latest detention was under section 26 of the Ciskei National Security Act, No 13 of 1982, which provides for a person to be held incommunicado. President Sebe claimed that Mr Mkhatshwa had held an illegal meeting at the university, and said he would appear in court 'soon' for 'violating an act'. There was national and international protest against Rev Mkhatshwa's detention. More than 4000 Roman Catholics in the Cape Town archdiocese signed a protest petition. More than 5 000 members of the Diocese of Limburg in West Germany expressed solidarity with Mr Mkhatshwa and the bishops' conference, while hundreds of letters from human rights groups in different parts of the world were sent to President Sebe and Colonel Z Makhuzeni, chief of the Ciskei security police, calling on them to release Mr Mkhatshwa or bring him to trial immediately.48 In an unprecedented move, a BBC television crew was allowed to film a half-hour interview with Mr Mkhatshwa at a police station in Healdtown, near Alice, in the presence of policemen. According to the BBC, Father Mkhatshwa seemed healthy and showed no signs of ill-treatment. The conference pointed out that its own repeated request to see Mr Mkhatshwa had been refused. In mid-December, the (Roman Catholic) Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, brought an urgent application against the Ciskei authorities challenging the grounds of Rev Mkhatshwa's detention, and seeking his release, but Mr Justice B de V Pickard dismissed the application with costs. At the end of December, Father Mkhatshwa was still in detention.49

Journalists

In August, Mr Charles Nqakula, a journalist with the Veritas independent news agency in Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, was detained by Ciskei police. The International Federation of Journalists and the SA Society of Journalists protested and called for his release. In September Mr Nqakula was released.5 In November Ciskei security police detained Mr Stanley Kaba, a former member of the banned Union of Black Journalists (UBJ). Mr Kaba, a freelance journalist and former Robben Island prisoner, was charged under the Ciskei National Security Act in December.

Trade Unionists

By December, 26 trade unionists and 16 trade union members had been detained, as opposed to 30 trade unionists and workers in 1982. Some trade unionists were detained more than once. Of those detained in 1983, 14 were held in the Ciskei. In at least six cases, trade unionists were detained by the SAP and then handed over to the Ciskei police. Unionists from the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), the General Workers' Union (GWU), the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU), the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU)', and the Transport and Allied Workers' Union (TAWU) were among those affected by detentions (see chapter on Labour Relations). In March, while in detention in the Ciskei, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, president of SAAWU, was
DETENTIONS

called to give evidence for the defence in a security trial at Zwelitsha. Mr Gqweta testified that during his own detention in 1982 he had been subjected to electric shock treatment, assault, near strangulation, and other forms of torture. Dr Alex Boraine, Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MP, described the detention of four AFCWU and SAAWU trade unionists, Messrs B Melitafa, Y Mdyogolo, B Norushe, and D Tandani, in East London in August as 'a highly provocative act in a very sensitive situation'. Dr Boraine said that the Minister of Manpower should ensure that police were kept out of the labour field, 'leaving the management and workers to use the machinery set up by the state' (see chapter on Homeland Affairs).52

Other detainees

In April the Minister of Law and Order confirmed that Miss M Shezi had been detained in Durban since December 1982 under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act. He said that 'in general' the family was not allowed to see a detainee but that she had been visited on 11 occasions by a magistrate, 10 times by an inspector of detainees, and on seven occasions by a district surgeon. The minister also confirmed that Miss Shezi's brother, Mr Mthokozisi Shezi (18), had been detained for the same period and under the same conditions as his sister. Miss Shezi was released in July, and Mr Shezi charged under the Internal Security Act. In April, Mr Mordecai Tatsa, who was being held under Section 28 (1) of the Internal Security Act, was hospitalised with severe depression. He was detained in December 1979 under section 6(1) of the Terrorism Act and charged in June 1980, his charges being dropped a month later. He was immediately re-detained under section 6 and subpoenaed to testify for the state in March 1981. On refusing, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, which was later reduced to one year on appeal. In August, Mr Tatsa was released but immediately placed under a severe banning order for three years.53

Mr David Mtobela, who was captured in the SA Defence Force raid on Matola in Mozambique in January 1981, was held in preventive detention until August 1983, when he was released. He returned to Mozambique.

Mr Abel Dube, who was detained in April 1982 and was being held under section 28 (1) of the Internal Security Act, had his detention order extended for a further year in November. The DPSC condemned this and described section 28 as 'a vicious provision that allows the police to be the investigator, prosecutor, and judge of individuals who have no access to the due process of law'.5

Detention in the homelands

In February the Rev T Farisani was detained for a few hours by the Venda security police after his return from a tour of Europe and the USA during which he described how he had been tortured in detention in November 1981. He claimed that fear of maltreatment had led him to write an untrue confession of complicity in a raid on the Sibasa police station in 1981. Mr Farisani later instituted a claim for R20 000 against the Venda authorities for assault. Another former detainee, the Rev R Phosiwa, made a similar claim.55
Mrs Lillian Muofhe, widow of Mr T Muofhe, who died in detention in 1981, claimed that her family had been continually harassed by security police since his death.56

DEATHS IN DETENTION
In November Messrs P Mudzielwana, S Tshikhudo, A Denga, S Radamba, W Sinyebwe and R Ratshitanga were detained under section 6 (1) of the Terrorism Act (which, although repealed in SA, still obtains in Venda). Mr Ratshitanga is a poet and civil servant, while the majority of the others were involved in market gardening. At the end of December, all six were still in detention.6

In June, Mr Victor Sifora, general secretary of the opposition National Seoposengwe Party in Bophuthatswana, was detained by the SA security police and then by the Bophuthatswana security police, in terms of the Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act, No 22 of 1979. lie was released a few weeks later. Bophuthatswana has a bill of rights which does not allow for detention without trial. Three other members of the party, Mr Stephen Sibandze, Mr Stephen Segale, and Mr Isaac Moloka, were also detained by the Bophuthatswana security police in June, but released soon afterwards.

In the same month Chief George Mantanzima, Prime Minister of the Transkei, said that during 1982, 41 people were held as 'political suspects' there. Of these, five had been convicted and 35 released, while one was still in detention. Chief Mantanzima claimed that both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) were intent on toppling the Transkei government, using Lesotho as an entry point.51 A Durban advocate, Mr T Skweyiya, was paid R1 200 in damages by the Transkei government in an out-of-court settlement, after an 11-day detention in 1982 which caused him 'discomfort and public humiliation'. In November, Mr Mzwandile Matutu, MP for Butterworth, was detained in terms of the Transkei Public Security Act, No 30 of 1977. Prior to his detention, during a debate in the Transkei national assembly, Mr Matutu said that the ANC and PAC should be included in any national convention 'no matter how much we differed'. However, he later said that he wished to 'correct any impression' that he supported lifting the ban on the ANC in the Transkei.9

People detained by the Ciskei authorities in 1983 included trade unionists, journalists, local leaders, sports administrators, and members of the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) (see chapters on Homeland Affairs and Labour Relations). 

Deaths in Detention
Two people died in detention in 1983. On 9 March Mr Simon Tembuyise Mndawe (23) died after having been detained by security police in the eastern Transvaal on 2 February under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act. Mr Matthew Phosa, representing the Mndawe family, said that five days before Mr Mndawe's death, police had told him that 'the detainee was in good hands and being well looked after'. Soon after Mr Mndawe's death, General Mike Geldenhuys, the (then) Commissioner of Police, alleged that he was a 'trained terrorist' and that he had made a confession before a magistrate the day after his arrest. The dossier on his case had been sent to the Attorney-General. General Geldenhuys claimed that Mr
Mndawe was part of 'a group of insurgents who had infiltrated SA'. Eight of them had been captured and five shot dead, he said. Community and church leaders, opposition political parties, and detainees' support committees condemned General Geldenhuys for labelling Mr Mndawe as a 'terrorist' before he had appeared before a court of law.60

An application by the Mndawe family for an autopsy was refused by the magistrate in Nelspruit. However, after negotiations between the police, the chief state pathologist, and the Mndawe family, an autopsy was held. In a subsequent inquest the magistrate ruled that a confession made by Mr Mndawe was not admissible. The ruling followed evidence that Mr Mndawe had been assaulted and a submission by Mr George Bizos, SC, representing the Mndawe family, that the confession had not been made voluntarily. The policemen who had arrested Mr Mndawe denied assaulting him, claiming that he had attacked them. The inquest was postponed until February 1984.

Mr Molefe Paris Malatji (24) was detained by the security police in Soweto on 5 July and taken to the Protea police station there. The following day police reported that he had died at the police station in an 'accident'. A police statement said that Mr Malatji had been detained under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, and that an investigation would be held into his death. At the post mortem, at which the family was represented, it was disclosed that Mr Malatji had died from a contact bullet wound in the centre of his forehead. The new Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, announced that a white policeman had been suspended, and that the police were conducting a departmental inquiry. The Malatji family instituted a civil action against the Minister of Law and Order for R20 000. About 1 000 people attended Mr Malatji's funeral, and representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) addressed the mourners. Policemen kept a close watch, took photographs, and confiscated placards. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) expressed concern at the fact that his family had no knowledge of his detention.61 In October, Sergeant Harm van As appeared in the Johannesburg magistrate's court charged with the murder of Mr Malatji. The case was postponed to February 1984.

Mr Malatji had been detained twice previously in connection with enquiries into the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) and the activities of Mr K Seathlolo and Miss M Loate, who were convicted in 1982 in connection with SAYRCO activities.62

The year under review also saw sequels to earlier deaths in detention. Mr Dave Dalling, a Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MP, described the inquest findings (see 1982 Survey p 254) on Dr Neil Aggett (who died in detention in February 1982) as 'biased, prejudicial and outrageous', and said that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, should be more careful in his appointments to the bench. The minister defended the findings of the inquest court and criticised Mr Dalling for questioning the integrity of judicial officers.63

In November 1981, Mr Tshifiwa Muofhe (28), a Venda lay preacher, was found dead in his prison cell less than two days after being detained. The inquest
magistrate, Mr C S J Steiner, found two Venda security policemen guilty of inflicting severe injuries on Mr Muofhe, which caused his death (see 1982 Survey p 269). The policemen were subsequently charged with murder. In February 1983 the Venda Chief Justice, Mr Justice G P van Rhyn, found the two policemen not guilty of murder and said that Mr Muofhe's injuries occurred when they attempted to prevent him from escaping. This did not constitute an offence, he said. Various legal observers condemned the acquittals as 'incredible' in the light of the evidence. Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, suggested that 'subconsciously some judges and magistrates have a tendency to accept police evidence too readily'. A claim by the Muofhe family against the Venda National Force for R385 000 was settled out of court in July, the family receiving R150 000.

In August 1982, Mr Ernest Moabi Dipale (21) was detained in connection with an investigation into African National Congress (ANC) activities. He was found hanging in his cell a few days later (see 1982 Survey p 258). In June 1983 the inquest magistrate, Mr G Schoeman, found that no one was to blame for his death. Mr J H Liebenberg, SC, appearing for the Minister of Law and Order, said that police investigations and a statement made by Mr Dipale before a magistrate immediately prior to his death revealed that he was a member of the ANC. His confession might have prompted him to take his life, Mr Liebenberg said. Mr C R Mailer, counsel for the Dipale family, said that he had been refused access to the statement allegedly made by Mr Dipale, and that this had hampered his investigations.

Security Trials
The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said in March that of the 117 people charged in 1982 under the Internal Security Act, nine were acquitted and 48 still awaiting trial or on trial. Of the total number of people charged, 41 were charged summarily, 40 had been held for periods varying between one and 51 days, 23 between 51 and 151 days, and 13 between 151 and 227 days. Of those held for longer than 150 days, nine were held in connection with 'an extensive investigation into the subversive activities of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and their trial would commence in due course'.

Of the people detained in 1982 under section 6 of the Terrorism Act, No 83 of 1967, and section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, 37 were charged. Of these, four were charged with high treason, two with helping a prisoner to escape, one with entering SA unlawfully, four with unlawful possession of explosives, one with unlawful possession of explosives for the purpose of causing damage, one with possession of banned publications, three with furthering the aims of communism, 16 with various acts of terrorism, one with furthering the objects of an unlawful organisation, three with carrying on the activities of an unlawful organisation, and one with the unlawful conveying of letters from prison. Of those charged, four were acquitted and 10 found guilty, while cases against 23 others were still pending in March 1983.65
The minister said that of the 42 persons detained and charged under section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act in 1983, 16 had been found guilty, nine of them of high treason, three of terrorism, one of furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation, one of murder, and two of illegal possession of firearms. Fifteen of those charged had been acquitted.

According to the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, 49 court cases in terms of security legislation involving 180 accused were dealt with between July 1982 and June 1983. Police had solved 68.42% of the 21 cases investigated under the Suppression of Communism Act., No 44 of 1950, and 25.98% of the 317 inquiries involving contravention of the Public Safety Act, No 3 of 1953.66 In 1983, according to newspaper reports, at least 41 security trials were held in the homelands and the rest of SA for offences under security legislation, the Publications Act, arson, malicious damage to property, public violence, and the illegal possession of firearms. Some 109 people were tried for such offences, among them 31 whose trials had started in 1981 and 1982.

Charges in security trials varied considerably, from sabotage and possession of weapons, to recruiting for the African National Congress (ANC) and member-

SECURITY TRIALS

ship thereof. Charges also referred to other organisations, among them the PAC and the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO). Several members of a right-wing organisation, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), were charged with illegal possession of arms and with terrorism. One trial concerned spying for the Soviet Union. Most of the security trials in the homelands were held in the Ciskei.

Several noteworthy features emerged or were evident during security trials in 1983:

* Actions previously regarded as offences under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts, for example, active membership of the ANC, were regarded as high treason (see Niehaus/Lourens trial below).

* The use of symbols (for example, colours, slogans, and songs) which might be construed as indicating support for the ANC was considered as an offence under the Internal Security Act and the accused given severe sentences (see Genu, Moloi and Mashego, Ntshiwa, and Charles and Radebe trials).

* For the first time in recent years, people were charged with furthering the indirect aims of a banned organisation or aims that were similar to those of a banned organisation (section 13 (1) of the Internal Security Act). In the Krugersdorp regional court in August, it was alleged that the accused, by organising a national women's day in 1982, were furthering the aims of the ANC if the ANC women's league had commemorated this event in the past. (In the event the accused were all acquitted, however.)

* The severity of sentences increased. Explaining this, judicial officers said that crimes against the state were on the increase, that heavy sentences were a deterrent, and that the interests of society 'out-weighed the personal considerations of any individual'. Sentences for high treason varied from 12 years
to life imprisonment. For participation in non-violent activities of the ANC (for example, the passing of information) sentences varied from one and a half to seven years. Sentences for the use of ANC symbols varied between three and eight years, and for possession of banned literature from suspended sentences of six months and fines to two and a half years' imprisonment.

* Potential state witnesses were held in detention for long periods and released only after they had given evidence. In some instances, after being transferred from section 29 (1) to 31 (1) of the Internal Security Act, detainees were not called as witnesses. In the case against Messrs J Maake and P Mokaba, students at the University of the North, Miss B Monama was held for eight months; in that of Mr Joe Thloloe and eight others, Miss C Ntshingwa was held for 11 months; and in that of Miss J Ntsatha and Mr L Peter, two witnesses were held from November 1981 until the trial began at the end of 1982.

* In some instances, potential accused were held in detention, charged, and then held as awaiting-trial prisoners for long periods. In the case of Mr Thloloe and eight others, the accused were held for eight months in detention and then as awaiting-trial prisoners. The Rev Cedric Mayson, who was detained in November 1981, was charged in March 1982 but remained in custody as an awaiting-trial prisoner until March 1983.

* At least 10 people refused to give evidence against accused persons whom they considered to be fighting an 'unjust system', and were given prison sentences of up to three years.

* The 'trial within a trial' continued to be a feature. Accused people frequently claimed that statements and confessions had been made under duress and applied for them to be ruled inadmissible. However, in an unusual judgement in the case of Mr Stanley Radebe and four others, the magistrate acquitted the accused after finding that state witnesses were forced to give false evidence by the security police.

* A number of the people appearing on charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts were former students and school pupils who had left SA in 1976.

* Parts of many security trials were held in camera at the request of either the state or state witnesses who expressed fear that their lives would be endangered if the black community was aware that they were giving evidence for the state.

Summaries are given below of some of the major trials during 1983.

Treason Trials

Cedric Radcliffe Mayson

The Rev Cedric Mayson faced a main count of high treason, with alternative charges under the Internal Security and Terrorism Acts in the Supreme Court in Pretoria. Mr Mayson was detained in November 1981, charged in March 1982, and held as an awaiting-trial prisoner until March 1983, when he was granted bail of R1 000. The state alleged that he had conspired with the ANC to commit certain acts with the aim of overthrowing or coercing the government, including
holding discussions with ANC officials and assisting people to leave SA illegally to undertake ANC or South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU) activities. In July 1981, Mr Mayson allegedly met Mr Thabo Mbeki, an ANC official, in London, and received various instructions which included investigating the possibility of setting up political area committees in SA to co-ordinate ANC activities, encouraging a boycott of government-created institutions, and assessing the possibility of storing weapons in churches. In September and October 1981 Mr Mayson allegedly held discussions with Messrs Jabu Ngwenya, Frank Chikane, and Auret van Heerden, and Dr Beyers Naudé about the possibility of setting up political committees.

Mr Mayson pleaded not guilty to all the charges. A former warrant-officer of the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), Mr Karl Edwards, testified that he had infiltrated the ANC in 1976, had assisted various people to leave the country illegally, and that Mr Mayson had admitted to him having assisted a former official of the Christian Institute, Mr Horst Kleinschmidt, to leave the country illegally.

Mr Mayson disputed the validity of a statement he had made in detention, claiming that he had been held naked for long periods, verbally abused, handcuffed, and had his hair pulled out during interrogation. Mr Justice P J van der Walt ruled that Mr Mayson's statement was not admissible as evidence. The state applied for a six-week adjournment to find a key state witness, Mr Auret van Heerden, who had disappeared and on whom it had not been able to serve a subpoena. Mr Mayson made a successful bail application, and was released from custody, shortly after which he fled the country.

In London, Mr Mayson said that he had left to protect people like Dr Naudé (who had been subpoenaed to give evidence). He said that he had for many years remained 'in contact' with the ANC and the black consciousness movement in exile.

TREASON TRIALS
Khaya Skweyiya
Mr Khaya Skweyiya (21) was arrested by police in Mahlabatini in northern Natal in October 1982 after a shoot-out in which a suspected ANC insurgent, Mr Lucky Ntsele, and a policeman, Sergeant B Makhaye, were killed. Mr Skweyiya appeared in the Natal Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg in May on 12 charges of high treason, participation in 'terrorist' activities, unlawful possession of arms, murder, and attempted murder.

Mr Skweyiya testified that he had left SA in 1978 after the school boycotts and subsequently undergone ANC military training in Angola. He and Mr Ntsele were briefed by the ANC in June 1982 to return to SA to destroy the Mahlabatini fuel pumping station. Having collected arms from a cache in Ulundi and reconnoitred their target, they decided to abandon their mission because of the presence of people in the vicinity of the target. In his evidence, Mr Skweyiya said he had been instructed by Mr Joe Slovo of the ANC not to besmirch the ANC's name by killing civilians. He said that while hiding at a cottage in Mahlabatini he and Mr
Ntsele had been intercepted by the police and that he had unintentionally shot and wounded Mr Clement Nkosi, a police constable.

Mr Skweyiya was found guilty of high treason, but not guilty of murder or attempted murder. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Mr Justice P M Nienaber said that the punishment should be seen as a deterrent to other young people, but he accepted that Mr Skweyiya was not intent on killing 'innocent people'.

Alpheus Molotsi and Jacob Molefe

In October Mr Justice H H Moll found Messrs Alpheus Molotsi (23) and Jacob Molefe (28) guilty of high treason and sentenced them, respectively, to 15 and 18 years' imprisonment. The judge found that both men, who had received military training in Angola, had shown no change of attitude and were still supporters and members of an outlawed organisation. The accused had entered SA on 16 February to prepare bases from which to sabotage electricity power stations, fuel depots, police stations, and sewerage systems.

The judge found that there were extenuating circumstances following evidence by Professor B Helm of the Department of applied Psychology at the University of Cape Town, who testified that the accused were afraid of police and had led 'horrible lives' during the 1976 student unrest. Mr Molotsi testified that he left SA so that he could fight against the police, who had killed children and adults in the 1976 Soweto unrest.

Karl Niehaus and Johanna Lourens

A student of the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Karl Niehaus, and his fiancee, Miss 'Jansie' Lourens, a mathematics teacher, were charged with high treason in September, after having been in detention for a month under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. During their detention an Anglican priest, the Rev Thomas Stanton (62), was sentenced to six months' imprisonment after refusing to make a statement to police about the case. He said that although he did not know what Mr Niehaus was supposed to have done, giving evidence would violate his conscience.

The charges included conspiring with the ANC either as members or active supporters, supporting the overthrow of the present SA order by violent means, and attempting to find sites for sabotage or attempting to commit sabotage. Mr Niehaus was also accused of having learnt an ANC code in Botswana (which he then taught to Miss Lourens), disseminated ANC publications, and recruited members for the ANC. It was alleged that in May 1982 the two accused had placed a pamphlet bomb calling on people to resist national service, and that Mr Niehaus had attempted to persuade an employee of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) to provide a plan of the SABC with a view to sabotage; had drawn up a pamphlet entitled 'Why the Pretoria Bomb was Necessary', with another person; had identified the Johannesburg gasworks as a possible ANC target; and had attempted to obtain a sketch plan of the office of Professor I de Vries of Rand Afrikaans University with the aim of sabotaging it.
At the start of the trial the accused admitted some of the charges. Mr Niehaus admitted, inter alia, that he had visited the Johannesburg gasworks and taken photographs, with the assistance of Mr Robert Whitecross. Mr Whitecross, a warrant-officer in the security police who had shared a house with Mr Niehaus and Miss Lourens, was the main state witness. Mr Whitecross revealed his identity as a security policeman during the trial. In his evidence he said that since February he had asked the security police to monitor all their clandestine activity, and had passed written information to the security police. The defence conceded that Mr Niehaus had committed high treason. However, Mr Denis Kuny, SC, for the defence, said that conceding treason did not mean the state had proved its case; it should rather look to see how far treason had extended. Mr Kuny called for the court to acquit Miss Lourens, saying that there was no direct evidence against her, but rather inferences drawn from the evidence. Mr Kuny described both the accused as young, committed, idealistic people. Mr Justice A P Myburgh conceded that Mr Niehaus had a tremendous influence over Miss Lourens and that her acts were at his behest.

Mr Justice Myburgh found both the accused guilty of high treason. Mr Niehaus was also found guilty on two charges under the Internal Security Act, and of joining the ANC. Miss Lourens was acquitted of joining the ANC. The judge said there was an overwhelming possibility that they had assisted Africans to leave the country illegally for military training. Miss Lourens must have been aware of many of Mr Niehaus's activities. Testifying in mitigation, Mr Niehaus said that apartheid was 'heresy' and that he had become involved with the ANC because of its principles of non-racialism and its fight against economic exploitation. He had written the pamphlet to show how the ANC had been forced to change its tactics from non-violence to violence over the years. He said that on his release he would still continue to fight the SA system, which he abhorred. Miss Lourens did not give evidence in mitigation.

Sentencing Mr Niehaus to 15 and Miss Lourens to four years' imprisonment, the judge said that in spite of the arguments by the state that Mr Niehaus could not be rehabilitated, he would not pass the death sentence, but would give him a sentence long enough for his rehabilitation, and which would be a deterrent for others.

In June Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, the commanding officer of the SA naval dockyard in Simon's Town, and his Swiss-born wife, Ruth, were charged with internal security act trials.

Charges against Mr Gerhardt included having established and maintained secret communication with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) between 1926 and 1983 by means, inter alia, of dead letter boxes, radio transmissions, couriers, and personal visits to foreign countries. Mrs Gerhardt was accused of complicity by acting as a courier, using secret codes. Both accused were alleged to have undergone training in espionage.

In December, the Judge President of the Cape of Good Hope provincial division, Mr Justice G G A Munnik, found the Gerhardts guilty of high treason. A brief
statement said that the court had found that Mr Gerhardt had been engaged in espionage activities for the USSR for payment, and that Mrs Gerhardt had acted as his courier, while equipment associated with espionage activities had been found at their home.
The court sentenced Mr Gerhardt to life imprisonment and Mrs Gerhardt to an effective prison term of five years.73

Murder Trial
Benjamin Moloise
Mr Moloise was charged with the murder in November 1982 of Warrant-Officer Phillipus Selepe, who had testified for the state in many security trials. In a statement to a magistrate while in custody, Mr Moloise confessed to shooting Mr Selepe, but he repudiated this confession during his trial. In September Mr Moloise was sentenced to death in the Transvaal Supreme Court in Pretoria.74 A subsequent appeal was unsuccessful. Several overseas bodies, among them the British government, called for Mr Moloise's sentence to be commuted.

Trials under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts
Neville Sello Mothlabakwe, Johannes Joey Kers, Eugene Mokgoasi, Nelco Hlatshwayo and Ben Fani ('Kimberley Five')
The accused, who were aged between 21 and 23, were held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act for five months before being charged in June 1981 under the same act with arson, attempted arson, and housebreaking. Nineteen people detained with them in February 1981 were held for 19 months under the Terrorism Act and released in September 1982 (see 1982 Survey p 24).

In his judgement, the magistrate, Mr A J van Wyk, found all the accused guilty of terrorism. While the court agreed that they had no political or revolutionary aims, it said that 'terrorism' did not need political aims but involved acts against 'constituted authority'. The magistrate rejected all allegations of unlawful conduct made against the security police during the trial. The accused received sentences of between 10 and 13 years.75

Oscar Mpetha and 18 others
The lengthy trial of Mr Mpetha (73), organiser for the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and eighteen others, aged between 19 and 24 years, on charges of terrorism and murder started in March 1981 and ended in June 1983 (see 1982 INTERNAL SECURITY ACT TRIALS Survey p 240). The alleged acts were committed during a bus boycott and disturbances in the Cape Peninsula in August 1981. One hundred and thirty witnesses had been called by the end of the trial.
The defence called for the acquittal of Mr Mpetha, on the grounds that the allegations against him were 'totally contradictory to the character and professed opinions of his lifetime'. Defence counsel said that there could be two possible explanations for the events of 11-12 August, when the alleged acts of terrorism and two murders occurred: they could either be the result of a calculated plot masterminded by Mr Mpetha, or they could be seen as the result of a spontaneous reaction by passengers to police action against pirate taxis during the boycott. The defence contended that the second explanation was the more plausible.76
In June five of the accused were acquitted on all charges, one person having been earlier found not guilty. Mr Mpetha was convicted of terrorism, but acquitted on the murder charges. Messrs M Makubala, P Kube, J Hlapo, and R Mapondo were convicted on both the terrorism and the murder charges. Messrs C Sparanyi, V Diba, and J Baardman were found guilty of terrorism and of one count of murder. Mr A Tshangama was found guilty on both murder charges, but acquitted on the terrorism charge. Mr Mpetha received a five-year sentence, and the others sentences of between 10 and 20 years. Mr Justice D M Williamson said that he would prefer to pass a wholly-suspended sentence on Mr Mpetha (who is in poor health) but that he was forced to pass a minimum five-year sentence. He refused to grant leave to appeal against the convictions, but gave leave to appeal against sentence.

Defence attorneys petitioned the Chief Justice against Mr Mpetha's conviction. Pending the appeal, Mr Mpetha was released on bail of R1.77

Stanley Radebe, Ephraim Madalane, Ernest Mohakalala, and Innocentia Nonkululeko Mazibuko

The accused were charged in the Kempton Park Regional Court in September 1982 under the Internal Security Act, alternatively the Terrorism Act, with joining the SA Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYCRO) (which was established outside SA after the Soweto students' representative council (SSRC) was banned in October 1977), organising meetings where the aims of SAYCRO and the SSRC were advanced, establishing a presence in the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) on behalf of SAYCRO, and inciting and recruiting people to undergo military training. In addition, Mr Mohakalala was charged with undergoing military training in Libya. The accused pleaded not guilty to all charges. The first witness called by the state, Mr Lazarus Shole, refused to testify and was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

Mr Radebe contested the admissibility of his own statement, claiming that it had been made under duress during interrogation by security police. Six prisoners testified that in March 1982 they had seen Mr Radebe being taken into a cell in a strait-jacket, had heard him screaming, and had later seen that his face was swollen and his shirt bloodstained. Police witnesses denied that Mr Radebe had been assaulted, but the magistrate ruled his statement to be inadmissible. During cross examination by the defence, state witnesses gave evidence on the effects of weeks of solitary confinement, and assault by and fear of the security police, while one witness, a police informer, admitted that he had given false evidence under instructions from a major in the security police.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT TRIALS

The four accused were acquitted, the magistrate finding that state witnesses had been forced to give false evidence by security police, and that some had been assaulted during interrogation. He recommended that the police informer and the security police officer who had asked him to falsify evidence should be prosecuted.

After the trial a police spokesman said that the police were investigating the court's findings and that the results would be sent to the Attorney-General. The
mother of Mr Radebe sued the Minister of Law and Order for an undisclosed sum for assaults she had allegedly received while she was in detention during her son's trial.

Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, commended the judgement as significant in that it was the first time a judicial officer had acquitted people charged under security legislation on the grounds that state witnesses had been ill-treated or manipulated by the police.79

Joseph Thloloe and eight others
The accused were charged under the Internal Security and Terrorism Acts with furthering the aims of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), endangering the maintenance of law and order, illegally possessing a firearm and ammunition, recruiting others to undergo military training, and distributing banned literature. Mr H Nogqekele, one of the accused, initially pleaded guilty to certain charges, admitting that he had passed on a firearm, magazines, and a hand grenade to Mr Joseph Thloloe (a journalist). He was later allowed to change his plea to one of not guilty on all charges, and withdrew his earlier admissions.80

The state's first witness, Mr Michael Ntshingana, refused to take the oath, alleging that the evidence he was expected to give was not true. During the trial all charges against the accused were withdrawn with the exception of a charge of possessing PAC literature, which was retained against four of the accused, who pleaded guilty. Mr Thloloe and Mr Sipho Ngcobo were each sentenced to 30 months' imprisonment, while Mr N Sibanda and Mr S Mzolo each received three years (they had already been in custody for about ten months). Bail was refused pending their appeal. The sentences were criticised as harsh by some local and foreign newspapers.

Peter Mokaba, Jerome Maake, and Portia Nhlapo
In August two former University of the North students, Messrs Peter Mokaba and Jerome Maake, were found guilty on charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts, and sentenced to six and seven years respectively. The third accused, Miss Portia Nhlapo, was acquitted, owing to lack of evidence. Among the charges against them were collecting data for the ANC, promoting unity between organisations with aims similar to the ANC, attempting to recruit persons for military training, and receiving military training themselves.8

During the trial, Miss B Monama, who had been detained for eight months, refused to testify and was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Her attorney subsequently submitted an affidavit claiming that the magistrate, Mr J D A van Zyl, had attempted to persuade Miss Monama to testify, and (unsuccessfully) called for his recusal.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT TRIALS
Evidence was led in the trial that a security police investigating officer had falsified a document dealing with dates on which detainees had been interrogated. At the end of the trial, the magistrate remitted Miss Monama's sentence, and released her from custody.2
Messrs Peter Thabo Moloi and Jacob Mashego were charged with participating in the activities of a banned organisation and furthering its aims by playing an audio tape issued by the ANC. Both pleaded not guilty. Mr Mashego admitted possession of the tape but said that he was unaware that it had been prohibited, or that it had been produced by the ANC.

A police witness, Colonel AM Heysteck, admitted that he had added 19 lines to the transcript of the tape, but claimed that these additions were the result of a typist's error during transcription. The defence did not dispute that the tape was found in Mr Mashego's possession, but argued that merely playing it in a noisy hotel bar did not imply participation in ANC activities."

Mr Moloi was convicted of being in possession of the tape, but acquitted of furthering the aims of the ANC, while Mr Mashego was convicted on the latter charge. Mr Moloi received two years (one suspended) and Mr Mashego five years (two suspended). They were released on bail of R1 500 and R3 000 respectively, pending an appeal.

Joseph Charles and Rufus Radebe
Messrs Joseph Charles and Rufus Radebe were charged with furthering the aims of the ANC at a University of the Witwatersrand concert by singing a song which praised Mr Nelson Mandela, and the late Messrs Neil Aggett and Steve Biko. Mr Radebe testified that he had been assaulted by security police in custody, and that he had lied in order to secure his release. Both men were found guilty by Mr W Aucamp in the Johannesburg regional court in August and each sentenced to six years' imprisonment4

Isaac Genu
Mr Isaac Genu, vice-chairman of the Kagiso Residents' Association, was charged with being a member of the ANC and of furthering its aims as a result of being in possession of t-shirts in ANC colours, with slogans such as 'Viva Mandela', 'Mayibuye', and 'A luta continua'. Mr Genu was found guilty by Mr TJ le Grange in the Krugersdorp regional court and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. He appealed against his conviction.5

Matthews Thabane Ntshiwa
In December, Mr Matthews Thabane Ntshiwa (23) was found guilty of promoting the aims of the ANC by engraving "PW- Return our land", and 'Mandela-- the people's leader' on a tea-mug he used at work. He was sentenced by Mr W Aucamp in the Krugersdorp regional court to three years' imprisonment, half of which was suspended for five years. Pending an appeal against his conviction he was released on bail of R3 000.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT TRIALS
Professor Dugard commented that 'there must be something wrong with the system of criminal justice which treats such conduct as a crime and which allows such a sentence to be imposed'.86

Nomakhe Jane Ntsatha and Mcekeleli Lawrence Peter
In November 1981, Miss Nomakhe Jane Ntsatha (25) and Mr Mcekeleli Lawrence Peter (21) were detained by SA security police and handed over to the Ciskei security police.
The accused were originally charged under the Terrorism, Internal Security, and Publications Acts. By the end of their trial these acts had been superseded by the Internal Security Act and the Ciskei National Security Act. The accused were tried in the Zwelitsha regional court for membership of the ANC and participation in its activities, recruiting members for the ANC and for military training, and for distribution and possession of banned publications.

While in security police custody, both Miss Ntsatha and Mr Peter made statements to the Aliwal North magistrate, but later claimed that the statements had been made after prolonged assault and torture. Mr Peter alleged that he had been taken to the grave of Mr Steve Biko, the former black consciousness leader, and told that he would 'die, like Biko did, like a dog'. The allegations were denied by police witnesses and the court accepted the statements as evidence. Of the four state witnesses called, two refused to testify and were sentenced to two and three years' imprisonment respectively. A third was charged with perjury after denying that his evidence was true, and the last state witness told the court that Miss Ntsatha had discussed the difference between the ANC and the PAC with him. During the course of the trial it emerged that some security detainees held at Jamestown police station were booked in as stock theft offenders rather than detainees. No reason was given for this.

In April the magistrate, Mr J A Dracatos, found Miss Ntsatha guilty on all five charges and Mr Peter on all except that of taking steps to leave for military training. Miss Ntsatha received an effective five-year sentence, as well as a fine of R200 for the possession and distribution of banned publications, and Mr Peter an effective three years' imprisonment, with a fine of R100 for the possession of banned publications. This was the first security trial to be held in the Ciskei after 'independence'.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) trials
In June Mr Jacob Viljoen and Mr Hendrik Jacobsz, both former members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (they resigned in May) were convicted by Mr Justice T H van Reenen on a charge of terrorism under the Internal Security Act. They had been charged with planning to overthrow the government and endangering the law and order of the country. The court found that they intended sabotaging multi-racial hotels and the President's Council's offices in Cape Town and assassinating certain black politicians. The accused, both of them former policemen, had collected large amounts of explosives (60 kg), arms, and ammunition for this purpose. Mr Jacobsz had a previous conviction for culpable homicide and illegal possession of a firearm. They were refused the right to appeal against conviction and sentenced to fifteen years each.

In the same month Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, and Mr

POLITICAL VIOLENCE
Jacob Viljoen (see above) were charged before Mr E Whyethe with the illegal possession of an AK 47 automatic rifle, 362 rounds of ammunition, and a .22 Gecado revolver. Both men pleaded not guilty. Evidence was heard that the AWB had hidden caches of arms at various sites around Klerksdorp. Mr TerreBlanche said that the rifle was planted on him by 'leftists' who wanted to
Mr TerreBlanche was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for possessing the AK 47 assault rifle, six months for possessing ammunition, and a R300 fine or three months for possessing the revolver. His sentence was suspended for five years. Mr Viljoen was fined R300 or three months' imprisonment for possession of a revolver, and 27 months' imprisonment on two other counts.

In October, Mr TerreBlanche, Mr Viljoen, Mr Jan Groenewald, and Mr David Botes (the last two being members of the AWB executive), appeared in the Pretoria Supreme Court charged with terrorism and illegal possession of arms, ammunition, and explosives. The state alleged that they had conspired to overthrow the government and to endanger law and order in the country between January and December 1982. It was alleged that they had been in possession of, inter alia, four AK 47 rifles, 18 RI magazines for R1 automatic rifles, 19 magazines for AK 47 rifles, and 4,143 rounds of ammunition. Mr Viljoen was accused of being in possession of an Oerlikon missile. Finding the men guilty of terrorism, Mr Justice H P van Dyk sentenced them to between two and four years, suspended for five years. Leave to appeal was granted. Mr Justice van Dyk described the accused as 'civilised and decent people' who 'were victims of an unfortunate combination of circumstances' and that 'the community certainly does not expect me to send them to jail for that'.

A research officer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Gilbert Marcus, drew attention to disparities in the sentences imposed for political offences, pointing out that Mr Justice van Dyk had previously sentenced Miss Barbara Hogan (see 1982 Survey p 238) to ten years' imprisonment, without leave to appeal, for collecting information for the ANC.

Political Violence

According to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, terrorists killed 48 people in 220 incidents of insurgency in South Africa since 1976, while 172 ANC insurgents had been captured or killed over the same period. Mr le Grange said that SA had suffered 55 acts of insurgency in 1981, 39 in 1982, and 55 in 1983. Natal had suffered 39 incidents, Soweto 28, and the border and eastern Transvaal regions 24 each. However, he said, if incidents in the Transkei and Ciskei were added to those in the Border area, that region became the second major insurgency target zone. According to the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetze, 19.51% of the 31 sabotage cases reported between July 1982 and June 1983 were solved.

According to the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, more people were killed and injured in political violence during the first five months of 1983 than in the previous six years. The incidents included acts causing damage, injury, and death committed by left-wing and right-wing groups in SA, and by the SA Defence Force (SADF) and the SA Police (SAP) acting against insurgents in SA and neighbouring territories (excluding South West Africa/Namibia). From 1977 to 1979, 79 people were killed or injured in political violence.
violence, from 1980 to 1982, 175, and in the first five months of 1983, 374. Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the centre, said that this showed a 'dramatic escalation' in what was formerly 'a low-level insurgency campaign'. The study also showed that government forces had caused more deaths since 1977 than insurgents, while the African National Congress (ANC) had caused more injuries and damage to property than government forces. Government forces had killed 98 people since 1977, injured 48, and caused damage to property four times. In the same period the ANC had killed 52 people, injured 286, and caused damage to property 80 times. Right-wing groups had killed one person, injured two, and caused damage to property 18 times. Of those killed or injured, 151 were insurgents, soldiers, or policemen; 29 from institutions such as the courts, administration boards, and the railways; and 448 civilians. Of the civilians, 392 were victims of attacks on military or para-military targets. Another 56 civilians were deliberately injured or killed.94


According to figures compiled by the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, between January and December 1983 there were at least 42 sabotage attacks and political assassinations, and 13 attempts at such acts. In comparison with 1982, attacks on government buildings increased from seven to 17, and on power installations from six to 15. Attacks on private property, water pipelines, and police stations decreased, while attacks on railway lines remained at the same level as 1982. There were fewer attempted murders of policemen in 1983, while politically-motivated attempted murders of civilians and incidents of armed robbery increased.96 Professor Michael Hough, head of the institute, said that the majority of the attacks could be attributed to the ANC. Police spokesmen said that the methods and explosives used were typical of the ANC.

According to figures compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), 22 people were killed in sabotage attacks in 1983 and at least 305 injured. The number of people killed was higher than in previous years because of the 19 killed in a bomb explosion in Pretoria in May. The ANC claimed responsibility for some of the attacks. In most attacks, bombs, including car bombs, and limpet mines were used. In May, Mr Louis le Grange said that since the beginning of the year 19 acts of terrorism had been committed. Six insurgents had been shot dead and eight arrested, he said. Records compiled by various institutes showed that only 12 acts of sabotage had occurred at that stage, while only two alleged insurgents had been shot dead. Mr Glenn Moss of the Southern African Research Service said that it has become 'increasingly difficult to compile meaningful statistics', and that trials were often the 'first public acknowledgement of attacks'.97
Mr Tom Lodge, a lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, described the typical insurgent as an urban African, usually from Johannesburg, Durban, or Port Elizabeth, from a working class background, educated to matric level, in his late teens or early twenties, influenced by the political events of the past ten years, and with an interest in the ANC and Marxism.

**POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

He maintained that most insurgents left SA voluntarily and were not intimidated into joining the ANC. While insurgents were sophisticated in many ways, they were naive in others, particularly as regards security, which resulted in their interception.

In an interview with the New York Times, General Constand Viljoen, chief of the SADF, said that the removal of the military wing of the ANC from neighbouring countries would prevent it from intensifying its sabotage campaign in SA. Denied bases in neighbouring states, the ANC would have to infiltrate SA by sea and air, which would make it almost impossible for it to operate. General Viljoen conceded that the ANC would still be able to carry out isolated attacks on SA, but said it would be unable to sustain a high intensity of operations for a long time (see chapter on South Africa's Regional Policy).

Many political analysts, academics, and political leaders in both black and white communities, while condemning acts of political violence, have predicted that these acts will continue until political rights are extended to Africans in SA.

Commandant A B Kitshoff, protective service manager for a large oil company, told a security conference in Pretoria in July that there was a lack of coordination between the police, the SADF, and the public. He suggested the formation of a central security body to formulate a comprehensive national policy for both the public and the private sector and to identify all bodies and individuals with a role in the 'national security effort'. The public also needed to be made more aware of the threats facing them, he said.

The Minister of Law and Order said that structural alterations had been made to several police stations to protect them against armed attack, but that for security reasons details could not be divulged.

In December, Mr le Grange warned that the ANC planned to kill government leaders. He referred to an explosion in a Johannesburg synagogue where the State President was due to attend a gathering, the apprehension of a man carrying explosives near the Pietermaritzburg city hall while the Prime Minister was addressing a meeting there, and the discovery of a limpet mine at the Warmbaths civil defence office.

Of the incidents of political violence which occurred during the year, these were the most notable:

* In January a bomb exploded at the community council offices in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. One person died and five were injured. Considerable damage was caused.
* Also in January, a bomb exploded on a bridge on the main Bloemfontein/Hamilton railway line, killing a man. In both this and the New Brighton incident, police claimed that the men who died had planted the bomb. In February an
explosion at the Orange Vaal Administration Board offices near Bloemfontein injured 86 people and killed one person. Extensive damage was caused. The Minister of Law and Order alleged that the ANC was responsible, but the ANC was reported to have denied this.

* Two bomb blasts at the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in March and April caused damage exceeding R60 000. A bomb on the southern freeway in Durban, and two bombs at the Durban Supreme Court in April and July, were detonated before they could explode. 102

0 On 20 May a large car bomb exploded in a busy street in the centre of Pretoria outside SA Air Force (SAAF) headquarters and opposite a building which houses military intelligence personnel. Nineteen people were killed and some

POLITICAL VIOLENCE
217 injured. According to official sources, of those killed, eight were African and eleven white, of which four were military personnel. Damage was estimated at R4m. This was the largest blast to date and the one which caused the most casualties. After equivocating the ANC claimed responsibility. Immediately after the blast the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned that the SADF would not hesitate to launch pre-emptive attacks in neighbouring states in retaliation. A few days later the SAAF attacked an alleged ANC base in Maputo in Mozambique (see chapter on South Africa's Regional Policy). In August, Major-General F N A Steenkamp, senior deputy commissioner of police, said that two of the men killed in the explosion had been responsible for it. Both had contact with the ANC, and one of them had returned to SA only three days before the explosion. Major-General Steenkamp claimed to have proof that the act was planned by the ANC in Maputo and carried out via Swaziland, and that information had been received which showed that R3 000 found in the house of one of the men was payment to them by the ANC. In August an inquest into the death of two of the victims, Mr Freddie Shongwe and Mr Ezekiel Maseko, found them to be ANC members and responsible for the blast. Two witnesses at the inquest, Mr Johannes Shabangu, a friend of Mr Shongwe, and Mrs Anna Maseko, wife of Mr Maseko, had been detained for two months prior to the inquest. Mrs Maseko denied that her husband was an ANC member or sympathiser, but testified that he had removed the engine number from a Colt Galant car (in which the bomb had been placed) and that she had found R3 000 in his clothes. Mr Shabangu testified that Mr Shongwe was an ANC sympathiser because he visited Swaziland regularly to see a certain Mr Johannes Mnisi, who had fled the country illegally. Police gave evidence that the men had criminal records and had been hired by the ANC. They alleged that ‘terrorists’ were recruited increasingly from among criminals. Various relatives and friends of the men denied that either of them had any political affiliation. The press reported that the ANC had denied that two of its members were among the 19 people killed in the blast, or that it had hired criminals to plant the bomb. 113

* A few days after the bomb explosion in Pretoria, a car bomb exploded outside a factory in Bloemfontein, causing damage estimated at R100 000. Two explosions at the offices of the Department of Internal Affairs in Roodepoort
caused damage estimated at R250 000.

* In October six petrol storage tanks, two railway trucks, and a road tanker were damaged by limpet mines in Warmbaths the day before the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was due to address the Transvaal Municipal Association congress there. Two more limpet mines were discovered at the Warmbaths civil defence headquarters; they had been set to explode an hour after the first attack. Mr le Grange claimed that the ANC planned to kill top defence officials in the second attempted attack, since the officials would have met at the civil defence headquarters after the first explosion. He noted that the attack was much more sophisticated than previous attacks and showed that highly experienced people were responsible. The ANC claimed responsibility for the blast. A week later, the SADF attacked ANC offices in Maputo (see chapter on South Africa's Regional Policy).”4

* In July a bomb explosion at the Sasol plant in Secunda caused minor damage.
* In August a limpet mine exploded at the Temple Israel, a synagogue in Johannesburg, causing extensive damage, shortly before the State President, Mr

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Marais Viljoen, was to address a religious ceremony there. Maj-Gen Steenkamp claimed that the mine was of 'communist origin'. Reports from London indicated that the ANC denied responsibility. ’15

0 In August two limpet mines exploded at the offices of the Ciskei consulate at the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg, causing damage estimated at R100 000.
In September a limpet mine exploded at the Ciskei's consular offices in Pretoria.
* In November, during the white referendum (see chapter on The New Constitution), a bomb exploded at a police warehouse in the grounds of the University of Natal's Alan Taylor residence for black students in Durban. Two students received minor injuries. A bomb explosion at a bus depot in Durban damaged eight buses. Bombs also exploded on the Bosmont/Newclare railway line in Johannesburg, and on the Johannesburg/Durban railway line near Germiston. A bomb discovered on the Springs railway line was neutralized.6
* In December there were at least six bomb blasts and two other attempted acts of sabotage. In Johannesburg, bombs exploded at the offices of the Departments of Foreign Affairs and of Co-operation and Development and at the commissioners' courts, injuring seven people and causing extensive damage. A limpet mine exploded at the Department of Community Development's offices, the ANC claiming responsibility. In Bloemfontein a locomotive and two trucks were derailed by a bomb blast. In Durban, three powerful bombs exploded on the beachfront near the SADF's Natal command headquarters, but caused little damage. In KwaMashu, near Durbin, two bombs exploded at the township offices, causing R60 000 worth of damage. 17
In May two alleged ANC insurgents and a Botswana national who, it was claimed, was escorting them, were killed in a shooting incident near the Botswana border. 108 The SAP claimed that the men were in possession of Russian-made weapons and hand grenades. In October four alleged insurgents were killed by the SADF in the northern Transvaal. One SADF soldier was killed. SAP spokesmen
claimed that AK47 rifles and magazines, rifle grenades, an anti-tank mine, and food supplies were found in their possession. In November, an alleged insurgent was arrested after a skirmish between him and the police in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg. Arms caches were found in Ulundi in March, and in Port Elizabeth in June. Thirteen people were detained in Port Elizabeth in connection with the latter discovery.

Several threats of violence and acts of intimidation during the year appeared to have emanated from right-wing groups.

In June a right-wing organisation calling itself the European Resistance Movement threatened to blow up all Progressive Federal Party (PFP) offices in Natal. A letter addressed to two PFP members of parliament, Messrs Mike Tarr and Graham McIntosh, described them as 'evil and verminous black boeties' and went on to say 'long live the glorious Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, heroes of the white race'.

Various incidents of tampering with cars have been ascribed to right-wing groups or individuals. In March the Very Rev Edward King, Dean of St George's (Anglican) Cathedral in Cape Town, discovered a powerful bomb attached to his car. Mr Jan Theron, general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU), said that the tyres of his car had been secretly over-inflated and that a serious accident could have resulted. Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, reported that the cars of Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and several other churchmen had also been tampered with. In 1982 several trade unionists and churchmen died in car accidents. Among these were Mr Joe Mavi, president of the Black Municipal Workers' Union, the Rev James Gawe, rector of St Gregory's (Anglican) Church, and the Rev Frikkie Conradie of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk. In March 1983, two organisers of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Teboho Noko and Mr Paul Leboea, died in a car accident near Welkom. While there was apparently no direct evidence suggesting foul play, the suspicion had been voiced that not all were 'accidents', according to a newspaper report. 109

Several members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) received repeated death threats over the telephone. In November Mrs Mama Zihlangu, western Cape chairwoman of the United Women's Organisation, had her house stoned. Shortly after this, Mr Oscar Mpetha, the UDF president, received a phone call saying that the same would happen to his house. In Johannesburg, the homes of several white people, including former detainees, parents of detainees, trade unionists, journalists, and lawyers involved in resettlement, political and civil rights issues had bricks hurled at their homes late at night.

Mr John Malcomess, a PFP MP, called for a police investigation into a 'sadistic campaign of intimidation' against several Port Elizabeth journalists. Mrs Helen Suzman said that there were ominous signs of a 'chain of events', and that if the campaign was by 'a gang of people, it was a very ugly symptom of our times'. She called for a police investigation. Detainees' support committees have also
observed that harassment, and in some instances, violent action against persons later detained, and former detainees by 'certain unknown persons' was on the increase.10

In February, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said that due to lack of evidence, no progress had been made in investigating the death of Mr Griffiths Mxenge, a Durban attorney and former Robben Island prisoner who was murdered in November 1981. He said that the investigation would nevertheless continue.11 During the inquest into Mr Mxenge's death, the counsel for the Mxenge family, Mr T Skweyiya, was refused permission to see the SAP's investigation diary, on the grounds that it was a privileged document containing the names of informers. Mr Skweyiya submitted that Mr Mxenge had been murdered at a different place from where his body had been found. He said that there seemed to be an attempt to 'cover up' the manner and circumstances of Mr Mxenge's death, and that there were glaring discrepancies in the evidence of the investigating officer and his seniors. The inquest magistrate said that although there had been allegations of political motives for the killing, there was no evidence before him to this effect, and no-one had claimed responsibility. He ruled that Mr Mxenge's death was caused by the act of 'certain unknown persons'.

In October, Mrs Victoria Mxenge claimed that there was a link between the murder in 1978 of Dr Rick Turner, a Natal University lecturer, and that of her husband, and that both had been killed by 'right-wing squads'. She said that Mr David Somes, a former SA policeman who had fled to London while on a murder charge, could help her with her investigations, but that her attempts to see him had been thwarted by repeated passport refusals.” 2
DEFENCE

Defence Amendment Act, No 34 of 1983

Amendments to the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957, were proposed by the Naud6 Commission in January, and were incorporated into the Defence Amendment Act, No 34 of 1983. The major amendments were:

(1) Religious objectors and the boards for religious objection The onus will be on the applicant to prove eligibility for classification as an objector, and for the status he seeks. An objector must request the 'board for religious objection' for a hearing within 30 days of receipt of his notice to undergo military training. The board
may reject a man's application if it believes he supports 'an enemy of the Republic'. 'Enemy' is defined as:

* any country against which operations in defence of the Republic are directed;
* any country which maintains or declares it maintains a state of war against the Republic, whether or not war has actually been declared; and any group of persons against which such operations in defence of the Republic are directed;
* any citizen of, or any member of the armed forces of such a country, or any person domiciled in such country, or any member of such group of persons;
* any person who commits terrorism, subversion, sabotage, or any act calculated to cause internal disorder, or states that he commits any such act or actively supports the commission thereof.

If his application is rejected, the applicant must be informed of the grounds on which such a decision was made, and be given an opportunity to be heard.

Applications will be screened by a board chaired by a judge or retired judge. Three theologians of different denominations appointed by the Minister of Manpower, two members of the South African Defence Force (SADF), one of them a chaplain, will also sit on the board.

The bill stated that no legal representation would be allowed at board hearings; witnesses could be called; there would be no publication of proceedings; and all decisions of the board would be final. The bill empowered the board to grant applications, allocate objectors to one of four categories of objectors (see below), dismiss applications, and provide for the reviewing of cases. During the parliamentary debate some of these provisions were changed and others added, as follows: proceedings may be held in camera only if the applicant requests this, or if it is in the interest of state security; a board may not refuse to hear an application simply because it is 'of the opinion' that a person is 'an enemy of the state'; boards may include a member of the applicant's own faith; there will be several boards throughout the country, and an applicant may appeal to the supreme court if he is not satisfied with the outcome of his hearing.

DEFENCE AMENDMENT ACT
(2) Religious and non-religious objectors The act provided for four categories of objectors:

(a) Religious objectors whose religious convictions prevent them from serving in a combatant capacity in the armed forces. They are required to wear military uniform and perform tasks beneficial to the SADF for the length of the normal call-up period (two years' continuous service and 720 days over a 12-year period);

(b) Religious objectors whose convictions prevent them from serving in a combatant capacity in the armed forces, or from performing any maintenance task of a combatant nature or from wearing military uniform. They are required to serve one and a half times the normal call-up period performing maintenance tasks for the SADF that are not related to combat activities. Refusal to do so entails a jail sentence for an equivalent
period;
(c) Religious objectors whose convictions prevent their performing any military
service or training or any tasks in connection with any armed force.
They have to perform one and a half times the length of the normal callup period
in community, public, or municipal service. The service must be performed
continuously. Other conditions of this service are that objectors cannot engage in
any political activity except vote in an election or referendum. They are also not
allowed to publish any written material of a political nature. Refusal to engage in
this alternative service will lead to an equivalent jail sentence;
(d) Non-religious objectors refusing to perform any type of military service
on moral and ethical grounds. Service under this category is a prison sentence one
and a half the length of normal national service (ie six years). This was originally
eight years but an amendment by the New Republic Party (NRP) to reduce it to
six years was accepted. The minimum sentence in instances where a person has
already performed part of his national service and then becomes an objector is
eighteen months.
This category proved to be one of the most contentious. The Progressive Federal
Party (PFP) proposed that the courts should have the discretion to sentence non-
religious objectors to a term of community service. Mr Colin Eglin (PFP) said that
the government should concede that religious, moral and ethical motives were
often intertwined. Whether a person should be sent to prison for refusing to do
military service, or be sentenced to six years 'community service' should be left to
the discretion of the courts, he said. Mr Vause Raw (NRP) said his party was not
prepared to 'open the backdoor' to non-religious objectors.
(3) The act prohibits any member of the SADF from binding himself or rendering
service or assistance as a mercenary or from encouraging or instigating others to
become mercenaries. The prescribed penalty for participation as a mercenary is
R5 000 or two years' imprisonment or both, and for encouraging others to become
mercenaries, R10 000 or five years or both.
Protest against the legislation came from political parties churches, student
organisations and other groups. The PFP spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh,
suggested that the bill be referred to a select committee. He added that the
principle of the bill should be expanded beyond purely religious objectors to
include those who had bona-fide objections to military service on moral or ethical

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

The PFP opposed the second reading of the bill.
The main churches in SA were divided on the provisions for conscientious
objection. The Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian Churches indicated that there
was a need for alternative service for 'moral and ethical' objectors, as well as for
religious ones. The Gereformeerde Kerk and the Hervormde Kerk indicated that
religious reasons could be valid grounds for objection but 'political grounds'
should not be recognised.' Other churches, such as the Methodist Church,
objected to the representation of the SADF on the board established to find
alternatives to military service. This view was supported by the SA Council of
Churches, which added that 'under the appearance of providing an alternative for
conscientious objectors, the SADF is trying to drive these young men out of the
country'.2
Conscientious Objection
In January, 66 Jehovah's Witnesses were found guilty by courts martial at
Voortrekkerhoogte for refusing to do military service, and sentenced to three
years' detention. Major D Botha, the president of the court, said he had 'no
alternative' but to impose the sentence. A spokesman for the Jehovah's Witnesses
restated their position that members were prepared to do work which would not
violate their consciences during their term of detention.3 In the same month, Mr
A Paterson, an Anglican, was convicted in Pretoria for refusing to do national
service, and sentenced to four months in jail, after which he would be discharged
with ignominy from the SADF.4
In February four more Jehovah's Witnesses were sentenced to three years'
detention for refusing to do military service. They were Messrs C Rauberheimer,
K Ratcliffe, W Flecher, and S Rautenbach, who all pleaded guilty to the charges
under the Defence Act. In the same month a pamphlet containing an interview
with a conscientious objector, Mr B Paddock, jailed in October 1982, was banned
by the Publications Control Board. The board said that the interview was
undesirable because it created distrust in SA's war effort in SWA.5 Mr C Yeats,
an Anglican conscientious objector, was released from the Pretoria Central Prison
after serving a year's sentence in jail. An SADF spokesman confirmed that
provisions in the Defence Act made it possible for Mr Yeats to be called up
repeatedly for military service6 (see 1982 Survey p 197).
In March, Mr P Hathorne was jailed by a military court in Pretoria for two years
for failing to do military service. He said that he objected to military, not national,
service. Giving evidence in Mr Hathorne's defence, Dr Allan Boesak, president of
the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said that apartheid was a heresy and
that to defend it was incompatible with the gospel of Jesus Christ. He endorsed
Mr Hathorne's view that the struggle in SA amounted to a civil war.7
The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said that conscientious
objectors were entitled to three visitors at a time. Visits could take place once a
month, and for a maximum of three hours depending on the number of visitors
and the availability of control personnel, and the facilities available.' The minister
also noted that none of the persons currently being held in detention barracks
would be accommodated in the system of community service as provided for in
the Defence Amendment Act of 1983.9
A spokesman for the Committee on South African War Resisters (COSAWR),
based in England, said it expected the number of 'war resisters' leaving the
country to increase after the passing of the Defence Amendment Act.
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DEFENCE PERSONNEL AND MILITARY SERVICE
COSAWR, which helps persons to leave the country to avoid military service,
claimed that there were several thousand SA 'war resisters' scattered all over the
world, with at least 300 in Britain, 100 in the Netherlands, 30 in Australia, and
about 20 in the USA. 10
In parliament, the Minister of Defence said that the SADF Committee on Persons with Conscientious Objections to National Service, under the chairmanship of Brigadier C Naudé, had liaised with church groupings to find out their reactions to the recommendations of the committee. He said that all church groupings had indicated that the proposals were at least 'a step in the right direction'. He stated further that the representatives of churches whose membership represents 53% of the white population of SA accepted the proposals without reservation. Representatives of churches whose membership represented 23% of the white population accepted the proposals with some reservations.

In September, Mr Paul Dobson was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and given a dishonourable discharge from the army after he refused to continue with his national service. Mr Dobson had been in the SADF for 14 months. In a statement handed to the court, Mr Dobson said that the SADF was part of 'an unjust society and used to quell the legitimate aspirations of the majority', and that it was pursuing a policy of aggression to destabilise neighbouring states. The president of the court, Colonel P J de Klerk, described Mr Dobson as a 'political objector', and not a conscientious objector. He said the conscientious objector status was being used by those who opposed SA government policy and supported more radical forces for change in SA.

In November the SADF announced that charges against conscientious objectors who were to be tried in 1983 were to be withdrawn. They would, however, be called up in 1984; if they refused to perform national service they would be tried. One of the conscientious objectors who was subject to these provisions was Mr Brett Mrydal, who was to have been tried on 8 November. Mr Mrydal, an active National Union of SA Students member, claimed that the extension of political rights to Indians and coloured people was a move towards conscripting them. He said he rejected defending an 'unjust system' by joining the SADF, and that SA was in a state of 'civil war'.

The Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said that SA's opponents were attempting to discourage SA's youth from doing national service by persuading them to become 'draft dodgers'. There was a calculated attempt to undermine the whole concept of national service and the necessity to defend the borders.

Defence Personnel and Military Service

The Minister of Defence stated that of 259 SADF deaths in 1982, 149 were the result of causes other than enemy action, with 72 people being seriously injured from other causes as well. 12 The minister also said that of the 1983 courts martial in 1981, 1053 had resulted in convictions. In 1982 there were 2 064 courts martials, with 2 036 convictions.

The minister also described the position of persons held at detention centres and the offences that they had committed. On 22 March 1983, the number of persons held at detention centres was: Voortrekkerhoogte 473; Wynberg 58; Grootfontein 26; Bloemfontein 21; Simonstown 4 and King's Rest 5. Of these, 355 were held for refusing to undergo military training in the Citizen Force or commando units, and 185 for absenting themselves without leave.
The minister noted that 255 coloured men in 1981, and 679 in 1982, with the required qualifications, were refused admission to a two-year period of national service because of a lack of accommodation. 15

In an article in the Summer 1983 issue of Leadership SA Mr Willem Steenkamp, military correspondent of the Cape Times, said that the SADF was built around a permanent force consisting of about 17 400 men and women, about a quarter of them from races other than white. Also serving at any given time were some 53 000 national servicemen who served for two years. These were mainly white males doing compulsory service, but some were coloured and Asian volunteers. This full-time force was backed by more than 100 000 reservists of the citizen force and the commando force, who carried out periodical refresher training and could be called up for lengthy stints of active service. Mr Steenkamp added that if the SADF were fully mobilised it could probably put at least 400 000 men in the field. However, in practice such a full mobilisation of the citizen and commando forces was unlikely 'except in a real Doomsday situation', because largescale mobilisation of reservists would cause a drastic slowing down of the economy.

During the debate on his budget vote in parliament, the Minister of Defence announced that national servicemen of 1973 or earlier would be placed on either the Citizen Force Reserve, or, if they belonged to the commandos, would have greatly reduced annual service commitments. This applied whether they had served the compulsory 240-day commitment in the past 10 years or not. This new provision affected about 100 000 men and was welcomed by the PFP. At the same time, however, the minister announced a further implementation of the new system, in terms of which all white males between the ages of 18 and 54 in the three commando areas of Nelspruit, Carolina and Piet Retief would have to register with the authorities between 13 June and 1 July 1983. 16 Moreover, the minister said that national servicemen who had completed 18 and 24 months' service in 1974 and 1975 and had not volunteered for further camps, would now become eligible for additional service, under the same provisions as applied to reservists. 17 Major R Sive (PFP) questioned whether it was 'morally correct' to call up persons who felt they had served their full length of service in the belief that they would not be called up in the future. 18

The opposition's defence spokesman, Mr P Myburgh, said in parliament that the permanent force should be expanded and be composed of professional soldiers. It should be multiracial, with equal pay for equal work, and with provision for people who wished to make a temporary contribution on a voluntary basis. He stated that the PFP was not suggesting that the national service system should be abolished but that it should be a less important component of the SADF. 19

In September, Major-General D R Marais, formerly Chief of Army Staff Operations, was appointed Deputy Chief of the Army. Major-General Marais succeeded Major-General G L Meiring, who took over as General Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force. Other new appointments were Major-General M J du Plessis as Chief of Army Staff Operations, and Major-General P M Hanekom as Inspector-General of the Army.

In July, the minister said that because whites were unable to bear SA's full defence burden there was no option but to involve other population groups, who
should be given the opportunity to contribute to the defence of SA, since national security concerned all its inhabitants.20 At the National Party Congress in Bloem-

ARMS AND EQUIPMENT

goedfontein in September, the minister said that while the SADF commandos did not need more people of other race groups at that stage, men of other races other than white were regarded as an essential manpower resource for them. People of other races could be used as teachers, interpreters, or in the intelligence staff, he added. There were already 2 500 coloured people, Asians, and Africans in the commandos. During the campaign leading up to the constitutional referendum in November, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that only after political rights had been extended to Indians and coloured people, would they be conscripted. Mr Botha also said that compulsory national service for women was not a possibility because of the prohibitive cost of establishing training facilities. The system of voluntary service for women and a programme of training in the nursing service already existed, he said.

In December, the Minister of Defence, General Malan, and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said in a joint statement that the evasion of military service by immigrants was a source of dissatisfaction to SA citizens, who felt disadvantaged in terms of employment opportunities. They said that the SA Citizenship Amendment Bill, which would become law in 1984, provided for all immigrants automatically to become SA citizens after completing five years' of permanent residence, unless they 'timeously' declared that they did not wish to do so. The statement said that many immigrants had indicated that they would like to participate in the defence of SA. Mr Myburgh welcomed the legislation, but said that he feared that immigrants with vital skills might leave SA or that immigration to SA might cease. The Conservative Party (CP) spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, insisted that conscription of white immigrants be accompanied by compulsory national service for coloured and Indian youths.

Professor Kenneth Grundy, first Bradlow Fellow at the SA Institute of International Affairs, claimed that the armed forces of SA's four 'independent' homelands (the Transkei, the Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) were part of the SA government's regional defence system against insurgents of the African National Congress (ANC). He pointed out that the 'independence' of these homelands had added 4 930km to SA's land borders, and that their armies had already been involved in clashes with ANC insurgents, often in concert with the SADF and the SA Police. The relationship between the SADF and the armies of the 'independent' homelands had been supplemented by SA's creation of African ethnically-based regional battalions in 1979. In an aide-memoire prepared for a discussion with the head of the army, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, in January, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said that while his administration had no 'legal right' to stop the SADF recruiting blacks, it had refused to allow it to recruit in KwaZulu schools. 'To many black patriots it is difficult to feel free to join the army while apartheid exists', Chief Buthelezi said.

Arms and Equipment
In March there was widespread protest against a plan by the Armaments Corporation (ARMSCOR) to institute a weapons testing range on the southern Cape coast. About 6 500 people in Cape Town signed petitions of protest. Local farmers complained that they had not been approached by the government on the matter. The Minister of Defence appealed to those involved in the dispute to refrain from ‘damaging comment’ in public while discussions were under way. He gave an assurance that ARMSCOR and the SADF would ensure that the interests of both nature conservation and the country's defence were met.21 The government appointed the Hey Committee to investigate how the range might damage the nature reserve. In December, Mr Sarel Hayward, Minister of Environment Affairs and Fisheries, announced that the cabinet had accepted the recommendations of the Hey Committee, and would go ahead with the establishment of the missile testing site. The Hey Committee found that the proposed site was the only one which met all the essential requirements for the establishment of the facility. All land acquired by the SADF in the area which was not needed for the establishment of facilities and infrastructure would be declared a nature reserve and incorporated into the De Hoop nature reserve.

An authoritative British publication, Jane's Defence Review praised the quality of weapons produced by ARMSCOR. It said that SA armament production had met the needs of the SADF and was now entering the international arms market.22 It pointed out that while it was widely known that some clandestine sales were being made, the superior quality of ARMSCOR's military hardware allowed it to enter the open international arms market. The renowned defence publication NATO's 15 Nations reviewed the SA G6 gun, saying it was the finest gun of its kind in the world. A Cape Times report pointed out that ARMSCOR faced two major problems: no country was willing to sign a military treaty with SA, and many governments were not willing to buy weapons of war from SA.

Jane's Fighting Ships, an authoritative British naval publication, called for the lifting of the naval arms embargo against SA. The editor, Captain John Moore, accused the west of applying double standards against SA by denying its ships equipment and refit facilities while expecting them to protect vital interests against Soviet imperial expansion. Capt Moore claimed that the Soviet Navy already had a presence in southern Africa. He said that the arms embargo had been positive for SA, because it had encouraged it to develop and design vehicles suited exactly to its needs. In September, Jane's Defence Review said that SA was exporting air-to-air missiles to selected countries. One such missile, known as the Kukri, was an upgraded version of the V3 air-to-air missile developed in the 1970s. A spokesman for ARMSCOR refused to comment on this claim.

In November, Jane's Defence Review noted that ARMSCOR had developed a 60mm mortar which could be carried while loaded by a soldier on patrol. The review also noted that SA had in production and operation a computer-controlled artillery system which required minimal operation training but which provided fast and accurate fire control computations. Other SA innovations were a range of electro-optical systems, including a miniature combat night-sight, a laser
rangefinder, and a night 'driverscope'. According to a report in The Citizen in November, Eloptro, a plant of Kentron, an ARMSCOR subsidiary, introduced a new trade, fine optics, for the manufacture of optical equipment. In the same month, the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, in a report entitled The Border Wars: SA's Response, suggested that the SADF’s greatest needs were for more modern radar and night-fighting equipment such as image intensifiers, more sophisticated communications and command-and-control capability, more up-to-date anti-tank weapons (both ground and helicopter-launched), and more modern surface-to-air guided missiles, both small and large. In the Leadership SA article already cited Mr Steenkamp said that the SA Air Force was in 'relatively good shape' but had some 'major equipment problems looming up', because replacing its aircraft with newer types would not be easy in the face of the international arms embargo against SA. The SAAF's most pressing

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

problem was that its Avro Shackleton bombers, which for 26 years had been used as long-range maritime reconnaissance aircraft to patrol the country's extensive coastline, had long since reached retirement age and could not easily be replaced. There was also an immediate shortage of 'attack helicopters' but little chance of a helicopter being produced by ARMSCOR in the immediate future. Mr Steenkamp said that the SA Navy was 'the worst off' of the three services. It had acquired seven missile-armed strike craft and had an undisclosed number more on order, but when the one remaining anti-submarine frigate was retired, the Navy's anti-submarine capacity would be reduced to nothing. As far as the Army was concerned, Mr Steenkamp said that it had the most modern equipment of the services 'because much of it can be manufactured or rebuilt locally'. The article noted that ARMSCOR claimed that it satisfied 90% of the SADF's requirements, and that it planned to increase its exports from R10m to R150m a year. In November Sweden placed an immediate and retroactive embargo on the import of war equipment from SA. In December, the honorary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Mr Abdul Minty, said that the governments of Austria, Denmark and Norway had given the AAM an assurance that they would tighten the arms embargo against SA. He claimed that while western countries told SA's neighbouring countries that they would not supply arms to them since they were 'conflict areas', they ensured that SA acquired vital equipment to sustain its powerful defence force. Mr Minty said that because of this SA's neighbouring countries were forced to rely on Soviet arms. In June, the Atomic Energy Corporation announced that it would establish a new nuclear research centre on the Cape coast, 45km west of Mossel Bay. Dr J W L de Villiers said that the choice had been made taking into consideration the ecology and public safety. Mr John Malcomess (PFP) welcomed the development and said that the PFP supported research and development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
The former United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Sean MacBride, alleged at a news conference in Paris that SA had acquired a nuclear weapons capacity with help from members of NATO who had agreed to sell SA enriched uranium. In the USA, the house of representatives approved legislation which restricted the export of nuclear material and fuel to countries not agreeing to international safeguards against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This legislation could cut off technology that could be used for nuclear weapons development in SA, it was reported.

Expenditure
In February, the Auditor-General, Mr A P Ellis, reported that the SADF’s account was overdrawn by more than R184m for the financial year 1981/82. Of the R184m overdrawn, R140m had gone into the Special Defence Account. As this account was secret, Mr Ellis said that the auditing had been done by a specially appointed person who had access to vouchers which covered all the expenditure. Mr Ellis disclosed that a special project had been launched to make the SADF’s accounting system more efficient.24 Defence expenditure for the period April 1983 to March 1984 was budgeted to increase by 15,9% to R3 092m. The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, pointed out that the total amount spent on defence had risen threefold over the past eight years. Mr Horwood said that the

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE
the government had always accorded top priority to a well-trained, adequately equipped and effective defence force, and would continue to do so as long as it was necessary. Almost one-third of the defence budget was devoted to ‘area defence’. Mr Horwood allocated R1 523 056 200 to the Defence Special Account.25
A breakdown of estimated defence expenditure for the year ending 31 March 1984 was as follows:26

R
Overhead command and control 271 408 800
Overhead support 1 220 081 500
Area defence 1 005 709 200
Landward defence 481 604 000
Air defence 179 489 000
Maritime defence 153 663 400
Provisions (purchase of stock and equipment) 2 155 089 700 Sub-total 5 467 045 600
less: internal charges, estimated underexpenditure, estimated funds available (2 374 235 600)
Total R3 092 810 000
The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told parliament that SA was 'falling behind' in the arms race in relation to neighbouring countries and more would have to be spent on defence. Mr P Myburgh (PFP) noted that defence now accounted for 14,6% of the budget, compared with 13,8% in 1982. 'Defence expenditure is economically unproductive, and consequently inflationary', he said. 'It is therefore hoped that southern Africa will soon concentrate on social and
economic development rather than military expenditure'. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in April that SA was threatened by a conventional military onslaught, which would be launched when the time was ripe.27 The Minister of Finance said that R11 381 980 had been invested in defence bonus bonds up to 31 December 1982. The total amount withdrawn in this period was R109 267 095. Evidence before the select committee on public accounts revealed that money raised by selling bonus bonds did not go towards the financing of defence only but went into the general revenue account of the state. This evoked strong protest from the opposition parties in parliament, who said the public had been led to believe that bonus bonds financed the defence force.28 In August, the Minister of Defence said that the fuel price decrease would lead to an estimated R2,6m decrease in the fuel budget of the SADF. However the defence budget for 1983/84 would not be decreased; excess money would go into a budget for 'unforeseen operations'. The 1983/84 defence budget accounted for about 4% of SA's gross national product (GNP). The percentage of GNP spent on defence in other countries in the past year was as follows: Israel 30%; Saudi Arabia 29%; Syria 25%; Russia between 11 and 15% (official figures are unavailable); Argentina 8%; Republic of China 6-9%; East Germany 6,5%; US 6%; Britain 5,7%; France 3,3%; and West Germany 3,1%.

584 DEFENCE

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SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL POLICY

During 1983, SA was again accused of practising aggression against some of its neighbouring states, particularly Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. In October 1982, SA described these states as 'politically immature' and claimed that they were determined to destabilise SA by allowing themselves to be used by 'terrorist organisations'. Swaziland, Botswana and Malawi, on the other hand, were 'politically mature'. The nine black-rulled states in southern Africa which had in 1980 organised themselves into the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) accused SA of practising economic sabotage
against their attempts to reduce their dependence on SA's transport system for their off-shore trade. The US administration made clear during the year that its policy of 'constructive engagement' applied not only to SA but to the region as a whole, and that one of its main aims was to reduce regional tension.

Tension emerged between SA and Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (the BLS countries), which are members of the Southern African Customs Union. The union, which is run by SA, collects customs dues on all member countries' imports and then pays the BLS countries a share based on an agreed formula. The BLS countries have been unhappy about delays in receiving their shares, which account for a major part of their income. They have been trying to have their payments speeded up, but claim that Pretoria is being less than co-operative. A possible reason for this, they believe, is that it wishes to coerce them into accepting SA's 'independent' homelands as members of the union, which they have refused to do. The suspicion has also been voiced that SA is using its control over customs union revenues to pressurise the BLS countries into becoming members of the SA-controlled Development Bank of Southern Africa (see chapter on Homeland Development). These suspicions were reinforced when the SA government postponed a meeting with the BLS countries that was due to be held in September. According to the Financial Mail, the reason was that the SA constitutional referendum to be held on 2 November made it difficult for SA ministers to attend.

The SA Defence Force and Neighbouring States

In his New Year message, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that the government was determined not to allow neighbouring states to be used as springboards for attacks on SA. Anyone who under-estimated the national will and determination of the country and its people to protect themselves would have a rude awakening. Mr Botha offered neighbouring governments non-aggression treaties and pacts prohibiting the use of either country for attacks. A few days later, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, warned that the offer of non-aggression pacts would have to be reconsidered if neighbouring states did not stop infiltration into SA. He said that if it was in the interests of SA to support 'anti-communist forces' such as the Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RNM) and UNITA (Angola) in neighbouring states, it would do so. In response the leader of the opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, called for General Malan's resignation on the grounds that he did not understand the political implications of military decisions. Dr Slabbert said non-interference with neighbouring states should be a cornerstone of government policy. If this policy had changed SA 'would become a partner for Moscow, and jointly responsible for a Soviet presence in the sub-continent.' The Prime Minister rejected allegations that SA was involved in attempts to destabilise countries in southern Africa. Political observers, commenting on a heated debate in parliament on destabilisation, made the following claims:

" an undisclosed number of dissidents from neighbouring countries had been recruited into regular and possibly irregular SADF units, and this
had implicated the SADF in several blatant destabilisation exercises;
" rebel groups in neighbouring states had shown a tremendous growth in
strategy and effectiveness in the past two years;
" operations undertaken by these groups had been of great benefit to SA's
own strategic interests;
" by supporting major disruptive action of a military, political and economic
nature in neighbouring states, the SA government hoped to keep these countries in
a state of economic dependence, thereby allowing
them much less freedom to harbour anti-SA guerrillas;
" SA was facing the dilemma of whether to move from maintaining instability to
topping and replacing governments in neighbouring states, which it would have
to support at great military and financial cost; and
" SA was attempting to woo support away from the SADCC to its own
Development Bank through the pressure of destabilisation.4

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (London) publicati on Military
Balance showed SA superiority over other African states. It said that the recession
over the past five years had caused Africa's military expenditure to fall by 20%.
However, this decline had not occurred in SA. It gave a comparison of population,
expenditure, and army personnel in various African countries as follows: SA 26m,
R2 820m, 404 500; Nigeria 82m, R680-R850m, 133 000; Mozambique 12.5m,
R210m, 125 000; Angola 7.2m, R765-800m, 37 500; Zimbabwe 8m, R345m,
41300. General Constand Viljoen, chief of the SA Defence Force, claimed that in
the past five years Soviet bloc countries had spent R3 400m to maintain military
personnel in Angola, R350m in Mozambique, R800m in Tanzania, R200m in
Zambia, and R42m in Botswana.

In an interview published in Rapport on 21 August, General Malan claimed that
'communist' weapons in southern Africa included the latest ground-to-air missile,
the SAM 8. He said arms were streaming into neighbouring countries and that SA
would have to spend more on defence and safety to restore the balance of power.
The country's arms would have to be modernised even more. General Malan
claimed that the ground forces of SA's neighbouring states had increased more
than 300% to 300 000 men since 1977, while the number of aircraft had increased
to 600, a fifth of them MIG fighters of the 17, 19, and 21 type. Some could be
compared with SA's Mirage III. Apart from the arms build-up, General Malan
said, 'tens of millions' of weapons were directly delivered to the South West
African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the African National Congress
(ANC). General Malan said the advanced SAM 8 missiles in Angola and
Mozambique had caused SA to watch the situation very carefully. They created
an umbrella for

SA AND THE SADCC
SWAPO and the ANC under which they could operate in safety. In December, the
head of the SA Air Force, Lieutenant-General Mike Muller, said that the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was supplying SA's neighbouring countries
with aerial hardware ranging from supersonic jet fighters to advanced radar and
missile systems. He claimed that there were 200 MIG aircraft in the hands of
neighbouring countries. He said that this confirmed that the USSR had 'a high premium' on southern Africa.

The New York Times reported in October that King Sobhuza II of Swaziland had signed a secret pact with SA before his death in 1982, believed to be the first 'anti-terrorist subversion agreement' by SA with any of its neighbouring countries.

In November, the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in an attack on the UN Security Council, warned that SA was determined to act against 'terrorism' in neighbouring states, even if it brought SA 'into conflict with the entire world'.

Many envoys linked his remarks to the landslide success of the National Party in the white referendum in SA (see chapter on The New Constitution). In the same month, Mr Botha visited several European countries, among them Portugal. It was suggested that during his visit to Portugal the possibility of restoring the economic viability of the Portuguese-funded Cahora Bassa dam and hydroelectric scheme in Mozambique was discussed. The lucrative sale of electricity from the dam to SA has been rendered impossible by the alleged sabotage of supply lines inside Mozambique by the RNM. Observers suggested that the Portuguese government had asked SA to 'discourage' RNM activity in Mozambique. Various initiatives between SA and some of her neighbouring countries to discuss regional stability started in December (see below).

SA and the SADCC

SA continued to dominate southern Africa militarily and economically. It produced 77% of the total Gross National Product of the area south of Zaire and Tanzania, while about 90% of the area's energy consumption was in SA, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.'

In 1980, nine southern African states - Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania - formed a new economic association known as the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference (SADCC).

In January 1983 the SADCC held its third ministerial conference, which was attended by 22 aid agencies and 28 donor countries, in Maseru, the Lesotho capital. A week before the meeting, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, had appealed for the formation of a multinational army by the SADCC to fight 'Pretoria's aggression'. A few days before, an SADCC project - a vital bridge on the Benguela railway line to the Angolan port of Lobito - was bombed, rendering the line useless to Zambia and Zaire, which had at one time relied on it for their exports. Mr Peter Mmusi, Botswana vice-president and chairman of the SADCC ministers’ council, accused SA of economic destabilisation and commented, 'It is not much use to develop ports and pipelines, roads and railways and then watch in silence as they are blown up.'

He saw SA's alleged destabilisation as having two purposes: preventing economic co-operation between SADCC countries; and preventing the growth of the economies of individual countries. During the conference, the Lesotho Liber-
that while there was no doubt in Europe that SA was behind some of the destabilisation, it was difficult to know what the EEC could do to stop it. In July, SA's attitude to neighbouring states, along with the drought, dominated the meeting of SADCC heads of government in Maputo. They claimed that the SADCC was not aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of SA, but that SA had systematically intensified its 'militarist and expansionist' policies. They also were astonished that SA acted with such impunity, 'invading and occupying states, blowing up vital installations, and massacring populations, at no cost to its relations with its major allies'. It urged these allies (a reference to Britain and USA) to use their influence to check alleged SA aggression against SADCC members. President Samora Machel of Mozambique claimed that SA wanted SADCC countries to divert human and financial resources to defence, and thus turn them into its satellites. The meeting also urged western nations to transfer investment from SA to SADCC countries, and to support their efforts to develop peacefully. The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) were represented at the meeting.

In August, the information ministers of Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Nigeria, and representatives of the PAC, ANC and SWAPO met in Harare to plan a common strategy against what they regarded as dangerous 'SA propaganda and information aggression'. According to reports, the states were concerned about radio broadcasts from SA aimed at groups in their countries. At the meeting the 'Kadoma declaration' was signed, and it was decided to discourage and in certain cases ban SA-based foreign correspondents from entering their countries. In October, Mr Mmusi appealed to an EEC meeting in Brussels to take action against SA for attacks on roads and other projects founded by the EEC in southern Africa. The SADCC also called on the EEC for more assistance for projects such as roads, food production, and energy generation. Towards the end of the year SA and Swaziland signed an agreement on financial and technical assistance for a railway link to be constructed between Komatipoort in SA and the Swaziland rail system.

In June, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that his department had held several discussions with representatives of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola. Matters of bilateral concern, and of concern to southern Africa as a whole, were discussed. Lack of trust in each other's motives hampered discussions with some countries, Mr Botha said. However, his department was involved in an 'ongoing process' of negotiation with all countries except Angola to reach agreement on the non-utilisation of each of their territories as springboards for subversion.

In its annual report for 1982/83, the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (SAFTO) said: 'The deepening economic gloom in most of SA's neighbouring countries has led to efforts at co-ordinating their foreign aid approaches in which a lesser reliance on SA is advocated. It is in this field that the pragmatism of the private sector can help to ensure the free flow of two-way trade between the constituent countries in the area.' SAFTO added that the objectives of the SADCC and the SA-dominated customs union were 'politically different', but
SA AND THE SADCC

'not mutually exclusive at an economic level'.
SAFTO continued: 'Trade between SA and other countries in Africa is the
common denominator through which the Republic’s prosperity can benefit others.
The relative economic power of SA will automatically draw along the economic
development of the other countries in the region ... SA's trade with individual
countries in Africa is not published, but total SA exports to some 40 countries in
Africa amount to R900m in direct trade, with a possible additional R400m in
indirect exports. Imports from Africa are of the order of only R330m. Foodstuffs
are an important element in SA's exports to Africa, but they do not dominate: raw
materials, chemicals, plastics and steel are of greater weight. Of special
consequence to our manufacturing sector are the opportunities that Africa still
offers for a wide range of manufactured SA goods -not only machinery,
equipment, and spares, but also consumer products and pharmaceuticals. SA
supplies the essential needs of the processing and mining industries in Africa and
in many cases keeps them from grinding to a standstill. In Zimbabwe, Zambia,
Malawi, Mozambique, and Mauritius, SA is the major supplier.'
SAFTO added: 'In order for SA to maintain its role as a major supplier to SADCC
in the long term, the Republic may have to deliberately foster a more balanced
two-way trade by trying specifically to create markets for traditional SADCC
goods, both in the Republic and elsewhere, through joint marketing programmes
... SA and SADCC have the same need to successfully market and physically ship
their exports to the rest of the world. Here lies a basis for co-operation where
there seem to be few, if any, conflicting interests and where spin-off benefits can
accrue to each... Close political co-operation between SADCC and SA may not
yet be viable, but there should be room for pragmatic joint privatesector export
development programmes which could consolidate and develop the trade interests
of the entire region.'

In a speech in November, Dr Simon Brand, economic adviser to the Prime
Minister and chief executive of the SA-sponsored Development Bank of Southern
Africa, said that SA was much less dependent on the other countries in the sub-
continent than they were on SA, but economic factors alone provided
opportunities for mutually-beneficial co-operation in the region. Economic
instability in neighbouring countries would lead to an influx of job-seekers and
the deterioration in the domestic unemployment situation. Dr Brand added:
'Economic cooperation leading to a more positive development in the economies
of the other countries in southern Africa would offer a potential for SA to increase
its exports to these countries.' However, he said, the economic advantages of co-
operation were outweighed in some areas by the political difficulties experienced
by blackruled states co-operating with white-ruled SA. This meant that such co-
operation was unlikely to be realised in the short to medium term. The bank's
contribution to regional co-operation would therefore have to be smaller than
once envisaged.

'Rather than being seen at this stage as a mechanism for extending the scope of
economic co-operation along a wider front in southern Africa, the bank must, for
the time being, be seen in a narrower role as part of a process of rationalisation of development co-operation between SA-including the self-governing national states-and Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei,' Dr Brand said. He added that the bank could not coerce other countries into joining it or cooperating with it. Instead, it would have to look out for ad hoc co-operation possibilities which would build up confidence in itself.

LESOTHO

Lesotho

Relations between SA and Lesotho were very tense at the beginning of 1983, following the SADF strike into Maseru on 9 December 1982. However, some progress was made during 1983 in restoring less acrimonious relations and even in securing co-operation.

A sabotage raid in February on two fuel reservoirs in Maseru drew sharp criticism from an SADCC meeting being held there. Mr E Pisani, development commissioner of the European Economic Community (EEC), said that the attack had not been carried out by the SADF but had its support. He presumed that the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) was responsible, since the attack was characteristic of its work: a small-scale target in an isolated place close to the Orange Free State border.

In March, the Lesotho para-military force (LPF) alleged that SA had been involved in an attack, led by a General McKenzie, on military barracks at Ongeluksnek in southern Lesotho. About 20 SA 'infiltrators' had been wounded or killed in the attack. 12 Two LLA members captured in the attack claimed that they had been trained at Lusikisiki in the Transkei, and then been brought by truck to points in SA close to the Lesotho border. In the same month, Lesotho Radio reported that a member of the LPF had been killed, and another wounded, in a grenade attack on the Roman Catholic Mission Station at Pitseng in the northern Leribe district. It said that white men were involved in the attack, and that the attackers had escaped in the direction of SA. Radio Lesotho also said that the LPF had carried out an operation against saboteurs who had attempted to blow up electrical installations in Maseru. 3 Six of the saboteurs had been arrested and four had escaped, while a large quantity of detonating equipment had been confiscated. The radio claimed that the South African Police (SAP) were involved and that an unspecified number had been arrested. 4 It was later announced that the arrested men had been 'mysteriously' released.

The Lesotho government protested to the United Nations, the US, Britain and other western countries about SA's alleged acts of aggression in its country. 5 The SA Department of Foreign Affairs denied all Lesotho's accusations. It said that the SA government could not be held responsible for the actions of certain dissident elements within Lesotho. 16

In the National Assembly on 12 April, Chief Leabua Jonathan, the Lesotho Prime Minister, urged his nation to realise that they faced war with SA. Chief Jonathan said that the 'destabilisation' efforts facing Lesotho forced his government to re-allocate development funds to state security. Diplomatic links with the Soviet
Union and the People's Republic of China were necessary to show that SA could not 'control' Lesotho, he said.
In June, Mr Pik Botha met Mr E R Sekhonyana, Lesotho's Minister of Foreign Affairs, to reach agreement that their respective countries should not be used as 'territories for subversion'. Both parties agreed that the meeting was positive.
However, at the end of the month, Lesotho accused SA of having armed rebels who had attacked several targets in Lesotho a few days earlier. At the same time, the LLA claimed that between 27 June and 5 July it had made several successful attacks on the LPF. At the beginning of July, SA accused Lesotho of sending two fully-armed members of the LPF to SA. Strict border controls were imposed. The Lesotho government requested an urgent meeting between the foreign ministers of the two countries, but the SA government responded by saying that such a meeting would serve no purpose until Lesotho 'changed its attitude'. In a letter

LESOTHO
to the UN security council, SA also hinted that it might repatriate Basotho workers in SA if the Lesotho representative at the UN continued to express the view that life in SA was 'so unbearable'. The Lesotho government denied that there were ANC military bases in Lesotho, and challenged SA to identify them. Lesotho accused SA of refusing to release money due to it under the Southern African Customs Union agreement. The Minister of Finance claimed that SA was refusing to review its agreements with neighbouring states because it wanted them to join a constellation of southern African states and participate in the Development Bank formed by SA. Lesotho has claimed that the Transkei is increasingly being used to mount insurgency attacks on its government. A colonel in the LPF said that the LLA used QwaQwa, a SA homeland, and the Drakensberg area of Transkei as springboards for attacks. After an attack on buses and oil tanks at Qacha's Nek on the Transkei border at the end of June, 30 LLA attackers had escaped into the Transkei, the colonel said. The Lesotho government has suggested that SA is attempting to force Lesotho to recognise Transkei 'independence'.

In August, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, visited Lesotho on the invitation of that country's government for discussions on alleged destabilisation by SA. Chief Buthelezi said that SA wanted to reduce Lesotho to the same status as 'independent' homelands like the Transkei, Venda and the Ciskei. He said he also suspected that the LLA had support from SA. In the same month, a car bomb exploded in central Maseru, minutes after the Lesotho Prime Minister had passed by the spot. Government officials said they were convinced that the car bomb had been planted to assassinate the Prime Minister. No organisation claimed responsibility for the attack. Although relations between SA and Lesotho had become strained again after the meeting of the two countries' foreign ministers in June, bilateral talks at official level were held in Pretoria in August. At this meeting the SA government demanded the expulsion from Lesotho of 68 SA political exiles resident there. A few weeks later 22 of the people named on the list left Lesotho 'voluntarily', according to the Lesotho government. According to some reports Lesotho had agreed to ensure the
eventual expulsion of 1200 to 1400 more SA exiles. In December a spokesman for the PAC said nine PAC ‘guerrillas’ had left Lesotho for Mozambique. Speaking in October at the 17th anniversary of the independence of Lesotho, Chief Jonathan said that his government would make every attempt to normalise relations with SA since it was in both countries’ interests. The US policy of constructive engagement was ‘exacerbating’ Lesotho’s problem, he claimed. Responding to a letter from the SA foreign minister concerning Lesotho's allegations of destabilisation by SA, Mr Sekhonyana claimed that the SA government was allowing its territory to be used for the training of insurgents for cross-border operations and that SA’s ‘tolerance’ of the LLA could only be interpreted as destabilisation. Referring to the SA government’s refusal to release arms destined for Lesotho from the Durban harbour, he rejected the view that the Lesotho government was passing its arms to subversive groups operating against SA. Mr Sekhonyana again alleged that SA wanted to coerce Lesotho into recognising the ‘homelands’. In the same month, SA delivered the consignment of arms and other military equipment after having held them in Durban for seven months. Mr Pik Botha, in an open letter to the secretary-general of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said that the arms had been held for ‘security reasons’. SA’s fears of the activities of anti-SA elements in Lesotho had been ‘well-founded’, he

LESOTHO

said, and this had led to measures regarding the entry of persons into SA from Lesotho ‘to be tightened’. Mr Sekhonyana said that by having withheld the arms, SA had applied an arms embargo against Lesotho.

In November, eight suspected members of the LLA were arrested by the SA police, on a SA farm close to the Lesotho-SA border, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition were confiscated. Professor John Barratt of the SA Institute of International Affairs welcomed the move, and said that it showed that SA was willing to take action when its territory was used for subversive purposes against Lesotho. In December, the eight men were acquitted on charges of illegal entry to SA and illegal possession of arms in the Bloemfontein Regional Court. Lesotho strongly denied suggestions that the arrest of the eight men by SA was a quidpro quo for its role in securing the departure of ANC members from Lesotho. SA and Lesotho had a second round of talks at official level, in Maseru, at the end of November.

In December the Lesotho government claimed that SA-based mercenaries were planning to launch a coup in Lesotho. It said that it had appealed to SA to stop the attack. The Information Minister, Mr Desmond Sixishe said the plan had been uncovered by Lesotho’s intelligence service. The Lesotho government said that the mercenaries were acting on the instructions of a foreign power but declined to identify the power. Mr Sixishe said that Lesotho believed that the plot was not connected with the LLA, which had, he claimed, been ‘neutralised’. Lesotho's army and police force were placed on full alert against the imminent invasion. The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs said that SA had no knowledge of the allegations but was willing to co-operate with the Lesotho intelligence service to
investigate them. A few days later, Mr Sixishe claimed that Lesotho had detained a 'reconnaissance' party of mercenaries at various points along the northwest Lesotho-Orange Free State border. Among those detained were white mercenaries with 'multi-national' citizenships, including SA nationality, Mr Sixishe said. It was subsequently claimed in The Citizen that former Rhodesian army officers were the men behind the proposed coup, and that the 'foreign power' named by Lesotho was the Transkei or Ciskei.

The SA and Lesotho governments continued discussions about the proposed Highlands Water Project in the Maluti mountains. This massive scheme - which is very much larger than its predecessor, the Oxbow scheme - involves building a series of dams and tunnels in the Malutis. Water which would otherwise have flowed from Lesotho into the Orange River will be pumped in the reverse direction for use in the Vaal Triangle industrial area. Lesotho in the process will earn revenue from SA and also generate electricity from hydro-electro dams, thus reducing its dependence on SA electricity.

The Highlands Project - which has been described as the biggest water scheme in Africa since Kariba - will eventually cost more than R1 000m. Lesotho and SA are undertaking separate feasibility studies.

Opening the Maqalika Dam in Maseru in December, the Lesotho Prime Minister said that the building of the dam was part of a project to reduce its economic dependence on SA. The dam, built at a cost of more than R10m, was cofinanced by the African Development Bank and the government of Lesotho, and pumps 9 000 cubic metres of water a day from the Caledon River on the border between Lesotho and SA. Lesotho's Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism, Mr Mooki Molapo, emphasised the urgent need to reduce his country's depen-

ZIMBABWE

Chief Jonathan rejected the proposed new SA constitution and said that the exclusion of the African majority would lead to racial conflict. In a telegram to Chief Buthelezi, Chief Jonathan commended those individuals and organisations that rejected the proposals, and said that while the SA government was ostensibly opposed to violence as a means of change, it had blocked all efforts from individuals such as Chief Buthelezi, who was interested in peaceful change.

At the independence celebrations in April, Zimbabwe President Canaan Banana said that during the past year dissident activity in the country had increased. These groups posed 'an intolerable threat to continued peace and national security' and played into the hands of the 'Pretoria regime'.

Three African members of the former Rhodesian security force were arrested after infiltrating Matabeleland from SA, the Zimbabwean Minister of State Security said in May. He claimed that the men were part of a group of 16 former auxiliaries whose task was to recruit volunteers to go to SA for military training. At the end of 1982, Zimbabwean security forces had been involved in a skirmish
with 10 men in the Moranda area in the southern part of Zimbabwe. One of the captives had admitted being part of a group of 100 men who had infiltrated the country from SA under instructions to mobilise the people to fight for the 'liberation' of Zimbabwe.24

In July, two ANC members, Mr M Morake and Mr F Ranato, were arrested after entering SA close to the Zimbabwe-SA border. Two other ANC members escaped to Zimbabwe. Mr L le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said that the 'four insurgents' had flown from Maputo to Harare after which they had travelled to the SA border. The Zimbabwean government denied that the incident had occurred and claimed it was just a 'flimsy excuse to attack Zimbabwe'. In July, senior Zimbabwean security officials met SA government representatives in Pretoria to discuss the issue. After the meeting, Mr le Grange said that the 'Zimbabwe government had placed on record that it would not allow terrorists to use Zimbabwe as a platform to launch attacks on the Republic'.25

In September, six white Zimbabwe airforce men were acquitted in the Harare High Court on charges of conspiring to commit sabotage at the Thornhill air base in July 1982, when twelve aircraft were destroyed. It was alleged that three SA saboteurs had carried out the operation. During the trial Mr Justice Enoch Dumbutshena ruled that confessions made by the accused were inadmissible, because they had been extracted through torture. Without the confessions, he said, the state had no evidence on which to convict. Immediately after their acquittal, the six airforce men were redetained, provoking widespread international condemnation. The Minister of Home Affairs, Dr H Ushewokunse, claimed that the officers would be 'a danger to public safety and order' if set free. In mid-September three of the men were released. Of these, Wing Commander P Briscoe was SA-born and held Zimbabwean citizenship, while the other two held dual Zimbabwe-British nationality. In December, the three remaining airforce men were released after 15 months in detention. A condition of their release was that they were to leave Zimbabwe within seven days. Wing Commander John Cox, one of those released, praised the Zimbabwe Prison

ZIMBABWE

Service and said that detainees were treated well. The release took place soon after the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, had met at the Commonwealth conference in New Delhi.26

In his trial on charges of murder, terrorism and illegal possession of weapons, a Zimbabwe dissident, Mr B Dube, alleged that he had been abducted from Zimbabwe and taken to a training camp in the Transvaal for military training. He was told that he would be sent back to Zimbabwe to 'fight against the government'. Mr Dube and a fellow accused, Mr Z Nzima, a former guerrilla of Mr J Nkomo's armed forces, were sentenced to death in the Harare High Court in August.27

In September a Messina farm worker, Mr D Mathiva, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the circuit court in Messina for assisting two armed men to
abduct an SADF corporal, S Mutasa, to Zimbabwe. Corporal Mutasa has since returned to SA.28

In the same month, the Minister of State Security in Zimbabwe, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, alleged that a group of dissidents had been sent from SA to blow up a petrol depot at Belt Bridge. Two of the dissidents had been captured. Mr Munangagwa claimed that because of co-operation between Zimbabwe and Botswana his government had been able to get information on SA-backed dissidents who were operating from Botswana. Other dissidents were being trained in SA and Bophuthatswana under the leadership of white former Zimbabwean central intelligence organisation officers. Mr Munangawa accused the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) of creating 'the dissident menace', and said that the SA government had seized this opportunity to destabilise Zimbabwe by giving support to ZAPU. In October, Mr Munangagwa said that the two dissidents, Messrs Spar Mapula (18) and Watson Sibanda (17), had been trained at a SADF camp near Louis Trichardt, and were part of a gang of 26 who were involved in a number of acts of violence. These included the murder of a white farmer, Mr Jan Brebner, and three other people, ambushes on government vehicles, and destruction of road making equipment in the Kezi area. Mr Sibanda told journalists that a 'Captain Callaway' had told them that their mission would include the murder of white farmers who supported Mr Mugabe. Incoming dissidents from SA were identified by the Zimbabwean authorities by the weapons they carried and by pamphlets in their possession which had been printed in SA.

In November, Bishop Abel Muzorewa was detained briefly soon after returning from Israel. The Zimbabwe government alleged that he was plotting a coup with SA and Israeli assistance. In the same month, Mr Mugabe claimed that SA-trained dissidents were being infiltrated into Zimbabwe through Botswana in order to promote hostile relations between Botswana and Zimbabwe. He claimed that these dissidents were trained in SA and were supporters of ZAPU and Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, called for the formation of an international army to drive SA out of Angola and Namibia. He also accused SA of operating a propaganda station, 'Radio Truth', beamed at Zimbabwe from 'close to the SABC studios in Johannesburg.'

A report by the Whitsun Foundation, a privately financed development agency, noted in November that deteriorating economic relations between Zimbabwe and SA would be more detrimental to SA. It said that international companies were already attempting to distance themselves from SA, and choosing instead to invest in Zimbabwe, which they considered to be a 'strategically safer option'. The Rand Daily Mail reported in November that in 1982, for the first time, Zimbabwe's trade with the EEC exceeded its trade with SA. However, despite the fact that SA imports into Zimbabwe dropped from R302m in 1981 to R259m in 1982, SA remained Zimbabwe's single biggest trading partner. The article pointed out, however, that the proportion of Zimbabwe's imports that came
from SA dropped from 36% in 1980 to 27.5% in 1981 and to 22.1% in 1982. It quoted an economist in Zimbabwe as saying that one of the reasons for the decline in SA imports was the decrease in the number of SA subsidiaries in Zimbabwe and the greater range of alternative trading partners for that country in the post-UDI era. Zimbabwe's exports to SA increased from 18.5% of total exports in 1980 to 21.6% in 1981, the proportion then dropping to 17.1% in 1982. A spokesman for the SA trade commission in Harare said he expected no major change in trade between the two countries 'for at least ten years'. The article quoted a freight expert in Harare as saying that if there were an improvement in cargo handling efficiency at Mozambican ports and an end to rebel activity in that country, Mozambique could take another 35% to 40% of Zimbabwe's trade traffic.

Mozambique

In January, an American publication, Africa Report, claimed that the RNM 'received the bulk of its support from SA'. This allegation was repeated by the US State Department. The SA government denied it. The Economist (London) alleged that the RNM was financed and armed by the SADF and given logistical support in the form of training, command and control equipment, helicopter transport and special operations. It said that the RNM had a military force of 10,000 and had control over large sections of central and southern Mozambique. In March, the US government warned that Mozambique might be forced to call in Cuban troops to assist it against the RNM, which claimed in June that it expected to take power by the end of 1984. In April the RNM Secretary-General, Mr Orlando Christina, was shot dead by two unknown gunmen at a farm near Pretoria.

In May, a week after a major bomb blast in Pretoria in which 19 people were killed, the SA Air Force (SAAF) attacked buildings in the residential suburb of Liberdade near Maputo. The SADF said five ANC bases had been attacked, and that activities at these bases included planning acts of 'urban and rural terrorism' in the Transvaal, keeping supplies of weapons and explosives for 'terrorists', and providing a transit base for 'terrorists' to be housed and briefed before they entered SA. The SADF claimed that 64 ANC members were killed in the attack. It added that 'such retaliatory action against the ANC would serve as a warning that terrorists and their organisations in neighbouring states, even in normal residential areas, would be sought out and destroyed'.

The Mozambique government denied the SADF's claims and said that six civilians were killed in the attack. Mr Jose Cabaco, the Information Minister, said that Mozambique would continue to allow ANC members and other genuine refugees to enter the country. But he added that ANC members would never be allowed to carry arms against SA.

The raid was widely condemned internationally. Britain, France, Italy, Zambia and Kenya condemned SA's violation of Mozambique's sovereignty and felt that such 'revenge' was unjustified. The US condemned both the Pretoria bomb blast and the Maputo raid and said that 'these acts reflected the urgent need to

MOZAMBIQUE
reduce tensions gripping the region and bring to an end the escalating cycle of violence'.

The Observer (London) claimed that it had direct proof that a Lieutenant Alan Gingles of the SADF was killed while trying to blow up a railway line linking Maputo and Beira. The SADF denied this, saying he had been killed in action in the operational area.3

In July, six men in a SA registered aircraft were detained in Nampula, northern Mozambique, after it made an unauthorised landing to obtain fuel. Five were released a month later, but the pilot was detained until he paid a fine of R5 400. It is believed that the Mozambique authorities took action because a large group of ANC members had been moved to Nampula at the time of the incident.36

Speaking in Lusaka in August, Mr Joachim Chissano, Mozambique's Foreign Minister, claimed that SA had increased its military assistance to the RNM. In the same month, Mozambique blamed SA for the death of two Russian geologists and the kidnapping of 24 others.

Three RNM members captured by Mozambiquan armed forces claimed that they were trained in Gazankulu for three months before returning to conduct acts of arson in Mozambique.37 A deserter from the RNM alleged that six white South Africans trained the RNM at a camp in the Inhambane province, Mozambique, and that SA aircraft regularly dropped supplies to the base by parachute.38

In September RNM chief Alfonso Dhlakoma strongly denied that his organisation had 'any links' with SA.

Also in September, President Samora Machel of Mozambique praised the President of the Cape Verde islands, Mr Aristides Pereira, for his role in bringing about talks between SA and Angola. Observers suggested that this indicated that President Machel regarded talks with SA as the major way of reducing tensions between the two countries. While on a tour in the Netherlands in October, President Machel said that he supported black nationalist groups politically and morally inside and outside SA, but not materially. He said that no one had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

In October, the SA Minister of Defence announced that a small SADF task force had sabotaged ANC offices in Maputo. Mozambique government sources confirmed that ANC personnel were housed in the offices. The chief of the SADF said that the primary aim of the attack was to gather information on ANC training and future targets in SA. He said that the offices were used for 'processing persons' before they entered SA to conduct acts of political violence. Five people were injured in the attack. Various sources suggested that the attack was in retaliation for an ANC attack on a fuel depot and the municipal offices at Warmbaths in October. An ANC spokesman in Maputo denied that the Maputo office had been used to plan the bombing of the fuel depot in Warmbaths, and said that the ANC's activities in Mozambique were political, and not military.

Towards the end of November, during a tour of European capitals, the SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, visited Lisbon, the first visit by a SA minister to the Portuguese capital since the end of Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique and Angola. Mr Botha said that the Portuguese Government had expressed concern about the financial losses caused by the frequent sabotaging of the power lines.
between the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric dam and SA. He said also that the
security situation in Mozambique, where RNM rebels are active, had been
discussed during his stop in Lisbon. According to reports, the Portuguese govern-

MOZAMBIQUE
ment has a debt burden of R740m on the dam, but in 1982 lost R47m in potential
revenue because sabotage of the power lines by the RNM continually interrupted
the supply of electricity to SA. Subsequent press reports indicated that the
Portuguese government had sent a special envoy to see President Machel at a
holiday cottage in the far north of Mozambique. The envoy reported back to
Lisbon that President Machel had agreed to talks with SA, which response was
relayed to Mr Botha during a second stopover in Lisbon at the end of his tour. (It
was also reported that Mr Botha had informed the British foreign secretary, Sir
Geoffrey Howe, during his European tour that 95% of the subversion in SA came
from Mozambique and that it was not fair to blame SA for retaliating against
this.)

Following the talks in Lisbon, the SA government had ministerial-level talks in
Swaziland with its Mozambique counterpart just before Christmas. (These were in
fact the second round of ministerial-level talks with Mozambique in 1983, Mr Pik
Botha having held talks at the Komatipoort border post between the two countries
in May, at the end of which he told the press that the Mozambicans 'said they
were seeking a lasting peace with SA'. This round of talks had been due to be held
earlier in the year, but had been postponed, Mr Botha said, because of ANC
insurgency in SA. An earlier round of talks had been held at Komatipoort in
December 1982.) In addition to Mr Botha, the Minister of Defence, General
Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, were
present at the talks in Swaziland; the Mozambique delegation was evidently led
by a minister of state in the presidency, Mr Jacinto Soares Veloso. The parties
involved refused to give details of the talks, but Mr Botha confirmed that they had
concerned 'a wide range of issues, the most important of which was the security
situation in southern Africa.' Commenting on the meeting while in Guinea Bissau,
President Machel said that it did not imply recognition of apartheid or a
willingness to destroy the ANC. 'One cannot choose one's neighbours,' he said,
'South Africans are as troublesome to us as we are to them. Our principal
objective is to ensure that neither country attacks the other.' The meeting was
followed by intense speculation that a meeting between President Machel and the
SA Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was in the offering. (Further rounds of talks
between the two governments were held in January, culminating in a meeting
between the two heads of government near Komatipoort on 16th March 1984.)
It was widely believed that one of the major factors leading to the talks between
the two governments was the extremely severe difficulties afflicting the economy
of Mozambique. It was reported that the Mozambique government had not
succeeded in obtaining the financial assistance it had been seeking from the
Soviet Union, and had had no choice but to turn instead to the west. At the same
time, there were reports that the drought, the worst in 50 years, had killed 100 000
people in Mozambique in the past year. Another 700 000 were said by the
Mozambique government to be suffering from acute malnutrition. The British relief organisation Oxfam reported that Mozambique was facing ‘a disaster of major proportions’. Government officials in Mozambique were quoted in December as saying that rebel activity by the RNM had worsened the effects of drought, inter alia by mining roads and attacking trucks carrying supplies, and so preventing relief from reaching drought-stricken people.

Observers also believed that the restoration of ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations between the US and Mozambique during 1983 had helped facilitate the rapprochement between SA and Mozambique.

ANGOLA

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (London), said that militarily SA had done well in 1982, pushing SWAPO bases back deep into Angola. The SADF's continued incursions into Angola resulted in Cuban forces being maintained there, it said.39

In April, Mr M Sahnoun, Algerian Ambassador to the United Nations and head of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, alleged that the SADF had made a raid deep inside Angola, causing damage of R46m to the Luanda oil refinery. He also claimed that SA had 5 000 troops occupying the Angolan towns of Kasinga and Kahana in the Kunene province. Between 1975 and 1982, damage of about R9.2 billion had been inflicted on Angola's infrastructure.40 Mr Sahnoun also claimed that over the past seven years, SA and UNITA forces had killed over 10 000 people and displaced hundreds of thousands of others.

In June, Angola accused SA of killing four Angolan soldiers in an incident near Cahoma in the southern Kunene province. The official Angola news agency, ANGOP, said that such incidents were part of increased attacks against Angola and accused the SADF of close co-operation with Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement in the area.41 Denying these allegations, an SADF spokesman said that the allegations by ANGOP followed the same pattern as others over the years (see chapter on SWA/Namibia). In August, ANGOP alleged that SADF Impala jets had bombarded the town of Cangamba, which was totally destroyed. A major battle took place for 11 days, with UNITA claiming 709 MPLA and 120 Cuban soldiers killed. Denying the allegations, General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the SADF, said that the current accusations were obviously related to successful offensives by UNITA.42

In September, Mr P Jorge, the Angolan Foreign Minister, said that Cuban troops would stay in Angola until SA halted all aggression against Angola and its aid to UNITA, and the peace plan for SWA was implemented. Angola was unstable and in economic difficulties because it was obliged to use most of its resources for defence, particularly since the intensification of 'the SA-backed war' against Angola.43

Various reports said that in September at least 10 Soviet cargo ships had unloaded arms, Russian T62 tanks, helicopters and spare parts for fighter aircrafts in Angola. In October, Angola's ambassador to the UN, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, called for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of SA troops from Angolan
territory; for SA raids into Angola to cease and all SA support for UNITA to end; and for the UN plan for a settlement in SWA/Namibia to be implemented. He stressed that Cuban troops were in Angola at the invitation of Angola. ANGOP claimed that between 10 and 21 October, 28 SA aircraft had violated Angola's airspace in action supported by UNITA. In November the MPLA army, FAPLA, had clashed with a SADF mine-laying patrol near Cuvelai, 200 km east of Lubango. ANGOP also claimed that the SADF were using chemical weapons, including teargas, which had a paralysing effect, against FAPLA in southern Angola.

On 15 December, however, the SA Foreign Minister made an offer for the disengagement of the SADF from Angola on the reciprocal basis that the FAPLA, SWAPO, and Cuban forces would not exploit the resulting situation, particularly by 'threatening the security of the inhabitants of SWA'. The disengagement of SA forces would start on 31 January 1984 and would last initially for 30 days, but could be extended if the SA conditions were met. At the same time as Mr Botha's proposal was being debated by other countries, the SADF launched a major incursion- Operation Askari- into Angola. This incursion came to an end, however, before the proposed date for the more general SADF disengagement from Angola (see chapter on South West Africa/Namibia).

US AND BRITISH POLICY

American foreign policy on regional security in southern Africa has been outlined as based on the following: sovereignty of all the states in the region and the renunciation of the use of violence across each other's boundaries; abstention of all states from tolerating or acquiescing in guerrilla and dissident activities and planning conducted on their soil but directed against another state; the fostering of a climate conducive to peaceful co-existence; and linkage between regional security and SA's domestic policy. The US has emphasised that it does not see SA trade and transport links with its neighbours as incompatible with the SADCC's aim of lessening its members' dependence on SA transport systems.4 America's attempt to tackle the issue of destabilisation in southern Africa has had two distinct components. According to The Economist (London) early this year, the American government invited members of SA's State Security Council to Washington in great secrecy to give them a briefing with the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on the Soviet threat to Africa, or, rather, 'the lack of it'. The purpose of the meeting was to persuade SA to slacken its aggressive stance towards its neighbouring states, particularly Angola. Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs has emphasised that the American government has no interest in seeing the escalation of violence in the region and will work actively against this through diplomatic channels. He clarified that America viewed destabilisation as a two-way operation: while SA forces were operating outside their borders, the ANC was also operating from outside.4 In pursuance of its policy, the US has been involved in setting up talks between the SA and Mozambique governments to discuss the question of crossborder violence. Similar initiatives have been taken in Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Mr
Herman Nickel, American Ambassador to SA, remarked that the US was particularly concerned about SA maintaining stable relations with Zimbabwe, and urged SA to judge Zimbabwe by its deeds and not its words.46

In June, Mr L Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs in the US, in a major policy statement, said that regional stability in SA would not be achieved in the absence of a movement away from a system of legally entrenched rule by the white minority. 'By the same token peaceful change towards social justice and equality for all South Africans is unlikely to happen in a regional climate of escalating strife and polarisation.' Political observers have pointed out that the US has not clarified how it will persuade SA to move to a more equitable system of government even if greater regional stability is achieved.47

British policy towards the region

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said in an exchange of correspondence with a British MP between July and September that SA's 'internal situation' was the underlying cause of tension in the region.4 In a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on 14th November, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said with reference to SA: 'The

BRITISH POLICY

trend I fear at the moment is a trend towards greater violence, terrorist attacks and destabilisation. The British government deplores that trend. In particular all parties should strictly respect the sanctity of national borders. Cross-border violence is in any case counter-productive. The black guerrillas should understand that attacks on SA merely strengthen intransigence. They will make the whites even more fearful of making concessions. And the South Africans for their part have to see that destabilisation of their neighbours risks precipitating the situation they fear most: making the Russians and their surrogates a more powerful factor in the equation. Punitive raids may buy a little time, provide a breathing space, but the long-term costs are those of fear, bitterness and hatred. These costs will be paid by all concerned, in the region and outside, and will make peaceful change much more difficult. The key to peace is mainly in the hands of the SA government and people. Nobody can force them to use it. But use it they must if they are to secure their long-term stability and prosperity.'

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SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL POLICY

601

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SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

Internal Developments

In 1982 popular support for the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and
the National Assembly declined (see 1982 Survey p 612). In attempting to
eliminate racial discrimination the Assembly had moved too fast for conservative
whites but not fast enough for blacks. The term of office of the Assembly, which
had been extended several times, was due to expire on 21 November 1982, and
the SA Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, announced a scheme for a new interim
government that would be representative not only of the main political parties but
also of other interest-groups in SWA, among them the private sector. This plan
for a broadly-based coalition of anti-SWAPO parties and groups failed to gain
general support. Mr Botha then announced that the Assembly's term of office
would again be extended, to the end of February 1983. Following further
international negotiations SA would decide whether an election should be held in
SWA/ Namibia, and if so, when and on what basis.

On 10 January 1983 the DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, resigned as chairman of the
SWA Ministers' Council. He said that the interim constitution of SWA
Proclamation 8 of the Administrator-General (AG8 of 1980)- had severe
shortcomings, which had undermined the DTA. Some of the interim government's
most important measures, such as its legislation on racial discrimination, had been
so watered down at the request of the SA government as to have become counter-
productive. The DTA had not been included in all the negotiations with the five
western nations seeking an international settlement of the SWA issue, and it had
been discredited abroad by the SA government. The SA Defence Force (SADF),
Mr Mudge further claimed, had interfered in politics. The final straw came after
the Assembly had tried to replace SA public holidays with Namibian holidays. A
bill to abolish the Day of the Vow (celebrating a Voortrekker victory over Zulu
warriors in Natal in 1838) had been referred back to the Assembly by the
Administrator-General (AG), Mr Danie Hough, after pressure from rightwing whites, Mr Mudge claimed. He added that he no longer wished to be part of 'this futile exercise' in government. A few days later, the other members of the Ministers' Council resigned as well. After considerable debate the head committee of the DTA decided that 'despite serious misgivings' the alliance would continue to take part in the second-level ethnic governments.

On the resignation of the ministers Mr Hough announced that, as an interim measure, he was taking over central government functions and would be the only legislative institution at that level. Mr Jan F Greebe, a former Natal provincial secretary who had earlier been secretary of the old SWA administration, would become the Chief Executive Officer of SWA. The various departments of the central government would continue their activities as before except that they would now be responsible to the AG through the Chief Executive Officer, who would be assisted by committees which would include experts from the private sector. The AG would continue to be responsible for security affairs. It was announced that the 72-member National Assembly had been disbanded.

Mr Hough, who had asked the SA government to replace him, was succeeded as Administrator-General on 1 February by Dr Willie van Niekerk, a member of the President's Council in SA.

On 10 March Dr van Niekerk announced that he had set up five advisory committees, to deal with community services, finance and economics, local government, infrastructure, and agriculture. He listed the names of 66 persons who would serve on them. It was reported that Mr Mudge had said that the DTA would not serve on any government committees set up by SA or the AG. 'SA must accept that it has taken over the chair and that we are in opposition', he said. It was also reported that at least 13 of those invited by Dr van Niekerk to serve on the committees had declined to do so, among them Dr Ben Africa (vice-president of the DTA), Dr Kenneth Abrahams of the Namibia Independence Party, and Mr Cornelius Cloete, chairman of the Nama executive committee.

Plan for a State Council

Dr van Niekerk had talks with leaders of the various parties on the immediate future in SWA/Namibia. One plan discussed was the creation of a committee for constitutional development consisting of 50 elected members and 22 nominated by the 11 ethnic authorities. Dr van Niekerk evidently expected to hold elections for the committee in September or October 1983, but his plan won little support and was abandoned.

After further discussions, Dr van Niekerk suggested the creation of a 'State Council' as a forum of the main political parties to seek consensus on constitutional proposals for pre-independence Namibia. This plan, he claimed, would in no way hamper or jeopardise current international negotiations on the future of the territory: any arrangements suggested by the council would apply merely during the period of transition to full independence. The council should consist of up to four nominated members of each party, depending on each party's assessed strength. Decisions would be taken by a two-thirds majority vote. The
constitution thus agreed upon would be tested in a national referendum. If it were approved, the Administrator-General would begin to implement it and the council would be dissolved. In July, Proclamation AG 14, establishing the council, was issued. The council would sit for an initial period of six months under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Joseph Hefer, Chief Justice of the Transkei. The initial period could be extended by the AG.

Some of the leading political parties decided they would not join, however. They were the (white) Herstigte Nasionale Party, the internal wing of SWAPO, the SWAPO Democrats (Swapo-D), the Namibia Independence Party, the Damara Council, and the Damara Tribal Executive. Two other parties later also decided against participation. They were the SWA National Union (SWANU), whose leader, Mr Moses Katjiuongua, said that his party did not believe that the proposed council could benefit the territory or that it reflected the wishes of the people.3 and the Christian Democratic Action Party led by Mr Peter Kalangula

SWA/NAMIBIA: MULTI-PARTY CONFERENCE

(Owambo-based), which announced4 that it did not believe that such a council could merge 'parties with such fundamentally different outlooks'. Four parties decided to join unconditionally: the (coloured) Labour Party, the Damara National People's Liberation Front, the Rehoboth Liberation Front, and the Namibian Christian Democratic Party (mainly coloured). Two other parties laid down conditions for joining. The executive committee of the National Party of SWA (white) decided that its participation would require a proviso that recommendations for constitutional change should be made in consultation with second-tier ethnic authorities and not solely by majority vote of State Council members (members of the white Legislative Assembly would thus be able to veto changes that they considered not to be in their interests).5 The 11-party DTA stipulated that the proposed council should be able to take really constructive action.

It became apparent that the council would be even less representative than the defunct National Assembly. At the time of writing the authorities had taken no further action and the proposal had, apparently, been dropped.

Multi-Party Conference

It was reported in July that the DTA was divided on whether to join the proposed State Council or seek alternatives. Its leaders had been involved in talks with Mr Andreas Shipanga of SWAPO-D and Mr Katjiuongua of SWANU, who had suggested the creation of a body independent of the Administrator-General and SA.

In September, several political groups issued a joint statement of intent to form the Namibian Multi-Party Conference which, inter alia, would try to formulate joint policy on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 leading to internationally-supervised independence. These groups included SWAPO-D, SWANU, the 11 constituent ethnic parties of the DTA, the Damara Council, and the Rehoboth Liberation Front. Apart from the centrist DTA and Rehoboth Liberation Front, they stood on the left of Namibian internal politics. They said it was becoming ‘painfully obvious that international negotiations are
not bringing the goal of Namibian independence any closer. In these circumstances there is no doubt that the task of pulling out the Namibian independence process from the trenches... and the responsibility to create political conditions which could lessen the suffering of our people ... and pave the way for internationally recognised independence is now left to the people.

A steering committee was established to draw up an agenda for the conference. The internal wing of SWAPO was invited to participate but declined. The conference held its first sitting in Windhoek on 12 November. Each political group was entitled to send up to 33 delegates (which would provide for adequate representation of each of the DTA's 11 ethnically-based constituent groups). The opening session was attended by 300 people, with 100 delegates from 7 main internal groupings and parties. Apart from SWAPO, the only main absentees were the Christian Democratic Action Party of Mr Peter Kalangula and the Namibia Independence Party of Mr Albert Krone. Mr Eben van Zyl of the SWA National Party attended as an observer, but said the NP would enter as full participants if the conference lived up to expectations.

The conference adjourned towards the end of November and was due to reconvene on 18 January 1984. In an assessment of the conference, Mr Peter Honey wrote in The Star that it had so far progressed harmoniously but that this was possibly because it had not yet 'confronted' the 'major problems' of whether to continue supporting the implementation of Resolution 435 and whether or not to call for the dismantling of the ethnic government system. Mr Katjiuongua was quoted as saying, 'Resolution 435 is surrounded by several difficulties and we want to investigate ways of getting past these difficulties. For this reason we have not yet decided on any government in between'. According to Mr Honey, Mr Katjiuongua was being groomed for leadership in the new political initiative in the territory. It was, however, suggested that Mr Dirk Mudge might be 'the backseat driver'.

The leader of SWAPO, Mr Sam Nujoma, claimed in December that the conference was a SA-backed attempt to create a new anti-Swapo front to replace the collapsed DTA.

The Economy and State Administration

South West Africa/Namibia's budget for 1983/84, published in June, totalled R1 036 000 000, a 14% increase on the previous year. Of the total, R572 000 000 would be generated internally, while SA would contribute R241 000 000. The expected increase of 24% (to R572000000) in internal revenue was partly accounted for by the fact that the Rössing uranium mine would be paying income tax for the first time, generating an anticipated R28 000 000. Although the contribution by SA rose from R215 000 000 to R241 000 000, Namibia was still left with a deficit of R223 000 000, R180 000 000 of which would be financed by borrowing from SA and abroad. The remaining shortfall would be covered by overdraft facilities granted by the SA Reserve Bank. R71 700 000 of the estimated total expenditure of R1 036 000 000 was allocated for defence for the South West Africa Territorial Force. The vast bulk of military
Public sector spending in Namibia has risen by an average of 15.9% a year over the past three years. The SA Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said that since 1977 Pretoria had spent R1 700 000 000, excluding expenditure on the military and the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme, in SWA.

According to preliminary figures released by the Administrator-General, Namibia's GDP shrank in 1982 by 1.6% (after achieving 2.5% growth in 1981). The real value of mining production declined by 9.8% in 1982 following a 7.8% decline the year before. The value of agricultural production dropped in 1982 by 11.7% following the continuation of the crippling drought in the territory. It was reported in November that the inflation rate in SWA had dropped to 9.9%, the first fall below 10% in five years. The SWA Secretary of Finance, Dr Johan Jones, said the fall, which he attributed to SA's fiscal and monetary policies, was particularly pleasing. However, he said the increase in General Sales Tax (GST) in SWA from 6 to 7% on 1 November could cause the inflation rate to rise again. It was announced in December that subsidies on white and wholewheat bread would be dropped from 1 January 1984.

It was reported in December that the SWA Department of Finance was to seek compensation from SA for revenue lost in the fishing industry after it took direct control of Walvis Bay on 1 September 1977. Before that date the SWA administration had received the tax revenues from fish processing at Walvis Bay; after it, the money went to SA. A figure of R300m was mentioned with regard to the compensation sought.

A prominent Windhoek businessman, Mr Eric Lang, claimed that SWA/NAMIBIA: ECONOMY Namibia's outstanding debt amounted to about 130% of its current income. One reason for very large state expenditure, he said, was uncontrolled expenditure by the 11 ethnic second-tier governments. Mr Lang said that the major expenditure under SA rule had been undertaken to 'realise the Verwoerdtian dream of separate development'. The main outlay had been 'on a political infrastructure... not on economically sound and productive projects'. This had created a government monster that swallowed nearly 70% of GDP. Once funds arrived at the second tier, control was lost. Most of the second-tier authorities were run by inexperienced, and, in the worst cases, corrupt officials, Mr Lang alleged.

On 24 August the Rand Daily Mail quoted from a report by the Department of Finance in May which had been leaked to the Press. It said that SWA government had become a 'national industry' which absorbed 75% of the budget and employed 44 629 people out of a total population of a million, of whom only 196 000 were economically active. Of the ethnic authorities the report said: 'The present constitutional dispensation, whereby representative authorities are allowed to live like parasites on the fruits of the land without any control or supervision and without delivering a corresponding level of results, is rapidly leading to the downfall of the entire country.'

The appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the finances of the central and ethnic governments, headed by Mr Justice P W Thirion, was recorded
in last year's Survey. A senior SA tax inspector, Mr J Heydenreich, who had been assisting the commission, said in evidence that the SWA Receiver of Revenue's office was seriously in arrears with tax assessments and collection of general sales tax as a result of 'lack of experience from the highest to the lowest ranks'.

The commission's chief investigating officer, Mr A G Visser, gave evidence on the accounts of the Herero administration, which were, he said, handled by a young matriculated Herero with about two years' experience, who was expected to do the work of four accountants. The administration's budget of R19m in the previous year had been exceeded by R14m. It was reported in August that, following an interim report by the commission, the Attorney-General of SWA had instructed the police to investigate alleged malpractices in the Ovambo administration. Inter alia, the head of the Ovambo Legislative Assembly, Mr Peter Kalangula, was found by the commission to have used R32 996 of state money and building materials for his own benefit and to have had three of his private tractors repaired by the state at a cost of about R20 000.

According to the Rand Daily Mail of 24 August, it had emerged in the Thirion reports thus far made public that 'corruption is rife in the ethnic authorities, simply because there are no trained personnel around to keep an eye on things and ensure that correct office procedure is observed. With so many governments and so few trained people, this was an inevitable development, and there are plenty of people on the make... many of them seconded white civil servants.' Mr Justice Thirion had been quick to point out, it was stated, that the blame for the remarkable level of mismanagement achieved in a remarkably short space of time lay at the doorstep of 'The System.' It was reported in December that allegations made by Mr Lang concerning mining in SWA would be dealt with by the Thirion Commission in 1984.

The Broeksma Report, made public during 1983, advocated centralised control of health services. On 23 August The Star reported that the Administrator-General had been unsuccessfully urging second-tier authorities to cede their control over health and finance matters to the central government.

**SWA/NAMIBIA: SECURITY**

Tsumeb Corporation, whose major shareholders are Gold Fields of SA and Newmort Mining of the US, announced in December that it had closed the Matchless copper mine near Windhoek because of depressed world demand and prices for copper.

**Action against dissidents**

The following security measures apply in SWA/Namibia:

* SA Terrorism Act of 1967;
* SA Defence Act of 1957;
* Proclamation AG 9 of 1977 (Security Districts Proclamation), which, inter alia, provides for detention for interrogation for periods of up to 30 days at a time, renewable by the Administrator-General;
* Proclamation AG 26 of 1978, which provides for indefinite detention for the prevention of violence and intimidation;
Proclamation AG 50 of 1978, which authorises the AG to deport persons considered by him to be threatening the peace or good government of the territory;
* emergency regulations to apply in areas farmed by whites, which were gazetted in May 1979;
* a SA law which made it compulsory from 4 July 1979 for everyone in the territory over the age of 16 to carry an identity document, which must be produced on demand to a member of the police or security forces;
* the Prohibition and Notification of Meetings Act of 1981, which provided for written notice to be given of certain political meetings, which might then be banned.

Several foreign and local organisations, including the SWA Bar Council and leading churchmen, complained about the severity and application of these measures. It was announced on 13 September that the Administrator-General had appointed a commission headed by Mr Justice H P van Dyk of the Transvaal Bench of the Supreme Court 'to inquire into and to report and to make recommendations on the adequacy, fairness and efficiency of legislation pertaining to the internal security' of the territory. Little information was published about people in detention during 1983. It would appear that they were all held under Proclamation AG 9, and that most of them were from Kavango. Reports stated that during November 1982 at least 25 men were detained or interrogated by the special counter-insurgency police unit known as 'Koevoet' (Crowbar), apparently on suspicion of having aided SWAPO guerrillas. Two of the men, one of them named as Mr Jonah Hamukwaya, were said to have died within hours of being arrested. A report on 14 January stated that during the past few weeks 28 detainees had been released and 11 were still being held. A clergyman and four school teachers from Kavango were detained early in March. Six others were detained in this area in July, one of them a member of the Kavango Legislative Assembly. A curfew was imposed in Kavango. It was reported on 10 September that six people were still in detention. During October, more Kavango residents were detained, including a number of government employees, a priest and two teachers. On 2 November the Chief of the Security Police in SWA/Namibia told the press that 29 people were being held in Kavango. The Windhoek chairman of the internal wing of SWAPO was detained during November. Shortly before Christmas 24 people, most of whom had been arrested

SWA/NAMIBIA: SECURITY
in Kavango, were released. It was reported that among those not released were three members of a council of churches' education programme. Besides these detainees, about 146 undeclared prisoners of war, most of them captured in 1978 during a raid on SWAPO bases near Cassinga in Angola, were being held in October in a detention camp near the southern Namibian town of Mariental. They had been visited periodically by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross. They were detained in terms of
Proclamation AG 9, the orders concerned apparently having been renewed monthly.22

It was reported in October that three SWA security policemen (2 white, 1 African) were facing claims totalling R148 000 from the widow of Mr Johannes Kakuva, who died in police custody in Kaokoland in July 1981, and from three codetainees who complained of 'pain, suffering and crimen injuria'. The same defendants were being sued for R84 000 by the widow of Mr Hamukwaya, who died on 18 November 1982. At the inquest, however, the magistrate found that Mr Hamukwaya's death had been caused by members of Koevoet who could not be identified.23 At the time of writing three other inquest and criminal cases were in progress resulting from deaths of men from Kavango who were being detained by Koevoet members.

On 28 September Constables Johannes Paulus and Paulus Matheus of the Koevoet unit were together found guilty in the Windhoek Supreme Court on 15 charges involving murder, rape, and robbery with aggravating circumstances. The charges arose from what the court described as a 'rape and robbery spree' which the two men, disguised as SWAPO guerrillas, went on in the Owambo war zone during January. The presiding judge, Mr Justice Johan Strydom, said that a disturbing state of affairs had come to the fore with regard to the activities of Koevoet in the war zone and he commented that the conventional police in SWA seemed to be afraid of Koevoet. The case was held in camera, but certain evidence given by Koevoet leaders in mitigation of sentence was released to the press. They were reported to have said that members of the unit were trained as 'killing machines' and were taught to show 'no mercy' to SWAPO guerrillas.24

Giving evidence in mitigation on 22 November, Mr Paulus said he had spent half his life fighting wars, first in Angola, having joined the Angolan rebel movement UNITA at the age of 14, and later in South West Africa. He said he had been trained since that age to hate communism and to 'wipe out' people he saw as the enemy.

Koevoet's commanding officers issued members not only with SA R1 and American G3 rifles but also with Russian AK47s, Mr Paulus said. The court also heard that Koevoet's special constabulary received bounty money ('kopgeld') based on the number of SWAPO insurgents killed in each operation.25 Mr Paulus told the court: 'We are called members of the police, but we are only taught to wage war ... to find SWAPO and wipe them out.' Dr Charles Shubitz, a Johannesburg psychiatrist and neurologist who gave medical evidence to the court, said that Mr Paulus had been so intensely indoctrinated, first as a fighter for UNITA and then by Koevoet, that although he had been a perfectly normal little boy, his 'sense of moral responsibility' had been removed. Although Mr Paulus was not a psychopath, he was a highly disciplined killer. Dr Shubitz said that Koevoet had a common aim to 'exterminate guerrillas' and that the 'overall concept is barbaric'.26

In his evidence Mr Paulus also claimed that he had fought for SA forces during the Angolan war and that they had burnt kraals and killed women and children
sympathetic to the ruling MPLA government. They had often seen men, women and children burnt to death by 'bombs which made waves of fire 200 yards long'. These 'bombs' became a major issue during the trial after counsel for the state accused defence counsel of trying to 'discredit' the SA army by alleging that it had used napalm, which is banned under the Geneva Convention.27

Mr Paulus was sentenced to death for murder but granted leave to appeal against the court's finding that there were no extenuating circumstances. He was also given an effective jail sentence of 21 years on eight convictions for attempted murder, rape, and robbery with aggravating circumstances. Mr Matheus received an effective 12-year sentence on six similar convictions.28

During February two SA soldiers were convicted in the Windhoek Supreme Court of the murder of an African nightwatchman who surprised them stealing a vehicle in Ovambo. They were sentenced to 15 years and 9 years respectively. Leave to appeal was granted. Another SA soldier was sentenced in Windhoek during September to 8 years (4 suspended) for the murder of a Herero woman who had refused to have sex with him. He pleaded that her death was accidental: he had meant only to frighten her by shooting over her head.

The machinery set up by the military authorities to investigate complaints against members of the security forces (see 1982 Survey p 622) has been augmented by a system of liaison committees representing military, police, and African tribal authorities. Anyone with a complaint was invited to approach such a committee. During 1981 a delegation from the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, headed by its president, Archbishop Denis Hurley, visited the operational area and held discussions with local churchmen and others in northern Namibia. A delegation from the SA Council of Churches made a similar visit early in 1982. Reports on these visits were widely publicised in May 1982. In mid-January 1983 it was announced that the report by the Catholic bishops had been banned under the Publications Act of 1974. In March 1983 an issue of the Anglican newspaper Seek, which contained a feature article about the church in SWA and the views of Christian leaders there, was similarly banned. During October a delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and consisting of churchmen from various countries paid a pastoral visit to Anglicans in Namibia. They spent ten days in SWA/Namibia. A spokesman, Mr Terry Waithe, is reported to have said they had found that the local African population regarded the SA Defence Force (SADF) as being oppressive and that they objected to its presence. The system of ethnic government was also widely opposed. The delegation had put to the SADF specific allegations of misconduct by SA/SWA soldiers, and had said that members of the local population were reluctant to report such matters to military authorities for fear of reprisals. The SWA Territory Force released a document handed to members of the delegation. It acknowledged that there had been cases of misconduct. Reports of misbehaviour were promptly investigated by the authorities, it said, and if evidence existed the accused were brought to trial in civil or military courts. A list of 11 convictions during the past year was handed to the delegation: terms of imprisonment on those found guilty had ranged from six months to 20 years. The SWA Territory Force commented that, while cases of misconduct by its members were widely reported abroad, very
little prominence had been given to atrocities committed by members of SWAPO. A list of such alleged acts carried out during the past 9 months was included in the document, which detailed landmine explosions, murders, and abductions.

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SWA/NAMIBIA: WARFARE

Warfare
Casualties in 1982 and 1983
Spokesmen for the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) gave the following figures for casualties during 1982:
* 77 members of the security forces died in action (15 of them when a Puma helicopter was shot down in August);
* 1268 SWAPO insurgents were killed;
* 44 civilians were killed and 66 seriously injured in landmine incidents;
* 70 civilians were victims of political murder;
* 27 civilians were killed in crossfire;
* 171 civilians were abducted by SWAPO.
The 'civilians' were mainly, if not all, Africans. There were possibly more SWAPO casualties than the number given. A police officer, Inspector MacDonald, said that the police kept no registers of the shooting of suspected terrorists.1 SWAPO's claims that it had killed or wounded 2865 SA soldiers in 1982 were dismissed by the SA Defence Force.
General George Meiring, officer commanding the SWATF, said 918 SWAPO insurgents had been killed in 1983. He added that SWAPO had killed 146 civilians, mainly blacks, in 1983.

Conscription
As described in previous issues of the Survey, all SWA men may be called up for national service in the SWA Territory Force, although men from Ovamboland, Kavango and Caprivi are rarely conscripted. The official reason given for this is that there are sufficient volunteers, but some observers believe another reason is that many of these people, especially in Ovamboland, have relatives living across the border in Angola or serving with SWAPO.
A young man living farther south, Erick Binga, was called up for two years' national service to begin in January, but refused to serve. He brought a case in the Windhoek Supreme Court against the Administrator-General, the SA Minister of Defence, and the Military Exemption Board, claiming that SA law was not valid in SWA. Its legislation for the territory was a 'totally illegitimate exercise of power', he argued. He was a member of SWAPO, he said, and it was impossible for him to identify himself with the conflict waged against this organisation. The full hearing of this case was likely to begin early in 1984.

Incidents near the SWA-Angola Border
Landmine explosions on public roads in the operational area continued during the year under review, causing a number of casualties among security force personnel and civilians. Abductions of young civilians also continued and were probably aimed at recruitment for SWAPO's depleted military ranks in Angola. It was officially alleged on 9 March that since mid-February nearly 200 young people...
had been abducted, most of them from secondary schools in Owambo. Cases were reported of women and children being murdered. Early in February a section of the post office in Oshakati in Owambo was destroyed by a powerful bomb, which caused damage estimated at R250 000. An employee arrested in connection with

**SWA/NAMIBIA: WARFARE**

the explosion was held under the Terrorism Act. On the same day a bridge at Ongwediva, along the main road to the south, was damaged by landmines. No one was injured in either incident. The Ruacana hydro-electric power line was damaged on several occasions. In March, mortar bombs fired from the Angolan side damaged a water tower.

During June guerrillas fired a heat-seeking missile at an air force Dakota over central Owambo. The missile went wide, however, and the 3 guerrillas responsible were killed in the blast. In July saboteurs blew up a filling station in Windhoek. Another filling station there was blown up during October. No one was injured on either occasion.

Skirmishes causing casualties took place from time to time between patrols from opposite sides. It was reported that during March, 7 of a group of 10 members of the SA Defence Force were bayonetted or shot to death by SWAPO insurgents after they had entered a Swapo-held area wearing civilian clothes on a mission to gather information about their opponents' activities.

'Operation Meebos', started in 1982, was continued during the year under review: this consisted of hot-pursuit sallies and seek-and-destroy operations by the security forces.

**Incursion of Guerrillas**

During February there was a major incursion of SWAPO guerrillas into Owambo and Kavango: the Administrator-General announced later that 14 groups, each of 50 men, of a special unit called Volcano had been assigned to this task. They were helped by dense bush and sporadic rain that washed away their tracks. Over some 10 weeks a number of fights took place. Early in May the chief of operations of the SA Defence Force said that 309 members of SWAPO were known to have been killed in the invasion attempt, but that if one bore in mind the quality of SWAPO's medical facilities the true figure was probably 50% higher. The security forces had lost 27 men, while a number of civilians had been killed in crossfire. By then many of the surviving insurgents had retreated to Angola. There was evidence that others had assimilated with the civilian population after burying their arms and donning civilian clothes. Some were said to be hiding in Kavango. Reports indicated that possibly a quarter of the SWAPO fighters who crossed the border in February intended to invade the white farming areas to the east and south of the Etosha Game Park, around Tsumeb, Otavi and Grootfontein.

However, because of well-prepared security force defences and the fact that the rains did not last as long as had been expected, only between 12 and 20 insurgents penetrated these districts. White farmers were kept informed of the position by radio. An attack was made on a farm adjoining the game park, and a number of clashes took place between small groups of infiltrators and security force patrols, with casualties on both sides.
At a briefing of journalists at security force headquarters in Oshakati it was claimed that after the incursion into Owambo in February SWAPO had planned a second attack to coincide with Cassinga Day on 4 May (Cassinga was a SWAPO command post in southern Angola where fierce fighting had taken place).

However, pre-emptive security force action had dispersed a considerable number of the guerrillas before the attack could be launched. A number of skirmishes took place during the weeks that followed.

In September two groups, each of about 50 heavily-armed SWAPO insurgents, infiltrated the north-eastern region of Owambo, from where they moved to Kavango.4 A spokesman for the SWA Territory Force said there was no indication that these men intended penetrating the white farming area, which was then very dry and sparsely covered with bush. They were possibly bringing arms and explosives into the densely-bushed territory of Kavango ready for a bigger incursion early in 1984. To aid the security forces, a 135km stretch of the main road between Grootfontein and the Kavango capital, Rundu, has been defoliated for 300m on both sides.

At a press conference on 26 December the chief of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said that at least seven SWAPO companies of between 120 and 140 men each were heading towards the SWA border after 1400 had received refresher courses in Angolan bases. They were aiming at farming areas, he said, and SA security forces had been deployed over a wide area of southern Angola and as far north as possible to head them off and so hinder the traditional SWAPO offensive at the start of the rainy season.

Clamp on Military News

During February SA military correspondents in Windhoek were warned that the provisions of Article 118 (b) of the Defence Act would be strictly applied to all reports on military operations. The purpose of this provision is to counter the spreading of 'alarm and despondency' by both the media and the public. The effect was that all reports on the incursion into northern SWA/Namibia by SWAPO and on the security forces’ counter offensives had to be cleared by the SWA Territory Force.5

'Operation Askari'

Because of the clamp on military news, it was not until 24 December that the SA public was officially informed that 'Operation Askari' had been launched by SA on 6 December. Earlier reports of heavy fighting and allegations that Mirages and Buccaneers of the SA Air Force (SAAF) had bombed the town of Caiundo had been broadcast by the Angola radio service. While denying much of what was claimed, the SA authorities said that 'hot-pursuit' operations had been in progress, and confirmed reports that three members of the SADF and five black members of the SWA Territory Force had been killed in the operational area.

An official account of what was taking place was first given by the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, at a press conference on 26 December. Further such conferences followed, addressed by senior officers. It emerged that 'Operation Askari' had been planned as a 'limited pre-emptive strike' to forestall
an invasion of SWA/Namibia by at least seven companies of SWAPO 'special force' troops, each consisting of between 120 and 140 men, who had been moving south in Angola, towards the border. It was claimed that they were operating under the 'umbrella protection' of FAPLA (the military arm of Angola's ruling MPLA party), Cubans, and Russians who had established bases in southern Angola, equipped with sophisticated weapons such as radar, SAM ground-to-air missiles, and tanks. Some 2,000 members of the SADF and SWATF, organised in three battle groups, were stated to have crossed into Angola, overrunning a number of small towns in the south-western Cunene province. Their objective had been to force SWAPO to retreat, but a combined Angolan and Cuban force, using Russian tanks, attacked the SADF/SWATF troops as they were approaching a SWAPO command post near the hamlet of Cuvelai. After a fierce three-to-four day battle the Cubans and Angolans were forced to retreat, abandoning much sophisticated equipment. SWAPO troops, too, were driven north. During the incursion the Angolan authorities claimed to have shot down at least 14 SAAF aircraft, among them at least one Mirage. The aircraft had bombed civilian targets, they claimed. SA denied these claims, but General Viljoen said that the pilot of an Impala had had a miraculous escape when a SAM-9 missile failed to explode after hitting his aircraft. On 29 December the SAAF launched an attack on SWAPO headquarters near Lubango, 300 km inside Angola, during which misOie sites were bombed. 'Operation Askari' was still in progress at the end of 1983. (It was concluded shortly thereafter. The SADF announced on 7 January 1984 that it had achieved all its major objectives and was to begin a withdrawal. This withdrawal was concluded by 15 January.) 'Operation Askari,' in which at least 21 SADF/SWATF soldiers lost their lives, was said to have cost more such lives than any of the dozen or more incursions into Angola since the major invasion in 1975/76. The operation was condemned by France as 'completely unjustifiable,' while West Germany expressed 'deep concern'. The US called for restraint on all sides, officials saying privately that they had expected the SADF to step up operations in the hope of crippling SWAPO before the disengagement that SA had proposed on 15 December for 31 January 1984 came into effect (see below).

It was revealed early in 1984 that the Soviet Union had conveyed a message to a SA representative in Washington in November in which the SA government was told, inter alia, that the continued occupation of Angola by the SADF was unacceptable. The Russians were also said to have warned SA that they would not tolerate the overthrow of the Angolan government by the UNITA resistance movement, which is widely believed to have SA support.

The Conflict in Angola
As reported in earlier years, when the Portuguese left Angola there was no Africom government to which power could be transferred. Civil war raged between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the Front for the Liberation
of Angola (FNLA). Eventually, however, the MPLA seized power with the assistance of the Soviet Union, which sent it large supplies of sophisticated arms and helped to transport Cuban troops to give military aid, notably in 1975 when an armoured SADF column invaded the former Portuguese colony. UNITA, led by Mr Jonas Savimbi, retired into bushy terrain in the south of the country and began guerilla warfare. It gradually gained control of much of the south-east and made periodic raids on targets such as the Benguela railway line, which connects the Angolan port of Lobito to Zaire and Zambia (see the chapter on SA's Regional Policy).

Fierce fighting took place during 1983, and UNITA forces advanced rapidly. They repeatedly blew up sections of the railway line. A report stated that by early September they had knocked out an estimated 100 locomotives and 600 railway wagons in ambushes and landmine attacks. This had seriously disrupted the economy of Angola and had had a damaging effect on Zambia and Zaire, which had been forced to continue diverting their copper and cobalt exports through

SWA/NAMIBIA AND ANGOLA

East London in SA. Other economic targets were successfully attacked, among them a dam feeding a hydro-electric power station. Certain towns along the railway and other transport routes were captured. There was particularly heavy fighting in August at Cangamba (on a main road north from the SWA/Namibian border) between UNITA and Cuban-aided troops of FAPLA, the MPLA's military wing. The Angolan government accused SA of assisting UNITA by attacking the town with napalm bombs, using Impala fighters and Canberra aircraft. The Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, strongly denied these accusations. The town concerned, he contended, was completely outside the range of an Impala with a load of weapons. In any case, SA would never use fire-bombs to attack civilians. General Viljoen added that it was common knowledge that SA used Canberras to make reconnaissance flights in the south of Angola. This was necessary because the Angolan government allowed and actively supported SWAPO aggression from bases in its territory. A UNITA communiqué issued early in August claimed that its forces had been deployed in provinces which placed them within striking distance of the economic and military heart of Angola. The Angolan People's Assembly passed legislation providing for direct military rule in such provinces? A British correspondent reported in September that UNITA guerrillas were within 160km of the capital, Luanda. UNITA, he said, had pushed a corridor all the way north to a salient of Zaire. Later in September foreign diplomats in Luanda were warned not to travel more than 50km from the capital on the grounds that their lives might be in danger from UNITA guerrillas. Although subsequent reports suggested that the control exercised by UNITA was more tenuous than had been claimed, the Sunday Times on 18 September published extracts from reports in two Portuguese papers which said that the MPLA government had lost effective control of two-thirds of the country. Agriculture had come to a complete halt in many areas, causing massive migration to already highly congested towns, infection of water supplies, and disease. There were drastic food shortages. Disastrous economic
management had meant that few of the previously profitable industries were still operating at full capacity. The price of the country's most important minerals copper, uranium and diamonds - remained low as a result of international recession. The main source of income remaining was the oil in the enclave of Cabinda, handled by large companies, with installations guarded by Cuban troops. According to the Rand Daily Mail on 23 September and 13 October, UNITA, from its home base in the south-east of the territory (the Cuando Cubango province), conducts guerrilla activities and political infiltration in much of the country to the north. It is said to have about 35 000 fighting men and to be recruiting troops at a rate of more than 2 000 a year.

A report in The Economist towards the end of November said that UNITA guerrillas were 'now closer to Angola's capital than at any time during the eightyear war'. The Economist alleged that Mr Savimbi received various types of support from 'a key player in the Angolan war, South Africa.' It was subsequently reported that UNITA had given the MPLA an ultimatum, which, according to observers in Lisbon, was its first ultimatum in 8 years of escalating civil war. A statement signed by Mr Savimbi read: 'UNITA foresees an encounter with the ruling MPLA at the end of March 1984 either for dialogue or for a bloody last bout of physical contact which may still be avoided.' UNITA was willing to participate 'at this instant' in free elections under UN or Organisation of African Unity supervision, the statement said. A UNITA official said: 'If this final plea for a nego-

SWA/NAMIBIA AND ANGOLA

tiated settlement is ignored, our forces will march on the capital and give no quarter. 12

The International Institute for Strategic Studies said that at a conservative estimate FAPLA had about 33 000 men. The Cuban assistants tended to provide logistical back-up and leave most of the actual fighting to FAPLA, although sometimes they did get involved, as at Cangamba. With this force, FAPLA had to fight widespread insurgency over extensive territory and in the face of severe economic troubles. In view of this, it had forced SWAPO to lend it troops in return for providing it with a sanctuary outside SWA/Namibia. Possibly 50% of the trained SWAPO fighters in Angola were fighting with FAPLA against UNITA, it was claimed.

The Washington Post reported early in October that the Cubans were concentrated in the major cities of Luanda and Huambo and also in an area in the south-west of the territory to defend a railway line there and possibly to prevent any attack from SWA/Namibia on the southern capital of Lubango. 13 At Angola's request, it was stated, the Soviet Union had sent the MPLA government further large supplies of arms. During September at least 10 Soviet cargo ships had unloaded Russian T62 tanks, large numbers of helicopters, spare parts for fighter aircraft, SAM missiles, transportable bridges, and other weapons. During November an Angolan airliner was shot down shortly after take-off from Lubango Airport in southern Angola. About 150 passengers and crew died in the
crash, their numbers including Angolan and Cuban military personnel en route to Luanda. UNITA claimed responsibility for this act.

In an attack during March on the industrial centre of Alto Catumbela, about 400km south of Luanda, UNITA troops captured 84 Czech and Portuguese hostages, including 18 women and 26 children. The men were industrial technicians. The hostages were split into parties and most of them marched some 1,300km to a UNITA headquarters in the extreme south-west of Angola, a few being taken part of the way in lorries. One of the men died, while some of the women and children suffered badly from gastro-enteritis, malaria, and exhaustion. When the hostages and their escorts arrived at the UNITA headquarters towards the end of June, those who were ill were handed over to the International Red Cross and flown to their home countries via Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg. 14

Another group of 21 Portuguese, including five women and six children, were similarly repatriated late in September. Up to 20 Czech technicians were still held by UNITA in mid-November. Mr Savimbi is reported to have said that he would refuse any humanitarian gesture affecting them until the Angolan government reported on the state of health of 36 UNITA guerrillas and seven British nationals who were captives of the MPLA.

In major offensives late in November and in December UNITA is stated to have gained control of north-eastern Angola, including the border with Zambia, and to have captured three Irish and two Canadian missionary nurses, twelve Portuguese technicians and about eight people from other countries. Mr Savimbi warned all foreigners to stay out of war zones. UNITA would not accept responsibility for what befell members of international organisations or religious groups working in these areas. However, on 20 December Mr Savimbi announced that, as gesture of goodwill for Christmas, all foreigners held hostage by UNITA (except the Czechs) would be freed after being taken to a UNITA base in the south of Angola. A first group of about 26 were flown out on 29 December, via Jan Smuts Airport, in an aircraft chartered by the International Red Cross.

SWA/NAMIBIA AND THE UN

International Developments

United Nations Activities

In December 1982 the United Nations Council for Namibia presented five motions to the UN General Assembly in which SA's 'occupation' of Namibia was condemned, wide mandatory sanctions against SA again called for, the United States and Israel attacked for 'collaboration' with SA, SWAPO once more recognised as 'the sole representative of the people of Namibia', and further funds voted for the council. Each motion was put to the vote separately. The five western nations in the 'contact group' negotiating for an international settlement of the Namibian dispute - the US, Britain, West Germany, Canada, and France abstained on all. Other nations abstained on some. Speaking for the Western Five, the French delegate said: 'The resolutions before us, in form and substance, fail to recognise either the seriousness of the present situation or the opportunity that now exists to find a peaceful solution.' The motions were passed, however. SA's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, sent a letter to the
Secretary General of the UN in which he rejected the resolutions on the grounds 'that acts of this nature hamper negotiations which are currently under way, create further suspicion in respect of the position of the UN, and undermine the trust which is such an essential element in negotiations'.

Also in December 1982, the UN General Assembly appropriated about R900 000 for an 'International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence', to be held in Paris in April 1983. All UN members were invited. The conference would be held under the auspices of the UN Council for Namibia in consultation with the Organisation of African Unity. According to the press an invitation was extended to Pretoria 'reluctantly and after much backroom argument'. Pretoria was stated to have replied that it would attend provided the conference, inter alia, dropped the word 'struggle' from the title, allowed the SWA/Namibian internal parties also to participate, and did not refer to SWAPO as the 'sole authentic party' of the Namibian people. These conditions were not accepted.

The conference was opened by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar. In all, 106 countries sent representatives. France sent its Foreign Minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, but the other four members of the western contact group sent observers only. SWAPO's Mr Sam Nujoma was present. Mr Andreas Shipanga of the SWAPO Democrats went to Paris as the sole voice of the SWA/Namibian internal parties but was expelled from the conference as not being an accredited member. Mr Nujoma accused him of being 'an agent of the SA racists'.

It was reported that Mr Cheysson told the conference that the work of the western contact group had been completed but that 'other problems and pretexts' had been introduced which had the effect of holding SWA/Namibia hostage. This speech was said to have angered some of the other members of the group, who interpreted his choice of the word 'pretexts' as accusing the US of insisting on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a deliberate move to halt independence proceedings. Mr Cheysson, who referred to Mr Nujoma as 'our friend', denounced apartheid and the SA presence in SWA/Namibia in the strongest terms. France, he said, would make every effort to deny SA every facility to and stop contacts with SA, in particular in sport. Mr Nujoma was reported to have

SWA/NAMIBIA AND THE UN

charged the Western Five with 'being at the core of all the unwarranted and negative developments' in Namibia, and to have said that his party's central committee had concluded that they had lost proper contact with the letter and spirit of UN Resolution 435 (1978) and that the whole exercise had turned out to be a mere rescue operation for the 'white, racist, illegal occupiers in Namibia'. Mr Nujoma attacked the 'unjust, arrogant, irrational and objectionable' policy of linking a Namibian settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. He urged the UN Security Council to resume urgently its full responsibility for the implementation of Resolution 435. Only the Ivory Coast expressed confidence in the efforts of the western contact group to implement the UN peace plan.
The conference issued a 'Paris Declaration' - a 30-point document which called on the UN Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against SA at the earliest possible opportunity - and urged the Security Council itself to take over negotiations with SA instead of leaving the matter in the hands of the contact group. Other demands included the termination of agreements between SA and the International Monetary Fund; the halting of uranium and other mining in SWA/Namibia; the unconditional release of SWA/Namibian political prisoners; and the recognition by SA of prisoner-of-war status for captured SWAPO troops. The US was strongly criticised for linking the withdrawal of Cuban troops to implementation of the UN peace plan.3

The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, sent a letter to Dr Perez de Cuellar in which he alleged that by organising the conference the UN had raised 'further serious doubts' about its ability to play its role in the independence issue. The UN Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution on SWA/Namibia on 30 May submitted by the African and non-aligned nations. It called upon the Secretary-General to negotiate with all parties concerned in the Namibian dispute with the initial aim of securing a cease-fire along the lines of Resolution 435 (1978) and to report back by 31 August. It was implied that this would not cut across the efforts of the western contact group to achieve a settlement.4

During the debate a draft paragraph containing a veiled threat of sanctions against SA was dropped on the insistence of the US. The SA ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, told the council that SA would not bow to threats and would make its own decisions according to its perception of its responsibilities and interests. It would defend itself and the people of SWA with all the means at its disposal. Those who harboured terrorists or attempted to destabilise the SA society must understand that SA would not take this lying down. Mr von Schirnding named the Cuban troops in Africa 'the last major obstacle to a peaceful settlement'. The linking of the negotiations for settlement with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola was denounced by most of the 70 delegates who addressed the council, among them Angola. The council agreed to allow representatives of SWAPO and of the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress (both banned in SA) to address its session, but it refused representations by the Western Five that two leaders of internal SWA parties should be granted their requests to do so. The two were Mr Barney Barnes of the Labour Party and Mr Hans Diergaardt of the Rehoboth Liberation Front. Mr Barnes wrote a strong letter of protest to the council saying it was 'preposterous' that 'non-Namibian groups' such as the ANC and PAC 'should enjoy preference over authentic Namibian parties'.

Later in the year the African bloc submitted to the council a 10-point resolution, which was considerably watered down during a debate in October in which representations from internal SWA/Namibian parties were issued as council documents for the first time. In cables transmitted through the auspices of the 'Western Five', the DTA president, Mr Kuaima Riruako, accused the Security Council and the General Assembly of pro-SWAPO bias. Mr Barnes accused the
UN of 'neo-colonial arrogance' in that in past years it had determined that SWAPO was the only Namibian party whose voice should be heard. The motion emerging from the debate was approved by 14 of the 15 Security Council members, the US abstaining. Inter alia, the council rejected SA's insistence on linking Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. SA was urged 'forthwith' to select an election system for the independence process. A second report from Dr Perez de Ceullar was requested by 31 December. The council would meet again as soon as possible in 1984; if no progress had been made by then the UN would consider 'the adoption of appropriate measures under the UN Charter'.

It was reported on 28 September that a financial measure being considered by the American senate contained a clause that would block funds paid to SWAPO by the UN. It provided that for every rand given to SWAPO by the UN, the American contribution to the UN's budget would be similarly reduced. The US, it was reported, provided about 25% of this budget. It was anticipated that the bill would be passed in the senate, from where it would go to a conference of both houses of congress.

According to a report prepared for the Paris conference in April the UN Institute for Namibia, set up in Lusaka in 1976 with the aim of teaching exiles the skills needed for government jobs, had passed out 418 people, mostly with diplomas in development studies and management. Another 455 students were enrolled. The UN had thus far spent more than R14 million on this project. SWAPO had instituted other training schemes and was said to have passed out 248 people with higher educational qualifications, 178 with mixed technical skills, 6 doctors, 329 nurses, and 30 hotel managers and caterers. The report identified 7 450 administrative posts to be filled, headed by 1000 senior personnel. It concluded that, at independence, most of the SA personnel and some of the white Namibian personnel would leave, but that 'with re-orientation the majority of Namibian personnel would be acceptable to the government and capable of accelerated promotions in administrative and other areas'.5

Settlement Negotiations
Success in the international negotiations for a settlement of the Namibian dispute based on UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) continued to be uncertain during 1983. The American ambassador to the UN, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, said in October: 'While Namibian independence is not yet within our grasp, is is within our sight-doubling our patience but also redoubling our commitment'.6

The Cape Verde Talks
In December 1982 the president of the Cape Verde Islands, Mr Aristides Perreira, arranged for representatives of SA and Angola to meet on Ilha do Sal. Both countries sent senior delegations: in SA's case the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Defence, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ango-

SWA/NAMIBIA: SETTLEMENT TALKS

SA's delegation was led by its Foreign Minister, Mr Paolo Jorge. No details of the talks were officially released. In a press interview later, however, Mr Jorge was reported7 as saying: 'The meeting was pretty brief. The SA delegation put forward
various proposals for putting an end to the war in the south of my country. SA
spoke of the need to establish a climate of confidence... Angola confined itself to
taking note of the SA proposals and will reply to them at the next meeting. We
stressed that it would not be easy to establish a climate of confidence while SA
troops are still occupying the south of my country'. The presence of Cuban troops
in Angola had not been discussed. On this question, Mr Jorge is said to have told
the reporter, 'Our position is that once a ceasefire is established between SWAPO
and Pretoria and the UN plan is under way, the Angolan government would study
with the Cuban government a programme for the withdrawal of their troops from
Angola'. In a subsequent press interview,8 President Perreira stated that the
meeting on Ilha do Sal had 'accomplished something very positive'. Cabinet
ministers from both sides had discussed problems in the region and had
established a climate of mutual trust.

Another press report9 had it that the Reagan administration had suggested a
complex disengagement process to clear the way for a Namibian settlement. A
demilitarised zone should be created along much of the Namibia-Angola frontier.
Cuban troops should be pulled back and, as a first step towards returning home,
confined to designated areas. Their retreat should be matched in time and
numbers by a pull-out of SA troops from Namibia. At the same time, efforts
would be launched to promote a truce and possible political reconciliation
between the Angolan government and UNITA. The Americans, it was reported,
had promised that if this process were carried out smoothly, they would undertake
a massive programme of economic aid and investment to develop Angola's
substantial mineral resources. A parallel programme was foreseen for post-
independence Namibia.

A second round of talks between representatives of SA and Angola took place on
Ilha do Sal in February. The Angolan team was again led by Mr Paulo Jorge, but
the SA delegates were of lower diplomatic ranking than on the first occasion. The
SA team was led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van
Dalsen, and the ambassador to the US, Dr Brand Fourie. Mr Jorge commented
afterwards, 'Unfortunately it was not possible to discuss what had been agreed
upon at our first meeting because SA found a pretext to send a delegation at a
lower level than ours'.10 In the course of the press interview quoted earlier,
President Perreira said the negotiations broke down because SWAPO had
launched a new military incursion into Namibia. In an article in The Economist on
16 July it was reported that the first round of the Cape Verde talks had gone
'extremely well'. However, the article claimed, Mr Pik Botha had returned to a
hostile SA State Security Council, where his progress was all but repudiated, in
particular the proposal that SA leave Angola altogether while the Cubans
withdraw 150 miles north of the border, a final Cuban withdrawal to be linked
with Namibian elections. The article further claimed that military representatives
on the State Security Council, including the Army Chief, General Jannie
Geldenhuys and the head of Military Intelligence, General Piet van der
Westhuizen, 'bitterly protested' against the Cape Verde talks, fearing a deal
involving a SA withdrawal without a linked Cuban withdrawal. They alleged that
a new SWAPO incursion was planned and that SA was vulnerable to a 'double
cross'. The Economist alleged that it was on the insistence of the State Security Council that the

SWA/NAMIBIA: SETLEMENT TALKS
second round of Cape Verde talks was attended by SA at official and not ministerial level, precipitating the Angolan walk-out. The article also alleged that the head of the SA Defence Force had added 'his minor sabotage' to the negotiations by assuring his troops in Namibia that he looked forward confidently to seeing them there again the following Christmas.

Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, told the senate's Africa committee in February that his administration estimated that there were then between 20 000 and 25 000 Cuban troops and between 5 000 and 8 000 Cuban civilian advisers in Angola. 17 The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs said on 13 October that there were then an estimated 30000 Cuban troops in Angola.

The Secretary-General's Role
The UN Secretary-General had earlier started negotiations to further Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). After the Security Council meeting in May (see above) Dr Perez de Cuellar said he welcomed the task that the council had set him. He remarked that he would not travel to SA unless he was sure that he would not return empty-handed. On hearing the council's decision the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told the press that the Secretary-General would be welcome to visit SA to discuss SWA 'on the assumption' that he would also visit SWA itself and have 'proper discussions' with the internal parties. 12 Late in August Dr Perez de Cuellar, accompanied by Mr Martti Ahtisaari (the UN Special Representative for Namibia), made a five-day tour of SA, SWA/Namibia, and Angola, during which he met the SA Prime Minister and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence. According to numerous press reports, the matters discussed included the impartiality of the UN; the composition of UNTAG (UN Transition Assistance Group); the electoral system; the status of UN personnel during the transition period; the question of detainees; allegations of SA raids into southern Angola; and the position of SA refugees in Lesotho.

After two days of talks Mr Pik Botha told the press that the previously unresolved problems mentioned in the first five of these items 'could be considered to be settled'. The question of bias by certain UN agencies had been discussed at length. Dr Perez de Cuellar had given an 'unambiguous assurance' that all parties would be treated equally by him and his personnel in the implementation of Resolution 435. It had been agreed, Mr Botha said, that UNTAG would comprise a maximum of about 8 000 troops, administrators, and other personnel from UN countries, who would oversee the transition in SWA/Namibia from SA control to independence. SA had made a concession in that it had agreed to make its decision on whether proportional representation or a constituency system should be employed in the pre-independence elections immediately the date for an implementation of the settlement plan was set, and not at some time thereafter, as was originally envisaged.
Mr Botha was reported to have stressed that SA was irrevocably committed to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before a settlement in Namibia could be achieved. Dr Perez de Cuellar pointed out that he had no mandate to discuss this matter, but said he was prepared to listen to SA's view. He told the press that he would try to help solve this issue, but that he 'hated' the idea of linking the two things. Mr Perez de Cuellar subsequently said that he had 'repeatedly' made it clear to the SA Prime Minister that 'I do not accept this so-called linkage of independence with the Cuban troop issue'.

In his report to the Security Council on his visit, Mr Perez de Cuellar said 'we have never been so close to finality' on how to implement Resolution 435. He added: 'However, the position of SA regarding the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for the implementation of Resolution 435 still makes it impossible to launch the UN plan'. SA, he said, had initially approved the UN plan but later, with US support, had insisted on the withdrawal of the Cuban troops as a pre-condition for the withdrawal of its own forces from Namibia. Commenting on the Secretary-General's report, Mr Pik Botha, the SA Foreign Minister, said that he found it encouraging, but added: 'As I have said before, all future negotiations and developments will now centre on the question of Cuban withdrawal'.

Press reports said that, due to hard work and good progress in the talks, Dr Perez de Cuellar cut short his stay in Cape Town and flew to Windhoek, from where he travelled to the operational area to spend the night as a guest of the Administrator-General, a call which had not been included in the original itinerary. The Administrator-General was reported to have been asked to arrange a timetable for representatives of the internal parties to see Dr Perez de Cuellar during the day he was to spend in Windhoek. The DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, told the press, however, that any approach should have been made direct by the Secretary-General: the DTA refused to be treated as if it were part of some SA delegation. Leaders of SWAPO-D and SWANU agreed with him. A mass boycott of talks was averted by a series of telephone calls by Mr Ahtisaari. Representatives of 17 parties were stated to have spent about 15 minutes each with Dr Perez de Cuellar and his group. They included the (white) National Party on the right and the internal wing of SWAPO and SWAPO-D on the left, but the DTA still refused to meet the UN representatives, because, it stated, in April 1981 the Security Council had declined to hear its submissions but had allowed SWAPO to state put its case.

Dr Perez de Cuellar was met on his arrival in Angola by the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who handed him a set of revised conditions for the withdrawal of Cuban troops: the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of SA forces occupying parts of southern Angola; the rapid enactment of Resolution 435; the halt of all SA aggression against Angola; and the halt of logistical support for UNITA guerrillas.

Later, Dr Perez de Cuellar met Mr Sam Nujoma, who handed him a letter stating that SWAPO was ready to agree to a ceasefire and co-operate with the UN
Secretary-General in bringing about a speedy implementation of Resolution 435 without modification, amendment, or extraneous and irrelevant issues of linkage and reciprocity being insisted upon. The letter asked that SA should abolish restrictions that made SWAPO political activities in SWA/Namibia impossible; grant prisoner-of-war status to captured SWAPO guerrillas; release SWAPO prisoners on Robben Island; and release SWAPO prisoners captured during a raid on Cassinga in Angola in 1978.

However, Mr Savimbi and his representatives have said repeatedly that the war will continue until the MPLA agrees to form a truly national government and that there can be no demilitarisation of southern Angola by decision of the Luanda government and SA without direct consultations with UNITA.

SWA/NAMIBIA: SETTLEMENT TALKS
Further developments
During a visit to SA in September, the British junior minister responsible for African affairs, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, said that his government and the SA government wanted the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, but that the British government was not prepared to accept any formal pre-conditions for independence of SWA. It was of the utmost importance to find a policy that would be most likely to get the Cubans out of Angola. The fact that the Angolan government did not invite Cuban troops into the country primarily because of Namibia, but to 'preserve its own existence', should be taken into account.

In a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in mid-November the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said that the UN Secretary-General's visit to southern Africa had 'resulted in the resolution of virtually all the outstanding problems on Namibia'. 'The main obstacle', Sir Geoffrey said, 'is the demand for an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for a Namibian settlement. We have made it clear that for us the only conditions for Namibian independence are those in Security Council Resolution 435, but as a matter of practical politics we have to recognise that the main parties each have their own security problems. These have to be satisfactorily resolved if there is to be an enduring agreement'. Sir Geoffrey added that the continued presence of SA troops in Angola and continuing armed conflict there made the withdrawal of Cuban troops more difficult: 'I therefore urge the South Africans to pull back their forces from southern Angola as a vital step. I do not believe this would prejudice their position'.

Reporting back to the House of Commons on the meeting of Commonwealth heads of government in New Delhi at the end of December, the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said with reference to the Cuban/SADF withdrawal issue: 'We do not recognise linkage'. However, she added, 'the fact that other nations have made the linkage is material to how and when the problem will be resolved'. In a communiqué after the meeting Britain joined other Commonwealth nations in rejecting linkage, but Mrs Thatcher insisted that the words 'immediate and unconditional' be deleted from the call for the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola.
Dr Crocker dismissed the Commonwealth as a 'gentlemanly version of the UN General Assembly' and said the US was not asking anybody else to endorse linkage. Earlier, the SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had said after a visit by Dr Crocker's deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, to SA in October that he was 'completely satisfied' with the American standpoint on the necessity for Cuban withdrawal in order to achieve a settlement in Namibia. In a speech at the University of Kansas on 10 November, Dr Crocker said that the US and its contact group allies had 'found solutions to a series of issues relating to the role of the UN in the transition process leading to independence. In fact... we now have in place virtually all the elements for the implementation of Resolution 435 and the transition to Namibian independence'. Dr Crocker added: 'It has taken longer than we hoped to achieve this much, but Namibian independence today depends only on some key political decisions of governments in the region turning on one issue'.

The UN Secretary-General had 'defined the remaining hurdle', Dr Crocker claimed. Following his visit to southern Africa earlier in the year, Dr Crocker said, the Secretary-General had stated in his report that SA had agreed to the SWA/NAMIBIA: SA's DISENGAGEMENT OFFER terms of Resolution 435. But he had 'also learned and made clear in his report that the SA government is not prepared to withdraw from Namibia and begin the implementation of Resolution 435 in the absence of a commitment from the Angolan government of the withdrawal of Cuban forces'. Dr Crocker added: 'Consequently, we are also fully engaged in a separate but parallel series of talks with the Angolan government, which, if successful, will result in an agreement on the Cuban troop issue'.

At the end of November the Angolan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Venancio De Mousa, repeated his government's conditions for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops: withdrawal of SA troops from Angola; an end to SA aggression against Angola; cessation of SA aid to UNITA; and immediate implementation of Resolution 435. 13

At a press conference in Bonn during a tour of western European capitals in November and December, the SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said that if Cuban troops remained in Angola, SA would not continue with the implementation of Resolution 435, irrespective of the international consequences. As far as SA was concerned, the major issues had been resolved and the only remaining item was the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. 'Whether this is seen as a precondition or not is unimportant', Mr Botha said. 'What is important is that Resolution 435 categorically provides for a free and fair election in Namibia. There can be no free and fair election while 30 000 foreign troops remain north of the border as a continual source of threat and intimidation. 14

According to press reports a secret meeting was held in Europe at the time of Mr Botha's visit to prepare the way for 'possible future meetings' between the leaders of Angola, Mozambique and SA. 15 Mr Botha had earlier been told by his Portuguese counterpart during a stop-over in Lisbon that Portugal would welcome any talks between SA and its African neighbours, particularly Angola and Mozambique. 16 On 5 December, Mr Botha had discussions in Rome with Dr
Crocker. Shortly afterwards, France announced that it would no longer attend meetings of the contact group.

South Africa's Disengagement Offer
According to the press, on 15 December Angola called for an urgent Security Council debate on SA raids into the southern part of its territory. SA's ambassador to the UN then handed to the UN Secretary-General a letter from the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, asking that this be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

The letter was stated to read: 'Further to my letter of 22 November 1983, and with a view to facilitating the process of achieving a peaceful settlement of the SWA/Namibia issue, the Government of South Africa is prepared to begin a disengagement of forces which from time to time conduct military operations against SWAPO in Angola, on 31 January 1984, on the understanding that this gesture would be reciprocated by the Angolan Government, which would assure that its own forces, SWAPO, and the Cubans, would not exploit the resultant situation, in particular with regard to actions which might threaten the security of the inhabitants of SWA/Namibia.

The proposed action by South Africa would last initially for 30 days and could be extended on condition that the provisions of this proposal are adhered to. The South African Government remains prepared to begin the process of implementing Security Council Resolution 435 upon resolution of the problem of Cuban forces in Angola, as reflected in paragraph 12 of Your Excellency's report of 29 August 1983 (S/15943) to the Security Council.'

It was reported that the letter had been drafted after discussions between Mr Botha and Dr Crocker.

A British Broadcasting Corporation news broadcast on 16 December quoted a SWAPO spokesman at the UN as saying that the SA proposal was 'totally unacceptable'. Angola, too, apparently rejected the offer initially. (Following talks with Dr Chester Crocker and others during January, however, both Angola and SWAPO gave conditional undertakings to respect a 30-day ceasefire. The SA disengagement was duly put into operation.)

According to a report in The Citizen,17 most political leaders in SWA agreed that the overwhelming 'yes' vote in the SA constitutional referendum on 2 November would enable SA to address the SWA issue without fear of a conservative backlash. A DTA spokesman, for example, said that the SA government should now be able to move ahead with SWA independence 'more easily'. An official of the Namibian Independence Party, Dr Kenneth Abrahams, also said a 'yes' vote should enable SA to 'move faster with the implementation of Resolution 435'. On the other hand a SWAPO spokesman said, 'Now that Mr P W Botha has the majority of whites behind him in the laager I think he will continue to stall the implementation of UN Resolution 435'.

The leader of the Federal Party, Mr Brian O'Linn, said: 'The SA government may argue that having pleased the US with its mandate for domestic change, it will now have less to fear in resisting pressure on Namibia.' However, Mr O'Linn
thought this was the less likely of two options. The right-wing backlash has turned out to be not so strong,' he said. 'We can therefore expect some progress in Nambia too, because one of their excuses has now fallen away.'

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SWA/NAMIBIA: 625
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International developments
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5 Sunday Times, 3 April
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THE CHURCHES
The Prime Minister told Parliament in March 1 that the government was prepared
to refer the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality
Act to a parliamentary select committee for advice on action to be taken to
remove their hurtful impact, on condition that all parties agreed to handle the
matter on a non-party basis and in a spirit of responsibility. He had held
discussions with various church leaders and had concluded that they were deeply
divided on the question. He personally did not believe that the Mixed Marriages
Act was a prerequisite for the security and existence of the white man in South
Africa, and was prepared to consider revisions. (Section 16 of the Immorality Act
prohibits sexual intercourse across the colour line.)
Individual churches
Church of the Province of SA (Anglican)
The Anglican bishops approved the ordination of women as deacons, but not as
priests. Bishops ordaining women as deacons should inform the synod of bishops,
and should tell the women concerned that they could not expect to enter the
priesthood and that their licensing was to a particular diocese, with no guarantee
of licensing in any other diocese. The Anglicans' refusal to accept women as
priests is one reason why it could not fully endorse the draft covenant of the
Church Unity Commission (see below). 2
The March issue of the Anglican newspaper, Seek, which contained an article
about the church in South West Africa/Namibia, was banned. By the time the
banning order was issued, however, the 13 000 copies printed had been
distributed.
Methodist Church of Southern Africa
The 101st conference of the Methodist Church was held in Durban in the latter
part of October. The Rev Peter Storey was elected president for 1984. One of the
issues debated was the proposed new constitution for SA (see below).
It was decided that all circuits of the church should be racially integrated by 1987.
Priority would be given to forming circuits on a geographical instead of on a
racial basis. Superintendents would be appointed on a basis mainly of proximity.
Three circuits were already integrated, namely Eshowe, the East Rand, and
Oudtshoorn. In 1982 the Methodists had resolved that apartheid could not be
justified on biblical or theological grounds and should be rejected as a heresy. In
1983 the conference laid down strict conditions to govern its official relationship
with the three (white) Dutch Reformed Churches. Dialogue would continue only
if the following matters were included on the agenda:

CHURCHES
* the admission of black Christians to church membership and worship,
and especially to Holy Communion;
* the giving of concrete support to those suffering under apartheid; and
* the rejection of apartheid in both church and state and its replacement with a social system more in accord with Christian ethics.

With regard to bomb-blasts in SA and retaliatory strikes by the SA Defence Force in neighbouring countries, the conference ‘deplored the escalation of violence in southern Africa’, which had ‘the nature of a civil war’. It condemned violence ‘by whomsoever it was committed’ and recognised ‘that both sides in the conflict are responsible’. The government should address the problems which cause such violence ‘in a manner compatible with its professed adherence to a Christian lifestyle by dismantling the apartheid system’.

The church appealed to the government to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

**Gereformeerde Kerk**

It was reported towards the end of 1982 that, at a meeting with the Prime Minister and other members of the cabinet, representatives of the Gereformeerde Kerk had said that they rejected racism and considered that the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts were not justified scripturally.

**Nederduitsh Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHK)**

The (mainly Transvaal-based) NHK held its four-yearly assembly in Pretoria during May. In 1982 this church withdrew from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches after the Alliance had suspended it on the grounds that it restricted membership to whites and supported apartheid. By about 494 votes to six, the NHK assembly approved the withdrawal.

It was agreed to delete the word 'white' from the constitution of the Zimbabwe branch (the NHK would otherwise have been faced with expulsion from that country), but so far as the Republic was concerned the matter was evaded by accepting a proposal that an investigation, already lasting several years, of the membership issue be continued. The proposal included a directive that the church should not in the meantime in any way be inconsiderate or act without love towards any fellow-believers. (It had recently been widely reported that a NHK minister had refused to conduct a funeral service because of the presence of blacks.) The assembly confirmed its support for the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.

The HNK had at a previous meeting agreed to accept women as ministers. At the 1983 meeting it was decided to accept women also as elders.

**Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)**

An NGK Emergency Aid Committee has been undertaking several economic development projects in the drought-stricken areas of Lebowa and Gazankulu. The four-yearly meeting of the general synod of the (white) NG Kerk in October 1982 was described in the 1982 Survey (p 567). The elections to the Broad Moderature (plenary executive) indicated that fundamental changes from within the NGK were unlikely. Inter alia, Professor Johan Heyns of the University of Pre-

**CHURCHES**
toria (considered a 'renewing thinker') was voted out of office in favour of a known conservative. In September 1983, however, Professor Heyns was elected moderator of the Northern Transvaal Synod. He told the press, 'I am in favour of an open church. No church should have closed doors to any believer or any church members'.

By an overwhelming majority the 1982 synod had rejected a motion by Professor Heyns that the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act were scripturally unjustifiable and should be revoked. The question has continued to occupy the minds of many NGK members, however. In May 1983 the Rev G S J (Pappies) Moller, editor of the church's official organ, Die Kerkbode, and Cape Moderator of the NGK, said that there were different schools of thought within his church. Many members were agreed that mixed marriage in itself was not a sin and that the Bible made no pronouncement on the matter. But at the general synod the majority had supported a motion that such marriages were 'undesirable in the complicated South African society'.

According to a report in July the moedergemeente (mother congregation) of the church, at Stellenbosch, had accepted by 70 votes to 2 that there was no scriptural justification for the statutory measures concerned. It would press for recognition of this at the Western Cape Synod of the church, and would also urge all NG churches to follow its unequivocal statement that the church should be open to all Christians, with membership to be decided purely on the grounds of the religious confession of the applicant. The Northern Transvaal Synod refused to discuss the proposals of the moedergemeente, deciding that they should be referred to a commission appointed to revise church policy on race.

The Cape Synod had in 1936 asked the then government to prevent mixed marriages and to introduce an apartheid policy. In 1983 the same synod admitted by implication that it had been wrong. It accepted a resolution that the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act contradicted scriptural and Christian-ethical principles of marriage. Describing marriage as a God-ordained institution in which mutual love and respect were the only real criteria, the synod said the two laws harmed human dignity. The church could not prescribe to the state what laws it should pass, but it was its task to establish basic moral principles from the Bible and advise the state accordingly. These resolutions were also sent to a standing committee of the NGK, in Pretoria, for consideration.

The 1982 general synod of the (white) NGK resolved to leave the matter of worship of all races in its churches and attendance at funerals and other special occasions to the discretion of the church council concerned (see 1982 Survey p 568). According to press reports between 27 and 30 October 1983, an overwhelming majority of the Western Cape Synod accepted in principle the 'guidelines' of a report stating that any attempt to present separate development as if it were laid down by the Bible should be disowned by the NGK. NGK religious services should always be open to all people. Membership of a congregation should be determined by religious confession alone, and in accordance with church regulations, regardless of colour. This resolution would be forwarded for consideration by the standing committee in Pretoria. The chief ecumenical affairs and information officer of the church told the press that the standing committee
had the power to 'clarify the practical aspects of a decision taken in principle'. The committee's recommendations would be considered at the next meeting of the general synod (due in 1986). A large majority of the Western Cape Synod also accepted that apartheid did not have a biblical foundation and that racism and racial discrimination were sinful.

CHURCHES
NG Kerk in Afrika (NGKA) (African)
The NGKA held its four-yearly synod in Barkly West during June. It unanimously decided to propose a single multi-racial church to replace the four separate NG churches. A motion declaring apartheid to be a sin, stating that the moral and theological justification of apartheid was a theological heresy, and endorsing the suspension of the NGK and NHK from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) (see 1982 Survey p 565) was supported by only four delegates, with 88 voting against. At least 50 delegates did not vote. (The NGKA had already declared apartheid to be sinful at its 1975 and 1979 synods.) During discussion, the reference to heresy was dropped from the motion. Confusion arose over the question of suspension: many delegates seemed unaware that their vote called only for an endorsement of the WARC decision and not for the NGKA's suspension of the white NGK (as was suggested by three of the moderamen, including a white minister). An article attributed the NGKA's caution to its financial dependence on the white NGK, amounting to between 80% and 90% of its income. It was pointed out in a subsequent article that 'while ministers in the white NGK can minister in any of the churches in the family of NGK churches, those ordained in the NGKA cannot minister in white congregations. This situation gives rise to 'double membership' for white ministers in the NGKA since most of them remain members of the white church but also have decision-making powers in the black church.
The NGKA decided to continue its membership of the SA Council of Churches, to request church ministers and members to distance themselves from the actions of the Broederkring (see below), and, by a majority of six votes, to allow women to become deacons, elders or ministers.
NG Sendingkerk (Coloured)
The General Synodical Commission of the NG Sendingkerk met in Belhar in the Cape during March to deal with outstanding matters from the 1982 synod meeting (see 1982 Survey p 566). The commission held that the church's prophetic calling was to test all political, social and economic institutions against the criteria of the Kingdom of God - justice, peace, love and happiness. Any system of government which excluded any section of the SA population and entrenched apartheid did not meet these criteria, and the commission thus rejected the constitutional proposals of the President's Council. The commission declared itself in favour of an undivided SA, and rejected the homelands policy as 'unchristian'. This policy, it held, was responsible for indescribable suffering through the forced uprooting and relocation of people, and for millions of South Africans losing their citizenship against their will. Conditions in the homelands led to large-scale
unemployment, social and political instability, and under-development. The homelands policy was rejected by most blacks. It was decided that the NG Sendingkerk would solemnise racially mixed marriages and would help and protect such couples if they faced prosecution. The church would view such marriages as bona fide, would explain to couples the implications, and would not deny them the sacraments. Twelve of the 30 commission members, while agreeing that there was no biblical justification for the Mixed Marriages Act, felt that the church should not defy the law, but should try to have it changed.

CHURCHES
The commission decided to ask the government urgently to include the rights of farm workers in labour legislation. 12

NGK Broederkring
At its annual meeting in October the Broederkring (Fraternal) of the NGK decided to change its name, in order 'to remove clerical and male connotations', to 'Belydende Kring van die NG Kerke', which can be roughly translated as 'confessing movement' of the NG churches.3 The movement consists of some 300 members (mainly African and coloured ministers) of the four NG churches who aim to promote a 'relevant' and united church serving as a witness for society. Some congregations, in East London and Lenasia for example, include members of all race groups. The participation of women is fully accepted. As mentioned above, the (African) NG Kerk in Afrika asked its ministers not to join the Broederkring, which is not recognised by the (white) NG Kerk either. The (coloured) Sendingkerk is reported to be seeking a better understanding of the movement, while the (Indian) Reformed Church in Africa is divided in its views. The Rev Elia Tema of Soweto has succeeded Dr Allan Boesak as chairman of the movement.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (PCSA)
The composition and attitudes of the various Presbyterian Churches in SA were outlined briefly in last year's Survey (p 574). The (black) Evangelical Presbyterian Church and Reformed Presbyterian Church have become members of the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in SA (ABRECSA) (see below). The Presbyterian Church of Africa is one of the many African separatist churches. The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (PCSA) is a much bigger body than these others. It has some 70000 members, a fairly large majority of them white. 14 The church's annual assembly was held at Boksburg at the end of September, at the same time as the United Congregational Church in Southern Africa (UCCSA) was meeting nearby. A combined service of worship was held, and also a joint session (closed to the press) to discuss possible unity.15 Plans for unity between the PCSA and the Congregational Union date back to 1904, and discussions were resumed after the formation of UCCSA in 1967 (see below). A final draft of this plan was considered by the PCSA at its meeting in September. The churches share fundamental theology and have similar organisation. One difficulty, in the SA context, has been that the PCSA, with a majority of white members, is smaller but richer. One reason for strong opposition
among PCSA members has evidently been the socio-political approach of the UCCSA, which is seen as militant. There was objection among more conservative members to the decision taken by the PCSA assembly in 1981 that the Mixed Marriages Act was not necessarily binding on Christians (see 1981 Survey p 41). Unlike UCCSA, the PCSA did not endorse the decision by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) to suspend the two Afrikaans churches that were members: it believed that contact should be maintained with Afrikaans churches as well as with other mainline churches and church bodies. When the PCSA’s assembly met in September at least three of its twelve regional presbyteries and several congregations were threatening to break away if the unity plan were adopted. After long discussion a compromise motion was adopted by 130 votes to one: the final draft

CHURCHES

of the plan for union was adopted subject to approval by at least two-thirds of the presbyteries. These bodies were asked to report their decisions by the end of June 1984, so that a final decision could be taken at the general assembly later that year.

By majority vote the assembly defeated a motion that sought to endorse the WARC’s decision that the theological justification of apartheid is a heresy. The assembly noted with deep regret the failure of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) to enter into the debate between the two churches to which the NGK had previously agreed. This debate would have centred on the NGK's publication Ras, Volk en Nasie. (As noted below, a few individual churches and groups within the NGK do take part in ecumenical church gatherings.)

Roman Catholic Church

In January, a report on a visit by a delegation of the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference (SACBC) to the operational area in South West Africa/Namibia (see 1982 Survey p 621) was banned under the Publications Act. Following their visit, the bishops had tried unsuccessfully to arrange discussions with the Prime Minister, who replied in two letters, which were included in the banned report. The Rand Daily Mail (19 January) quoted Archbishop Denis Hurley, president of the SACBC, as saying that the chief casualty in war was truth. ‘The truth is not always easy to determine in a conflict when the other side cannot or must not be heard’, the Archbishop is said to have commented. ‘The report has been banned because it reflected something of what the Namibians suffer in their present struggle. It is sad that South Africa’s case is so suspect that it must be protected by suppression’.

The bishops decided to appeal against the banning order, saying that the church had a right and duty to speak out on social justice and political power. At the annual plenary session of the SACBC, at the end of January, Archbishop Hurley and Archbishop Bonifatius Haushiku of Windhoek disclosed parts of the banned report. According to the Catholic newspaper Inter Nos (February), they told the meeting that most Namibians had an overriding desire for a ceasefire, the withdrawal of SA troops, and the holding of free and fair elections under UN
supervision. Archbishop Haushiku claimed that the people regarded the SA security forces as 'an army of occupation' and SWAPO as the 'liberation movement'. Archbishop Hurley is reported to have told of certain alleged atrocities against local blacks perpetrated by security force members. The following day a representative of the Ministry of Law and Order said that the police would investigate possible charges against Archbishop Hurley and any newspapers or media that published or disseminated his allegations. The outcome of any such investigations had not been revealed at the time of writing. The Catholic Church in SWA announced in October that it wholeheartedly supported Archbishop Hurley's report. Archbishop Hurley said that the SACBC wanted to work closely with other denominations with a view to formulating a united Christian stand on issues such as enforced population removals and resettlement.

**United Congregational Church in Southern Africa (UCCSA)**

The United Congregational Church in Southern Africa (UCCSA) was formed in 1967 as a combination of the London Missionary Society, the American Board Mission, and the Congregational Union. In 1972 the SA Association of the Disciples of Christ joined. UCCSA has a very large majority of African and coloured members but also includes whites. The total membership is possibly in the region of 250,000, some 140,000 of them being communicant members. In 1982 UCCSA condemned apartheid as being sinful and resolved to discontinue any dialogue with the Afrikaans churches as long as they accepted, and morally and theologically justified, apartheid (see 1982 Survey p 574). At its general assembly, at the end of September, UCCSA took the matter further, affirming 'that the practice of apartheid is as sinful as its theological justification is heretical'. By 145 votes to six the assembly reaffirmed its desire, dating back to the year of its formation, to unite with the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

**Ecumenical and Interdenominational Organisations**

Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in SA (ABRECSA) The aim of ABRECSA (see 1981 Survey p 45) is to be relevant to black Christians within the reformed tradition and work for the creation of a just society. The Star (11 July) reported that ABRECSA represents about 500,000 people, drawing its membership from churches, church groups and individuals. Member churches include the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in SA, the Reformed Church of Africa (Indian), the Reformed Presbyterian Church of SA, and the United Congregational Church of SA. There are also individual members of the (black) NGK in Afrika and the (coloured) NG Sendingkerk. During July ABRECSA's allblack executive appointed a white founder member, the Rev J F Bill, as its first organising secretary. In November members of ABRECSA claimed that their third annual conference had been disrupted by Inkatha members who, Mr Bill said, 'thronged' the dining room and helped themselves to the food. The conference left its original site, near Melmoth, in Natal, and moved to another venue for 'self protection'. The president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of
KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said he had asked his Minister of the Interior, Dr Dennis Madide, to ‘extend our welcome to important guests who were holding a conference in our territory’.

Church Unity Commission
In 1966 an inter-denominational Church Unity Commission was set up by the Church of the Province of SA (Anglican), the Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Congregational Churches of Southern Africa, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the Evangelical Presbyterian Church (see 1982 Survey p 571). A draft covenant aimed at achieving unity was accepted in 1982 by all of these churches except the Anglicans, who accepted it in principle only, delaying implementation of clauses which involved full recognition of the members and of the ordained ministers of the other churches. During 1983 the commission continued to seek acceptable proposals for unity. It appointed a committee on Africanisation to look at church unity from the African point of view and to bring African theological, cultural and community concepts to bear on unity discussions.20

Diakonia
An inter-school group called Diakonia, supported by major churches in the Durban area, has been concerning itself with the rights of workers.2

CHURCHES

Interdenominational Ministers'Association of SA (IDA MA SA)
Idamasa consists of African clergy who have joined as individuals. Idamasa representatives, in response to an approach from the KwaZulu authorities, joined 'unity talks' between KwaZulu and four other non-independent homelands, the Transkei, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), the Urban Councils Association of SA (UCASA), and the Reform Party. The talks were aimed at thwarting the government's plan for a confederation of states and calling instead a national convention of leaders with a view to establishing a federal union based on non-racial and non-ethnic principles.

Jan Smuts Axis Group of Churches
As part of the church unity movement, a group of churches in Johannesburg arranged an annual Unity Service. They were: Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Parksig; Methodist congregations of Parktown North, Civic Centre, and Forest Town; Holy Trinity Catholic Church in Braamfontein; Anglican congregations of St Francis in Parkview, St George in Parktown, St Peter in Auckland Park; Lutheran church of St Peter-by-the-Lake; and Presbyterian church of St Columbia, Parkview. Seven ministers from different churches took part in the service, on 15 May, in the NG Kerk, where a Roman Catholic priest gave the sermon.22

SA Council of Churches (SA CC)
The membership of this council includes the English-language multiracial Protestant churches and a number of African churches.
In June Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa was elected president of the SACC, succeeding the Rev Peter Storey, who resigned when the council decided to press for the recovery of funds from its former general secretary, Mr John Rees (see below). According to the Methodist
newspaper Dimension, Dr Storey had been in the unenviable position of being president of the SACC, which Mr Rees was found to have defrauded, while at the same time being his pastor. As reported in last year's Survey, the SACC's general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, was on several occasions refused a passport to visit other countries to attend meetings or deliver lectures. However, in mid-1983 he was granted travel documents to attend an assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver and visit the United States and New Zealand. But in October he was refused a passport to attend a UN symposium in Geneva. The SACC held its annual conference, in Bosmont, Johannesburg, during June, under the theme 'If only you had known the things that make for peace'. The conference requested churches to encourage their members to 'evaluate their participation in organisations that undergird the apartheid system and to refrain from such participation wherever possible'. Churches were also called upon to refrain from supporting or investing money in commercial and other institutions directly engaged in defending apartheid, and from letting church property to businesses that practised racial discrimination in economic dealings with 'the oppressed peoples of our land'.

The conference called on the Transkei authorities to lift their banning orders on the SACC and the Methodist Church of SA. It was also unanimously resolved to call upon the Prime Minister 'to release all political prisoners in SA and Namibia as a first step towards negotiating a peaceful solution to the conflict in southern Africa'. Church congregations were urged to observe each third Sunday in October as a National Day of Prayer for Detainees. The government was called upon to end the eviction of families with no alternative accommodation, to change its ethnic system of education, and to bring about free education for all. An SACC 'task force' on human rights was established. The conference also adopted a suggestion by Archbishop Denis Hurley, President of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, for a major conference of church leaders in 1986 to work out a programme of action for peace in SA.

The state's charges against Mr John Rees were summarised on page 560 of last year's Survey. On 18 May Mr Rees was convicted in the Rand Supreme Court on 29 charges of fraud involving R296 500 of SACC money. He was sentenced to an effective ten years' imprisonment, suspended for five years, and was fined R30 000 (or six years' imprisonment) to be paid in three instalments, the first due on 1 December. Mr Justice Goldstone found that Mr Rees had not misappropriated the money for greed, but said it was irrelevant for the judgement whether he had used the money for his own benefit or for some altruistic purpose. He agreed with the defence counsel that the features in this case were unusual if not bizarre, and that no purpose would be served by sending Mr Rees to jail. The SACC, he said, had placed an unfair responsibility on him by placing millions of rands in his care, and should share the responsibility for the misuse of money.

The executive committee of the SA Institute of Race Relations accepted Mr Rees's resignation from the post of director (which he had occupied since leaving...
the SACC), stating that it regretfully found itself legally bound to do so in terms of the Companies Act. It placed on record its lasting gratitude to Mr Rees for the honourable and loyal service he had given it, and affirmed admiration of his energetic and inspiring leadership.  

By a large majority vote the SACC's executive committee called on Mr Rees to make restitution: this resolution was supported at the annual meeting of the SACC in June.  

In October 1981 the Prime Minister announced the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry, headed by Mr Justice C F Eloff, into the inception, development and functioning of the SACC; how funds were obtained; and how and for what purpose money and assets were disposed of. Public hearings began in 1982 and continued at intervals during the year under review.  

In his evidence the then chief of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, called on the commission to recommend that the SACC be prevented from receiving foreign funds and lose its exemption from the Fund-Raising Act (No. 107 of 1978), which gave it free rein to raise money inside the country. He claimed that there was 'probably merit in the statement that the SACC is manipulated by a highly politicised leadership, is funded by outside influences hostile to the present system in South Africa, and gives itself an importance not reflected in reality'.  

Hearing of these allegations, prominent overseas churches sent representatives to SA to give evidence: all rejected any suggestion that they used donated funds to manipulate the SACC. SA leaders of the Methodist, Anglican, Roman Catholic, and other churches connected with the SACC declared their support for the organisation. The then president of the SACC, the Rev Peter Storey, said the suggestion that it was manipulated by foreign funders was 'an attempt to cheapen and devalue an amazing story of Christian charity which has brought untold benefits to the people of our land'.  

CHURCHES  

The Commission's report was handed to the Minister of Justice in November. He said it would be studied by the government, whereafter the manner in which it would further be dealt with would be made public. The SACC's general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said the SACC would continue with its own commission of inquiry, appointed in 1981 and headed by Advocate W H R Schreiner. At the end of August the SACC decided that, in view of the Eloff Commission's work and the churches' involvement in giving evidence before the commission, and in view of the commission's findings on the SACC, it was unnecessary to proceed with its own commission of enquiry, this being halted.  

Reformed Study Group of Africa (RESA)  

In January a group of young theological and postgraduate students of the (white) Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) launched a non-racial interdenominational study group to promote unity between Christians of the reformed tradition and to oppose apartheid in church and politics." In three months its membership grew to more than 200, including members of the three Dutch Reformed Churches and English-speaking black and white members of other churches of the reformed tradition.
A meeting of the WCC assembly was held in Vancouver from 24 July to 10 August, the theme being 'Jesus Christ, the Light of the World'. More than 800 delegates and a large number of observers and advisers, drawn from some 300 Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox and independent churches with about 380-million members, were present. Among participants from SA were the Archbishop of Cape Town (the head of the Anglican church in SA) the Most Rev Philip Russell; the general secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, Mr I C Aitken; Bishop M Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (subsequently elected president of the SACC); the general secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu; and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak. Both Dr Boesak and Bishop Tutu received standing ovations when they addressed meetings during the assembly. Archbishop Russell was elected to the WCC's central committee.

In addition to discussing other matters, the WCC called on member churches to intensify their witness against apartheid. It was agreed that any theology which supported or condoned apartheid was heretical. Churches were urged to strengthen solidarity with liberation movements and encourage economic sanctions. While accepting these statements, Bishop Tutu said that they expressed no sense of 'caring' for South African whites. 'As an act of Christian charity', he said, 'we should indicate that the world's churches love and care for them, and are not anti-South African but anti-apartheid'.

A SA newspaper reporter who attended the assembly said that there had for long been considerable criticism in certain circles of the special fund of the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism (PCR), which was financed by various churches and governments, mostly western. Beneficiaries included SWAPO, the African National Congress, and the Pan Africanist Congress. However, of the R82.5m budget of the WCC in 1982, only R500 000 went to the PCR, the reporter said. Money was donated to 'liberation movements' on condition it was used for humanitarian purposes such as medical supplies: according to the WCC, it had never been proved that it had been used to buy weapons.

In addition to criticising SA the WCC attacked the policy of the US in Central America. According to the press, 'on the other hand the WCC spoke in far milder vein about the Soviet Union's activities in Afghanistan and Poland. The explanation given is that western churches must be "sensitive" to the position of eastern bloc countries, because tough resolutions against their countries could cause serious problems'. This was the 'price for retaining member churches' there. Attitudes of the churches to political issues

The white NGK and NHK both decided against advising their members how to vote in the referendum on 2 November on the constitutional proposals of the government (see chapter on The New Constitution).

Most of the English-language churches were opposed to the proposals. The then president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Khoza Mgojo,
announced in September that a consultation between church leaders had revealed that while some saw limited merit in the proposals, the church could not support them because their implementation would entrench the sin of apartheid and lead to increased polarisation, unrest, and violent conflict. The conference of the Methodist Church supported Dr Mgojo's stand and decided to distribute a pastoral letter on 30 October (two days before the referendum) calling on voters to reject the constitution and to pray for genuine change.

A pastoral letter of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, read in all Catholic parishes on 25 September, also set out reasons for rejecting the proposed constitution. It would not be a satisfactory step on the road to peace in SA, but would entrench apartheid and exclude Africans from the legislative process. It represented the mind of only a section of a particular population group. The head of the Anglican Church, the Most Rev Philip Russell, Archbishop of Cape Town, said that Christians should make their referendum votes as members of a family 'eight-tenths of whom are being excluded from this referendum'. He said he had taken part in a unanimous vote by the Cape Town diocesan council in June to reject and resist the constitutional plan, which would lead to greater separation and division of South Africans. Various other dioceses of the Church of the Province of South Africa expressed similar views.

Other churches, organisations, and church leaders that rejected the proposed constitution included the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the NG Sendingkerk, the Volkskerk of Africa, the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association (IDAMASA), the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in SA (ABRECSA), Bishop Tutu of the SA Council of Churches, and Dr Allan Boesak (in 1982 elected president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches).

Several church leaders called for the abandonment of the government's plan in favour of a national convention of leaders of all groups to decide the country's future.

Views expressed by some of the churches on military service are referred to in the chapter on Defence.

CHURCHES

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2 Seek June
3 Various press reports especially 13-29 October
4 Star 15 December 1982
5 Press reports 29 April to 12 May
6 Star 8 October
12 From reports in Rand Daily Mail 19 and 22 March 13 Accounts in The Star 7 and 11 October 14 Account of the PCSA's composition and meeting as reported in The Star 23 September, Star 27 September, Rand Daily Mail 1 October. Also reported in The Presbytery, August and October 15 Ibid 5 February 1 Ibid 12 October 17 Ibid 4 February 18 Star 23 September 19 Ibid 27 September, Rand
SPORT
Policy
South Africa's general isolation from world sport continued in 1983, several racial incidents showing that sport in SA was not yet free of apartheid. Two tours by West Indian 'rebel' cricketers, led by former test star Mr Lawrence Rowe, drew large crowds and publicity. The tours were estimated to have cost R5m.

There was no racial discrimination in SA sport, the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in April when he opened an international waterskiing competition at Hartebeespoort Dam. In August the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, explained government policy on sport as incorporating the principle that a sports club ought to decide for itself how it wished to deal with its own sports functions and play sport, but 'within the framework' of overall policy. He was responding to Conservative Party (CP) criticism that 'the once mighty' National Party (NP) 'has now become the instrument for gradually increasing integration in every sphere of life'. The criticism was made during the debate on the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act, No 102 of 1983, a clause of which exempted people from having to apply for permits to enter an African area if they were participating in sport. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) welcomed the measure as a 'step in the right direction'.

The government decided that school sport (such as education) should be an 'own affair' in terms of the new constitution and thus controlled separately by each of the three racial chambers of the new parliament (see chapter on The New Constitution). Dr Viljoen said sport played as part of the school curriculum had to be regarded separately from sport that was not part of the curriculum. If sport were played outside school 'the pupil and the parent must be free to decide whether the pupil is to take part or not'. However, sport in the school curriculum is to be subject to the control of each the three 'own affairs' chambers. All other sport, including African sport, is a 'general affair' in terms of the new constitution. In September Dr Viljoen told international rugby journalists that the government was not moving towards total integration in school sport but was providing procedures whereby increased contact between races at school level could take place. He said it would be misleading to suggest otherwise. The journalists were reported to be 'stunned' by Dr Viljoen's support for segregation. 'He cut the
ground from under the moderates in the anti-apartheid movement, both in SA and overseas', the (London) Sunday Times said.'

'The Cape Provincial Council adopted an ordinance in June giving the Administrator of the Cape the power to direct local authorities and sports bodies to cancel contracts between them for the lease of sporting facilities. Mr Hermanus

SPORT: INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE
Kriel, MEC, said during the debate on the measure that no self-respecting country would allow an organisation like the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) to manipulate sport for 'blatant politics' and the destruction of society. The ordinance would, he believed, prevent sports facilities from being misused for political end .4

The Department of Prisons forced the Prison Services Rugby Club to cancel its affiliation with the Tygerberg Rugby Union, which is part of the SA Rugby Union (SARU), a SACOS affiliate. The Minister of Justice, Mr 'Kobie' Coetsee, defended the move in parliament when Mr David Dalling of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) claimed that the club was being forced out of one union into a government-approved union.5

The government again refused a passport to Mr Hassan Howa, president of the SA Cricket Board, and withdrew the passport of Mr Frank van der Horst, the new SACOS president. Mr Dalling said this provoked criticism of SA throughout the world but Dr Viljoen said that he was convinced it was the correct decision.6 At the end of the year, Mr Howa applied for a passport for the eighth time, in order to visit Holland.

International pressure
The cancellation of the proposed French rugby tour to SA in April 1983 was a setback to those attempting to break SA's isolation from world sport. The tour was called off after the French government asked all sports federations to cut all links with SA. Towards the end of the year it was announced that a 'world' team would tour SA in 1984. The English rugby team was scheduled to tour SA in 1984 despite pressure from the British government and Commonwealth sports authorities. The proposed tour was condemned by the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa, the United Nations, the Nigerian minister of sport, the British minister of sport, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. A New Zealand team was scheduled to visit SA in 1985, although opposition to this tour was voiced as well. An international invitation team played during the Western Province rugby union's centenary celebrations in August.

In March the English Commonwealth Games Council rejected the 'code of contact' adopted at the Commonwealth Games in 1982, giving rise to speculation that its stand could result in England's expulsion from the 1984 games in Edinburgh. England was also threatened with expulsion from the games if the 1984 rugby tour to SA took place. There was much speculation that the members of the MCC would overturn their ban on tours to and from SA, but, in a specially requisitioned ballot in July, the move was rejected by 6 604 votes to 4 344. The vote took place shortly after the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said in the House of Commons that the sending of an MCC cricket team to SA
would be contrary to the Commonwealth sports agreement and that she hoped the tour would not go ahead. A BBC documentary on sport in SA was criticised by the SA embassy in London and non-SACOS sports officials, who said that it was a major setback to their efforts to change British public opinion.8

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is to consider sending a factfinding commission of inquiry to SA after the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games. The IOC was one of the first international sporting bodies to prohibit SA participation. During the year, Dr Danie Craven, president of the SA Rugby Board, wrote

**SPORTS FACILITIES**

an article in which he said SA’s isolation from world sport was ‘our own fault’. He said the 1965 government ban on Maori rugby players from New Zealand and the 1968 prohibition of Basil D’Oliveira, a SA-born England cricketer who was classified 'coloured', had 'heralded the doom' of SA sport. 'We are now reaping the fruit of what we ourselves sowed', Dr Craven said.

Facilities

The large backlog in sports facilities in black areas was investigated by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), as reported in the 1982 Survey (p 586). Dr Viljoen said the government was aware of the 'very big backlog' in the provision of sports facilities at schools. An inter-departmental committee had been appointed to establish norms. The unacceptable duplication of facilities was also being investigated. Opposition MPs, however, said that the government still had not changed its priorities. Mr Ken Andrew (PFP) said there were 12 sportsfields for 226 000 African people in the Cape Peninsula and only one sportsfield for over 3 000 African high school children. He said that R35 000 had been spent by the government on tug-of-war, more than it had spent on providing facilities for 3.6m African children in school. This was 'an astonishing manifestation of selfishness and greed' and 'the obscene discrepancies in facilities make a mockery of equal opportunity and merit selection',9 he said. In September Dr Viljoen said negotiations with various government departments for the provision of at least basic facilities at black ('gekleurde') schools from a special fund were being conducted.9 Two new black soccer stadiums were approved - a R40m 'home' for soccer to be built at Crown Mines in Johannesburg, and a 40 000-seat stadium at Alexandra.

There was much controversy about government spending in schools on sport. Mr Andrew said the government was spending less than half a cent per African pupil in school but R9,84 for every white child - a total of R9,7m for white schoolchildren but 'the princely sum of R14 700' for African schoolchildren. Dr Viljoen admitted a backlog in school sports facilities but later said R15,57m had been spent on African community and school facilities compared with R5,32m on coloured and Indian communities and schools and R9,87m on white provincial schools.11

Government spokesmen threatened a showdown with SACOS supporters in coloured schools in the Cape after a school that had participated in Craven Week trials had been boycotted. Various school principals expressed opposition to SACOS’ policy on the use of facilities.2 At its annual conference, in March,
SACOS began moving away from its total opposition to the use of 'ethnic university' facilities. In November it formally accepted that students at rural universities - Fort Hare, the North (Turfloop), and Zululand - would no longer be banned from using government-owned facilities, but this ruling was not extended to urban areas. 13

National co-ordinating bodies
The national sport co-ordinating bodies remain dominated by the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), which are rivals. In January Mr Rudolf Opperman, the SAONGA president, said in London that SA was prepared to make several pledges, including support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the hope that its athletes would be allowed to compete again in the Olympics. 'No sportsmen and women anywhere in the world can be held responsible for the political system under which he or she lives. Yet sportsmen in SA were determined to change their system by removing all forms of discrimination - racial or otherwise - in sport. This has been achieved, despite the belief of the cynics. We are prepared to make pledges relating to non-discrimination, the autonomy of sport, non-interference by government, merit selection at all levels, open club membership, democratic elections in sport, and such other requirements which might be agreed between my committee and the International Olympic Committee (IOC)', he said.14 There was, however, no response from international sport. In his annual report, Mr Opperman invited SACOS, which opposes tours of SA, for discussions to settle all differences between them.5

SACOS was frequently attacked for being a 'political' rather than a sporting body and for being a minority grouping. Dr Viljoen was one of these critics, but SACOS continued to maintain its position that normal sport could be played only when political changes had been made in SA. At SACOS' biennial conference in March, Mr Frank van der Horst of Cape Town was elected president. His predecessor, Mr Morgan Naidoo, became secretary, replacing Mr M N Pather, who did not stand for re-election. Mr van der Horst immediately said that sporting bodies should 're-dedicate and re-direct our organisation to become part of the liberation struggle'. He added: 'SACOS will go into the ghettos, into the townships - because its thrust must be centred in the mass of the people. SACOS sees that there is a need for unity between the workers in the trade unions, the residents in the civic bodies, the sports bodies under SACOS, the church movements, the women's bodies and the others ... We cannot include agents of the ruling class in our mass movements.' Mr van der Horst explained that he regarded the National Union of SA Students (NUSAS), a white anti-apartheid organisation, as an agent of the ruling class.6

This stance led to public criticism by SACOS' first two presidents. Mr Norman Middleton, the first, described SACOS' policies as a 'farce', and Mr Howa, his successor, said SACOS was busy dying.7 In March, the SA Rugby Union (SARU) suspended its membership of SACOS because of a 'brutal, defamatory
and malicious attack' on it 'by certain individuals' who had called for its suspension or expulsion at the conference.18 By August, however, the dispute had been settled and SARU announced it would return to full membership. SACOS' 'double standards' policy amounts to a ban on people who play 'multi-national' sport and on venues requiring permits under the Group Areas Act or which have been given government funds. It includes the expulsion from SACOS-affiliated bodies of people whose children attend private schools. Furthermore, hotels with 'international' status are technically out of bounds although SACOS' cricket, rugby, and soccer affiliates have been reported as having ignored this edict. '9 Facilities at the 'ethnic' universities are also out of bounds. At a general council meeting of SACOS in November, the practical difficulties of these requirements were discussed, and amendments made to this policy. Among the decisions taken were that because SACOS would destroy itself if it did not apply for sports facilities from management committees, it would in future do so under protest. Facilities at rural African universities could be used, but not those at black urban campuses, and the ban on SA sportswomen and men attending courses on coaching overseas was lifted. International hotels, however, were still declared out of bounds. The conference rejected the government's constitutional

ATHLETICS AND BOWLS

plans as a fraud which enshrined apartheid, and it voted to boycott any election or referendum among coloured or Indian people.2" In August SACOS organised a counter-congress to the international media conference organised by the SA Rugby Board, which it alleged was a whitewash. SACOS adopted a manifesto condemning multi-national sport as being 'nothing but apartheid sport and calculated to deceive the international community into believing that there is no race discrimination in SA. At the media conference the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Eugene Louw, accused SACOS of 'committing atrocities in the name of sport' and said it was denying facilities to others who wanted to normalise sport. He also said it was dangerous for ordinary people to oppose SACOS, claiming afterwards that he could cite cases where houses of normal sport supporters had been set alight or stoned.21 Claiming to have been harassed by the authorities, SACOS, at its November meeting, decided to invite the Minister of Law and Order to attend its meetings to show they were operating lawfully.

In February a 'national' body to control sport in the Ciskei was formed. It was intended that Ciskei 'national units' for each sport should be recognised as the only controlling units in the homeland. In April 'inter-state' games were held in Bisho, capital of the Ciskei. Athletes from Bophuthatswana and Venda participated.

Individual sports

Athletics

A challenge by the SA Amateur Athletics Union (SAAAU) in British courts against its expulsion from the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) had still not been resolved, but in July SAAAU was ordered to produce documents relating to the administration of athletics in SA. The union announced
it would comply with the order. In June, the IAAF had argued in the London high court that SA should remain in sports isolation because of its apartheid policies. In August, the SAAAU president, Professor Charles Niewoudt, flew to London to consult lawyers and said that they were confident the union would win the case. SAAAU sent a multi-racial squad of athletes to the Helsinki world championships in August, but they were not allowed to participate.

An all-white athletics body for school-children established in the northern Transvaal in March held its first meeting at the end of that month in protest against a SAAAU ruling that all events under its jurisdiction should be open to all races. In August, the SAAAU dissociated itself from a primary school sporting project that involved whites only.

The participation of 23 SA runners in the London-to-Brighton road race in September led to protests from the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) on the grounds that this violated the IAAF ban on SA. A South African, Mr Bruce Fordyce, won the race for the third time in a row.

Bowls
In April England withdrew from a proposed bowls tournament of SA, apparently because of the possible effect of such a tour on England's participation in the 1984 world bowls tournament.

BOXING AND CRICKET
Boxing
The African National Congress (ANC) organised protests when the then world junior middleweight champion, Mr Davey Moore, defended his title in SA in June. SA's heavyweight champion, Mr Gerrie Coetzee, set up home in the US in February in his third attempt to win the world title. He said that he would apply for US citizenship. He also criticised apartheid: 'We have the wrong system. I think it's very wrong. I'll say it's wrong even if they sort of hold that against me.' In September, Mr Coetzee scored an upset victory against the defending world champion, Mr Michael Dokes, and became SA's first-ever world heavyweight champion. The secretary of the SA Boxing Board of Control, Mr Stan Christodoulou, was nominated to referee the 'fight of the year', the middleweight world title fight between Mr Marvin Hagler and Mr Roberto Duran, but was turned down by the Nevada state athletics commission on the grounds that he was 'an agent of the South African government'. He was reinstated after arguing that he was a citizen of Greece, and the commission's chairman said he was satisfied with Mr Christodoulou's 'attitude towards blacks'. The World Boxing Council protested against the 'insulting and humiliating choice' of Mr Christodoulou, but the World Boxing Association defended him and said it was proud to have SA as a member.

Cricket
The rival SA Cricket Union (SACU) (under Mr Joe Pamensky) and SA Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) (under Mr Hassan Howa) both applied, unsuccessfully, for affiliation to the International Cricket Conference (ICC) in July. After his application had been turned down, Mr Pamensky said that SA
would never be re-admitted to the ICC unless there was sufficient political change to satisfy the world.

In March Mr Pamensky denied that he had said at a meeting at the Rand Afrikaans University that Africans did not make good cricketers. There was widespread reaction to his alleged remarks. He explained afterwards that 'I made the comment that blacks in Africa generally had not yet taken to the game in the way they have, for instance, in the West Indies. I said the SACU was working to overcome the situation, and it is well known that the SACU and its affiliates had devoted much time and money to black cricket, which would not have been the case if we felt black cricketers lacked potential'.

In August the formation of a SA Cricket Players' Association was announced under the leadership of a former Springbok captain, Mr Eddie Barlow. One of its aims is to 'unify all players in SA into one body for the mutual benefit of the players, administrators, umpires, and cricket in general'.

Rebel tours
The speculation reported in the 1982 Survey (p 592) that a 'rebel' West Indian cricket team would visit SA was proved correct in January, when a 15-member party arrived for a short tour. A second West Indian 'rebel' tour arrived in December for a longer tour. Mr Pamensky reiterated his union's determination to promote such tours as long as it was excluded from world cricket. He argued that all the conditions for non-racial sport laid down for SA's readmittance to the ICC had been met.

REBEL CRICKET TOURS
The first West Indian team was greeted at Jan Smuts Airport by a placard protest, but its captain, Mr Lawrence Rowe, refused to comment, explaining, 'We're professionals and we've come to do a job'. The Sunday newspaper Rapport said that the tour was 'the biggest reverse to the campaign against SA' and that it had opened the door for SA's re-admittance to world cricket. However, the tour evoked strong criticism from SACBOC, which called the players 'mercenaries', and the West Indian cricket authorities, who banned them from cricket for life. There was considerable speculation about who had financed the tour. The government said that it would consider making up any losses but government funding was never confirmed and Mr Pamensky's union said it had expected to be able to finance the tour. Costs were estimated to exceed R2m. It was reported that the players were guaranteed a minimum of R100 000 each for a two-year contract, with some of the stars being paid considerably more. After the tour it was reported that 230 000 people had watched matches and paid R1.28m to do so. Controversy also surrounded the second West Indian tour. A one-day game scheduled against a largely black team at Elysies River in Cape Town was cancelled after protests. The (English) Test and County Cricket Board threatened to deprive one of the new recruits, Mr Monte Lynch, of his English residential qualifications if he stayed with the tour. Mr Lynch decided to ignore the warning and the board eventually backed down. This was followed by an incident on a Cape Town train when Mr Colin Croft, one of the West Indians, was ordered off a 'white' carriage by a ticket collector. He moved without complaint but a white
passenger protested. The government apologized to Mr Croft and Mr Pamensky said: 'It is a pity in this day and age when our country has come such a long way in creating a positive image of change that such an embarrassing situation should arise.' 27 Mr Croft said he felt 'indifferent' to the incident: 'I just went to do some shopping and there I was in the middle of an international scandal. 28 SA's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, commented in London that he needed the Croft affair 'as much as I need a hole in the head.' 29 One of the West Indian players, Mr Sylvester Clarke, was signed to play for Transvaal before and after the second tour, while another, Mr Alvin Kallicharan, who had played for Transvaal for two seasons, continued to play for the province after the same tour. Others said they were available for other provinces.

Mr Pamensky said that the two West Indian tours had cost more than R5m, although he was hopeful of a profit of R120 000. There would be no international tours for the next two years, he added. Various Caribbean governments said during the year that no cricketers with contacts in SA should play against the 1984 West Indian team to tour England, but they later backed down. They also set up a fund to compensate players and discourage them from joining rebel tours. The Sri Lankan rebel tour, reported in the 1982 Survey, turned into a financial disaster, the SACU estimating that it had lost R600 000. In January the Sri Lankan government proposed a new passport enabling Sri Lankans to travel anywhere in the world except SA, but this drew angry protests from businessmen. Later in the year the government-owned Sri Lankan airline opened negotiations for a direct flight to Johannesburg. The president of the Sri Lankan cricket board of control, Mr Gamini Dissanayake, who is a member of the cabinet, again threatened to tighten up passport and tax laws when rumours of a second rebel tour surfaced, but Mr Pamensky twice denied that future tours were under consideration.

In February, an English women's cricket tour of the West Indies was

CYCLING AND GOLF

cancelled because five of its members had played in SA. In December a 'Unicorns' women's cricket team from England arrived for a short tour of SA. An Argentinian team and a team from Guernsey toured SA during February and March. The Guernsey Commonwealth Games Committee opposed the tour. In July a non-racial SA schools cricket team returned from a tour of Britain. Three of its members were coloured people. The Anti-Apartheid Movement had demonstrated at one game.

Cycling

Four international teams, from England, Italy, Belgium, and Portugal, participated in the annual Cape Town-to-Johannesburg race, during which a competitor, Mr Michael Moshesha, became the second African to win a stage. In October the SA Cycling Federation announced that it would in future follow the example of the South African Cricket Union (SACU) by 'buying' top cyclists to compete in an international fixture in 1984. This was said after an Australian proposal for SA to be readmitted to the Union Cycliste Internationale had been rejected.

Golf
Several incidents took place in 1983 over the use of golf courses by black people. Some golf clubs have given full membership facilities to blacks, others have said that black golfers may use their courses but not their club houses, while still others have excluded black people completely. In Oudtshoorn (Cape) coloured golfers may use the courses but not the club house. In nearby George black people are free to join the local club, although high fees have kept some people out. The Port Shepstone country club (Natal) decided by 77 votes to two to stop black people using the course altogether, although they had previously been allowed to use it at certain times during the day. In November an Indian golfer, Mr Logie Govender, who had played golf for seven years on the Pietermaritzburg course was refused membership after a secret ballot. Mr Govender claimed 'deep racial prejudice' was responsible for the ban.3 However, the Bloemfontein golf club opened its doors for the first time, to a coloured team who were allowed full use of facilities. A snap survey conducted by The Star revealed that ten clubs in Johannesburg and Pretoria were prepared to admit all races as full members.32 The decision by some clubs to exclude black members was strongly attacked by supermarket magnate Mr Raymond Ackerman in October when he spoke to visiting businessmen. He said that if the Clovelly country club, of which he was chairman, could be open to all races, 'so can others'. In April four French women golfers withdrew from the SA amateur championships after the French government asked sports bodies to cut contact with SA. A month later the SA Ladies' Golf Union was banned from the British championships. In June the Swedish government refused visas to five SA professional golfers to play in that country. Later that month SA golfers were banned from the Dutch Open. In October SA was excluded from the World Cup for the second year in succession. However, eight of the world's top professional golfers competed in a million-dollar challenge at Sun City (Bophuthatswana) in December.

**RUGBY**

Motor racing

Motor-racing is probably SA's most international sport. However, despite the fact that the world racing car, sports car, and motorcycle championships were held at Kyalami, near Johannesburg, in 1983, pressures against links with SA were increasing. It was reported that there were moves to block the holding of the 1984 motorcycle grand prix in SA. In August plans for eight SA motorcyclists to compete in Britain were cancelled after pressure from the British government.

Paraplegics

Anti-apartheid protesters picketed the 32nd Stoke Mandeville international games for the paralysed in July. Led by the Disabled People Against Apartheid group, the protestors said black disabled people received 'hideously' inadequate medical treatment in SA. The Canadian team withdrew because of SA's participation but 36 other countries were represented. It was reported that further protests were expected at the 1984 wheelchair Olympics in the USA shortly before the Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Rugby
Efforts by the SA Rugby Board (SARB) to win increased international recognition for its moves to remove racial restrictions in rugby intensified after the cancellation of the French rugby tour. It organised an international media congress in August in an effort to improve the image of SA rugby. Dr Danie Craven, president of the SARB, said: 'SA rugby has nothing to hide. We have embarked on a course to do justice to white, African and coloured rugby and we may even influence this country's society. We have decided to convey to the world at large the truth about ourselves, whether it will hurt them or ourselves'.33

About 70 journalists attended, 18 from England, 13 from Australia, 10 from New Zealand, four from Argentina, four from Ireland, four from the USA, three from Germany, three from Wales, three from Scotland and one each from Paraguay, Uruguay, Hong Kong, Brazil and Canada. At a meeting with the journalists, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of National Education, reiterated continued support for racial separation in school sport.

In July, a 'rebel' rugby team of test players arrived for a three-match tour to coincide with the centenary of Western Province rugby. The team included seven players from New Zealand, four from England, five from Wales, four from France, two from Ireland, and one from Scotland. The New Zealand government encouraged the players not to go to SA. The Welsh Commonwealth Games Council said Wales could be barred from the Commonwealth Games because of the participation of its players. Dr Craven said if it had not been for the tour it could have meant the end of SA in world rugby and he paid tribute to the players for resisting pressure.34

An Australian, Mr David Lord, emerged as the key figure behind a proposed rebel rugby 'circus' which threatened to disrupt international rugby. The projected plan was for the circus to be held in SA in August 1984. In November 1983 Mr Lord said that 31 SA rugby players had signed one-year contracts. However, Dr Craven said that the 'circus' would not get off the ground and threatened to ban any player who did sign a contract.35

SOCCER

A Chilean national team toured SA in March, playing ten matches. Three SA players, including the first coloured Springbok, Mr Errol Tobias, were selected for an international Barbarians team in Britain. A German club, Bonner SC, visited SA in March. A Durban High School team toured Britain in April but was banned from playing on fields in Swansea. The US rugby union decided in June not to have any further contact with SA until after the Olympic Games. In December it was announced that a 'world' team would tour SA in 1984, but an invitation by the Western Cape union to the New Zealand champion side, Canterbury, was turned down.

Renewed disclosures of attempts by the Broederbond (an Afrikaans secret society) to control SA rugby were published during the year. The Broederbond, it was held, was attempting to move its members into key positions within the SARB.

Mr Ebrahim Patel became the new president of the non-racial South African Rugby Union (affiliated to SACOS) and said there would be no dialogue with the
SARB. SARU, he said, would walk the corridors of politics and sport in SA. ‘We will not allow ourselves to be dictated to by the government or any other rugby board. We will not be bullied and we will not sing slogans’, he said. In July, a white former Springbok trialist, Mr Cheeky Watson, who had spent many years playing rugby within SARU, left the union, claiming that it was riddled with racism.

In April the chairman and president of a Port Elizabeth club tried to stop a game against a black prisons team minutes before it was to start. They had thought the prisons team would be white. Their committee overruled them and they resigned. A week before the media congress in August, a game between South Eastern Transvaal and the coloured SA Rugby Federation at Elsies River in Cape Town was abandoned after violence erupted. Federation players said afterwards that racial insults had been hurled at them. Two ‘coloured’ players, Messrs Wilfred Cupido and Avril Williams, represented Western Province in the Currie Cup competition. In October, it was announced that the Federation’s teams in inter-provincial competitions would, in future, be integrated.

The coloured SA Rugby Federation team participating in its third Craven Week for high schools won its first match in the annual tournament in July and was admitted with full membership to the SA Schools Rugby Association. An SA schools rugby team included four coloured players in its tour of Wales in December.

Soccer

Apart from individual soccer players seeking their fortunes overseas and other individual players coming to SA, SA was isolated from international football. However, in June two English first division teams, Spurs and Manchester United, played exhibition games in Swaziland. The matches were sponsored by Holiday Inns and attended by a large number of South Africans. During the tour a black Spurs player, Mr Garth Crookes, revealed he had turned down lucrative offers to play in SA, saying his conscience would not allow him to do so.36 An under-12 soccer team from Johannesburg was barred from the Robbie tournament by the Canadian government. Two Portuguese teams were brought to SA in spite of opposition by the Football Council of SA (FCSA) and the international football body, the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA). The tour was cancelled after only one game.

SOCCER AND SWIMMING

Three of Soweto’s clubs rejected a call by the Azanian Peoples’ Organisation (AZAPO) to boycott the Ellis Park rugby stadium. The government gave its approval for the construction of a R25m soccer ‘superbowl’ at Crown Mines in Johannesburg and said another three stadiums were necessary in the next six to seven years.

The Johannesburg city council said it would allow a National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) team, Rangers, to use the Rand Stadium on certain conditions, but the NPSL, which was banned from the stadium in 1977 and has boycotted it ever since, rejected the conditions. Mr Abdul Bhamjee, the NPSL’s public relations...
Soccer is by far the biggest sport in SA and the annual sponsorship of the NPSL is now over the R1m mark. The South African Soccer Federation (SASF) was not able to raise sponsorship and threatened to launch a boycott of Nissan products after the company refused to sponsor the SASF and then announced sponsorship for non-SACOS sport.

In September, the NPSL banned all professional soccer teams from playing in the 'independent' homelands. The apparent reason for the ban was that 'middle men' were making a lot of money from friendly games in the homelands. A Bophuthatswana soccer team played football in Belgium and in the Transkei.

A high school soccer tournament, involving pupils of all races and sponsored by a furniture chain, was boycotted by the Western Province Senior Schools Sports Union, which is affiliated through its national body to SACOS, and no coloured school from the Cape participated. The Department of Education and Training issued a circular in March saying that participation by African schools in the tournament would be 'disloyal' and that the competition was not acceptable to the department because it was evident there were 'political aims with this tournament'. The department later claimed its opposition was because it was not organised through proper channels. Eventually, 100 schools participated, of which 85 were African, the remainder being either white or coloured.

Squash

A SA player, Mr Carl Koenig, was excluded from the world squash championships in New Zealand in October. He had lived in New Zealand for two years. Five SA women did, however, participate in the world championships in Australia in October. As a result Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Canada withdrew from the tournament.

Surfing

An Australian ban on two SA surfers was withdrawn in February. Amateur and professional surfers from other countries participated in competitions in SA during the year.

Swimming

One of SA's top swimmers, Ms Annette Cowley, planned to leave the country as soon as she had matriculated at the end of 1983. In March she broke a world record for the 200-metre obstacle race by seven seconds but this will not be recognised because the SA Amateur Swimming Union (SAASU) has been expelled from the international body, the Federation Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA). The union was given a R266 000 sponsorship. In March six US swimmers arrived in SA for 'tests' in defiance of the FINA ban, following previous visits by swimmers from Canada, the US, and West Germany.

Tension between the SAASU and the non-racial Amateur Swimming Association of SA (ASASA) continued. In April the SAASU accused ASASA's secretary, Mr Morgan Naidoo, immediate past-president of SACOS, of 'spying' after he had sent a telegram to FINA protesting against the presence of the US swimmers in SA,
and alleged he was politically motivated and not interested in the future of young swimmers.39
In August, the Kimberley city council banned black people from training in the local municipal pool. In November the seven-year-old son of a University of the Western Cape official was refused admission to a SACOS-affiliated club because of his father’s position at the university.

Tennis
In January, a New Zealand tournament was disrupted by four bombs thrown by anti-apartheid demonstrators. In March, the non-racial Tennis Association of SA (TASA) decided to apply for affiliation to the International Tennis Federation (ITF). The SA Tennis Union (SATU) is already a member of the ITF. In July, SATU suggested to TASA that they discuss the matter. In July four leading international players, including Mr Ivan Lendl of Czechoslovakia, competed in a tournament for one million dollars at Sun City (Bophuthatswana). Mr Lendl was banned from the Czech national team as a result and announced that he would live in the US in future. The current Wimbledon champion, Mr John McEnroe, refused to play because it would mean support for apartheid. In December, the Lawn Tennis Association of Australia warned players not to go to SA as it could jeopardise their participation in future international tours.

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650

SPORT
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1983 Legislation
Borders of Particular States Extension Second Amendment Act, No 109 of 1983-324

Subject Index
A
Abortion- 499 Actonville Rents Action Committee -239 Actstop-237,238
Administration boards- 180, 254
Bombing -48
Central Transvaal- 275, 293
Destruction of squatter houses- 273, 274
Drakensberg-255
East Rand-265, 270,271,274,290,293,294
Eastern Cape-271, 280,290,293,294
Eastern Transvaal -255
Highveld- 308
Northern Cape- 255
Northern Transvaal- 277
Orange Vaal-255, 271, 276, 290, 293, 294
Port Natal-283,284
Sale of liquor- 254
Southern Orange Free State- 255
Sources of income- 254, 255
West Rand- 255, 266,270,271-274,289,291,293,294,298,299
Western Cape-267, 277,281,487
'illegals'-277
Western Transvaal- 277
Administration, Commission for- 254 Administration of Security Legislation -544
ff Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act No 59 of 1972 - 139, 262
African aged- 513, 514,516 African businessmen- 290 African consumers- 294
African Development and Construction Company -274 African Education and
Training
Adult education- 442
Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act No 84 of 1983- 425, 459
Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act No 40 of 1967- 459
Advanced technical training- 454
Age limits and expulsion of pupils- 432
Bursaries and scholarships-421
Commercial training- 452
Compulsory education- 433
Cost per pupil- 420
Double sessions and platoon system -435
Drop-out rate- 436
Education in homelands- 420, 433
Enrolment-435

uVt SUBJECT INDEX
Examination results- 437 ff
Expenditure -417,418 Farm schools-426,435 Financing of-417,418
General statistics-417 ff
Group training centres- 455
Illiteracy and drop-out rate -436
Industrial training- 456
Manpower Training Act No 1 of 1983- 455
Per capita expenditure- 420
Practical subjects- 452
Private in-service training-455
Pupil/teacher ratios- 421
Schools-433,452
State training centres- 455 Student teachers-440, 441
Tax exemption -455
Teachers-440
Teachers' salaries- 432 Technical colleges- 453
Technical and commercial secondary courses- 452
Technical education in 'independent' homelands- 456
Textbooks and stationery- 433
Universities- 441, 455 (see also under individual universities)
Vista University campuses- 463
African Food and Canning Workers' Union Support for UDF-57
Unity moves- 184
African Homelands- see Homelands African National Congress (ANC) -43-48
Arrests/sentences- 62
Attacks in SA- 528
Exiles in Swaziland -63
Financial aid- 43
General-209, 475,588
Inkatha relations- 50, 51, 90
Labour involvement- 195, 198 Mawelawela refugee camp- 63
Maseru raid-63
National Forum -48
Non-aligned Movement of Afro-Asian Nations- 55
Referendum disruption- 88
SABC - 217
Self-Help Association- 512 African Teachers' Association of SA - 432 African
traders- 290 Africans in urban areas
Rikhoto judgement- 265, 299
Urban rights- 264 Afrikaans universities- 80 Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut- 181
Average earnings- 124 Afrikaanse Sakekamer- 90

SUBJECT INDEX
Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) - 52, 465 Afrikaner Broederbond - 26-27
CP infiltration- 24
SABRA-28 Afrikaner, Die -26 Agricor (Bophuthatswana)- 375,376 Agriculture-
158 ff
Drought relief- 160,372 ff
Extension services homelands -374 Aid centres-281 Alcan-111 Alcoholism and
drug addiction- 517, 518 Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) -62, 551 Alfa
Laval- 114 Alfa Romeo- 149 Alfa Romeo labour dispute- 189 Aliens Act 1937-
262 Amax-111 Amenities for blacks in common areas
Beaches- 222
Eastern Cape-223
Natal- 222,223
Western Cape-223
Cinemas and theatres-220, 221
Government policy-221,222, 223
Hospitals -225
Hotels-220
Municipal
Cape- 223, 225
SUBJECT INDEX

Armaments Corporation of South Africa (ARMSCOR)- 25 Armed propaganda - 45, 46 Artisans and apprentices- 129 Associated British Foods (ABF)- 12
Associated Chambers of Commerce- 287 Association of Local Affairs
Committees (Indian/Coloured) - 250 Association of Management Committees (ASSOMAC)- 32 Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA)- 302 Atlantis- 141
Annual conference- 54 Joint action with UDF-49
Lebowa election boycott call -350 Referendum- 90
Rejection of constitution- 83
Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) -62,467 Azanian Students' Organisation - 257,475
Alleged ANC front- 59
Buthelezi, criticism of- 53
General Student Council- 61
AZAPO-49
Biko-48
UDF: Dadoo-41
East London launch- 59

American home products- 111 Anglican Church - see Church of the Province of South Africa Anglo American Corporation- 17, 21, 26,265 Angola-204,265 Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM)- 117 Anti-Community Councils Election Committee -257 Anti-Pass campaign- 57 Anti-SAIC campaign -57 Anti-SAIC news- 42,209 Apex (Benoni)- 134 Argus Company- 150, 184

American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) 195,199
Rondebosch rally- 59
TIC-547
Banning of organisations- 49 Banning of people- 545 Banning of publications -
208 Bantu Investment Corporation-see CED Baragwanath Hospital- 225,490,500
Barclays Bank
Loans to SA- 113
Boycott of- 113
Barlow Manufacturing- 193 Barlow Rand- 148,192,205,265 Barseco- 114 Basic
Conditions of Employment Act No 3 of 1983- 170 Basotholand Congress Party-355

SUBJECT INDEX
Baxter-Travernol Labs- III Bayer 114
Biko memorial meetings -48 Bill of rights- 34 Black Allied Mining and
Construction Workers' Union (BAMCWU)-- 156, 157 Black (Urban Areas)
Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945 --- 257,264, 206, 267, 279, 298 Black
Communities Development Bill No 112 of 1982-- 254
UDF reaction to -57 campaign against- 59
Black consciousness groups- 42, 48, 50
AZAPO annual conference -48
AZASM-62
Criticism of --49, 53
Black Consciousness Movement --49 Black Health and Allied Workers' Union of
SA --488 Black Labour Act No 67 of 1964-- 256 Black Labour Regulations of 1965
and 1968-- 140 Black Local Authorities Act No 102 of 1982-93,253,257,258
AZAPO meeting- 49
AZAPO police raid- 50 AZAPO reaction to -48 Inkatha reaction to- 52
UDF campaign against -- 59
Meeting-58
Reaction to- 57
Black local authority elections- 257, 346 Black People's Convention-- 55, 58
Black Sash -265,266,278,308,373,488,516,517 Black student societies
University of Witwatersrand - .47 Black Taxation Act No 92 of 1969- 119 Black
unity call -52, 53, 56, 60 Blacks, 'idle'- 267 BMW-- 150
Board for the Decentralisation of Industry- --142 Boithusong (Bloemfontein)- 134
Boland farms- 159 Bombings-45,46 Booi judgement- 264 Bophuthatswana -327
IT
Agricultural Development Corporation (Agricor) -375, 376
Agricultural workers in SA- 158
Agriculture- 374, 375
Citizenship- 95, 266 Commerce- 396,397
Development Bonds -331
Donkey culling --376
Drought relief- 372, 376 Education - 418,420, 421 Education technical-- 456
Finance- 330
Foundation -443 Health- 484,493
Infrastructure - 407, 408
Labour - 195
Land-323,329

SUBJECT INDEX
Land Act- 329
Law Commission- 328
Legislation- 195
Manufacturing- 388, 389
Mining- 386
National Development Corporation- 370
Opposition party- 329
Pensions -515
Population- 102
Pupil/teacher ratios- 421
Relocation- 305,307
Security-329 Teachers-443
Television (Bop TV) -217,328
Temisano Development Programme- 376
Temo-Vet- 370 Transport -402
Unemployment- 142
Wiechers Commission- 328
Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Act No 25 of 1983-324, 357
Borders of Particular States Extension Second Amendment Act No 109 of 1983-
324 Botshabelo- 142 Botswana
American military aid- 63
Agricultural workers in SA- 158
Inkatha/ANC contact- 51 Inkatha/PAC contact-51
Refugees from SA-63
SA spy- 44 Bowls -642 Boxing- 643 Braitex- 189, 191 Bread subsidy- 122
Britain- see United Kingdom British Department of Trade- 113 British Medical
Association- 487 Browne Committee- 256 BTR Sarmcol- 193 Budget- 118
Bureau for Economic. Research- 102
Building Survey- 153 Burger, Die -27
Bursaries and scholarships -421 ff Bursaries and scholarships administered by
SAIRR-422 Butter subsidy- 122 By-elections- 7, 8, 9, 19, 20, 21,22, 23, 24, 25
CP-HNP pact- 24
C
Cabinet and Ministers' councils-74 Cabinet committee on role of urban Africans -
252 Cahora Bassa scheme -587 Cane growers, Indian- 159

SUBJECT INDEX
Cape Action League (CAL)- 35, 60 Cape Chamber of Industry- 372 Cape
Housing Action Committee (CAIIAC’)-35,278
Views on Labour Party and constitution - 30

SUBJECT INDEX
Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) - 626 Churches - 626ff
Diakonia - 832
Eloff Commission - 643
Individual churches - 626
Interdenominational Ministers' Association of SA (IDAMASA) - 633
Politics - 636
Reformed Study Group of Africa (RESA) - 635
South African Council of Churches - 633
Unity Commission - 632
Venda torture of Lutheran ministers - 358
World Council of Churches - 632 Citizen, The - 131 Citizenship - 95, 321, 342
Clairwood resettlement - 240 Clarion Call - see Inhlabamkhosi Close Corporation
Bill - 143 Closed shop - 188 Coloured education - 443 ff
Adult education - 445 ff Classroom backlog - 443
Coloured Persons' Education Amendment Act No 85 of 1983-445
Double sessions - 443
Enrolment - 444
Examination results - 444, 457
Expenditure - 418
Financing - 417
Indians at coloured schools - 444
School statistics - 443
Teachers - 445 Technical - 457
Coloured housing - 235, 241, 242 Coloured Labour Preference Area - 488
Local government - 248 ff Coloured Persons Representative Council - 30, 57
Coloured politics and political parties - 29 et seq Commercial, Catering and Allied
Workers' Union - 184, 202 Commission of Enquiry into Bus Passenger
Transportation - 286 Committee of Enquiry into Finances of Local Authorities in
SA - 258 Committee of Technikon Principals - 460 Commonwealth summit (New
Delhi) - 47 Communism - 28, 36 Community councils - 52, 179 Community
councils' financial code - 357 Community Development Amendment Act No 64 of
1983 - 228 Confederation of Associations and Mining Unions (CAMU) - 155
Congress Alliance - 41, 42 Congress Movement - 78 Congress of the People
(COPE) - see People's Congress Party Congress of Students (COSAS) - 47, 59,
61, 62, 469

SUBJECT INDEX
Congress register - 42 Congregational Church - see United Congregational Church
in SA Conciliation board agreements - 186 Conscientious objection - 577
Conscription - 61 Conscription of coloureds and Indians - 31, 32, 38, 41, 42, 61, 86
Conservative Party - 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22 ff, 26, 27, 28, 33, 37, 76,
78, 86 Consolidation Commission - 352 Construction - 152 Consumer Price Index-
106 Continental Illinois - 111 Co-operatives - 381 Corporal punishment - 527
Corporation for Economic Development - 368, 369, 374, 375
see also Development Bank of SA
Council of Unions of SA (CUSA) - 180, 184
Affiliates - 176
Affiliation to UDF - 60
Affiliation to National Forum - 60 Constitution
Abstention - 87
Bills of Rights - 77
Broederbond - 23, 27
Business community involvement - 79, 80
Cabinet and ministers' councils - 74
Coloureds - 78, 83
Co-option of Indians and coloureds - 17, 82
Entrenchment of apartheid - 77
Exclusion of Africans - 16, 20, 30, 34, 37, 42, 50, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 91, 92, 93,
252, 352
Finance - 74
HSRC survey - 29
Hidden agenda - 17, 89
Indians - 25, 28, 83
Joint Standing Committees - 74
Opposition to - 16, 20, 23, 26, 35, 43, 47, 57
AZAPO - 48, 49, 83
AZASO - 84
Black Sash - 85 Cape Times - 85
CAYCO - 84 Churches - 84
COSAS - 61, 84
Daily Dispatch - 81 FOSATU - 83, 180
General Workers' Union - 182
Homelands - 81
Inkatha - 50, 53, 84
Interdenominational African Ministers' Association - 81
KwaZulu - 346
Natal Indian Congress - 40
Natal Witness - 85
National Education Union of SA - 84
National Forum - 54, 78, 82
National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) - 84
People's Congress Party - 34

SUBJECT INDEX
Reform Party - 42, 81
SA Black Alliance - 56, 78
SA Bureau of Racial Affairs - 27
SA Council on Sport - 85
SA Federation of Teachers' Associations - 84
Soweto Youth Congress - 84
Sunday Express- 85
Spoilt papers- 87 Trade unions- 31
Transkei government- 352
Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) -41,42
Transvaal Teachers' Association- 84
United Democratic Front -29, 33, 57, 58, 61,78, 84
Urban Councils Association of SA- 81
State President- 71
Support for
Afrikaans academics- 80
Afrikaans press- 18
Ciskei- 79
Citizen, The-81
English press support-81
Finance Week- 81 Financial Mail- 81
Freedom Party- 34,79
Friend, The-81
Garment Workers' Union- 80
Labour Party- 29, 30, 31,32, 33, 78, 79
Natal Mercury - 81
New Republic Party-20, 76, 78, 79, 81
People's Congress Party- 34
SA Broadcasting Corporation-5
SA Indian Council-36, 37, 79
Sunday Times- 80, 81
Teachers' Education Society -80
Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) - 80, 84,182
Transvaal Chamber of Industry- 80 Crime in densely populated areas -526
Criminal Law Amendment Act No 59 of 1983-522 Criminal statistics- 522
Crossroads- 299, 280,281 Cycling- 645
D
Danish Labour Movement, support for UDF- 57 Datsun-Nissan- 149
Decentralisation Board- 142, 367
points- 140, 367 Defence- 575
Act, contraventions of- 211
Amendment Act No 34 of 1983-575
Arms and equipment- 580

SUBJECT INDEX
Doctors in black hospitals- 490
Expenditure- 118, 582
Objectors, conscientious 577
Non-religious - 576
Religious- 575 Defence Force
In neighbouring states - 55, 585,586,587
Venda offer to help SA in neighbouring states-- 358
development of homelands- 127,363 ff Economically active population- 126, 133
Economy-106,121 Education-417 ff
Administration and legislation -423 ff
Adult- 442, 445,448
African school type- 432 ff
Age limits-432
Apprentices, training of - 451
Bursaries and scholarships -421
Coloured-418, 443 ff
Comparative statistics and general matters-417, 421
Compulsory-428
Double session-435, 443
De Lange Committee-422
Enrolment- 435, 446,449
Examination results- 437, 439,444,447
Examination, theft of papers- 439
Expenditure- 118,419 Farm schools- 435, 436
Fees-451
Financing of- 417 ff, 427
Homelands - 418, 420, 421
Illiteracy- 436
Indian-418, 446 ff
National Education Amendment Act No 25 of 1982-451
National Party involvement in - 421
National Training Board- 451
Per capita expenditure, all races -420

SUBJECT INDEX
-Platoon system- 435 Private schools- 426
Pupil/teacher ratios- 421
SA Council for Education- 424,426,429,430
School statistics- 433, 434
Standards-492
Teachers
Salaries-432
Shortages-441
Training- 429,440,441,445,448, 450
Qualifications- 440,445
Technical and industrial- 428, 451, 452,457,470
Technical and industrial, by correspondence-452
Textbooks and stationery -433
White Paper on the De Lange Report- 422 ff
Agriculture- 106, 144,158, 160,381,382,451
Building construction- 144, 152
By sector- 144
Closed shop- 181, 188
Collective bargaining- 150
Commerce- 162
Consumer Price Index- 106, 122
Cost of living- 122
Creation of- 381, 382, 383
Decline in - 158
Defence Force- 166
Domestic workers- 161
Economically active population- 126, 127, 133
European Economic Community code- 113, 114
Finance- 162
Government sector- 144
Homelands- 371, 372
Incomes and wages- 108, 123 f, 154, 159
Industrial court- 150, 157, 158
Industrial health- 171, 179
Job creation- 108, 141
Job loss- 160
Job reservation- 156
Labour disputes- 145, 148
Lay-off clause, temporary- 149
Legal strikes -- 151
Manpower- 107
Manufacture- 144
Chemical industry- 144
Clothing industry- 144, 146
Food industry- 146, 148
Machinery and Occupational Safety Act No 6 of 1983- 172
Metal industry- 147
Mining- 144, 152, 153, 179
Motor industry- 168 Textile industry- 151
Minimum living standards- 122
National Manpower Commission (NMC) - 127, 129

SUBJECT INDEX
Police force- 166 Post Office - 168
Printing industry - 150
Productivity- 122 ff, 131
Public Sector- 163
Recession- 145, 147, 149
Redundancy- 145, 148, 160
Retrenchment- 145, 146, 148, 149, 151, 161, 190, 191
SA Transport Services (SATS)- 144, 168
Strikes - 200
Trade unions- 176
Unemployment- 132, 178,451
Unfair labour practice- 151, 156, 191,192
Wage determinations- 145
Wages- 123
End Loans to SA organisation - 205
Exile movements - see African National Congress
Pan Africanist Congress Exchange control- 108
Exchange rates- 107
Exports - 106
F
Family planning- 498, 499
Farm labourers, conditions of - 158, 159
Farm Workers' Union- 159
Farming- see Agriculture Federal Union of SA - 317
Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (FAK) - 24
Federated Chamber of Industry - 451, 486
Federation, Black - 15, 316
Federation of Cape Civil Associations- 35
Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU)- 179 ff
Constitutional debate- 31,90
Productivity- 131
Rejection of UDF link- 60
Retrenchment- 140
Worker control of industry- 205
Federation of SA Women (Fedsaw)- 47, 58,529
Financial Mail- 80, 113
Food industry- 146
Food and Beverage Workers' Union- 146
Food and Canning Workers' Union-31, 184
Food price rise- 122
Football - see soccer
Forced removals- 235 ff
Ford Motor Company- 111, 149
Foreign investment- 52, 108 ff
Foreign trade- 116
Frame Group - 191
Franchise- 17
Freedom Charter- 40, 42, 47, 48, 55, 57, 62,210

SUBJECT INDEX
Freedom of the press- 213
Freedom Party- 34, 35, 248
Freedom Radio (ANC) - 47
Friend, The- 489
Frontline magazine- 87
Fund-raising Amendment Act No 82 of 1983-- 483
G
Gandhi film-220
Garment Workers' Industrial Union 146
Garment Workers' Union- 80, 187
Gatherings, illegal-41, 59
Gazankulu Agricultural Company -380
Agriculture- 372, 379,380
Budget-342
Commerce - 398
Drought- 379, 504
Education -420,453
General election- 342
Health-484
Infrastructure - 409
Manufacturing- 391
Middle Letaba dam -380
Mining 385
Pensions--515
Population- 102
Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation - 380
Silkwork industry- 380
Taiwan Agricultural Improvement Station - 380
Tsonga language centenary- 342
Ximoko Xa Rixaka- 342, 343 General election - 111 General Motors- 149
General Workers' Union- 136,183,184 Gereformeerde Kerk 627 Glendale Sugar
Mill- 381 Gold Fields of SA, dispute with NUM- 157 Gold mines- 109 Gold
price- 106, 107 Golden City Press- 215 Golf-. 645
Grafton Everest-- 188 Grand Bazaar- 205 Grass Valley Chrome Mine -- 158
Griquas-7 Group Areas Act No 36 of 1966- 11, 15, 22, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 56,
57, 58, 81, 90,233 ff Group areas and housing - 228 ff, 290., 291
Atlantis--241
Eastern Cape- 242
Government policy- 229 ff
Johannesburg-235, 237 ff, 239
Lenasia- 236 ff

SUBJECT INDEX
Ministerial housing- 235
Mitchells Plain 242
Natal- 240
Opposition to-238 Prosecutions -235
Statistics-233 Transvaal-235
Western Cape- 241
Group Areas Board hearing-238 Group areas, coloureds and Indians in white
areas-237
Benoni - 239
Eastern Cape- 242 Johannesburg-239
Natal-240
Orange Free State-241
Western Cape- 241
Group areas, regional developments
Coloureds- 235
Indians-236
Group areas, traders- 234 Growth rate- 106 Guerillas PAC- 55 Guidance and
Placement Act No 61 of 1981 - 136
H
Health and health services-482 ff
Abortion -499
Amendment Act No 21 of 1983- 483
Diseases-500 ff
Bubonic Plague -503
Cholera-500,502
Liver-500
Malnutrition- 503,504
Measles- 502
Other-500 Polio - 500
Tuberculosis- 500, 501
Doctors- 485 ff
Family planning- 498, 499
Finance -483,484
Homeland expenditure- 484
Hospital beds -490
Overcrowding -490
Infant mortality rates- 503
Life expectancy- 490
Medical personnel- 485
Students-485, 486
Mental- 504, 505
Notifiable diseases- 500 ff
Nurses- 488, 489 Pharmacists- 489
Policy-482
Provincial expenditure- 484

SUBJECT INDEX
Segregation of- 490
Hillbrow Synagogue bomb- 45 Hlobane Coal Mine disaster- 157, 179 Hoexter Commission- 530 Homelands, African- 10, 316 ff
Agencies involved in- 373 ff
Agriculture -363, 368,369,372 ff
Borders with SA- 327
Cession of land to Swaziland-326, 343
Rumpff Commission- 326 ff
Citizenship-321
Collection of taxes- 119
Commerce-396ff
Committee for Economic and Development Co-operation in SA -368
Consolidation -323 ff
Constitution, rejection of- 81
Corporation for Economic Development- 368 ff
Deportation from SA -371
Development Bank of SA- 369 ff
Development in individual homelands -363 ff
Drought-372ff Education -417
Employment- 371 ff
Financing- 319 ff
Gross Domestic Product of individual homelands -363
Health services -493 ff
Housing -269
Infrastructure -470 ff
Job creation- 371
Land- 323 ff
Land disputes- 324 ff
Loan Fund- 368
Manufacturing- 388 ff
Migrants, remittances by- 364
Mining-363,385ff
Multi-lateral Development Council of Ministers-318, 367 ff
Pensions-515, 517
Political affairs- 316 ff
Population- 102
Population, economically active- 365
Purchasing power- 365 Relocation camps- 102
Representation in SA- 322
Secondment of officials- 368
Statistics- 363 ff
Technical Assistance Fund- 368
Towns, development of- 367
Transport- 401 ff Homeless Africans- 271 Hospital beds available- 490

SUBJECT INDEX
Hospital segregation- 225, 490 Hospitals, African-271, 491 ff Hostels-
180,274,285 House of Assembly -72, 73 House of Delegates- 72, 73 House of
Representatives- 72, 73 Household Subsistence Level- 122 Housing Amendment
Act No 63 of 1983-228 Housing, Africans- 228, 267 (see also Administration
Boards)
Electrification -289
Financing of-268
Hostels- 180,274,285
Private sector- 231
Provision of-228,267
Rents-232
Sale of state-owned houses-230, 270,271
Sectional title- 270
Shortages- 16,228,229,242,243
Squatters -231,271,272,487
Statistics- 229, 232,268 Steyn Committee- 268
Viljoen Committee Report- 268
30-year scheme -270
99-year leasehold- 253, 269,270 Housing, assisted -25, 118,233 Housing,
coloured-235, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243
Demolition of- 179, 185 Housing, Indian -231,236,243
Shortages- 56, 179,228,229,241 Housing, whites-239, 241,242
Provision by private sector- 231 Huhudi Youth Organisation- 59 Huhudi Civil
Association -310 Human Awareness Programme- 516 Human Rights Day speech-
451
Human Sciences Research Council, survey on constitutional proposals-29, 36 Human Sciences Research Council, survey on crime and the community- 525 Human Sciences Research Council, survey on health awareness among Zulus and Sothos
495
1 Immigration and emigration- 102 Immorality Act, section 16-33, 38, 43, 104
Income Tax Act No 58 of 1982-119

SUBJECT INDEX
Incomes-122, 134
Average household-126 Average per capita-123
Indian Congress-see Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress Indian education -446, 457,448
Bursaries-421
Enrolment-446
Examination results-447
Expenditure-419
Financing-417, 418
Per capita-420
Platoon system-446
Pupil/teacher ratio-421
SA Indian Council, control of- 39, 40, 41,61,448
Student teachers-448
Teachers-447
Technical -457,458 Indian, entry of foreign- 39 Industrial councils-185, 186 ff, 193 Industrial council agreements-124, 145, 149, 188, 189 Industrial court- 188, 189,192
Decentralisation-141, 142
Development regions-140, 142
Incentives-142
Indian, social welfare-39, 40, 41,519 Inflation-106, 107,122 Influx control-15, 22, 43, 140,183,261,262 ff, 352
Judgement against-267 Influx of workers-123 Ingwavuma-15, 52,326 ff
Inhlabamkhosi magazine (Clarion Call) - 51 Inkatha-17, 29, 43,49, 50, 54, 60, 82, 89, 91 Inkatha links with ANC-47, 90, 346 Inkatha links with PAC-47, 55, 90,346 Inkatha Youth Brigade-52, 465,474,475 Institute for Natural Resources-
373, 381 Institute for Planning Research- 122 Institute for Strategic Studies- 568
Italian Metal Workers' Federation- 189 Interest rates- 107 Interfaith Centre on
Corporate Responsibility (ICCR)- 110 Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982-
62,212,545,562 Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982, section 47-41, 59
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions- 197, 199 International Council
of Swedish Industry- 114 International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions- 196
International Federation of Journalists- 212 International Human Rights Advisory
Centre- 531 International Institute for Trichology- 103 International Institute for
Strategic Studies- 586 International Labour Organisation- 1.83, 199 Code-114,115
International Metal Workers' Federation- 189 International Monetary Fund- 107,
109, 110 International Organisation of Employers- 115 International Voluntary
Service- 63

SUBJECT INDEX
Investment of foreign capital- 108 ff, 141 Inyandza Movement- 56 Isithebe- 141,
392,393 Islamic Council of SA - 60 Israel, trade with SA- 117
J
Jabulani Stadium prayer meeting- 51,52 Japan, trade with SA- 116 Jardine
Matheson- 113 Job creation- 134 Job reservation- 26
Abolition of- 132 I i "
Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce- 119 Johannesburg Consolidated
Investment Company- 181 Johannesburg Hospital- 490 Joint Rent Action
Committee- 285 Journalists, prosecution and harassment of- 211 Justice, police
and prisons- 522 etséq
Crime- 526
Criminal statistics- 522
Punishment- 527
K
Kaiser Chiefs- 222 KaNgwane- 15, 326 ff, 343 ff
Agriculture- 363, 372,374,375
Agricultural Company- 380
Budget- 344
Commerce- 398
Council of chiefs- 343
Development corporations- 380
Development plans- 343
Education- 418, 420, 421,453
Elections- 347
Health- 493, 496,509
Incorporation into Swaziland -326 ff, 343
Infrastructure- 409 ff Manufacture- 391 ff
Mining - 385
Population- 102
Transport- 401
Validation and Special Withdrawals Bill -343 Kat River eviction -32 Katlehong
squatters- 275 Kellogs (Springs) - 178 Khayelitsha-278, 279, 281, 434 Kimberley
theatre- 220 Kingsburgh, beach segregation- 223 Kloof Gold Mine - 155 Koeberg Nuclear Plant- 110 Kohler Ltd- 113, 188

SUBJECT INDEX
Komeni judgement -264 Koomhof Bills - 41, 57, 58, 59,253
Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill No 113 of 1982 - 35,
252,
254,262,268
Black Communities Development Bill No 112 of 1982-254
Black Local Authorities Act No 102 of 1982-41, 57, 58, 59,253,257,258
Krugerrands, banning of- 110 KTC shacks-279, 280,310,487 KwaNdebele- 344 ff
Agriculture- 35,374,375
Budget -345
Commerce-398
Consolidation - 324 ff
Education- 418,420,421
Health - 493, 496,505,509
Housing-269
Independence -344 Infrastructure - 409
Land- 324 ff
Manufacturing- 392
Moutse Land Dispute -324 ff
Population- 102 Relocation-344
Transport -406,407 Kwashiorkor- 503ff KwaZulu- 345 ff
Administration- 349,350
Agricultural Company- 381 Agriculture -374,375,380 ff
Agriculture Training Unit -381
Black Local Authorities Act, boycott- 346
Boreholes-381
Budget-348
Buthelezi Commission Report-346, 381
Cattle deaths- 380
Cholera epidemic- 502
Citizenship- 321, 349
Code of Zulu Law Act No 6 of 1981 349
Commerce- 399
Consolidation- 348
Constitution, New SA -50,346
Credit Union Bill- 349
Detentions- 349
Development Corporation -380, 381, 392 ff, 399
Development offices -381
Drought- 380, 381,504
Economically active population- 127
Education-48, 420,421,453
Faction fights- 349,350
Finance-348
Forced citizenship for Indians- 57
Fraud-349,350 Government- 51
Health-484, 492,-493, 497
Housing-269
Infrastructure - 409
RRS-Y

SUBJECT INDEX
Inkatha- 29, 43, 49, 50, 54, 82, 91,347
Inkatha Youth Brigade -52
King Zwelithini Stadium rally- 346
Land- 323, 348
Links with ANC- 49, 90,346
Manufacturing- 392
Mining-387
Msinga-Weenen Commission- 349
Pensions - 515
Population- 102, 381
Proclamation R103 of 1973- 349
Referendum- 89,346
Relocation- 45
Rumpff Commission- 326 ff, 348
Soweto rally- 346
Sugar production- 382 Technical colleges- 433
Trade unions- 195
Women, status of - 349

L
Labour Party -29 ff Labour Relations- 176 ff
African Food and Canning Workers' Union- 176,182,184
Bargaining- 185 Closed shop- 190
General Workers' Union- 178,182, 184
Industrial councils- 186
Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union of SA -204 International Metal
Workers' Union expulsions- 178 Labour Relations Amendment Act No 2 of 1983-
   193
Litigation- 185
Major trade union groups- 176
Mediation services - 193
Media Workers' Association of SA- 176, 192,215,216
Membership- 177
Metal and Allied Workers' Union-176, 178,179, 180, 191,193,195,202,203
Mine Surface Officials’ Association- 181
Mine Workers’ Union- 180,331
Mixed unions- 177,178
Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers’ Union (MACWUSA)- 176
Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union - 181, 182
Natal Sugar Industry Employees' Union - 176
National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union - 176, 178, 189, 195, 202
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers - 178
National Union of Mineworkers - 176, 178, 204
National Union of Textile Workers - 176, 189, 190, 203
New unregistered unions - 177
Overseas union movement - 189, 199
Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union - 176, 189
Parallel unions, failure of - 7, 178
Racial registration - 179
Recession, its effect - 178
Recognition - 179, 180, 182, 188, 189
Registration - 185

SUBJECT INDEX
Registered unaffiliated unions - 176, 182 ff
Rivalry between unions - 189
Shop floor bargaining - 187
SA Allied Workers' Union - 176, 191, 195, 196
SA Black Municipal Workers' Union - 176
SA Boilermakers' Society - 128, 181
SA Chemical Workers' Union - 176
SA Confederation of Labour - 176, 177, 180 ff
SA Co-ordinating Council of the International Metal Workers' Federation (IMF) - 178
SA Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union - 176
SA Mineworkers' Union - 196
SA Tin Workers' Union - 178
Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union - 176
Strikes - 180, 181, 200 ff
Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union - 176, 178, 189
Textile Workers' Industrial Union - 190
Textile Workers' Union - 176, 189
Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA) - 80, 176, 177, 181, 182, 184
Transport and Allied Workers' Union - 176, 179
Transport and General Workers' Union - 176, 179
Union of Black Journalists - 212
Unity moves - 180, 182, 184 ff
Unregistered unaffiliated unions - 176, 177, 182 ff
Unregistered unions - 177, 181
Vukani Black General and Allied Workers' Union - 176
Wage agreements - 182
Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Trade Employees' Union - 182
Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act No 102 of 1983 - 226, 324
Lawyers for Human Rights - 550
Lay organisations
Black Sash - 265, 266, 278, 308, 373, 488, 516, 517
Centre for Applied Legal Studies - 209 Centre for Intergroup Studies - 45, 567 SA
Bureau of Racial Affairs - 24, 27, 28
SA Institute of Race Relations- 197, 378, 422, 494, 504, 529, 548, 568
Urban Foundation- 229, 258, 262, 269, 271 Lebowa- 350 ff
Agriculture- 375, 382
Budget- 351
Commerce- 399
Development - 350, 363
Development Corporation- 382, 393, 394, 399
Economically active population- 366
Education- 418, 420, 421
Finance - 351
Infrastructure- 410
Manufacturing- 393, 394
Mining - 351, 386, 387
Population- 102
Legal aid - 531
Legal system- 529 Legal system, commissioners courts- 530 Legal system, small claims court- 530 Lesotho Liberation Movement- 587 Listed people- 546

SUBJECT INDEX
M
Malnutrition - 381, 426, 503 ff Management committees- 34 Management committee elections, coloured- 33 Management and local affairs committees - 248, 249 Manpower- 16, 23
Agriculture - 158
Government sector- 144
Number of workers requisitioned- 139
Shortages- 128, 132
Survey- 127
Manpower and Management Foundation of SA- 119 Manpower Training Amendment Act No 1 of 1983- 455 Manufacturing- 144 ff Markinor- 15, 258
Marriages, mixed- 104 Maseru raid- 43, 46, 61, 63, 117, 209
Commemoration- 44
Reprisal- 45
Master Harold and the Boys- 210 Matola raid- 46 Mawelawela Refugee Camp- 63
Mayfair evictions- 12, 39, 42, 237 Mdantsane - 196, 197, 408
Bus boycott - 335 ff, 405 Media- 208
Assault of journalists- 275
Organisations- 215
Media Workers' Association of SA (MWASA)- 150, 184 Medical Association of SA (MASA) - 487, 551 Congress - 486
Medical personnel - 485 ff
Medical school for coloureds and Indians - 492
Medical students - 485, 486
Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) Firms refuse to negotiate with - 149
Industrial councils, joining - 186
Retrenchment procedure - 148
Metal Box - 113
Metal Industries Group Pension Fund - 187
Metal Workers' Federation - 197
Methane gas explosion - 157
Methodist Church of Southern Africa - 84, 115, 626 ff
Middleburg by-election - 9, 24, 26, 89
Migrant Labour - 136, 140, 368
'Call in' forms - 139
Ciskei disciplinary camps - 140, 372

SUBJECT INDEX

Medical personnel- 485 ff
Medical school for coloureds and Indians - 492
Medical students- 485, 486
Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) Firms refuse to negotiate with - 149
Industrial councils, joining - 186
Retrenchment procedure - 148
Metal Box - 113
Metal Industries Group Pension Fund - 187
Metal Workers' Federation - 197
Methane gas explosion - 157
Methodist Church of Southern Africa - 84, 115, 626 ff
Middleburg by-election - 9, 24, 26, 89
Migrant Labour - 136, 140, 368
'Call in' forms - 139
Ciskei disciplinary camps - 140, 372
Mozambique National Resistance Movement - see Resistance Nacional Mocambicana (RNM)
Muizenburg pavilion- 220 MiA i-lateral Development Council of Ministers- 367 Municipal and General Workers' Union (MGWU)- 184 Murder statistics- 526 Muslim Judicial Council, affiliation to UDF- 60

SUBJECT INDFX
N
NUSAS -see National Union of South African Students NUSAS News-465
0
Official Secrets Act No 16 of 1956-211 Oil embargo- 117
Onverwacht resettlement camp -491
see also Botshabelo
Operation Hunger -309, 373,504 Orange Free State, prohibition of Indians living there-241

SUBJECT INDEX
Orange-Vaal General Workers' Union (OVGWU)- 184 Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill No 113 of 1982 - 35, 252, 254, 262,268
COSAS-61 CUSA - 179
FOSATU- 180
UDF reaction to-57,59
Organisation of African Unity- 51 Orlando East- 179 Orlando Pirates -222 'Own affairs'- 71
P
Paarl- 159
House of Assembly- 72 House of Delegates- 72
House of Representatives- 72
No confidence debate- 72
'Own affairs'- 72
Parliamentary dictatorship- 76 Parliamentary Select Committee- 71,76 Pass arrests -262, 373 Pass laws -262 ff
Administration of- 264
Aid centres-281 Arrests- 262,373
Booi judgement- 264 Court cases- 262, 264
Komani judgement- 264 Rikhotso judgement -265 Passports- 49, 50 546 ff
Peninsula Technikon- 502 Pensions-515, 516 People Opposed to Women Abuse (POWA)- 525 People's Congress Party- 29, 60, 34 ff, 248 PepsiCo-111
Performing Arts Council of OFS (PACOFS)- 221 Permanent Finance Liaison Committee -257 Petrol, price- 122 Petroleum Products Act No 120 of 1977- 211
PFP -see Progressive Federal Party Physical Planning Act No 88 of 1969- 142
Pick 'n Pay- 178 Pietermaritzburg bomb scare- 45 Pinetown by-election- 21

SUBJECT INDEX
Police Amendment Act No 24 of 1983- 532 Police Force
Claims against- 197,536
Conduct - 212, 533
Personnel - 532
Raid s on UDF-59
Threats to ban people -59
Political developments, white by-elections - see by-elections Political prisoners
Birth rates-499
Demographic trends- 100, 101,498,499
Family planning - 498
Immigration and emigration- 102
Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts- 33, 38, 43, 104
Infant deaths- 100
In homelands- 101, 102,373
International Planned Parenthood Federation -499
Life expectancy- 100
Race classification- 103
Registration Act No 30 of 1950-43, 56, 81,257
Survey- 133
Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area- 125, 149, 150
Amenities for all races -220
Committee for Community Relations-220
Constitution Committee - 7, 48
Economic Affairs Committee- 125
Powers-76
Rightwing terrorism against- 28
Science Committee- 100
Three constitutional reports-71
Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa- 630 Press
Afrikaans, referendum- 18
Control - 211
Afrikaans, Black, English -214,215 Prestige (SA) - 148 Pretoria bomb blast -45, 46 Pretoria park segregation-224 Prime Minister-see Botha, P W Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council- 34 Prisons and prisoners- 539
Barberton-539
Conditions-59,538,540,541
Personnel-537
Political prisoners- 540

SUBJECT INDEX
Population- 537
Punishment, corporal - 527 Productivity- 123, 131 ff Progressive Federal Party congress- 18
Constitution
Exclusion of Africans- 91
'No' declaration-81 Rejection of-76, 78
Shared platform, Inkatha - 50, 52, 82
Censorship-209
GST- 121
Labour legislation - 194
Labour Party, relations with - 33
Referendum results - 88 Sport, integration - 221
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No 55 of 1949-33, 38, 93, 104
Select Committee, investigation by - 104
Prohibition of Political Interference Act No 51 of 1968 - 34, 56, 62,248
Appeal Board-208, 210 ff Bannings of-208, 209,210
Control of - 208 ff
Official Secrets Act No 65 of 1965 -211
Restrictions on showing of films - 208
Statistics -208,210
Work of committees -210 Purchasing power of rand - 107
Q
QwaQwa - 351 ff Agriculture -383
Agricultural Company- 383
Budget-351,352 Commerce-398
Consolidation - 352
Development Corporation - 383, 394,398
Drought-383
Education- 418, 420,421,453
Elections -351
Health-484,493
Housing-269
Independence - 351, 352
Manufacturing - 394
/Pensions - 515
Population- 102
Quarterly bulletin - 106
Relocation-46
Unemployment- 142

SUBJECT INDEX
R
Race classification- 33, 103
Radio Botswana - 64
Radio Mozambique -64 Rand, commercial - 108
Rand, financial - 108
Rand Refinery labour dispute - 156
Randburg survey - 224, 225
Rapport-211,586
Recognition agreements and disputes - 188
Referendum, white- 78
Advertisements - 214
African National Congress view-47
Afrikaans press bias - 18, 214
Broederbond -27
English press- 80, 81,214
Free vote debate - 16
General- 10, 33, 78, 79, 80, 81
Inkatha -50
Nationalists and allies -21
'No' campaign - 16, 23, 33, 42, 43, 180
Results-88, 91
United Democratic Front - 59 'Yes' campaign-21, 32, 34, 38 Referendum, coloured -29, 32, 33, 61 Referendum, Indian- 36, 37, 38, 61 Reform Party - 42, 43, 56, 81 Refugees- 44, 46, 63, 64 Relocation of African population - 15, 57, 61, 159,298,491 Eastern Cape- 312, 378,495
Natal- 313
Northern Cape- 309
Orange Free State -309
Surplus People Project - 235,300
Western Cape - 309
S
Saaiplaas Gold Mine - 155 Safety, mining- 157

SUBJECT INDEX
Eastern Cape - 223
Natal-222
Western Cape- 223
Cinemas and theatres-220, 221 Entertainment- 220 Government policy- 221, 222,223 Hospital-225 Hotels -220 Municipal facilities
Cape- 223, 225
Separate Amenities Act- 81 Seychelles Coup - 15 Shaka Day Rally-52 Shebeens- 293 Shell- 145 Siemens -114 Sigma-149,150 SKF-114, 149
Investment in SA- 115
Small Business Development Corporation- 143,256 Small Cane Growers' Financial Aid Fund- 382 Soccer -647 Social pensions- 515 In the homelands - 515, 516 Social welfare- 509 ff Aged-513
Alcoholism and drug addiction-517
Child Care Act No 74 of 1983 -510
Child Welfare Advisory Council-510

SUBJECT INDEX
Children-511
Day care centres - 512
Disabled-514
Discriminatory state grants- 509
Finance and facilities-511, 512
Legislation, policy and expenditure -509, 510
Organisations- 509
Pensions-515
Social workers- 518
Sofasonke Party- 294
Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College -43 South African Agricultural Union- 117
Boycotts- III
Integration -22, 26
Neighbouring states- 43, 44, 585
Nuclear facilities- 25

SUBJECT INDEX
Custom's Union -585
BLS countries- 585
Destabilisation-586
Lesotho-585
Mozambique-585
Non-aggression treaties -585
SADCC-584
SADF- 585
SAFTO-589
Zimbabwe-593
Southern African Metals and Minerals Conference- 154 Southern Company- 111
South West Africa/Namibia-602 ff
Administration- 605
Broeksma Report -606
Budget- 605
Cape Verde talks-618
Cassinga Day-611
Conflict in Angola-613
Conscription- 610
Damara Council- 604
Defence expenditure - 605
Defence Force- 602
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance- 602
Detainees- 607
Disengagement offer by South Africa -623
Dissidents, action against- 607
Economy-605
Illegal occupation of - 616
Internal developments- 602
International developments -616
Koevoet-607,608
Meetings, control of- 607 Military news clamp- 612
Military service, compulsory- 610
Multi-Party Conference- 604 National Assembly- 442, 445
'Operation Askari'- 612
Political parties- 603, 604 Prisoners of war - 608, 621
Public service- 606
Settlement negotiations-618, 622
State Council- 603
Supreme Court -608, 609
SWA Ministers’ Council- 602
SWA People's Organisation- 25, 43, 46, 47, 57,209,588,602,604,605,607,608
Thision Judicial Commission- 606
United Nations Activities- 616
Conference on Namibia- 117
Council for Namibia- 616
Secretary General- 620
SA's contribution to budget-615
Transition Assistance Group- 620
Warfare - 610 ff
Soutpansberg by-election-7, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25 Soviet Union- 10

SUBJECT INDEX
Soweto, aerial survey of-270 Soweto circle train - 286 Soweto housing - 270 Soweto Anti-Community Council Committee - 179 Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry - 291 Soweto Civic Association (SCA)- 25 Soweto Committee of Ten-58, 60 Soweto Community Council- 270 Soweto elections Petrol bombing- 259 Parties -260
Poll - 59
Trespass Act- 205
Student Organisations- 464 ff Sugar farmers- 160, 182 Sugar industry- 146
Sullivan Principles - 109, 111, 112 Sun City- 28 Sunday Times- 108 Surplus
People Project (SPP) - 158, 235, 300 ff Swaziland - 14
Assassination of ANC members in - 44

SUBJECT INDEX
Exodus of ANC from- 44
Refugees from SA - 63 Swazi Land Deal- 326 ff Swazi chiefs of SA- 326 Sweet,
Food and Allied Workers' Union- 146, 176 Sweden- 114
Squatters- 261, 262, 274, 275, 329, 372, 374, 410
T
Tax payers' statistics- 120 Taxation- 119, 125 Taxes- 288
Married Couples- 119 Tennis - 649
Terrorism and Internal Security Trials- 562 Terrorism, right wing - 28 Trade
unions and labour relations- 176 etseq
Action against - 195
African Allied Workers' Union- 196
African Food and Canning Workers' Union- 176, 182, 196, 177, 332
Agreements- 179
Artisan Staff Association- 182
Arbitration- 193
Amalgamations- 179
Bannings- 22
Bargaining- 185
Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union- 176
Black Allied Workers' Union - 176
Blasting certificate dispute - 180
Chemical Workers' Industrial Union- 176
Closed shop- 181
Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union - 202, 203, 204
Conciliation- 185, 193
Council of Unions of SA - 77, 176, 178
Detention of members- 195 ff
Disputes- 193
Dockworkers' dispute with SATS - 7
Emerging unions, hostility towards- 181
Engineering and Allied Workers' Union- 176
Federation of SA Trade Unions - 179 ff
Food Beverage Workers' Union- 176, 189
Food and Canning Workers' Union- 182 General and Allied Workers' Union- 196
General Workers' Union- 183, 184
Relations with UDF- 182
Harassment of unions- 183, 184
Health and safety - 203
Homeland attitudes- 194, 195
Hotel, Liquor and Allied Workers' Union- 176
Industrial court- 193, 194
Industrial councils- 180, 193
Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union- 176
Rivalry - 189

SUBJECT INDEX
SA Allied Workers' Union- 176, 191, 195, 196
SA Black Municipal Workers' Union - 176
SA Boilermakers' Society- 176, 181 SA Chemical Workers’ Union - 176
SA Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union- 176
SA Textile Workers' Union- 176, 189
SA Tin Workers’ Union - 178 SA Mineworkers’ Union- 196
Shop floor bargaining- 187
Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union- 176, 178, 189
Textile Workers' Industrial Union - 190
Trade Union Council of SA (TUSCA) - 80, 176, 177, 181
Annual conference - 181
Dis-affiliation from- 181, 182
Resolution on unregistered unions- 184, 185
Services to members- 182
Transport and Allied Workers' Union- 176
Transport and General Workers' Union- 176
Unaffiliated unions- 176, 177, 182
United Democratic Front
Union affiliation to- 180
Union of Black Journalists- 212
Unity moves- 180, 182, 184 ff
Unregistered - 181
Unregistered unaffiliated unions- 176, 177, 182 ff
Victimisation- 171
Vukani Black Guards and Allied Workers' Union- 176
Wage agreements - 182
Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Trade Employees' Union 182 Transkei- 352 ff
Aged- 513
Agricultural Corporation- 383
Budget -358
Citizenship- 95 Commerce- 400
Consul -322
Defence- 353, 354
Development Corporation- 394, 395, 400
Democratic People's Party- 355
Drought-504
Drought relief - 383
Education-20, 21, 418
Extradition - 355
Infrastructure - 411
Manufacturing - 394, 395 Matriculation results - 438
National Independence Party - 352
Population - 102
Relations with SA - 352
Relocation - 279, 352
Security - 354 Torture - 355
Tribal conflict - 359
Workers in South Africa - 158
Xanxa Dam - 383
Zenzele Women's Club - 375

SUBJECT INDEX
Transport in urban areas - 286
In homelands - 401 ff
Segregation - 224
Metropolitan Transport Advisory Services - 278
Welgemoed Commission - 286
'Western Cape ' - 278 Treason trials - 559 ff Trespass Act No 6 of 1959-263
Transvaal Teachers' Association - 84, 420, 451 Transvaal Onderwysersvereniging - 431
Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC) - 40, 57 Transvaal Anti-President's Council Committee - 35, 41, 82
AZAPO criticism - 48
Group areas criticism - 238
Indian Congress - 37, 40, 41, 42, 47, 82
Release Mandela Committee - 541 Transvaaler, Die - 26
Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) - 249

UDF - See United Democratic Front Uitenhage Ratepayers, Tenants and Civic Association - 248 Strikes - 84 ff
Umkonto we Sizwe - 45, 465 Umzimkulu Mill - 146 Unemployment - 132, 133, 136, 381
Registered - 107, 132, 133
Homelands - 132, 134 Unemployment insurance - 135
Exclusion of domestic and farm worker - 135
Homeland Africans - 136 Union of Black Journalists - 212 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - see Soviet Union Union of Teachers' Associations of SA - 430, 432 UNITA - 598
United Building Society - 204 United Congregational Church in Southern Africa - 631 United Democratic Front - 12, 57, 61, 180, 197, 217
Affiliates - 35, 184
Boycott of elections - 33, 248
Criticism of SAIC - 37
Inkatha comment on - 53
Launching date - 57, 82
NIC- 41
Opposition to constitutional proposals- 29, 82, 84, 91
Patrons-58
Referendum boycott- 38, 90
Relations with AZAPO - 48,49
Relations with PFP- 19
Town council election boycotts- 42
Support from AZASO/COSAS -82, 84
UDFNews-209
United Kingdom

SUBJECT INDEX
Investment in SA- 112
Policy in Southern Africa- 599
Trade with SA-116
United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA)- 113 United Nations
Children's fund (UNICEF)- 503
Committee Against Apartheid- 57, 117
Decolonisation committee- 47
Financial aid to ANC and PAC- 43 General Assembly sanctions- 117
High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)- 63
Material aid- 47 UNESCO-542 United States
Investment in SA- 109, 111
Policy towards Southern Africa -599
Presidential candidates- 117
Sanctions- 117
UN criticism of trade- 117
Women's organisations- 47 Universities
Bophuthatswana- 464,470
Cape Town- 520
Durban-Westville -52, 62,471
Fort Hare- 464, 471, 520
Medunsa- 472, 486
Natal-472,520
National University of Lesotho- 44
Orange Free State- 520
Port Elizabeth- 122
Potchefstroom- 23,464
Pretoria- 80, 464,520 Rand Afrikaans -520 Rhodes-62, 464,520
South Africa (UNISA)- 23,129 Stellenbosch-99, 107,152,465 The North
(Turfloop) -382,472
Transkei-508
Vista -463
Western Cape- 473,520
Witwatersrand-62, 464,473,486,520,544

SUBJECT INDEX
Urbanisation, African- 16, 93, 261 ff
Statistics-261, 367, 498, 510 USA -see United States USSR- see Soviet Union
V
Vaal Reefs Gold Mine - 155, 158 Vaal Residents' Organisation- 58 Valard- 113 Van Dykes Drift Colliery- 156 Varsity (UCT Student Newspaper) -209 Venda- 355 ff
Agriculture -424
Budget-357
Citizenship - 95 Commerce-434
Consolidation- 357
Consul-322
Detainees- 356, 357
Development Corporation- 395
Drought -504
Drought relief mis-appropriation - 356
Education-418, 420, 421 Education, technical - 456
Electronics-355 Finance- 356 General - 13
Manufacturing - 395
Mining- 487
Population- 102 Relocations-304
Ritual murders- 358
Security -357
W
Wage Board- 123, 124 Wage determinations-123, 124 Wage, national minimum-123, 124 Wages- 123 ff

SUBJECT INDEX
Waterberg by-election- 7, 8, 24, 25, 28 Waterkloof by-elections-- 7, 8, 19, 24, 25, 28 Welgemoed Commission of Enquiry into Public Transport -328 West German investment in SA- 113 West German trade with SA- 116 Westinghouse- 110, 111
Western Coloured Township- 249 Western Deep Levels- 158 Western Holdings- 155 White education - 449,458
Enrolment- 449,459
Expenditure -419
Finance -417
Per capita expenditure - 420
Pupil/teacher ratios - 421
Schools - 449
Student teachers - 493
Teachers - 490 Technical- 458
University -460 (See individual universities) Wiechers Commission into Local Government -328 Wiehahn Commission- 123,130 Wilson Rowntree-210
Wittebome Civic Centre, segregation - 220

Select Index
of Persons Mentioned
A
Adendorff, Dr S- 132 Alcock, Neil- 350 Alexander, Dr Neville- 48, 54 Ames, Prof Frances- 487 Andrew, Ken-221, 278,280,430,530 Asvat, Dr A-48
Attenborough, Sir Richard- 220 Auerbach, Dr Franz- 239, 430
B
83,89,92,93,94, 109,134,325,580,585,597,602,605 Botha, S P (Fanie)- 7, 13, 28,135,136,148,198
Botha, Stoffel- 250 Brand, Dr Simon- 42, 90,370,421,482,589 Breytenbach, Dr Willie-90, 91,483 Brown, Eddie-431, 451 Browne, Gerald- 256 Buthelezi, Chief Gatsha- 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 29, 30, 36, 37, 42, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54,
55, 56, 60, 81, 82, 85, 89, 92, 94, 95, 115, 195,214, 215,345, 347,348, 350, 473,474,476,
580,591,593
Buthelezi, Bishop Manas- 54 Buti, Rev Sam-439

SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
C
Cabaco, Jose- 595 Camay, Piroshaw-54 Chikane, Rev Frank- 60 Chinsamy, Yelman - 42, 43, 56, 82 Chissano, Joachim- 596 Coetsee, J J (Kobie) -46, 522, 526, 528, 537,1540 Coetzee, Gen Johan-213, 524, 526, 533 Coetzee, J P J-522, 537 Cooper, Saths-48, 49, 53, 54, 55 Coovadia, Jerry- 36, 40, 41,61 Cristina,

D
Dadoo, Dr Yusuf-41, 42, 47 Dalling, Dave-216, 217,528 de Klerk, FW- 12, 23, 37, 94,216,241,343,465,522,580

E
Eagleburger, Lawrence -92,109,599 Eglin, Colin- 14,232,526 Eksteen, Riaan- 217 Euvey, B- 534

F
Farisani, Dean T S -357 Ferreira, Fred- 112 Foster, Joe- 90, 184

SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
Fouche, A F-517 Fourie, Dr A B- 466 Fourie, Dr Brand- 14, 121,619

G
Gadd, Alan- 527 Gastrow, Peter- 531, 535 Gear, Prof John-487, 489,494

H
Hansmeyer, P N- 348 Hartshorne, Dr Ken- 429, 438 Hartzenberg, Dr Ferdi- 93
Hawke, Bob-47 Haysom, Nicholas- 338, 339,340,469,539 Hayward, Sarel- 13 Hendrickse, Rev Allan-23, 30, 31,32, 33, 79, 89,234,238 Heunis, Chris - 11, 12, 17, 23, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39, 71, 75, 77, 78, 92, 99, 143,213,221,246, 247,253,368,370

J

SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
K
Kailembo, Andrew- 199 Kambule, T W-433, 438,466 Kane-Berman, John- 85, 95
Kleynhans, Prof Willem-23, 24, 84 Koornhof, Dr Piet- 10, 12, 46, 52, 92, 93, 94,
95, 139, 180, 228, 252, 253, 255, 262, 266, 269, 278, 284, 285, 286, 289, 290, 298, 301, 325, 327, 343, 344, 345, 346, 351, 357, 370 Kotze, Pen - 12, 32, 38, 220, 228, 230, 238 Krog, Gabriel - 448 L
Langley, Tom - 7 Laurie, Dr Dirk - 88, 89 Lee, Dr Robin - 229, 259 Le Grange, Louis - 28, 46, 47, 88, 183, 198, 212, 238, 332, 532, 533, 534, 593, 597 Lekota, Terror - 19, 37, 59, 60, 61 Letlaka, T - 352 Lewis, David - 83, 178, 182, 332 Lodge, Prof T - 45, 46 Lourens, Johanna - 552, 560
Lekota, Terror - 19, 37, 59, 60, 61 Letlaka, T - 352 Lewis, David - 83, 178, 182, 332 Lodge, Prof T - 45, 46 Lourens, Johanna - 552, 560
SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
Olivier, Prof Nic - 279, 434 Omar, Abba - 61 Oppenheimer, Harry - 17, 21, 26, 83 Otto, Lt Gen J F - 538
SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
Q
Qoboza, Percy-85
R
Rabie, Jac-31, 32 Rabie, Chief Justice P J - 529, 530 Rabkin, Dr D- 541 Rajbansi Amichand - 36, 37, 38, 40, 41,61,79, 89,238,250,458, 519 Ramgobin, Mewa-41 Raw, Vause- 19, 20, 21,89, 93 Reagan, Pres Ronald- 110, 345 Rebhan, Herman - 197 Relly, Gavin - 21,26, 80, 90,261,442 Retief, Dr Francois -482, 486 Riekert, Dr P J - 93 Rifkind, Malcolm- 117 Rikhosto, Mehlolo-265 ,(known administratively as 'Rikhosto' case, real name 'Rikhoso') Rive, Louis -282,285 Rosholt, Mike- 26, 192,205,261 Rumpff, Justice F L - 326,327
S
SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
Seleke, Carter- 541 Sewpersad, George- 41,90 Shabangu, J-528,529 Simkins, Charles- 102,265 Sisulu, Albertina-58, 549 Sisulu, Walter- 541 Sisulu, Zwelakhe-59, 184, 212 Sive, Major R-230 Sixishe, Desmond-44,592 Skosana, Simon-325, 344 Skweyiya, K- 560 Slabbert, Mana- 525 Slabbert, Dr Frederik van Zyl- 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 81, 89, 92, 93,213,224,241,326,346, 586
Smit, Dr Flip- 261 Soal, Peter- 21, 545 Sparks, Allister- 212 Spies, Tertius- 8 Stanton, Father Timothy- 541 Steyn, D W-432,475 Steyn, Marais- 14,536 Storey, Rev Peter- 46 Sutner, Raymond- 541 Suzman, Helen- 16, 17, 18, 46,252,263,280,301,497,535,540,541,545 Swart, Ray- 16
T
U
Ushewokunse, Dr H- 593
V
Van den Bergh, Gen Hendrik- 86 Van der Horst, Frank- 183 Van der Merwe, N A K- 11, 504,510,514,518 Van der Merwe, Dr Piet- 135, 136, 185,188,192, 197,203 Van der Walt, Hennie- 13, 324 Van der Walt, Mickey- 119 Van der Watt, Ike-181, 182,185 Van Deventer, General A P- 14
SELECT INDEX OF PERSONS MENTIONED
X Xaba, Rev W M-341
Y Yacoob, Zac-41, 183

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