URBAR AFRICANS

GENERAL

1975 — 76

Black graduates: the true position

Star 16/1/76

In your issue of December 10 Mr C W H du Toit said that a Black graduate from Pietersburg has to go through the same laborious processes as an illiterate if he wants to take up employment in Johannesburg. I would like to point out that this can be applicable only where the Labour Office is not functioning properly.

When a vacancy is advertised and a Black graduate wishes to apply for it, the only problem that could cause a laborious process for his registration is the availability of housing. If there is no housing available, no Labour Officer can even consider that application.

The necessity for this housing qualification originated during World War 2 to stop the mushrooming of squatter towns, where health conditions are bad.

HOMELANDS

The policy of homeland development also needs contemplation when the employment of Black graduates is discussed. Certainly, there is a much greater need of qualified persons in the homelands than in South Africa, and the homelands should have the first option on this type of labour.

For your further enlightenment I point out that, in accordance with Regulation 28, Chapter 8 of Government Notice R1892, dated December 3, 1965, certain Blacks, mostly graduates, can under certain circumstances be exempted from these regulations as far as their employment is concerned.

No such person need register as a workseeker, as prescribed, provided that he is authorised under Section 10(1) (d) of the Urban Areas Act to be in the prescribed area concerned.

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URBAN AFRIKANS — General

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Is Punt Janson's S Tribune 25/1/76

Under Dr Andries Treurnicht

THE GOVERNMENT may jettison Mr Punt Janson's plan to drastically revise the migrant labour system following his replacement as Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration by verkrampte Dr Andries Treurnicht.

This has been the message from Mr Vorster's cabinet reshuffle this week which has placed party right-wingers firmly in control of the vast Bantu Administration and Development empire

By LILL KRIGE

which rules the daily lives of 18 million Blacks.

At the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban four months ago Mr Janson electrified delegates by advocating that the migrant labour system was "at heart not a good one."

Whereas the government has for more than 15 years consistently advocated the phased withdrawal of all Africans from the Western Cape, Mr Janson admitted in effect that this was an impossible goal. There were, he said, 60 000 Blacks living in Cape Town illegally in addition to the 110 000 registered there.

"Let's face it, we can't throw them out. These people [illegible]

The [illegible] migrant labour system had been exploded.

By contrast, in a significant passage from his resignation [illegible] Afrikaner, Dr Treurnicht, in arguing the necessity of maintaining all forms of petty apartheid, plugs away at the party's official line implying that Blacks are in White areas only as temporary sojourners.

"We can accept that in our lifetime we shall not see a White South Africa or white Whites only live," he says. "[illegible] for the [illegible] contract workers."

The cabinet's marked swing to the right has been sharply criticised by several Black leaders. They were joined yesterday by a former government Minister, Mr Theo Gerdner, who said it showed up the [illegible] of the Nats' policy more sharply than any government action over the past two years.

Mr Gerdner, who resigned as Minister of the Interior three years ago to found the Democratic Party, said the composition of the cabinet would "inevitably usher in an era which will be marked by a further worsening of race relations."

There was now "less hope than ever before" for detente between the races in South Africa. The appointment of Dr Treurnicht, Mr Hartenberg and others to the cabinet was "incredibly short-sighted when viewed in the light of South Africa's real needs," Mr Gerdner said.

'IMPATIENT'

Tribune Reporter

RAPPORT, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, comments today on the widespread reaction to the appointment of Dr Andries Treurnicht as a Deputy Minister in this week's major Cabinet reshuffle.

"The widespread reaction to the appointment of Dr Andries Treurnicht as Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education in itself tells a story," said Rapport.

"The post of Deputy Minister is not so important that it deserves so much attention in a cabinet reshuffle in which several important appointments were made.

"The attention is thus based on the political person of Dr Treurnicht. But, also, his promotion would not have evoked nearly as much reaction if he had not been appointed to that particular post.

"Over the years Dr Treurnicht has given the impression that he has little patience with the calls for adaptations and change that are seen by other South Africans as urgently important for our country.

"Now he is going to a department where the tempo of adaptation in this year can still be of decisive importance.

"But, the reflections on his appointment give Dr Treurnicht an opportunity. He should [illegible] than other politicians to show the public that he does not have the narrow mind about these affairs that is worth [illegible] precisely because everything which he does in this connection from now on will be examined under a magnifying glass.

"In view of the problems deeply affecting black people he will, hopefully, come to the conclusion for himself that the days are over for good of abstruse arguments about matters like the difference between discrimination, and differentiation. That is like fiddling while Rome is burning."

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It's back to the 'dole' for growing Black jobless

ECONOMIST McCRYSTAL FLAMES THE CRISIS

By DEREK TAYLOR

RISING African unemployment is being masked by an intensified policy of "endorsing out" the jobless to rural areas — where they must survive another year of recession by subsistence gardening.

White unemployment is also rising — especially in the lower-paid jobs. Thousands more Whites will survive by going "on the dole" this year, but school-leavers have slim hopes of either finding jobs or qualifying for unemployment insurance.

And the only hope the experts offer is the belief that South Africa's recession and deflationary squeeze will get the country out of its economic doldrums in nine months to a year.

This is the doleful situation depicted by the combined observations of welfare workers, trade unionists and economists in a SUNDAY TRIBUNE survey this week.

"There are just no jobs for most African workers at the moment," said Mrs Solvig Piper of the Black Sash Athlone Advice Centre this week. The Black Sash bureaux assist tens of thousands of Blacks with paper and legal problems each year.

"And now, as soon as the seven-day search limit passes for a man who loses his job, he is endorsed out of the area.

Slackened off

"We noticed an unusual increase in endorsing out during last year as the recession was felt. Then the increase slackened off.

"Now it has intensified again. There is, of course, no alternative employment in the rural areas these men are sent to, but the labour officials can do nothing about it although they agree the problem is merely being transferred to the country," said Mrs Piper.

"The situation demands, more than ever, a review of the policies and methods governing the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

"Although there is about R180 000 000 in its reserves, we could find only 100 jobless Africans, last year, who were getting unemployment benefits in Durban," she said.

The last available figures, 1973, show that the Fund paid out R1,6-million in unemployment benefits, R0,3-million in illness allowances, R2-million to dependants of deceased contributors and maternity benefits of R0,[illegible] million.

Mrs Piper and the trade unions have also found that many unemployed Black workers do not get the benefits they have contributed for because of ignorance of the Fund's workings and regulations, and because of employers' inefficiency in applying for the essential contribution cards for their employees.

Construction firm

"An example is that of a very large construction firm which laid off a man who had worked for them for six years," said Mrs Piper.

"He was not given his UIF card and was told to come back for it in three months. Meanwhile, he had to return to his home district and could not draw benefits.

"When I approached the firm, I was actually told: 'We can't be bothered with every one of the hundreds of workers we have coming and going'.

"When we took this complaint to the Department of Labour, all we got back was a letter saying the card had been applied for — which we knew.

"[illegible] of invoking the penalties laid down for this kind of irresponsibility.

"Meanwhile, the worker who had contributed to the Fund for six years or more had no hopes of a job or of getting benefits for three months.

The UIF does not cover workers who earn less than R10,50 a week — a clause which is widely regarded as pointlessly and callously discriminative.

The Fund also excludes agricultural workers, domestic servants and casual or seasonal workers among other categories.

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HANSARD 1 1976 col. 3

30-year leases for Bantu in urban areas

*4. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether the grant of 30-year leases to Bantu in urban areas is subject to any conditions; if so, (a) what conditions and (b) for what reasons were the conditions imposed.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Yes.

(a) The rendering of services within the prescribed area, the identification of the person with his or her own Bantu nation and other conditions set forth in the regulations promulgated in terms of Chapter 2 of Government Notice R.1036 of 1968.

(b) For the purpose of good administration in terms of existing policy.

*5. Dr. E. L. FISHER—Reply standing over.

*6. Dr. E. L. FISHER—Withdrawn.

*7. Mr. G. B. D. McIntosh—Withdrawn.

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has often been argued that marxist analysis has paid insufficient attention to the way consciousness actually operates at the mass level. Even Barrington Moore, for example, has seen Marxism as "often superb for the insights it gives into the behaviour of the upper classes, but...it is nearly worthless for the understanding of the behaviour of the lower classes" (51). Thus any model of class and ethnicity needs to account for the way consciousness operates among the masses and to be perceive ethnic identity as a perfectly rational response in the post-colonial context. In a sense, the view of ethnicity as "false consciousness" resembles very closely the view of earlier marxists that nationalism was to be seen as essentially a political phenomenon. But just as the process of uneven development of capitalism on a world scale can be seen as a crucial prerequisite for the emergence of nationalism, so on a local scale uneven development can be seen to promote an ethnic consciousness. The mechanisms by which this is done still remain imperfectly understood, but recent research on syncretism and political clientelism will probably contribute valuable insights into the persistence of ethnic identities into the post colonial era. They can, in fact, be seen as containing the necessary theoretical insights for an historical model of class and ethnicity.

Towards an historical model: Hansard 2 col 41 2nd Feb 1976

The previous discussion ha retical basis for exploring the historical relati class in the post-colonial African context. The l suggest possible guide-lines for the development icity which accounts for the historical dialectic be eady outlined.

House/land ownership for Bantu

34. Mr. L. F. WOOD asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether any changes have been introduced in the conditions of house and land ownership for Bantu since the reply given to Question No. 73 on 17 February 1975; if so, what changes have been introduced in each case in respect of Bantu males and females, respectively.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Yes. Change has only been introduced in respect of urban Bantu residential areas, namely, that the right to purchase the occupation of a house in terms of Government Notice R.1036 of 1968, has been re-introduced.

Both the categories of cla n, in African societies, as the product of th the economic and political transformation engend nisation and a capitalist exchange economy. As fluid situation resulted producing situations w Cohen, "a conflict between class and ethnic member go either way dependi g on political and social circums . But this fluidity is not totally undecipherable since greater sense can be made of seemingly paradoxical political behaviour when greater attention is placed on the changing relationship between leadership and masses and the constant manipulation and counter-manipulation of traditional cultural symbols to relate to a changing economic base. This element of constant change Norman Miller has called "syncretism" (53). When the actions of the traditional leadership is analysed and its shifting position between the colonial structures before independence on the one hand and the masses on the other brought under scrutiny, then it is possible to perceive a structural context whereby either ethnicity or class can become the salient base of political cleavage (or even a combination of the two). The ideological basis of the system, indeed, is ambiguous as a result of the intermediary position of the traditional leadership:

> The individual leader can respond to a peasant in one way on a given topic and answer a bureaucratic administrator on the same topic in another manner. This phenomenon promotes the speaking to two worlds in different tongues, a duality of response (54).

Thus it is not surprising that even after independence traditional leaderships are frequently able to maintain a degree of legitimacy among the rural population. In the case of the Nyamwezi in Tanzania, for example, Miller found that neo-traditionalism which developed among the chiefs between 1958 and 1964 had

Class and Ethnic cleavages in post-colonial African societies: towards an historical model.

Social scientists have not, for the most part, been very successful hitherto in the integration of class and ethnic models of analysis in the study of contemporary African societies. The reasons for this have been manifold. The notions of class and ethnicity conjure up different world views and social behaviour: class being a concept derived from Western and marxist analysis of capitalism and its division of society into distinctive class groupings based on power and the control of economic resources, while ethnicity being a more recent term derived to explain the maintenance of group ties of affiliation based upon common cultural descent in a modern setting (I). The origins of the terms are very different. Class can be seen as a concept very much within the tradition of rational social enquiry begun by the founders of sociology in the nineteenth century and thus rooted in the notion that human behaviour exhibits an inherent logic and predictability in a way similar to phenomena observed in the natural sciences (2). Ethnicity, on the other hand, can be seen as a category in many ways derived to explain behaviour in social contexts in which conventional sociological models were no longer seen to apply. "It would seem", wrote the American sociologist Nathan Glazer in a pole ic against the marxist notion of class "that the rallying cries that mobilise the classes have, in recent decades, had less power than the rallying cries that mobilise the races, tribes, religions, language users - in short, the Ethnic Groups. Perhaps the epidemic of ethnic conflicts reflects the fact that leaders and organisers believe they can get a more potent response by appealing to ethnicity than they can by appealing to Class Interest". (3).

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30-year leases

50. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) How many applications for 30-year leases were received in the area of each Bantu Affairs Administration Board as at 31 December 1975 and (b) how many of these applications were (i) granted and (ii) refused.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) In view of the fact that the house ownership scheme came into operation only recently, no applications had been taken by Bantu Affairs Administration Boards before 31 December 1975.

(b) (i) and (ii) fall away.

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Hansard 2 col 42
2nd Feb 1976

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two terms embrace group affiliation based on ties of language, religion, race and culture, then nationalism can be seen as a key to the study of ethnic conflict.

Nationalism has, however, been for marxists a great enigma. Never fully confronted by Marx in the nineteenth century, a variety of approaches were developed to explain particular historical situations. Nationalism, indeed, has been seen by Tom Nairn as "Marxism's greatest failure" since it was the ad hoc nature of analysis which prevented the development of an overall theory (5). In the case of Rosa Luxemburg, for example, marxism was perceived in specifically internationalist terms so that the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland (SDKP) was founded in 1893 to oppose the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) which sought the national independence of Poland. This latter nationalism Luxemburg opposed at the 1896 Congress of the Second International on the grounds tha t Poland's economic development was already inextricably bound to that of Rus sia (6)

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Hansard 2 col 116
6/2/76

(x) **Urban Bantu councils**

210. Mr. N. J. J. OLIVIER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) In respect of which areas in South Africa were urban Bantu councils constituted at the latest date for which figures are available and (b) in respect of what date are these figures given.

(a)

Cape Province	Transvaal	Natal	O.F.S.
Guguletu Bantu Residential Area, Cape Town	Alberton	Durban	Bethlehem
Grahamstown	Carletonville		Bloemfontein
Uitenhage	Benoni		Kroonstad
	Boksburg		Parys
	Ermelo		Odendaalsrus
	Johannesburg		Virginia
	Krugersdorp		Welkom
	Nigel		
	Ogies		
	Roodepoort		
	Standerton		
	Vereeniging		
	Witbank		

(b) 31 December 1975

(B) 50/76(K) 20/2/76 (319)

Vrystellingsuur: 12.00
middag op 20 Februarie 1976

TOESPRAAK VAN SY EDELE M.C. BOTHA, L.V. MINISTER VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE EN -ONTWIKKELING EN VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS BY GELEENTHEID VAN DIE OPENING VAN DIE BANTOEBIERBROUERY TE PORT ELIZABETH OP 20 FEBRUARIE 1976

Dit maak my altyd gelukkig as ek aan 'n funksie soos hierdie kan deelneem, want 'n funksie soos hierdie staan in die teken van vooruitgang. Dit is ook 'n voorreg om by sulke geleenthede Bantoeleiers te ontmoet.

Soos so baie werksaamhede wat die mens by sy huis begin het, het die brou en verskaffing van Bantoebier van 'n baie bes[illegible] begin gegroei tot 'n reusenywerheid waarin die plaaslike bestu[illegible] voorheen, en nou die Bantoesake-administrasierade, miljoene rand in geboue en toerusting moes belê om 'n diens aan die stedelike Bantoe te lewer, en hierdie bedryf besorg ook 'n

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leeftog aan 'n groot aantal mense.

Die ontwikkeling van Bantoebier-ondernemings in die Oos-Kaap en Kaapse Middellande het nie tred gehou met die snelle bevolkingsaanwas, nywerheidsontwikkeling of die vraag wat hierdeur na 'n kommersiëel beskikbare Bantoebier ontwikkel het nie.

Hierdie stelling kan gestaaf word deur die feit dat daar in 1971 slegs konvensionele brouerye in Oos-Londen, Uitenhage en Butterworth was. Die gemiddelde verbruik van bier per kapita in die gebied was minder as 20 liter per jaar. Eersgenoemde twee brouerye is opgerig en bedryf deur Nucleus-ondernemings.

Die geskiedenis van die ontwikkeling van die Bantoebierbe - dryf in hierdie gebied is vir my uiters interessant. Na ek verneem, was die eerste Bantoebier wat in die Kaapse Middellande onder Blanke toesig gebrou en verkoop is, die bier wat deur die munisipaliteite van Cradock en Somerset-Oos in 1938 in houtvate vir hul Bantoebevolkings gebrou is. Hierdie was konvensionele bier en hierdie pogings kan dus met reg as die eerste "Bantoebierfabrieke" bestempel word. Verkope hiervan was bevredigend maar die brouproses baie omslagtig en moeitevol.

Die Munisipaliteite van Cradock en Somerset-Oos het gedurende 1960 begin met die brou van poeierbier en daar is bevind dat

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dit bevredigend geblyk het in die lig van die maklike brou-proses en die aanvaarding van die bier deur die plaaslike Bantoe. Terselfdertyd het die munisipaliteit van Uitenhage ook begin met die brou en verkoop van poeierbier en begin 'n era van 13 jaar waar genoemde munisipaliteit die tron sou aangee in die bemarking van Bantoebier.

Gedurende 1963 tree die plaaslike owerheid van Port Elizabeth ook tot die bemarking van poeierbier toe. As gevolg van die feit dat die Bantoebevolking te Port Elizabeth daartoe in staat was om self 'n baie beter poeierbier te brou, is daar van die begin af teenstand en moeilikheid met die bemarking van poeierbier ondervind. Die gevolg was dat die verkope van poeierbier só swak was dat hierdie onderneming na slegs

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vier maande gestaak moes word. Mettertyd was die bierverkope te Uitenhage ook nie meer na wens nie, dog kon hierdie onderneming darem 'n bestaan maak, aangesien 'n groot afset onder Kleurlinge gevind is. Swak verkope dwing egter die Munisipaliteit van Uitenhage dok om gedurende 1965 die onderneming te staak.

Dit is op hierdie tydstip dat 'n vervaardiger van Bantoebierbestandele nou op die toneel verskyn en 'n kontrak word deur die Munisipaliteit van Uitenhage met hierdie firma, naamlik Nucleus-Produkte aangegaan, vir die lewering van Bantoebierbestandele, waarvan Bantoebier dan verder voorberei word. Die onderneming was blykbaar suksesvol en verkope toon 'n opwaartse tendens en die verpakking word gedoen in plastiese

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1/4-gelling pakkies. Addisionele afsetpunte word op hierdie stadium ondersoek en hierdie verpakte bier word mettertyd aan privaat drankwinkels versprei tot sover as Cradock en George. Die Stadsraad van Port Elizabeth het nou ook die voorbeeld van Uitenhage gevolg en ook 'n kontrak met genoemde maatskappy, aangegaan. Ook hier word redelike sukses behaal, maar spoedig word met die verpakking in plastiese pakkies van 1/4-gelling, probleme met die verbruiker ondervind.

By die oorname deur die Kaap-Middellandse Bantoesake-administrasieraad het die Munisipaliteit van Uitenhage reeds Bantoebier verpak. Die Raad het egter onmiddellik daarto oorgegaan om die verpakking te verbeter om het spoedig die bier wat tans nog onder die naam "Victor" bemark word, na alle bestaande afsetpunte in sy administrasi gebied versprei.

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Dit het meegebring dat die Raad voertuie moes aanskaf teen 'n koste van nagenoeg R100 000. Tans is 99% van die verkope van die Raad in verpakte vorm.

Apart from the fact that Bantu Beer is a refreshing drink, with a low alcohol content of 2-3% by weight, it is today generally recognised by experts to have a high nutritional value. It is a valuable addition of vitamins B and C to the usual Bantu diet, and is also used by the Bantu as a medicine, especially after an exhausting illness and as a therapeutic measure in respect of some intestinal disorders.

As I have mentioned earlier, the brewing and supply of Bantu beer is a national service rendered by Bantu Administration Boards and because it is a service for the benefit of the

8/.....

Bantu, the profits yielded are of secondary importance.

In terms of my Department's policy, Bantu persons cannot be industrial entrepeneurs in White arreas and it follows that Administration Boards, as guardians of the Bantu in urban areas must therefore be allowed to undertake the manufacture and supply of Bantu beer. It is desirable that Boards should as far as possible manage the Bantu beer industry in White areas on behalf of the Bantu. Local authorities, and now the Bantu Administration Boards, have, at great expense, developed this industry, and if the Bantu beer industry is thrown open to private concerns, these investments may suffer serious setbacks. It is true, of course, that matters have so developed in the past that certain ingredients used in the brewing of Bantu beer like malt, yeast,

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beer powders and liquids are manufactured by the private sector, but that is as far as private enterprise was permitted to go.

Another consideration closely linked with the monopoly of Administration Boards to manufacture and supply Bantu beer, has to do with the utilization of such profits as may be derived from the sale of the beer. As you know, all such profits are used solely for the benefit of the Bantu communities for purposes specifically laid down in the Act and also in accordance with determinations which may be made in this respect in terms of the law.

My Department and myself have in the past been critized for allowing the erection of breweries, described as monuments,

10/.....

in an attempt to buy the goodwill of the Bantu. That of course, is an untruth. This brewery for instance was erect in collaboration with the C.S.I.R. and the Buro of Standards and the emphasis falls heavily on the hygienic aspects which raises the costs of efficient industries considerably. In this context it must again be emphasised that it is the policy of my Department to regard Bantu beer of a high standard as supplementary to the daily diet of the Bantu ant thus the supply of Bantu beer must be regarded as a service to the Bantu.

Through development and progress the manner of brewing and supplying this traditional Bantu beverage - actually I should say food - has changed, but the quality, the ingre-

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dients, the essence thereof has remained unchanged.

As a result of development and advancement, Bantu beer is today manufactured in modern factories and in very large quantities.

The Bantu beer brewery is a food factory where modern techniques in the manufacture, packaging and marketing of the product have been adopted and where machinery, originally designed for use in other nutritional industries was adapted to suit the demands of the Bantu beer industry.

As I have pointed out, this industry has now developed into a highly sophisticated one. Bantu Affairs Administration Boards involved in the Bantu beer industry, should therefore

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give earnest attention to the appointment of personnel in responsible positions in this particular Industry, and only the best available persons with the highest qualifications and experience in this field should be appointed. Educational facilities with bursaries financed by my Department are available. The Bantu Beer Industry, through years of hard work, in co-operation with the C.S.I.R. and S.A.B.S., has attained a very high standard, and Boards must insure that this high standard is maintained.

The basic sciences involved in the brewing of Bantu beer are chemistry and biochemistry, microbiology, physics and engineering. A person in charge of a brewery needs a sound knowledge of the fundamentals of the sciences mentioned. He

13/.....

should also have a sound practical knowledge of hygiene. Many breweries, as surveys by the South African Bureau of Standards have shown, are in this respect in a poor state. Through ignorance they have accepted from manufacturers, equipment of unsuitable design for this particular industry and have permitted their artisans to make alterations which have worsened the position, as it has led to unhygenic conditions because it is imperative to clean equipment regularly in order to comply with standards accepted in all other food industries.

Nog iets van besondere belang is die toestande van verspreidingspunte en Bantoebiersale en dit geld vir alle Rade.

14/.....

Verskeie tegno-ekonomiese ondersoeke deur die W.N.N.R. het dit duidelik aan die lig gebring dat daar steeds 'n verdere groeiende mark vir hierdie baie belangrike kommoditeit in Raadsgebiede bestaan. Onderhoude met die verbruiker het aangetoon dat hulle grootliks tevrede is sover dit die gehalte van die produk betref, maar duidelik ontevrede is met die wyse waarop en plekke waar dit aangebied word. Ondersoeke het bewys dat die biersale dikwels onnet is en grens aan die onhigiëniese. Verder is verkoopslokale ook skraps en nie strategies geleë nie.

Die Bantoe wil sy bier na 'n dag se spannende werk in geselskap van sy vriende in ontspannende omstandighede geniet. In hierdie dae waar ons in 'n toenemende mate met die invloed

van sjebeens t doen kry, met die sosiale euwels wat daar uit voortvloei is dit duidelik dat doadwerklike stappe nou gedoen moet word om hierdie toedrag van sake reg te stel Om hierdie rede is daar derhalwe nou 'n verpligting op die Rade gestel om 'n bedrag van ,5 sent per liter van alle verkope van Bantoebier opsy te sit met die uitsluitlike doel om dit aan te wend ter verbetering en uitbreiding van afsetpunte en biersale.

Dit baat ons tot enemale nie om moderne brouerye soos hierdie, wat aan alle vereiste standaarde voldoen, op te rig nie; en die aansien van die produk gaan verlore deurdat die bemarking daarvan nie met die moderne aanvraag tred hou nie.

Die 22 Bantoesake-administrasierade in die Republiek vorm

16/.....

'n uiters belangrike rol in die uitvoering van die Regeringsbeleid en lewer ook hulle bydrae ter uitvoering van tuislandbeleid. Hierdie Rade is aangewese vir hulle voortbestaan uit eie fondse, waarvan Bantoebier, ten spyte van die klein winsgrens, 'n vernamige bydrae lewer.

Weens die feit dat my Departement die ontwikkeling van die Bantoebierbedryf in hierdie gebied in so 'n ernstige lig beskou het, is 'n volskaalse tegno-ekonomiese ondersoek in die hele Oos-Kaap (wat die Middelland insluit) en Suid-Oos-Vrystaat gelas. Dit is deur die W.N.N.R. onderneem en onderhoude is deur middel van opgeleide onderhoudsvoerders van die Nasionale Instituut vir Personeelnavorsing gevoer met, onder meer die inwoners van die Port Elizabethse en

17/.....

Uitenhagese Bantoewoongebiede. Verder is 'n volledige opname na produksie- en bemarkingsfasiliteite in die hele gebied onderneem.

In April 1972 is verslag gedoen en daar is bevind dat 'n potensiële markvir sowat ± 35 miljoen liter in u gebied bestaan, terwyl die verkope van konvensionele bier en poeierbier op daardie tydstip minder as 6 miljoen liter per jaar was.

'n Streeksbrouery in Port Elizabeth sou 'n mark met 'n vraag vir sowat 36 miljoen liter per jaar kon voorsien. Die afsetstruktuur was egter baie swak ontwikkel en 'n groot verbruikersweerstand teen die produk het op daardie tydstip bestaan en het by die verbruiker 'n baie negatiewe en onge-

18/.....

sonde beeld geskep.

Op daardie tydstip het tuisbrouaktiwiteite en dikwels gevaarlike kookoksies, na raming, in volume reeds twee keer soveel as die omset van die munisipaliteite van Uitenhage en Port Elizabeth, beloop. Die waarde van drankverkope in dié twee munisipaliteite se drankafsetpunte, was tien keer soveel as die van Bantoebierverkope.

Die brouery wat vandag hier staan is grotendeels die gevolg van volgehoue pogings aan die kant van die Raad om 'n beter produk aan die inwoners beskikbaar te stel en om die gewel-dige omvang van tuisbrou onder onhigiëniese omstandighede en ongesonde kookoksies te bekamp. Verder kan dié produk ook

19/.....

'n bydrae lewer tot die oplos van talle sosio-ekonomiese probleme wat by die bevolking ontstaan as gevolg van die oormatige gebruik van sterk drank. Na raming is die verkope per kapita van hierdie drank deur hierdie Raad alléen, tans meer as R2 miljoen per maand vir die swartelike inwoners van Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstad en Cradock.

Ten einde die beskikbare tegnologie te benut en om in die toekoms steeds in staat te wees om beter produkte te kan ontwikkel, was die W.N.N.R. se Sorghumbiereenheid die ontwerpingenieurs deurentyd behulpsaam. Die bron van wetenskaplike kennis wat deur die jare opgebou is, word op dié wyse ter beskikking van die nywerheid gestel.

20/.....

Nadat die Kaap Middellandse Bantoesake-administrasieraad op 1 Julie 1973 bo heer oorgeneem het en goedkeuring verkry is, het die Raad oorgegaan tot die oprigting van dié streeksbrouery teen 'n totale koste van R401 000.

Ooreenkomstig voorskrifte word tenders nou op hierdie stadium deur die Kaap-Middellandse Bantoesake-administrasieraad aangevra, ten opsigte van die voorsiening van die brouery toerusting en die installering daarvan. Alle tenders wat ontvang is, is deeglik deur die Raad in oorweging geneem. Nadat alle feite in oorweging geneem is, is besluit om die tender aan die firma Almaks Engineering (Edms.) Beperk teen 'n bedrag van R 38 000 toe te ken.

Soos uself kan waarneem, Meneer die seremoniemeester, dames

en here, gaan dit hier nie net om die oprigting van 'n brouery nie. Deeglike beplanning moes vooraf onderneem word. Die perseel moes aangekoop word, 'n spoorwegsylyn moes aangebring word om nie eens die uitleg van paaie te noem nie. As 'n mens iets deegliks wil beplan en oprig soos in hierdie geval, moet jy bereid wees om jou hand diep in jou sak te steek. U is bewus daarvan dat toerusting soos stoomketels vandag geweldig duur is. Dit alles het meegebring dat hierdie moderne brouery wat dag hier geopen word, opgerig is teen 'n koste wat ongeveer R1,3 miljoen beloop.

Hierdie brouery beskik tans oor die modernste toerusting wat beskikbaar is en dit sal 33 miljoen liter per jaar kan produseer. Indien later nodig, sal die kapasiteit verdubbel

22/.....

kan word met die toevoeging van bykomstige toerusting teen taamlik beperkte koste.

Die huidige verkope van bier beloop tans ongeveer 12 miljoen liter per jaar en die Raad hoop om gedurende die huidige boekjaar reeds 16 miljoen liter te bemark. Daarvoor sal nodig wees die verbetering van bestaande afsetpunte en oprigting van nuwe afsetpunte in Bantoewoongebiede waar daar tans nog nie Bantoebier bemark word nie.

Die ontginning van 'n onberutte mark is nou in die hande van die Kaap-Middellandse Bantoesake-administrasieraad, want die produk om dit mee te doen, kan nou vervaardig word. Inisiatief, 'n uiterste poging om die verbruiker te bereik

23/.....

en die opbou van 'n goeie beeld moet bei tot die ontwikkeling van 'n suksesvolle bedryf. In hierdie opsig moet ek die Raad gelukwens dat in sy hoofkantoor 'n onderafdeling geskep is, wat dan ook belas is met navorsing ten opsigte van bemarking en reklame vir die Raad se totale handelsopset, maar met die spesifieke opdrag om die verkoop van Bantoebier te bevorder ten einde die volle kapasiteit van hierdie brouery te benut.

Dit is my begeerte dat die gehalte bier wat hier gebrou sal word van die beste sal wees en dat die Bantoepubliek dit smaaklik, sowel as gesond sal bevind. Ek wens die Bantoe toe dat die mooi sosiale beginsels en gebruike ten opsigte van Bantoebier wat aan die tradisies van die Bantoe eie is

24/.....

in die biersale van die Bantoewoongebiede van hierdie Bantoesake-administrasieraad, tot hul reg sal kom.

It gives me pleasure to officiate here today at the opening of this moderne and well equipped brewery. The people residing in the Boards area can be proud of these facilities and I firmly believe that young and old are going to benefit by the product of this brewery, directly or indirectly. I hope that this brewery in its own way will contribute, in years to come, to the building up of a happy and contented community.

I now have the privilege of declaring this brewery open.

Dit is vir my nou aangenaam om hierdie brouery as geopen te verklaar.

Since neoclassical theory has pervaded many areas of both theoretical and econometric work in economics, it is to be expected that the results of the rewitching debate will prove to have important implications in many fields other than pure capital theory. I hope that this expository note will stimulate others to examine whether this is so in their own particular field(s) of specialisation.

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Bantu Affairs Administration Boards: Funds

Hans. 6 2/3/76 col 443

48. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) From what sources are the funds of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards derived and (b) what amount was derived from each of these sources by each board in the financial year 1974-'75.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) The main sources are: fees prescribed in terms of the Contributions in respect of Bantu Labour Act, No. 29 of 1972; sale of liquor; sale of Bantu beer; rental and service charges.

(b) In view of the fact that 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards each with sub-offices, have to be dealt with, I do not consider the volume of work to assemble the required information, as warranted.

Subsidise Black rail fares

Star 4/3/76

THE sharp increase in railways, harbours and airways tariffs is as unfortunate as it was unavoidable. And there is absolutely no point in slamming the SAR for doing the unavoidable. However, two points need to be made:

● The SAR has done well to retain third-class suburban fares at their current levels and to hold the third-class mainline increase to a negligible 0,6 percent. But it has been forced by the Government's withdrawal of its subsidy on rail fares to the so-called "resettlement areas" to increase these fares considerably (varying from 0,8 percent to 49,2 percent, average 10 percent). This Government decision is a scandalous one and it should be reviewed immediately—after all, it is the Government which forced the Blacks to the "resettlement areas."

● The Price Controller will have to be much tougher than he has been in the past to prevent unscrupulous businessmen and manufacturers from using the SAR increases for unjustified price hikes.

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CAPE TIMES 5/3/76

Suzman attacks Black curfew

Political Staff

THE Progressive Reform Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, yesterday attacked the Government for the "medieval" curfew regulations which caused "the cluttering up of our jails".

She was commenting on the reply by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to a question she had tabled in which the Minister revealed that 64 732 people had been sent for trial for contravening the curfew regulations between July 1, 1974, and June 30, 1975.

Curfews are applied to Africans in seven South African cities and a number of towns.

Mrs Suzman said in an interview yesterday that curfew regulations were "a humiliation" and, as they applied only to Africans, they were "blatantly discriminatory".

In any event, most of the "so-called passes" were "scribbled out by the 12-year-old son if the people are in domestic service and an awful lot scribble them out for themselves".

The curfew regulations were "a medieval concept and should be abolished forthwith. They serve no useful purpose.

"Criminals always have their passes in order. It is usually the decent law-abiding citizen who is caught, tried and sent to jail," she said.

Mrs Suzman called for the immediate ending of the curfew regulations.

"A blow would be struck for human relations in South Africa if they were abolished."

(1) ~~167~~

(2) 319

Mixed liquor parties will be legal

NM 9/3/76

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA—Whites and Blacks will be allowed to drink liquor together—as long as it is not in a public place, according to the draft Liquor Amendment Bill published in Cape Town yesterday.

The provisions of the draft Bill were explained at a Press conference here yesterday.

More drinking freedom at sports meetings are also possible under the wide changes proposed.

Now sports grounds without liquor licences may apply to the Minister to allow spectators to bring their own liquor to specified events.

The lifting of the prohibition on White people serving alcohol in their homes to Black guests is one of 154 clauses in the draft Act.

Other proposed changes are:

Liquor licences will no longer have to be renewed each year, and liquor licensing boards will be abolished. New applications will be lodged through magistrates, and applicants will be able to put their case before the National Liquor Board. Licences will stand indefinitely.

The national board will be empowered to suspend or cancel licences.

Appeals against suspension or cancellation can be made to the Minister. Other appeals will go before the Supreme Court.

Bill to allow 'mixed' drinking

CAPE TIMES 9/3/76

(1) ~~167~~
(2) ~~268~~
(3) 319

Staff Reporter

WHITE HOSTS may serve liquor to Black guests in their own homes without obtaining prior permission once the Liquor Amendment Bill, a draft of which was published in the Government Gazette yesterday, is passed by Parliament.

The draft legislation lifts the prohibition on a White host serving liquor to a Black guest in the privacy of his own home.

The draft legislation, which is clearly aimed at introducing a further relaxation of limits on social contact across the colour line, is also aimed at streamlining licensing procedures.

The draft legislation does not, however, mean that Blacks can be legally served with liquor in licensed premises which the Government has not intended for their use.

The 154-clause draft Bill makes provision for sports grounds without liquor licences to apply to the Minister of Justice for permission for spectators to bring their own liquor for specified events.

It proposes the abolition of the country's 54 local liquor licensing boards and that application for licences should go direct to the National Liquor Licensing Board.

6

Black housing green light

Star 11/3/76

319

John Patten, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Urban Blacks may apply immediately for participation in the Government's 30-year lease housing plan — even though there are legal snags concerning homeland citizenship requirements.

The green light for applications for the long-awaited scheme has been signalled by the Deputy-Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr Treurnicht, in reply to questions put to him by The Star.

Dr Treurnicht was asked whether the need for amended homeland citizenship legislation was holding up implementation of the scheme, which was mooted in January last year at summit talks between the homeland leaders and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

DECISION

Later it was announced as a Government decision by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha.

The Deputy-Minister replied that the scheme had already been introduced — subject to regulations for Black urban residential areas.

Of the scheme's major difficulties was the requirement that homeland citizenship certificates must be presented by applicants, Dr Treurnicht said.

Suitable arrangements have been made to enable applicants to provisionally take advantage of the scheme.

CONDITIONS

Besides the homeland citizenship certificates and the existing regulations, conditions for the 30-year lease scheme include requirements that Black applicants must be in registered employment or conducting a lawful profession or activity in the prescribed area.

Dr Treurnicht said the summit meeting with Mr Vorster in January last year agreed that homeland and government officials would investigate all questions of hardship and try to work out a better system than existing Influx Control measures.

"Until these deliberations have been finalised, law amendments cannot be considered."

Dr Treurnicht has been handling urban Black matters during the illness of the Deputy-Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr Cruywagen.

Call for housing freedom

Pretoria Bureau

Blacks must be allowed to buy and own houses in White urban areas, says an editorial in Volkshandel, the official journal of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

According to the editorial, South Africa's urbanised Black labour force was identifying more readily with the free capitalist system than any other group in Africa. It also enjoyed the highest standard of living in Black Africa and was developing fastest.

"This growing Black middle class should be allowed to purchase, own, be proud of and fight for its own homes," says the journal.

The Handelsinstituut appeal is part of a broader plea for "fair dispensation aimed at multi-national race harmony."

Headlined "1976: South Africa's year of decision," the editorial argues that "all civilised people, regardless of skin colour, are entitled to equal rights" (gelykberegting).

FAIR DEAL

South Africa stood alone, it continues, but could work out its own destiny and stand up to its foes by determinedly pursuing a fair deal for all, promoting good relations and "giving everyone something for which to fight."

This did not necessarily imply one group giving way to another.

Volkshandel calls for separate "fatherlands" for Coloureds and Indians, with the right to self determination and integrated into a larger common market.

plan gets

F.M. 12/3/76

BUS FARES

Don't blame Putco

Putco is in a corner. On the one hand it urgently needs fare hikes to restore sagging profitability. On the other it faces unyielding resistance from African commuters whose outlays on transport make up a hefty portion of their weekly budgets. For them fare hikes are a red-hot issue.

Squeezed by soaring costs, Putco reckons it needs to raise revenues by around 20%. Last October's fuel price increase, for instance, will add R1,4m to its annual petrol and oil bill, while devaluation will put up the price of spares and

A red-hot issue

tyres by a similar amount. Pre-tax profits slumped from R1,9m in the half-year to December 1974 to R824 000 in the 1975 half-year.

Putco is asking government to increase its handout from the Bantu Services Levy Fund by about 10%, which means an average 10% fare increase for all passengers using Putco buses in the Natal and Transvaal (other than Springs). Some routes will go up more than others. For instance, there will be no season ticket increase on Johannesburg's busy Alexandra Noord Street run, while passengers travelling between Alexandra and Kensington will have to fork out an extra 25%. In general, casual passengers will find their fares up more than regular travellers.

Chances are that Putco will get both the fares and subsidy increases it seeks. All local road transportation boards, except Durban's, have already sent recommendations to the National Transport Commission which meets soon to take a final decision.

Both Putco and Pretoria are reluctant to disclose the total subsidy being sought but, as one source put it: "The R2,2m paid out in 1973-1974 is small in relation to what the subsidy is now."

Putco also admits that the proportion of subsidy to fare revenue has been going up. For instance, if the new proposals get the NTC's nod, costs on the Alex Noord Street route will be covered half by subsidy and half by fares.

Main source of subsidies is the Bantu Service Levy Fund into which employers pay a monthly maximum of R1/worker for transport services. The present levy in Johannesburg is 50c, though most Reef employers pay R1. If the NTC is prepared to hike Putco's subsidy, employer contributions may also have to go up.

Small sums are also paid from the Consolidated Revenue Fund on some Reef routes where long distances make employer levies inadequate.

No subsidies are paid on the troubled Springs routes where Putco has taken over a service previously subsidised by the Municipality. Putco tells the *FM* it is currently losing R6 000/day on these routes but Springs employers are reluctant to pay transport levies. The company isn't saying how or when it hopes to resolve the present boycott.

Regular subsidy hikes are certainly not the long-term answer to either Putco's financial problems or Africans' grievances. Not only do they breed inefficiency in operating companies, they give passengers the false impression of an inexhaustible fund from which all the operators' cost increases can be paid. They are merely the symptoms of two diseases — low Black wages and enforced settlement, long distances from major work centres, which add to the resentment.

~~(1) 313~~

(2) 319

SYRUS [*sufficiently sobered to act promptly, pushes him in again*]: Shut up!

DEMEA: What's he saying about Ctesipho?

SYRUS: Nothing.

DEMEA: You brute, is Ctesipho in there?

SYRUS: No, he isn't.

DEMEA: Then why did I hear his name?

SYRUS: It's someone else, a pretty little boy who hangs around here. [*Nudging him*] Know him?

DEMEA [*grimly, as he strides towards the door*]: I shall soon find out.

SYRUS [*catching at him*]: What's this? where are you going?

DEMEA: Let me go!

SYRUS: You're not going in there!

DEMEA: Keep your hands off me, you swine, unless you want me to knock your brains out! [*He dashes into* MICIO'S *house.*]

SYRUS: He's gone . . . and a damned unwelcome visitor he'll be, especially to Ctesipho. Now what shall *I* do? Best wait for all this to-do to settle down and find a quiet corner to sleep off this drop I've taken. That's the idea. [*He staggers off right. Soon afterwards* MICIO *comes out of* SOSTRATA'S *house.*]

MICIO: Everything's ready on our side, as I said, Sostrata. When you want. . . . What on earth is that banging on my door?

[DEMEA *bursts out.*]

DEMEA: Good God, what can I do? How can I deal with this? Shame and sorrow, what can I say? Heaven and earth, great Neptune's ocean!

MICIO: Just look at that; no wonder he's shouting, he's found it all out. We're done for, the battle's on, and I'll have to see what I can do.

DEMEA: Here he comes! You corrupter of both our sons!

MICIO: Kindly control your temper. Calm yourself, Demea.

DEMEA: I *am* controlled, I *am* calm. I won't say another word. Let's face facts. Wasn't it agreed between us (and it was your suggestion, Micio) that you'd not worry about my boy and I'd not worry about yours? Answer me that.

MICIO: It was, I don't deny it.

DEMEA: Then why is my boy drinking in your house? Why keep him there? Why buy him a mistress? Haven't I a right to expect fair play, Micio? What do you want from me? I'm not worrying about your boy, so you leave mine alone.

MICIO: Now you're not being fair –

DEMEA: What!

MICIO: There's an old proverb that friends have everything in common.

DEMEA: Witty, aren't you. Isn't it rather late in the day for that sort of talk?

MICIO: Just listen to me a minute, Demea, if you've no objection. First of all, if it's the money the boys spend which is worrying you, please try to look at it this way. At one time you were bringing up both your sons according to your means, because you thought you would have enough for two, and I suppose at the time you expected me to marry. Very well, keep to your original plan; hoard, scrape, and save to have as much as possible to leave them. You can see merit in that: all right. My money is something they didn't expect, so let them enjoy it. Your capital won't be touched, and anything I add can be counted as something extra. If only you would be willing to see this in a true light, Demea, you'd save yourself and me and the boys a great deal of trouble.

DEMEA: I'm not talking about money. It's their morals, both of them –

SYRUS [*sufficiently sobered to act promptly, pushes him in again*]: Shut up!

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DEMEA: I'm not talking about money. It's their morals, both of them –

Farmers in row over fees

25/3/76

Agricultural Correspondent

EAST Griqualand farmers clashed with the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. F. Hartenberg, in Kokstad yesterday over the registration of farm labour in the area.

Mr. P. Miller, secretary of the East Griqualand Regional Development Association, said yesterday that local farmers had expressed "extreme dissatisfaction" with the workings of the Bantu Administration Boards and were unhappy about the fees they had to pay for the registration of labour.

Mr. Miller said that farmers "get nothing for their money" because the Boards were unable to control the labour recruited by them. Mr. Miller said that labourers ran away from farms and other places of work and where towns and farms were near to homelands, the position was even more difficult. He said that the Bantu Administration Boards could offer no help.

Replying to farmers' accusations, the Deputy Minister agreed that there were inefficiencies in the registration system but he said that this was caused because farmers and the public did not co-operate with the Government in labour matters.

Another meeting between farmers and Bantu Administration Board officials is planned in Matatiele today.

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New bus fare system wanted

Cape Times 30/3/76

A THREE-CORNERED dispute on bus fare increases in the Peninsula gathered momentum last night when the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers' and Residents' Association said in a statement that the present system of fares fixing and increases was "unsatisfactory" and should be corrected in the Road Transportation Bill.

The dispute arose after the local Road Transportation Board granted an application by City Tramways Limited for an increase and variation of the existing bus fares in the Peninsula. The board announced on December 4 last year that the application had been granted.

But the association said the application was not published and no notice had been given to the public. It noted an appeal to the National Transport Commission against the decision, basing its arguments on nine points.

Last month, said the association's statement, the commission upheld a submission from City Tramways Limited that the association had no legal standing and refused to hear the appeal on its merits.

DISAGREES

The statement added: "The association respectfully disagrees with the decision of the commission, but as it does not command the necessary funds, cannot take the matter on review to the Supreme Court."

The association has submitted a memorandum to the Commission of Inquiry appointed recently to consider and report on the Road Transportation Bill. The memorandum, tabled at a meeting of the association last night, sets out its proposals for amendments of the bill.

Among the recommendations in the memorandum is the scrapping of a section requiring someone who lodges an appeal to deposit with the commission a sum not exceeding R500. The association felt that the deposits were obviously intended to inhibit free access to tribunals.

Another recommendation was that the commission or board, before granting new permits or renewing existing ones, should publish full particulars in the Govern- [illegible] local

Nat concern over growth of Black populations in cities

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE Government will persist with the implementation of its separate development and related apartheid policies regardless of criticism from the Opposition parties or anybody else, National Party speakers told the Assembly yesterday.

Some Nationalist speakers expressed concern about the rapid growth of Black urban populations in South African cities and suggested that drastic action might be needed to ensure that the separate development ideal was carried out fully.

WHITE MAN

Reacting to Opposition criticism during the budget debate, Mr W. J. C. Rossouw (Nat, Stilfontein) said there was a 'psychosis' about discrimination in South Africa. 'Discrimination' was a word that was used excessively.

Mr Rossouw said he wanted to put in a word for the White man of Southern Africa. In no country in the world had so much been done for

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

under-privileged people as the White man in South Africa had done for its non-White people.

Black people were hankering after the bright lights of cities such as Johannesburg. They could sell their labour there, but would not be given civic rights — 'not as long as I live.' They should rather build their own cities in their homelands, where they could enjoy full rights.

WESTERN CAPE

Referring to Black people in the Western Cape, Mr Rossouw said he would rather have the economy harmed than his identity. He asked whether the time had not come for the people in Black townships of the Western Cape to be removed to their homelands.

Mr M. S. F. Grobler (Nat, Marico) said that more than ever the National Party's task was to prove to the world that separate development was succeeding. Such proof was already being provided by the fact that South Africa was leading its Black peoples to independence.

But there was a 'growing shadow' of millions of Blacks in White urban areas. This was a problem that should be lifted out of the political arena.

GROWING SHADOW

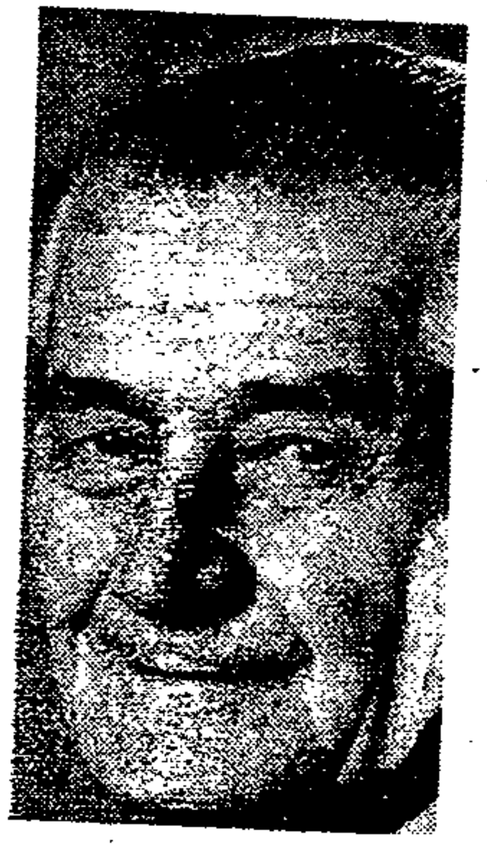
Mr Grobler said the presence of so many Blacks in White South Africa was creating an imbalance of population numbers. No country should have more people of other cultures and nationalities than its own population. Such a situation could only lead to tension,

There were White areas where the number of Black people exceeded the number of Whites by more than 50 percent.

DRASTICALLY

An even greater imbalance of numbers would develop in White South Africa if this trend was not drastically curbed.

Mr F. W. de Klerk (Nat, Vereeniging) said it would be looking for trouble to relinquish one's power so as to make it impossible to regain one's right to self-determination. This was what the Progressive Reform Party wanted White South Africans to do. That party was playing 'a dangerous game,' he said.



MR M. S. F. Grobler ... an imbalance of population numbers.

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(3) ~~239~~

'Stateless' Xhosas in the cities?

RDM 24/4/76.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

UMTATA. — Publication of the draft Transkei Independence Constitution yesterday focuses attention on a crucial issue of South African politics — the position of urban Africans.

The constitution seems to explicitly confer Transkei citizenship on all urban Africans of Transkeian origin — except for those of mixed tribal origin, whom the Transkei may be able to reject as not eligible for Transkei citizenship.

Contrary to the wording of the constitution, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima insisted yesterday that Africans of Transkeian origin living permanently in South African cities would be given a choice of whether to become Transkei citizens or not.

Either way the dilemma posed by urban Africans is highlighted. If — as would seem to be the case — they are deemed to be Transkei citizens, they will be denied political rights in South Africa as "foreign citizens".

If — as seems less likely — they are given the choice, those who decide against Transkeian citizenship will be left in a limbo. These people, Chief Matanzima said, would be the "indaba" of South Africa.

But both the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and his "ambassador" in Umtata, Mr Danie Potgieter, have made it clear they will not be given South African citizenship — which means they will be stateless.

Mr Vorster has said that as far as the South African Government is concerned, all Africans in South Africa are citizens of one or other homeland.

But will urban Transkeians, like their fellow Blacks in urban areas, be content to be either involuntary citizens of a homeland, or stateless people?

As homeland citizens, they are expected to exercise political rights in a homeland far away from their place of work and recreation.

As stateless people, they are presumably expected to exorcise their political aspirations.

Having decided against homeland citizenship, they are presumed to have accepted the consequences and forego their political rights.

But they will not fall into line as meekly as that. They do have political asiprations.

Dr Erich Leistner, deputy director of the semi-official Africa Institute, recognised this when he warned on the eve of publication of the Transkei Constitution that the Witwatersrand would become a contested area between Whites and Blacks and that the homeland policy would not end the race problem in South Africa.

Publication of the constitution is a watershed in the policy on which so many hopes have been invested as the "solution" to the race problem.

319

F.M. 23/4/76

That the *FM* boobed last week by misreading the Department of Statistics' report on *Anticipated Capital Expenditure of the Public Sector, 1976 to 1977?*

We said that the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards had spent R18,9m on White and R9,4m on Black residential buildings in 1975-76. These figures should have read R18 000 and R18,9m respectively.

?

I N D E X

(1) ~~Inter-group Relations~~
(2) ~~101~~
(3) ~~334~~
(4) 319

'End in sight for White domination'

23/4/76 RDM

By PATRICK LAURENCE

UMTATA. — Within a decade White political supremacy in South Africa would be challenged everywhere, except perhaps south of Bloemfontein, Dr Erich Leistner, deputy director of the Africa Institute said last night.

The key Pretoria-Witwatersrand - Vereeniging (PWV) complex would be a contested area within which there would have to be political accommodation between White and Black, he said.

In a hard-hitting speech to the Foreign Affairs Conference, Dr Leistner challenged many of the assumptions of separate development, among them the belief that the homelands policy would solve the race relations problem.

"It is short-sighted if many White South Africans still believe the political and economic problems of Black-White relations will be solved once all, or most, of the homelands have become independent and duly consolidated — perhaps even well beyond their present size.

"Even before Russia's fateful entry into Southern Africa through Angola, there was hardly a Black leader who had not made it clear he considers Black majority rule over the whole of South Africa as the only just and acceptable goal.

"It seems a delusion to think Blacks will be long content with a situation where Whites exercise sole control over the economic heartland of South Africa, the PWV complex — on which the wealth or woe of South Africa depends to a smaller or larger degree."

He rejected the view that homeland leaders, or those of neighbouring Black states, would remain grateful and/or docile.

"Having regard to the greater self confidence engendered among Blacks by their territorial and power gains, it must be expected that sooner or later the constitutional position of South Africa's economic heartland will become a bone of contention."

Apart from the PWV complex, there were three further key industrial areas, all potential contested areas — Durban-Pinetown, Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage and the Cape Peninsula.

Built by White Entrepreneurship and Black labour, these vital metropolitan areas comprised only two per cent of the land but produced more than 60 per cent of the gross national product and housed more than 30 per cent of the population.

Dr Leistner had earlier warned that the wage gap between White and Black was likely to widen in the coming years and that "rampant nationalism" could make it an explosive issue.

Whatever accommodation emerged, it would be the result of interaction between the two peoples. The age of "unilateral decisions" by Whites was drawing to a close.

(1) 28
(2) 319

'Free enterprise' and the law

STAR 26/4/72

Restrictive legislation, according to Black businessmen, makes it impossible for them to enjoy the fruits of free enterprise. Restrictions on business activity such as one which stipulates that: No building may be allocated for business purposes:

- To Bantu who under (the influx control Act) do not qualify to be the prescribed area, unless authorised thereto by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner.
- Unless the business enterprise is established and operated to supply the daily essential domestic requirements of Bantu.
- To companies, partnerships, financial institutions, wholesalers or industrial enterprises, even though Bantu have the controlling share in them.
- To Bantu operating more than one business enterprise in Bantu townships, irrespective of whether they are different types of enterprises.
- To Bantu with enterprises or business interests outside Bantu townships.

(1) Education - Secondary
(2) 319

Clamp on black schools causing hardship — MP

30/4/76 DD

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The policy of not building any more high schools for blacks in urban areas was causing frustration and hardship, Mr N. Olivier (UP, Edenvale) said in the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the committee stage of the Bantu Education vote, Mr Olivier, the chief Opposition spokesman on the subject, said the need for children to attend far-off schools was causing the break-up of families at a crucial time in children's lives and was placing an almost ruinous financial burden on parents.

Other aspects causing concern were the double-shift system which obviated proper education, lack of classrooms, poor conditions, lack of proper apparatus and the poor condition of that which did exist, teachers who were poorly equipped to fulfil their tasks, and a lack of discipline.

It was National Party policy to spend as much money per capita on black education as on white education, but it would be impossible to reach this par situation in the short-term, Mr P. Cronje (NP Port Natal) said.

It would cost about R2 000 million a year if the par position was to be reached at present.

The National Party also wanted maximum educational benefits for all races because it was the party's policy to grant equal facilities and opportunities for all races as part of its policy of separate development.

"The United Party wants the government to use impossible methods while the National Party is firmly committed to achieving better education for the Bantu people by enabling them to improve their economic circumstances," he said.

Mr L. F. Wood (UP Berea) said since the establishment of training facilities for black pharmacists at Turfloop, 24 pharmacists had graduated and none of these had entered government service.

In recent advertisements which had appeared side by side in the South African Association of Pharmacists' bulletin, black pharmacists had been offered less than half the salary offered to white pharmacists, but both advertisements had mentioned the same qualifications for applicants.

Black pharmacists were therefore offering their services in other African countries instead of being employed in their own country.

Mr D. de Villiers (NP, Johannesburg West) said projections which had been made for black education up to 1990 compared favourably with the situation in many European countries.

By 1990, some 30 per cent of blacks in South Africa would be at school.

In 1974 there had been 3,5 million blacks at school and this would increase to 8,2 million by 1990, Mr De Villiers said.

The future projection for university education for black students was equally exciting, with the total increasing from 1 660 in 1960 to 7 800 in 1974 and 43 100 by 1990.

"By 1990 there will be enough Bantu students at university to fill three times the facilities available at the University of Pretoria or Stellenbosch," Mr De Villiers said.

It was not enough, however, to make projections only for the number of people who would be educated; a great deal of attention would have to be given to employment opportunities for these people.

Mr De Villiers said there was a danger of a brain drain away from the homelands towards the white cities and part of the strategy of advance planning would have to cope with this potential problem. — SAPA.

Cape Times 4/5/76

Govt 'must subsidize fares'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — It was completely unreasonable to expect Blacks to have to pay for Nationalist ideology, and the Government should realize that, if necessary, it must be prepared to subsidize fares for economically depressed communities, Mr R J Lorimer (PRP Orange Grove), said in the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking on the transport vote in committee on the Appropriation Bill, Mr Lorimer said it was a simple fact that the Government's policy of separate development meant that thousands of Black people had to live considerable distances from their place of work.

It was also a fact that the cost of transport to and from the so-called "White cities" placed an intolerable burden on people whose incomes were on, or were very close to the poverty datum line.

He belived that the lessons learned during the Springs bus boycott should be taken to heart. The handling by the department of the Kwa-Thema boycott was also entirely unsatisfactory.

"Twenty-five thousand Africans felt so strongly about the fare increases that they were prepared to walk up to 20 km a day for eight weeks, rather than give in."

He believed that increases in bus fares were a matter of such extreme sensitivity that the Government, through the Department of Transport, should be very careful how it handled the applications for fare increases. It should also do everything in its power to resolve any dispute as amicably as possible. — Sapa

(1) 84
(2) 319

Plea for Coloured bus company

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The United Party MP for Simonstown, Mr John Wiley, yesterday appealed for Government intervention to allow a Coloured bus company to provide a transportation service to Mitchell's Plain.

Speaking in the debate on the Transport Vote, Mr Wiley said the local transportation board had apparently erred in granting a subsidiary of Tollgate Holdings the only concession to operate the service.

He pointed out that the other applicant for the concession consisted wholly of Coloured shareholders, directors and capital.

"If there is room for two bus services in that area, I would suggest that consideration be given to the applicant who has been awarded that concession and also to a bus company which could be run by Coloured peole for Coloured people," Mr Wiley said.

"At least on the basis of equity and justice, I believe that the Minister should look into the matter to see whether it is not possible to give the Coloured people a bus company of their own and to provide that very necessary service to Coloured people at Mitchell's Plain."

(1) 319
(2) 101

RAND DAILY MAIL, Tuesday, May 11, 1976.

Govt clamp on Black traders

Staff Reporter

THE Government has fired another salvo in its campaign to persuade urban Africans to take out homeland citizenship.

Earlier this year, would-be Black homeowners were offered the chance of owning houses in the townships — providing they took out homeland citizenship.

Yesterday it was announced that homeowners wishing to make additions will get the aid of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board at cost price. But the citizenship clause still applies.

But now, Black traders, business and professional men and women will not be able to operate in the urban areas unless they too, take out homeland citizenship.

This was announced in the Government Gazette by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr W. A. Cruywagen, when he amended regulations governing the control and supervision of an urban "Bantu" Residential Areas Act.

According to the Gazette's definition, trader includes medical practitioners and lawyers.

The notice also laid down that a would-be home buyer or builder would have to provide "evidence that he lawfully works or practises his profession within the urban area or prescribed area."

Further conditions for the allotment of business or professional sites are:

- The trader must not carry on more than one business "whether or not of the same type".
- No site allotment shall be given to any trader "who has trading or business interests outside the Bantu residential area" or who employs "any non-Bantu on any allotted site".
- No person shall, without the prior approval of the superintendent of the township, solicit orders within the particular residential area for any trade, business, or profession not conducted in the area.

The new regulations come into effect after December 31 this year.

Soweto business and professional leaders have reacted with shock and dismay to the new regulations.

~~(1) 28~~
~~(2) 101~~
(3) 319

The Star Tuesday Ma

Citizenship law angers Soweto traders

11/5/76

Soweto traders and doctors have attacked the Government's new move to force them to take out homeland citizenship before they can work in urban areas.

This follows the announcement in the latest Government Gazette that all traders and professional people in urban townships will have to be in possession of a homeland citizenship certificate before they can be allotted a site to trade or practise.

Today, Mr Manie Mulder, chairman of the West Rand Administration Board, confirmed that this was part of the "new deal" for Black traders which was first mentioned by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Cruywagen, last September.

Besides the citizenship issue, Black traders would get many new benefits he said.

The benefits will include the formation of partnerships and traders being allowed to sell more items than before. They will also be able to build bigger premises.

"IMPROVEMENT"

Mr Mulder said, however, that businessmen wishing to enjoy these privileges should apply for homeland citizenship certificates.

There was nothing sinister in getting a homeland citizenship certificate. "It

F.M. 14/5/76

From BAD to worse

Even by the standards of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD), last Friday's ruling on African township trading is a major breach of faith.

African businessmen in townships in the common area are so manacled by legal restrictions that they are unable to expand beyond small-scale one-man one shop type operations. This has been a continuing cause of frustration.

It has also led to prices in the townships being higher than they need be, since traders are not allowed to expand their cafes-on-the-corner into large supermarkets and thus pass on to consumers the advantages of economies of scale.

Objections to the restrictions were voiced two years ago in a memorandum which the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) submitted to BAD Minister M C Botha.

Objections were also raised by the Bantustan leaders at their summit meetings with the Prime Minister in March 1974 and January last year. Hopes that the manacles would be loosened were raised when, at last year's meeting, John Vorster expressed "sympathy" and promised that the restrictive regulations would be "reconsidered".

Vorster's sympathy has amounted to little more than crocodile tears. The regulations have indeed been reconsidered. Nafcoc and the Bantustan leaders have got a lot more than they bargained for.

The new regulations gazetted by Deputy BAD Minister Willem Cruywagen do remove a few of the shackles for example, traders will now be permitted to form partnerships, prohibited up to now.

But, as it did when it tied 30-year home leasehold for Africans to Bantustan citizenship, government is once again taking away with one hand what it purports to give with the other. For, as the *FM* predicted last year (December 19), the new regulations will in effect force traders to take out Bantustan citizenship if they want to continue their operations. Their partners must also become Bantustanians and, if a company is formed, each and every shareholder must also become a Bantustan citizen.

So it is a case of new manacles for old. How on earth can any businessman have any feeling of security if he is forced to sign away his birthright and become a foreigner?

The citizenship requirement also applies to professional people like doctors and lawyers.

Cruywagen . . . one manacle off, another on

319

Whites told to share

18/5/76

STAR.

White businessmen were warned today that they would have to share their expertise and their markets with their Black counterparts to prevent the rise of socialism in South Africa.

Professor G Marais head of the Unisa School of Business Leadership, said in Pretoria at the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut that the most important way to support the Black businessman was to increase the buying power of Blacks in general.

"We cannot permit our Black urban areas to become ghettos or allow the homelands to deteriorate economically," said Professor Marais.

The White businessman could choose between paying more and more tax, which could sink into the "bottomless pit" of homeland development, or helping to promote Black businessmen and in the process developing a healthy economy for Black people.

One way of bringing this about, he suggested, would be to permit Whites to start supermarkets in Black urban areas in 50-50 partnership with Blacks.

Three conditions should be laid down he said:

- A deadline should be set for at least 90 percent of the staff to be Black.
- For each supermarket started in an urban area, another should be established in a homeland, with 70 percent Black capital.
- A certain percentage of the stores' goods should be bought from industries in the homelands and border areas.

GO-BETWEEN

Professor Marais said tax concessions should be given to Whites investing in Black enterprises in proportion to the size of their investment.

He called on Afrikaans businessmen to work more closely with the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, and suggested that NEFCOC be subsidised as a go-between to acquire capital and credit for Black enterprises.

Black ownership of homes and buildings in urban areas, and of buildings and agricultural land in the homelands should be encouraged, he said.

(1) 28

(2) 319

Trading clamps: protest to State

19/5/76

STAR

Leading White, Black and Coloured businessmen plan to make a direct protest to the Government following regulations gazetted on May 7 which impose fresh restrictions on Black businessmen.

At the same time they have demanded the speeding up of internal and external detente, which they now see as "the imperative political and economic key" to the successful solution of South Africa's problems.

An official statement from Assocom, issued at the end of a two day national executive seminar said: "There is a clear interdependence between external and internal detente, and the success of the one is contingent on the success of the other. The chances of social disruption and the loss of confidence which it would entail are greater if expectations — such as those in the spheres of jobs and earnings — are severely disappointed. Peaceful evolution in Southern Africa is inextricably linked to sustained economic performance and business confidence. Confidence is a fragile state of mind — balancing fears against hopes in the assessment of the future."

"DISMAYED"

Leading figures in Assocom told me they are "dismayed" and "appalled" by the May 7 regulations.

Among other things they stipulate that:

- Black traders, business and professional men will not be able to operate in the urban areas unless they first take out homeland citizenship.
- Traders will have to be medically examined and the citizenship and

Homelands: Botha warns Blacks

Political Staff

THE SENATE — Africans who accept the citizenship of their particular homelands would enjoy more privileges in the White areas of South Africa than those who rejected it, says the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha.

Speaking on his vote Mr Botha said assured urban Blacks and Blacks living within either "White areas" in South Africa, that they would not be "endorsed out" if they accepted citizenship.

But, he warned, those who did not accept citizenship had better "watch out."

They could be endorsed out of White South Africa to the homelands. Blacks living within White areas could enjoy many benefits and would be in a privileged position if they accepted their affiliation with a homeland.

Mr Botha warned that if homeland chiefs were so irresponsible as to urge their people not to accept citizenship their people could become 'stateless'.

TRANSKEI

He made it clear that as soon as the Transkei was independent, Transkei citizens would no longer be regarded as South African citizens. Nor would they lose any privleges if they lived in White South Africa, he said.

Dealing with Opposition criticism, raised by Senator P J Swanepoel (UP) and Senator L E D Winchester (PRP) about the need for 'citizen certificates for urban Blacks, Mr Botha said these were necessary to ensure that the Blacks enjoyed privileges over 'foreign Bantu' from Tanzania, for example.

Hansard 16 21/5/76

Valid reference books

1055

*19. Mr. G. S. BARTLETT asked the Minister of Police:

(1) Whether the South African Police arrest Bantu persons who possess valid reference books but who do not have the books with them at the time of their arrest;

(2) whether consideration has been given to such persons reporting to the local police station with their reference books within a certain period after being asked for such books;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

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The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Police):

(1) Yes, such cases do occur from time to time, but these are rather the exception than the rule. Departmental directives provide that where an explanation which can readily be verified is advanced, arrest should not be resorted to.

(2) No, except that no legal provisions exist for such procedure, it would also be unpractical.

(3) Yes. By way of lectures the attention of members of the Force is drawn regularly to departmental directives concerning the production of identity documents and the discretion to be exercised in connection with arrests. As circumstances differ from one case to another, the action to be taken in each particular case can not be prescribed. Reasonableness is, however, usually being exercised and all steps taken to have the Bantu appreciate that his reference book actually protects him because it proves, firstly, his identity, and secondly, whether he is legitimately in the area where he is found.

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

any distracting [illegible] can these be silenced during your presentation?

(f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

(a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?

(b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?

(c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

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Marais plea for urban blacks

DD 27/5/76

PRETORIA — The president of the South Africa Foundation, Dr Jan Marais, yesterday emphasised the urgent need for a formula to accommodate the aspirations of the country's urban black population.

He was asked to comment on the letter written to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, by the Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev Desmond Tutu, in which the Dean warned of the threat of violence unless urgent moves were made to remove political and economic restrictions on blacks.

Dr Marais would not comment on the letter, but said his and the Foundation's views were clear — the Foundation's researchers indicated the need for closer and more frequent communication between the authorities and responsible black leaders on identifying and eliminating areas of friction and possible conflict.

The homelands appeared to be an irreversible fait accompli for the foreseeable future, but it was extremely unlikely that they would be able to accommodate all blacks.

There would, therefore, always be blacks in what was regarded as white South Africa, he said.

There remained three groups who had to be provided for — Coloureds, Asians and an irreducible number of urban blacks.

"It is glaringly obvious that the formula must be found soon to eliminate these major grievances among South Africa's non-white urban populations and to accommodate their political and economic aspirations."

Dr Marais said the Foundation had not spelt out and did not want to spell out what form closer communication and consultation with blacks, Coloureds and Indians should take.

"But what we do say is that communication and discussion on these vital problems are urgent. This was shown by the researchers of the Foundation and by other reliable indicators."

Dr Marais said local blacks were upset when they read of blacks from other countries being given red carpet treatment while there appeared to be a reluctance to accord them similar treatment.

He added that it had become necessary that more factual information about alternatives to evolutionary development should be made known. — DDC.

FM. 28/5/76

Z 319

THE CITIZENSHIP TRAP

The new regulations (*FM* May 14) requiring prospective African businessmen and professionals to take out Bantustan citizenship if they wish to operate in locations in "White", urban areas are bad enough. What is worse is the element of trickery which Africans feel is involved.

This point emerged from discussions at Stellenbosch University's Graduate School of Business change orientation and planning seminar at Umblanga Rocks last week.

Advocate Ismael Mahomed SC, of Johannesburg, pointed out that one of the few ways a South African citizen could be deprived of citizenship was to acquire, by a voluntary act other than marriage, the citizenship or nationality of another country, or – in the case of dual citizens – to make unauthorised use of their other nationality. Application for Bantustan citizenship, he noted, could therefore enable government to deprive Africans of their South African citizenship.

Whether this could be applied to citizenship of a country which had yet to gain independence was uncertain.

Both Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of KwaZulu, and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, top man of Gazankulu, made it clear that the question of citizenship certificates in relation to leasehold tenure in the Durban areas had not been mentioned in their discussions with Prime Minister Vorster.

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Home ownership and city Blacks

3/5/76. RDM

THE controversial home ownership condition for the millions of urban Blacks will — according to the Urban Areas Act — not change their qualifications to be in these areas, a Johannesburg city Councillor Mr Sam Moss, said yesterday.

"I have been assured by senior officials of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board that according to the Urban Areas Act, the position of the urban Blacks will remain the same as before," said Mr Moss, former chairman of the Non-European affairs committee of the council.

The re-introduction of the home ownership scheme on a 30-year lease basis was hailed by urban Blacks until it was found the scheme would be open only to those who had taken out citizenship certificates of the respective homelands.

This condition was strongly criticised, and the Soweto Urban Bantu Council elected a delegation to see Mr M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

It was unfortunate that this condition was attached, when top priority for the urban Blacks was home ownership, Mr Moss said.

The condition put fear in people because the full implications of the homeland citizenship as far as urban Blacks were concerned had not been fully spelt out.

"It is logical therefore to see why there is such wide-spread anxiety and resistance to the imposition of the citizenship condition," Mr Moss said.

"The urban Black population has expressed its apprehension about its future if it accepts the citizenship condition, but I have been assured by senior officials of WRAB that according to the Urban Areas Act, their qualifications will remain the same as before."

At its monthly meeting last week, the Soweto councillors were told by Mr M. P. Wilsnach, WRAB's director for housing, that the scheme will start in June.

332
30

Hansard 18

1098

Sites for business/professional purposes in Bantu townships

*4. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether any conditions attach to the allocation of sites for business or professional purposes in Bantu townships; if so, (a) what conditions and (b) what are the reasons for them.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS:

Yes, in homeland townships.

(a) The hon. member is referred to the contents of Chapter 3 of Proclamation R.293/1962, as amended.

(b) To protect Traders and Professionals from abnormal competition; to secure a rapid growth of the trade and to ensure a proper service to be rendered to the community.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr. Speaker, arising out of the hon. the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him how the taking out of a certificate of citizenship is going to protect persons against competition?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: The hon. member's further question relates to urban Bantu residential areas, in which case there is another proclamation involved, namely proclamation R.764 of May, 1976.

1/6/76

Venue

Has the venue for your presentation been decided? If so:

(a) Will you be playing at home or away, and is the meeting room familiar to you?

(b) Is it suitable as a meeting place for your audience and as a background for your subject?

(c) Is it the right size for the audience expected?

(d) Will everyone be able to see? Is there a dais or platform? Is there enough room for the proper positioning of one or more projection screens?

(e) Will everyone be able to hear? Will you need to use a microphone? Is there a public address system already installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?

(f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

(a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?

(b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?

(c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

~~(1) 101~~
(2) 319

'Talk to Blacks about borders'

R.D.M. 1/6/76

By DIRK REZELMAN

A LEADING Afrikaans academic said yesterday that the African elite did not accept separate development and that African leaders should be consulted without delay on the eventual boundaries of the homelands.

Professor Willie Esterhuyse, professor of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, said that Whites underestimated the feeling of Black unity.

Prof Esterhuyse wrote in Beeld that White South Africans should ask themselves whether they are not infringing on the self-respect of Africans when they require from them to accept a partition of South Africa.

Independent states needed three things: economic viability, juridical independence and a feeling of national pride and patriotism. He regarded the last requirement as being "in many respects the most important ingredient.

"Development at whatever level we may see it is only fully possible when this development is accepted by those for whom it is intended," he said.

Professor Esterhuyse said that people in the proposed new states had to be motivated to cooperate. It was clear to an objective observer that this requirement was lacking in a large section of the African leadership.

PROF ESTERHUYSE
. . . consult

He says that it is "an irrefutable fact that a considerable number of the African elite, like teachers and ministers of religion, have not identified with the idea of separate states and that they cannot motivate other Africans to such an acceptance."

Professor Esterhuyse felt that the Transkei had a potential for economic viability but that the same might not be said about the other homelands. The other areas would be difficult to administer because of the "loose nature" of their areas.

KwaZulu will consist of 10 areas, Lebowa of seven and BophuthaTswana of six.

"No one must have any doubt that there will be tensions about the corridors and passages" between the areas. "Someone once called them footpaths fit for mice", said Prof Esterhuyse.

(2) 319

The Transkei: citizenship and non-citizenship

R.D.M 1/6/76

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has for years been concerned over Government policy towards the millions of Africans who live permanently outside the homelands in the 87 per cent of South Africa described as the "White" area. Independence for the Transkei has brought the question of citizenship to the fore and the Institute has responded with this statement.

THE Institute of Race Relations expressed grave misgivings when the Transkei Constitution Bill was introduced in 1963, a Bill which made all Africans speaking any of the Transkeian languages, irrespective of where they lived, "citizens" of the Transkei and entitled to the exercise of the Transkeian franchise.

These provisions have not satisfied the people concerned nor solved the political problem involved.

Since then 13 years have passed and increasingly voices have been raised by both Whites and Blacks, by homeland and urban African leaders, by prominent Afrikaans and English-speaking industrialists, businessmen, Press editors and academics, urging recognition of the permanence and legitimacy of the African presence in the "White" urban areas and therefore that provision be made to meet the needs of this section of the African population.

But the Government has not responded.

The Transkei Draft Constitution and Independence Bill of 1976, contains the same provisions: namely, that all the descendants of Transkeian citizens and all persons ethnically, culturally or otherwise associated with any tribe in the Transkei are to be regarded as Transkeian citizens, irrespective of where they live. There is to be no choice.

Paramount Chief K. Matanzima is reported to have said that the 1,3-million Africans of Transkei will have the right to opt for Transkeian citizenship.

But in the House of Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, asserted as recently as May 19 that any African in White South Africa who refused to identify with his own homeland could be seen as "a person with ulterior motives".

The Minister went further and appeared to be inviting direct confrontation. He said: "If some homeland leaders are going to be so unwise as to deprive their own people of citizenship, we will have to consider carefully whether we are going allow their people entry to White South Africa."

Meanwhile, without waiting for the Transkei constitution to be finalised, the Government has already introduced new requirements whereby urban Africans are to be compelled to take out certificates of citizenship.

Unless they do so, they will not be permitted to acquire ownership of a house in an urban township in terms of the 30-years leasehold scheme, the restoration of which was announced more than a year ago but has not yet been implemented.

The issue of new licenses to traders in such townships and of the right to practice to professional Africans, such as medical practitioners, are likewise made conditional on having applied for a certificate of citizenship.

More ominous even is the reference of Mr W. Cruywagen, Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, to "job application privileges", being one of the "benefits", Africans who applied for homeland citizenship would enjoy.

A departmental communication, known to have been sent to at least one category of employer in the towns to the effect that African employees should be persuaded to take out certificates of citizenship, could be taken to presage further moves in this direction.

Although the Minister stated that "the citizenship qualification of Bantu persons in the White areas will not affect their Section 10 privileges", the already pervasive sense of insecurity of urban Africans is visibly increasing as the compulsion on them to become homeland citizens mounts.

It appears that the Government is determined to bring about the extraordinary situation wherein Africans who are NOT citizens of South Africa will qualify for greater privileges than those who value what they conceive to be a South African citizenship and chose to adhere to it.

The SAIRR finds it painful, but necessary, in the long-term interests of this country and all its people, to point out the racially discriminatory basis of this approach.

Are White foreigners who have immigrated to South Africa urged to identify with Italy, Greece, Britain or whatever is their country of origin? Obviously not. On the contrary, they are encouraged to become South African nationals and to identify with South Africa, the country of their adoption.

In the case of Africans, the position is reversed. Mr Cruywagen spelt it out: "When you tie a man to his own people, you are doing him a favour," even if this is against his will.

Consequently, he asserts, it is reasonable to give greater privileges to Africans who identify with their homeland by obtaining a certificate of citizenship.

At a time when the whole world is waiting for South Africa to give proof of the sincerity of its avowal at the UN that it does not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race, at a time when the growing African middle class in the towns is having its moderation and loyalty severely strained, at a time when the new measures to provide technical training for Africans in the towns seemed to demonstrate the [illegible] ment's recognition [illegible] need for greater [illegible] skilled particu[illegible] Africans in urban [illegible] trial processes — at [illegible] time it is a crime [illegible] a dangerous [illegible] for the Government [illegible] sist in its ideo[illegible] definition of [illegible] for Africans.

While the [illegible] aware the hour [illegible] yet believes that it [illegible] yet too late for [illegible] ation. We make [illegible] appeal to the Gov[illegible] to confer with the [illegible] directly affected, [illegible] note of the direction [illegible] formed public [illegible] and to introduce [illegible] of the citizenship [illegible] sions.

In particular, we [illegible] that urban Afri[illegible] istration be [illegible] without using the [illegible] which Africans [illegible] titled as a means of [illegible] cion to adopt [illegible] citizenship.

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HANSARD NO. 20

Facilities at Jan Smuts airport: Black citizens 122.

*23. Mr. H. E. J. VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether Black citizens of other countries are entitled to use restaurant and licensed lounge facilities at Jan Smuts Airport;

(2) whether Black citizens of other countries are required to present their passports when they use these facilities;

(3) whether Black South African citizens may use these facilities.

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

Presumably the hon. member refers to the international area only in which case the reply is as follows:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

(3) Yes.

~~(1) 313~~
(2) 319

Putco bus fares go up today

RDM 14/6/76

Staff Reporter

THOUSANDS of Black commuters will be hit by Putco's 10 per cent fare increases taking effect from today.

A spokesman for Putco said the company required a 20 per cent increase in revenue of which the Government was subsidising 10 per cent.

He said that overheads had soared tremendously. The price of one tyre had increased from R164 to R199 and one bus needed six tyres. The cost of a bus had increased from over R18 000 to more than R26 000 in two years.

"We are encouraging commuters to buy season tickets. Although the price has also gone up, it is much cheaper than paying cash for every journey."

The chairman of the Germiston Chamber of Commerce, Mr H. M. Goldberg, said employers should adjust the wages of their Black employees to accommodate the higher bus fares.

The GCC had advised members to tell Black employees of the pending increase and those firms with work liaison committees were urged to use them to explain and disseminate information on the need for bus fare increases.

Members were advised to urge Black workers to arrive at work punctually by using public transport and to point out that the lack of support of such services was likely to lead to the deterioration of the service and possible higher fares.

STAR
15 JUNE 1976

'No fear of SA uprising'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The two elements indispensable in any popular uprising — a deep fury of resentment and the freedom to strike — are both missing in South Africa, writes Jerome Caminada, former foreign editor of The Times.

After a six-month sojourn in South Africa Mr Caminada says there is no tension in South Africa today as the Middle East and Asia know it.

"If there is a revolution brewing behind the smiles and humour of the working Africans today, it is remarkably well hidden.

"The Africans, Coloureds and Indians undoubtedly have grievances, and these occasionally flare-up, but I doubt if they go deep enough to bring Africans to the point of paying the terrible price of outright revolt against the ever-tightening State security laws," he says.

Something is stirring in South Africa, but South Africans themselves, Black and White, do not. They are too confused, says Mr Caminada, himself South African-born.

"Some changes there will be, but not by threat or compulsion. The Whites will introduce them of their own accord, if they can free themselves of the bogey that all change from below, all political or economic ferment, is communism."

Most far-reaching issue in South Africa today, and one that opens up possible change, is that of citizenship for the Black people in the urban and other White areas, he added.

(1) 467
(2) ~~374~~

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Black pub at corner scheme

NM 22/6/76.

CAPE TOWN — The large, soulless beerhalls in African townships should be replaced by small, local "corner pubs" such as those in Britain and Europe, Mr. Radclyffe Cadman (U.P., Umhlatuzana) said in the Assembly yesterday.

Mr. Cadman said recent events had shown that the present large beerhalls were the first objects of attention when there was trouble.

When the Liquor Act was amended to allow liquor sales to non-Whites it was believed that shebeens would steadily disappear.

But this was not the case.

What had happened was that the shebeens remained, now selling liquor legally in a sort of club atmosphere.

Mr. Cadman spoke of the soulless atmosphere of large beerhalls.

Small privately owned "corner pubs" would have a number of advantages. They would solve a number of class and environmental problems.

The Minister of Justice and of Prisons, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, said this was something to be considered. — (Sapa.)

Inside Mail

At last they are heard

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Government has taken a first hesitant step towards recognition of a distinctive urban African leadership.

It came with the announcement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, this week that in future there would be continuous consultations with urban African leaders.

It represented an ideological about-face for the ruling National Party, which had hitherto insisted that homeland leaders were the sole spokesmen for the African people.

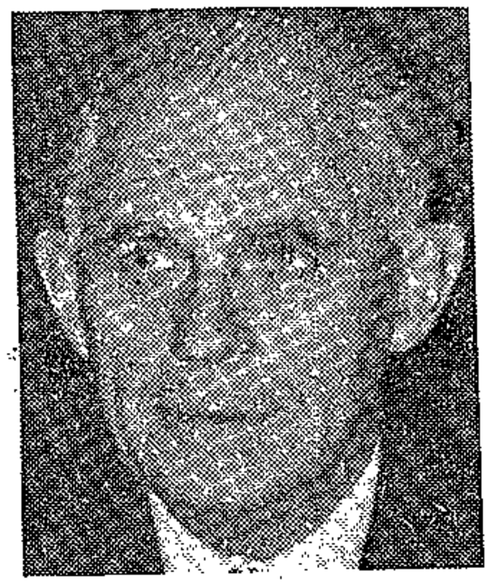
From the advent of Dr Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs in 1950, the National Party assiduously cultivated the emergence of an African leadership in the reserves and presented them as the "true" spokesmen of the African people.

The National Party view of homeland leaders as the legitimate leaders of all African people was manifest at the two summit meetings between Prime Minister Mr Vorster and African leaders in March 1974 and January 1976.

At both meetings Africans were represented by homeland leaders only and the assumption was that they were competent to speak on behalf of urban Africans.

At both meetings, particularly the second, the position of urban Africans was discussed and yet not a single urban African leader was present.

At the second meeting in Cape Town the Mayor of Soweto, Mr T. J. Makhaya, actually flew to the



MR M. C. BOTHA

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

talks in the forlorn hope of being admitted.

He had to be content to hand over a memorandum on behalf of the people of Soweto to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu for presentation to Mr Vorster. Among the points in the memorandum were a plea for Soweto to be declared a "homeland" and for meaningful power to its Urban Bantu Council.

It took the riots in Soweto and its sister townships in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand complex to convince the authorities that homeland leaders did not talk on behalf of urban Africans.

One point which clearly emerged during the riots was the almost total irrelevance of homeland leaders to urban Africans in times of crises.

With the exception of Chief Buthelezi, who flew to Johannesburg for consultations with urban leaders and who visited the injured in hospital, homeland leaders were characterised by singular lack of initiative. The extent of their involvement was to issue appeals for calm from their headquarters in the homelands.

The Government implicitly recognised the irrelevance of the homeland leadership to the industrial heartland when it opened talks with urban African leaders.

Whatever the precise pattern of the riots — a task which awaits the commission of inquiry under Mr Justice Cillie — one thread is clearly evident: they were an urban phenomenon which embraced Africans irrespective of ethnic group.

The protest against compulsory instruction in Afrikaans was not confined to any particular ethnic group and rioting occurred in a string of townships, irrespective of their ethnic mix.

The extent of the challenge of maintaining meaningful consultations with urban Africans is manifest in the growing urban African population.

In 1951 there were 2,4-million urban Africans, in 1960 3,4-million, and in 1970 4,4-million. More significantly, by the year 2000 the number could reach an estimated 26-million.

But can there be meaningful consultation within the present framework, which provides for tribally-based urban Bantu councils with advisory powers only and which are consequently boycotted by most urban Africans?

UBC men Mr Richard Maponya, left, Mr T. J. Makhaya, Soweto's Mayor, right, and Mr Lennox Mlonzi . . . sick of not being listened to.

'First remove h

NAT SERACHE

THE Black People's Convention (BPC) contend that if the Government was seriously considering bringing about a solution to the problems caused by the unrest resulting from the Black resentment of Afrikaans, they must stop pointing fingers "at innocent people" and do something positive.

"The Government is guilty of imposing unacceptable laws on the Black people and the enforcing of Afrikaans on Blacks was one aspect of implementing these harsh laws," BPC said in a statement through the national president, Mr Kenneth Rachidi, yesterday.

"They say they want to speak to the leaders of the Blacks but they are busy meeting non-leaders . . . puppets who work for salaries within the framework of apartheid."

The South African Students Organisation (Saso)

Change now

Some good will have emerged from the bloody riots of the past 10 days if the events have brought home to the White South African Government the need for change, say Blacks. HELEN ZILLE reports.

CHANGE: This is the catalyst that can turn the past week's carnage into a constructive step in South Africa's history, say Black leaders.

"If the riots have brought the authorities face to face with the need for change, then they were not entirely destructive," said Urban Bantu Councillors, Mr Richard Maponya, Mr Lennox Mlonzi and UBC chairman, Mr T. J. Makhaya.

Rejecting what they called the "talk-out-your-problems" syndrome, they said consultation would be futile "unless the Government shows that change is possible at the statute book level."

While they accept that apartheid cannot be scrapped overnight, they see vast areas where change is possible and desirable now — "Changes that will bring security and a sense of belonging to urban Blacks."

"The peace will be fragile and short-lived unless attitudes are remodelled as buildings are reconstructed," said Mr David Tebehali.

Together with Soweto residents, the councillors demanded that:

- Afrikaans be scrapped as a medium of instruction in Black schools;
- Education along ethnic lines ceases;
- Moves be made towards free compulsory education for Blacks;
- Equal work receive equal pay;
- Job reservation be scrapped;
- Urban Bantu Councils become autonomous bodies with full administrative powers over township affairs.

"Councillors are sick of belonging to advisory bodies that are seldom listened to anyway," they said.

Other Soweto residents yesterday agreed that these were the "bare minimum" if anything was to be achieved to ease racial tension.

Mr Wilkie Kambule, headmaster of the Orlando High School summed it up: "The Government must show that it is honouring its pledge to move away from discrimination. This means a gradual scrapping of separate development which is only a rationalisation for discrimination."

Dr Montloedi Matlhare, chairman of the Soweto Parents' Association said it was unrealistic to expect "miracles from the Government".

He went on: "But it is up to every South African to create a stable basis for a multiracial society from which we can move into the future when Nationalist ideology trips up on reality."

They all suggested that Blacks run their own transport and other services in Soweto "to break this dependence on the White man."

And they unanimously called for the release of the "true Black leaders".

Dean Tutu, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, said: "Only leaders with the support of the people have the power to channel protest and unrest responsibly and constructively. Blacks do not support Government-appointed leaders, who have no authority at a time of unrest, allowing vandalism to rule."

Blacks emphasised that they had "practical and realistic demands that the Government can meet immediately."

"But there must also be progress towards our long-term demands," they said.

These were:

- Abolition of influx control.
- Scrapping of the Group Areas Act.
- Freedom of choice regarding homeland citizenship;
- Giving Black people full rights where they live and work.

"The Government will have to move in this direction. For no South African Government can succeed without the support of the Black man . . . and this is what the Black man demands," the councillors said.

ıarsh laws'

said the cause of the problem was the laws of the country.

"If they really mean what they say, that they want to solve the problem and avoid similar unfortunate incidents in the future, they must just remove the cause, which is the repressive and oppressive laws of the country," said Saso's president, Mr Diliza Mji.

Dr Manas Buthelezi, an executive member of the Christian Institute who was once banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, said he did not believe the show of power by the Government would provide any solution.

"The first thing that the Government must do, is to change their policy of separate development, which is the root cause of the national unrest.

THE UGLY FACE OF BAD

By DEREK TAYLOR

THE "UGLY FACE" of the Bantu Administration Department in action was cited by Black workers and welfare experts, this week, as a main reason for bitter race relations.

The Department and the police are nominated more than any other executive arm of government as sources of dissatisfaction by Blacks.

Some opinions:

- "Whites talk about living together and building a better way of life — but they hide behind the people who keep us in our place."
- "They (B A D officials) never look at you like a man. They look only at your pass and papers."
- "People in trouble are too often regarded as potential tricksters and liars to be fitted into simple categories or swept out of sight into rural areas," said a welfare worker.
- "Many of them (Department officers) do not know their own regulations. You can get three different answers from as many people."
- "Their arrogance is infinite. The lowliest clerk will be supported in the most inept of judgments. They seem to work on the slogan: When in doubt endorse him out."

For a Black worker with a problem, the alternative to a summary decision by a Bantu Administration clerk is advice from one of the few private welfare organisations or advice bureaus run by trade unions or the Black Sash.

In effect, these pitifully inadequate resources exist only to do the job which should be done by the Department.

Because they are constantly involved with recurrent problems of permissions, papers, endorsements, unemployment and workers' compensation cases, the private advisers have built up an intimate knowledge of the Department's rules and regulations.

A representative case is that of Mr Robert Mthembu, who applied to the Black Sash Advice Office in Durban after he was endorsed out to a rural area in 1974.

Mrs Solveig Piper, a housewife and mother who gives five mornings' work a week to the advice office, reported on the battle to regain Mr Mthembu's rights.

"He has not had a pass, legal residence or registered employment since he was endorsed out in March, 1974.

"His endorsement out was a result of his last employer's incompetence and thoughtlessness.

"He was helped to appeal against the order but the BAC rejected his ap-

27/6/76
S IRIB.

PEOPLE IN TROUBLE ARE OFTEN REGARDED AS WOULD-BE TRICKSTERS

control, he was almost dumped in a jobless rural not [illegible] grown two tributed R15 000 to [illegible]

Expert pleads for Black training

9/7/76 STAR

PIETERSBURG — A leading business adviser has urged private enterprise and the Government jointly to train Black businessmen on a large scale and to help create a Black middle class.

In an address read on his behalf to the annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce yesterday Professor N J Swart, director of the Potchefstroom University's Small Business Advisory Bureau, identified lack of know-how as the Black businessman's biggest drawback.

Referring to a scientific survey on the Black businessman in the Soweto and Pretoria areas, Professor Swart said lack of knowledge and know-how was shown to be by far the main problem.

As a result the necessity for training could only be rated as priority number one, he said.

Other problems Black businessmen faced included lack of capital and the security to get finance, unsatisfactory premises, non-availability of credit facilities and legal restrictions.

In his policy address to the National African Chamber of Commerce conference here Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the chamber, said his executive would meet the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Cruywagen, to discuss proposals to improve the lot of the Black businessman.

These include:

- Greater economic rights in urban areas for Blacks;
- The lifting of prevailing restrictions on Black businessmen in these areas;
- The planning and development of modern shopping centres;
- "Practical and relevant" training for Black businessmen from semi-government agencies and Black/White private sector partnerships.

REGULATION

Mr Motsuenyane expressed deep disappointment at the new Government regulation which will demand homeland citizenship as a prerequisite for the renewal of Black trading licences in urban areas.

"Most of us were full of optimism that far-reaching reforms would be brought about in the policy governing Black business in urban areas," he said.

Botha's statement on medium of instruction

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education, Mr M C Botha, said in a statement here yesterday that the principal of each school falling under the Department of Bantu Education would in future submit his application with regard to the medium of instruction at his school.

Mr Botha said in a letter to leaders of a deputation from Soweto that the following principles are applicable to the medium of instruction:

"(i) For obvious and universally accepted educational reasons, the greatest possible value is still being attached to the mother tongue as a medium of instruction.

"(ii) Lacking full availability of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction, both official languages should ideally be available as media.

"(iii) Although ideally both official lanauges should be used as media of instruction, it is still necessary to approve deviations on the grounds of prevailing circumstances.

"Taking due cognizance of the fundamental principles involved, of practical circumstances, of the course that the medium question has followed over the past twenty years and of recent submissions by various bodies, it is the department's intention to effect certain changes in procedure.

"The procedure to be followed henceforth is as follows:

"(A) At each secondary school and higher primary school with standard 5, the following options are open with regard to the medium of instruction:

"(i) English as medium (with additional attention to Afrikaans as subject) and with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.

"(ii) Afrikaans as medium (with additional attention to English as a subject) and with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.

"(iii) Afrikaans and English as media in various subjects with the mother tongue as the medium in subjects where practicable.

"The principal of each school will submit per standardized form his application with regard to the medium at his school, as recommended by his school committee and his school board, to the Secretary for Bantu Education for confirmation.

"(A) At primary schools, the mother tongue shall be the medium of instruction in all classes from substandard A up to and including standard 4.

"Dismissed persons:

"The names of members of school boards and school committees allegedly dismissed as a result of their involvement in the use of Afrikaans as a medium, will have to be furnished to the department so as to enable it to go into the matter.

"Involvement of Black people:

"The involvement of Black people in educational matters has already been well established in school committees, bodies of management of schools, school boards, committee boards, Advisory Council for Bantu Education, Bantu Language Board and language committees, various subject committees, Board of Moderators, Examination Board, Conference of Homelands Secretaries, Central Books Committee and its subcommittees, editorial board of the Bantu Education Journal etc.

'I trust that the procedures in connection with the medium of instruction in schools as stated above will in future satisfy all concerned." — Sapa.

Black leaders welcome move

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Black leaders yesterday welcomed Mr Botha's statement on the medium of instruction in African schools.

The Mayor of Soweto, Mr T J Makhaya, said: "I think it is what the African community is looking for. I think they will be happy with it."

Dr Manas Buthelezi, chairman of the Black Parents' Association, said: "We are very happy to hear about it, but at the same time it is a little belated. If it had been made three weeks ago, we would not have had to go through all that we have been through."

Mr Lennox Mlonzi, leader of the Soweto Progressive Party, said: "A fight has been won. It was unfortunate that it was not attended to before. It could have saved many lives."

His deputy and the man who warned that the language issue would spark violence, Mr Leonard Mosala, said: "That's tremendous. To all practical purposes, it looks as though the problem has been solved."

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and former lecturer and teacher, said: "I think it is the right solution. If our representations had been listened to, there would not have been these problems."

Tswanas reject Citizenship Act

2/8/76 nm

(332)

Mercury Correspondent

MAFEKING—The ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party yesterday unanimously rejected the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970.

The special two-day congress of the party described attempts to force urban Africans to take out homeland citizenship certificates as "despicable arm twisting by the South African Government."

The resolution read in part "Possession of a citizenship card in terms of the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act . . . will not qualify the holder for citizenship of a truly independent Bophuthatswana. An independent Bophuthatswana will have her own Citizenship Act in terms of which citizenship will be optional."

The Chief Minister of the homeland, Chief Lucas Mangope, gave two reasons for rejecting the 1970 Act.

- Acceptance of it implied acceptance of the division of land between White and Black and his party emphatically rejected the present allocation of land between the races.
- Bophuthatswana had not been consulted when the 1970 Act was drawn up and put on the statute book.

In a tough statement to the congress, Chief Mangope warned that trouble was brewing over the division of land, and hat it could result in much greater tragedy than the recent Soweto unrest.

Rejection of the Act represents the considered answer of the party to the controversy which has raged over citizenship since the passing of the Status of the Transkei Act to deprive urban Xhosas of their South African citizenship, and impose citizenship of an independent Transkei on them.

Like the Transkei, Bophuthatswana has opted for independence under separate developmet policy.

Chief Mangope announced earlier that he would no longer issue citizenship certificates under the 1970 Act.

A new deal for Blacks urgent—Nat

5/8/76 STAR.

MR LOUIS NEL

Pretoria Bureau

A Pretoria National Party MP has outlined a far-reaching new deal for urban Blacks, to be treated as a matter of urgency

To achieve, peaceful coexistence between the races, Mr Louis Nel, MP for Pretoria Central, said Whites would have to start making sacrifices and "give up the old privileges and opinions that do not help us and, in fact, can endanger our continued existence and happiness."

He was addressing the homelands services committee of the University of Pretoria's Students' Representative Council and other student leaders last night.

As an element of the new deal he proposed full home ownership for Blacks in their urban residential areas.

Leasehold

So far a leasehold scheme had been allowed, but it was ridden with delays.

"It is difficult to understand why it took so long to implement the leasehold scheme, that had already been announced more than a year ago by the Prime Minister," Mr Nel said.

Having outlined the existing problem situations concerning urban Blacks.

He suggested a detailed set of solutions. The position of Black people could be improved by making their lives in the cities more meaningful. This could firstly be achieved by practical changes to external circumstances. Mr Nel prooposed:

Renewal

● Drastic urban renewal projects in areas such as Atteridgeville and Soweto. Urban Black areas should have tarred roads, street lighting, concrete sidewalks and sufficient recreation facilities on a wide scale.

South Africa was a highly developed country and it was sad that people were living below the basic standard of living.

● Sufficient shopping centres should be provided. Existing shops were below standard and forced Blacks to travel to White city centres Overloaded travel facilities and large numbers of Blacks in city centres were in themselves causes of friction.

Travelling

● Travel facilities should be improved. They were so overloaded that Blacks had to get the feeling they were sheep pressed into a cattle truck. Secondly, facilities were much too slow, and Blacks had to waste hours travelling to and from work.

● Home ownership in the Black residential areas should be allowed. No principle was involved. British or German citizens, for instance, could buy land anywhere in South Africa, proving that home ownership had nothing to do with the right to vote. A further advantage was that Blacks owning their own homes instead of merely inhabiting them under a leasehold scheme, would be far more inclinded to protect and improve their properties.

Apart from practical improvements, a political content and meaning should also be given to the homeland citizenship of Blacks living in the cities permanently, Mr Nel said.

This could only happen if homeland governments were given a larger say over their citizens in White South Africa, meaning that these governments should be given extra-territorial powers. The powers should be limited to matters such as education, family law, social welfare and pensions, and social services.

In addition to this real homeland connection, urban Blacks should be granted local government rights, including membership of Bantu administration boards

Motivate

One of the most difficult tasks of the Government was to motivate Blacks to improve their position in White South Africa, Blacks themselves had to play a prominent role in this regard, but motivating them had also become a national task and the duty of every White.

Contact was the only way "I feel that we as Nationalists and Afrikaners have been thinking for too long now that only liberals have contact with Blacks and speak to them as equals," he said.

Government policy had the best chance of success if a growing friendship between Black and White and a mutual respect developed in South Africa.

Consensus

Soweto had taught him Mr Nel said, that the only policy that could succeed in this country was one based on a wider consensus between Black and White.

In order to work, it had to be approached from within the framework of National Party policy, the improvements he had outlined had to be introduced, and a number of basic points had to be adhered to. These were:

● The acceptance that all people in South Africa were completely co-equal (gelykwaardig). Better relations were the task of every White and Black. In this regard, he felt that Black leaders could more often state themselves unequivocally in favour of better relations between the race groups.

● All so-called apartheid measures that served no purpose and were therefore offensive had to be abolished. Examples were separate entrances at public buildings, and the need for Blacks to have special permits to make use of entertainment facilities of a high standard, that could never be duplicated.

However, certain dividing measures did not in principle amount to discrimination, and would remain — for instance, residential separation, mass transport, school education, the Immorality Act and the legislation prohibiting mixed marriages.

Opportunities

● The creation of equal opportunities for all, White and Black, while at the same time continuing the protection of poorly qualified Whites.

● It was essential to develop the Government's policy on equal pay for equal work.

Concerning Whites, the National Party had only two real principles, namely the maintenance of the continued physical existence of Whites in South Africa, and together with that the maintenance of its own sovereignty for Whites.

He based his argument on a number of premises concerning the subject of urban Blacks:

● A stand had to be taken that could be made applicable to all the Blacks living in cities.

● Urban Blacks had not formed a separate nation. The great majority still had ties and were members of their own nations.

Share

● The lesson of Africa was that Blacks belonging to different national groups should not share political power. A federal system, for instance, would not succeed, as it was based on a long tradition of liberal parliamentary democracy, which was lacking among Africans.

According to Mr Nel the eventual result of the urban Black question depended entirely on possible changes, existing attitudes and the way these were developing.

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Waddel wants new deal for Blacks

5/8/76 STAR

Political Reporter

A new deal for urban Blacks would have everyone's support despite any disagreement with the Government's motivation in bringing it about, Mr G H Waddell, MP for Johannesburg North, said last night.

At a Progressive Reform Party report-back meeting in Rosebank, Johannesburg, Mr Waddell said:

"There would, I think, be a high degree of consensus among Whites who live in our cities that a great deal needs to be done for those who live on the other side of the tracks."

If the Government's objective was to maintain the position of the Whites then it should act now on a new deal for the urban areas.

"These are steps which all of us could support even though in profound disagreement with the Government's motivation, and in the certainty that no advantage can forever be conferred on a person simply on the basis of the colour of his skin."

RECOGNITION

The new dispensation should start with the recognition of the permanency of all the inhabitants of the urban areas.

"From that all else flows. It really is not something which anyone denies and, as such, it should be the foundation stone."

Mr Waddell said the new deal should allow:

- Property rights — the ownership of a house or land.
- The provision of finance for infrastructure, telephones, electricity and the normal services available to Johannesburg.
- The abolition of homeland citizenship requirements.
- The provision of adequate educational facilities.
- The removal of job barriers.
- The abolition of the pass laws.
- The provision of better transport facilities.
- A greater role in decision-making.

"Of course it will cost money but it is crucial. The money spent on creating a new dispensation will have a much greater and more lasting value than expenditure on armaments, though this is also necessary."

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'More say' for Blacks

7/8/76

STAR

Political Reporter

The Government is planning to give Blacks greater opportunities to control their own affairs in their own residential areas, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, said today.

Without going into detail, the Minister said in an interview that his department over the past months had been preparing a new deal for Black residential areas.

His department, together with Bantu Administration boards, had always been willing to introduce renewal in administration and privileges for Blacks in White areas.

"We have been busy on such things during the past months and in the future there will be changes especially for Blacks in their own residential areas.

"The changes will offer greater opportunities for Blacks to look after their own affairs, for them to serve themselves, and to maintain real peace and order," the Minister said.

Mr Botha also said:

- Buildings and other facilities devastated in the riots had been paid for from revenue raised from the Blacks themselves.
- He was convinced that the great mass of Blacks were peace-loving (ordeliewend). A minority group had set them up with agitation.

(2) 332

Big Govt concession to Blacks

STAR 14/8/76

Urban Black leaders have won a major concession from the Government. They will now be able to buy or build their own homes in urban areas without first having to take out homeland citizenship. The scheme starts in Soweto.

This concession was announced last night by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha. It followed recent talks between Black leaders and the Government.

The home-ownership scheme will be launched in Soweto and other West Rand townships next week, says the director of housing for the West Rand Administration Board, Mr M P Wilsnach.

"This concession was the direct result of two meetings last month between the Government and urban Black leaders," added Mr Wilsnach.

The first meeting was the nine-hour conference between the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr I P van Onselen, and the "Committee of 30" Black leaders from the West Rand.

The conference was held in Johannesburg and a spokesman for the Black leaders said the Blacks had not minced words in putting their demands to the secretary.

One of the major discussion points was the issue of housing and homeland citizenship.

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Blacks should 'get enough' — Kruger

14/8/76 CT

DURBAN. — Blacks in South Africa should be given enough to make them believe in separate development and want to protect what they had against agitators, Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police, said yesterday.

He told the Natal National Party congress that he believed that at least 80 percent of the Blacks, Coloureds and Asians did not want confrontation because they knew that they could not win.

However, those who wanted confrontation should be given it because the country was sick and tired of troubles which it could not live with permanently.

Mr Kruger said that recent unrest was not aimed at the Afrikaner or the National Party. It was aimed at Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans as well as Black and Brown.

But there was no need to be afraid because the Government had the matter in hand.

He was in favour of Black consciousness but opposed to the Black Power movement which was self-destructive and could lead only to confrontation.

The Government had been aware of Black Power movements for some time and had taken steps to protect the country against them.

The Black Power movement was like a snake biting its own people by destroying their facilities.

He said he believed that 80 percent of the people want to develop in peace.

They want to be able to say — 'this is my complaint, help me,' said Mr Kruger.

The National Party had always been fair, and it had the courage and ability to do what was necessary. It would not mean a change of policy, but a matter of putting it into a faster gear.

Mr Kruger said if the Black people had too little to lose they will say they only have their chains to lose. "That is our task," Mr Kruger said.

Mr Kruger said that a Black man had written to tell him that the Black Power movement had to be destroyed or race riots would be the "order of the day".

According to the writer the movement's most hated Whites were Mrs Helen Suzman, PRP MP for Houghton, Mrs Selma Browde, PRP MPC for Houghton, and Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

The movement encouraged sustained hatred of the White man and taught the Blacks that they were victims.

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Nats talking of 'new deal'

14/8/76 NM

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

THE CABINET appears to have embarked on a major campaign to improve race relations and to prepare its supporters for a dramatic new approach to Black people.

A strongly verligte trend has run through the Natal National Party provincial congress with Cabinet Ministers taking the lead.

The new mood of the Nationalist leadership comes at a time when there has been strong pressure for some Government indication on reaction to the current unrest.

Political observers hoped that the Natal congress, the first of five provincial gatherings, would give a clear lead. This now appears to have happened.

The new mood was set on the first day by Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of National Education, when he said that the country's battle for survival would succeed only if "drastic adjustments" were made in approach.

Yesterday, four Ministers continued emphasising that there would have to be a new deal for Blacks.

● Mr. Chris Heunis, the Minister of Economic Affairs, said that future stability in South Africa depended on the country's ability to meet the aspirations of all its people and to eliminate genuine grievances and discrimination.

● Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence, warned that unless the country could establish a "strong middle class" among all races it would run "into trouble."

● Mr. Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police, said Blacks would have to be given enough to make them believe in separate development and want to protect what they had. They had to believe that they had "too much to lose."

● Mr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Interior, said that however difficult and whatever the provocation White people had to act responsibly and carefully towards "people of all races at all times."

The conference trend may have been summed up in advance by Mr. Tos Pienaar, a National Party member for 50 years, who asked to what extent people were putting their heads in the sand by not seeing the recent unrest as hatred of the White man.

● See also Page 9

(332) / 123

15/12/76

Sunday Tribune

Black homes plan

In the townships soon . . . houses African families can call their own

By MADGE SWINDELLS

THE Government, at least one major institution and a private organisation are involved in hush-hush negotiations to raise a mammoth loan from overseas to finance Black housing.

This week the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Willem Cruywagen, confirmed that the Government's 30-year lease scheme on Black township houses is to come into effect soon.

He said a formula for the sale of leases had been sent to Bantu Administration Boards and they could start selling them almost immediately.

The leases will be sold at half the combined erection and replacement value of the homes.

Mr Basil Myburg, general manager of a company recently set up to provide homes for Blacks, said: "The Black housing shortage has become explosive and of urgent concern to the security of the country. The biggest headache is finding the initial cash. There is no way that the Government can meet this cash need with their present resources.

"In view of the riots and discontent in the Black townships the Government's plan to give Blacks a 30-year security of tenure on their homes could be the most important step towards stability and peaceful co-existence."

The scheme, announced by the Prime Minister in March last year, is now to be finalised and a multi-million rand plan to build new homes and make improvements to existing properties is already underway.

There is a shortage of 450 000 Black homes, a survey by the Pretoria Bureau of Market Research shows. There are more than 350 000 squatters just north of Pretoria and a waiting list for 18 000 homes in Soweto.

Assuming a standard four-bedroomed home could be built for R1 500 — a subsidised price — the Government would have to spend more than R357 million a year just to cope with the annual demand for new homes from now until the end of the century. This does not take into account the backlog of homes needed now. This is why a group of companies is trying to raise the money overseas.

The talks are confidential and at least one building society is involved. The Association of Building Societies has been discussing the problem of Black housing for some time. The outcome of the talks could affect the peaceful development of Black urban townships.

From 1952 until 1968 a 30-year lease was in existence but, for various reasons this was stopped. However, the Prime Minister announced early last year that it was to be reinstated soon. To take advantage of this benefit Blacks have to take out homeland citizenship certificates. This also applies to selling their leasehold — even if it was held before 1968 — or to make alterations or extensions to their homes.

This is creating a difficult situation with the Blacks as many fear that this is a device to get them back to the homelands. Consequently hundreds of Blacks are paying for expensive alterations although they may not have legal rights to their properties. Others are applying for homeland citizenship.

Another problem is the valuation of the houses. Many different organisations are involved. Soweto houses, for example have been funded by the Johannesburg Municipality, the Department for Community Development and the West Rand Board. These three parties have to agree before the value of a house can be established.

It was originally thought that the African Bank would be supplying most of the finance. However, legislation in the Government Gazette on May 7 prevents the African Bank from taking the deeds of lease as collateral security. It seems that building societies will have to play a leading role here.

The desire of the Africans for better conditions is evident in figures from the West Rand Board, which show that in December 1974 approval was given for R60 000 worth of housing development. In November 1975 the board approved R600 000 worth of development.

Industry also has a role. When a Black wants finance for a new home or improvement he is asked for a 10 percent deposit and his employer is asked to agree to deduct the monthly repayments from his salary. The employer is also asked to stand good for three months' repayments if his employee leaves his job. This need not place too great a burden on the employer but would produce considerable returns for industry in the long run, in terms of increased productivity and a more stable workforce.

AND FOR WHITES . . .

OUT TO BEAT THE ACCOMMODATION PROBLEM

By ALAN PEAT and COLIN VINEALL

MAJOR moves to ease South Africa's growing accommodation problems were disclosed this week.

The building societies limit on loans over R18 000 is to be raised from 30 percent to 37,5 percent, and this will be gazetted on Friday.

And the Fouche Commission on Housing will be asked to lift rent control on all houses immediately, and to introduce the removal of control on some flats to test real rental values.

The new loan limit will be retrospective to April 1, and is good news for the societies, beset as they are by rapidly increasing demands for loans in excess of R18 000.

David Alston, director of the Building Societies' Association said: "While we are obviously extremely pleased with this news the move must be considered as an interim measure only.

"It will give temporary relief to our members but the Association is investigating ways and means to see whether alternative measures could be introduced which would lead to the scrapping of the limit altogether."

The raised limit stems from a recommendation made by the Fouche Commission on Housing, separate to their main report due sometime early next year, and may indicate that the Minister of Finance will be advised to consider the loan ceiling at that time.

A senior executive of a leading building society said that he welcomed the adjustment on three counts.

"This will not only allow us to supply more loans at a realistic level, but will also be a major boost to the ailing home-building industry and have a significant anti-inflationary effect, cutting down the number of people forced to take expensive second bonds or loans to finance their house purchases."

Meanwhile, speculation about the future of the controversial Rent Act is now rife, and it was reported this week that the Fouche Commission has extended its interests to study rent control.

Major warnings have been issued by leading authorities on all aspects of housing that the country is heading for an accommodation crisis and rent control is believed to be one of the biggest causes.

The plan to abolish rent control of houses would, in the view of one expert, encourage people living in cheap housing to move to better accommodation, and bring about mobility in the rented-house market.

But one new cloud appeared on the property horizon this week. There are indications that the 14 percent limit laid out in the Limitation and Disclosure of Finance Charges Act could be raised to 17 percent.

Although it would have no direct effect on the mortgage rate it is inevitable that building societies would have to apply to raise this rate to remain competitive

Obstacle remains on Black homes

16/8/76

STAR

Building societies are no nearer to financing homes for Blacks in urban townships though the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has announced that the home ownership scheme for Blacks is in operation.

The snag is that building societies may only grant mortgage bonds for houses on the security of the property and its improvements. The latest home-ownership scheme, however, only offers as security notarial bonds on an applicant's moveable assets or right of occupation of the house.

Neither of these forms of security is legally allowed for building-society bonds and, unless an amendment to the Building Societies' Act is made, Blacks will not be in a position to apply for loans.

ILLEGAL

The Association of Building Societies announced last month that it was investigating the possibility of providing home loans for Blacks.

The leader of the investigation, Mr Roy Canning, said today that the problem of providing loans for Blacks was still the same, although the home-ownership scheme is in operation.

Since Blacks could not own land, the only form of security remained notarial bonds — illegal in terms of the Building Societies' Act.

(1) 332 (2) 333

Blacks in Cape will not own homes

17/8/76 STAR

Tens of thousands of Africans in the Western Cape are to be excluded from the new home ownership scheme for urban Blacks.

This was confirmed today by a spokesman for Bantu Administration and Development, who pointed out that a separate housing policy is followed in the Western Cape.

When he announced some of the details of the home-ownership scheme in October last year the Secretary for Bantu Administration, Mr I P van Onselen, said the scheme would not be permitted in the Western Cape.

In this area lying west of the "Eiselen Line" a separate policy applies "by virtue of the absolute preferential right enjoyed by the Coloured on the labour market there," he said.

The Eiselen Line was established in the 1960s and runs from just west of Port Elizabeth to the Free State border near Colesburg.

At least 150 000 Africans in the "White" urban areas west of this line will be affected by this ban on home ownership in the Western Cape.

LOOPHOLE

One loophole allowed, according to Mr van Onselen, was if a Black person who qualified for family housing could not afford the rentals of the scheme housing. He might be allowed to buy or build his own home in this area.

The spokesman for Bantu Administration also confirmed that Black businessmen and professional people in urban areas would still have to apply for homeland citizenship by the end of the year if they wanted to renew the licences for their premises.

Hard line on Blacks in White areas

STAR 20/8/76

1 101
2 200
3 332

John Patten, Political Correspondent

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, said today the basis on which Blacks were present in White areas was "to sell their labour and for nothing else."

Taking this unyielding policy line in a speech to the Institute for Public Administration in Maritzburg, Mr Botha said Blacks who accepted citizenship of their nations were "more welcome in White areas than those who did not."

"To those who recognise their specific national citizenship, will also be given greater privileges and preference in White South Africa," he said.

In saying that Blacks in White areas were there only to sell their labour, Mr Botha made it clear that the same principle applied to Whites in the Black homelands.

SPELLING IT OUT

"All Black people in the White areas remain, regardless of how long they have been in the area and whether they were born there or not, members of their respective peoples," the Minister said.

"The fact that they work here does not make them members of the White nation. They remain Zulus, Tswanas, Vendas, etc."

Mr Botha used his speech also to deal with the changing role of White administration aid to Black areas as homelands moved to self-government. The earlier approach, he said, had been to apply "control administration" to the areas, but the Government was concentrating increasingly on "advice administration."

It was important that the public take note of this shift of emphasis in the Government's racial policy.

D-3

Govt drops homes time limit

Blacks get a new deal

20/8/76 STAR

The Government has dropped the time limit on the leases granted to Blacks under the urban home ownership scheme — a move regarded by Blacks as significant recognition of their permanence in the urban areas.

Blacks will now be able to buy or build homes in urban townships on indefinite period leases instead of being limited to 30 years as was first laid down.

This was announced today by the chairman of

1 123
2 124
3 127
4 334
5 336

of being limited to 30 years as was first laid down.

This was announced today by the chairman of the West Rand Administration Board, Mr Manie Mulder, who said that the home ownership scheme would be launched in Soweto and other West Rand townships on Monday.

50 000 homes

But certain administrative hold-ups are still preventing the scheme from getting into full swing immediately.

"Certain approvals are still necessary from the Department of Community Development which provided the funds to erect roughly half of Soweto's 100 000 houses," said Mr J C de Villiers, chief director of the West Rand Board.

"But so as not to delay things we will go ahead and sell the 50 000 houses which were mainly built with the loan from the mining houses in the 1950's."

Bitterness

Mr Mulder said: "Originally it was stated that the leasehold would be for 30 years, but now the leases are to be for an indefinite period."

He also stressed that a homeland citizenship certificate was no longer necessary to buy a home.

It was this citizenship pre-requisite — laid down by the Government some time after announcing the home ownership scheme in MAy last year — which caused a great deal of bitterness among urban Blacks.

Widows too

According to the West Rand Board, the dropping of this pre-requisite followed representations to the Government by Black civic leaders.

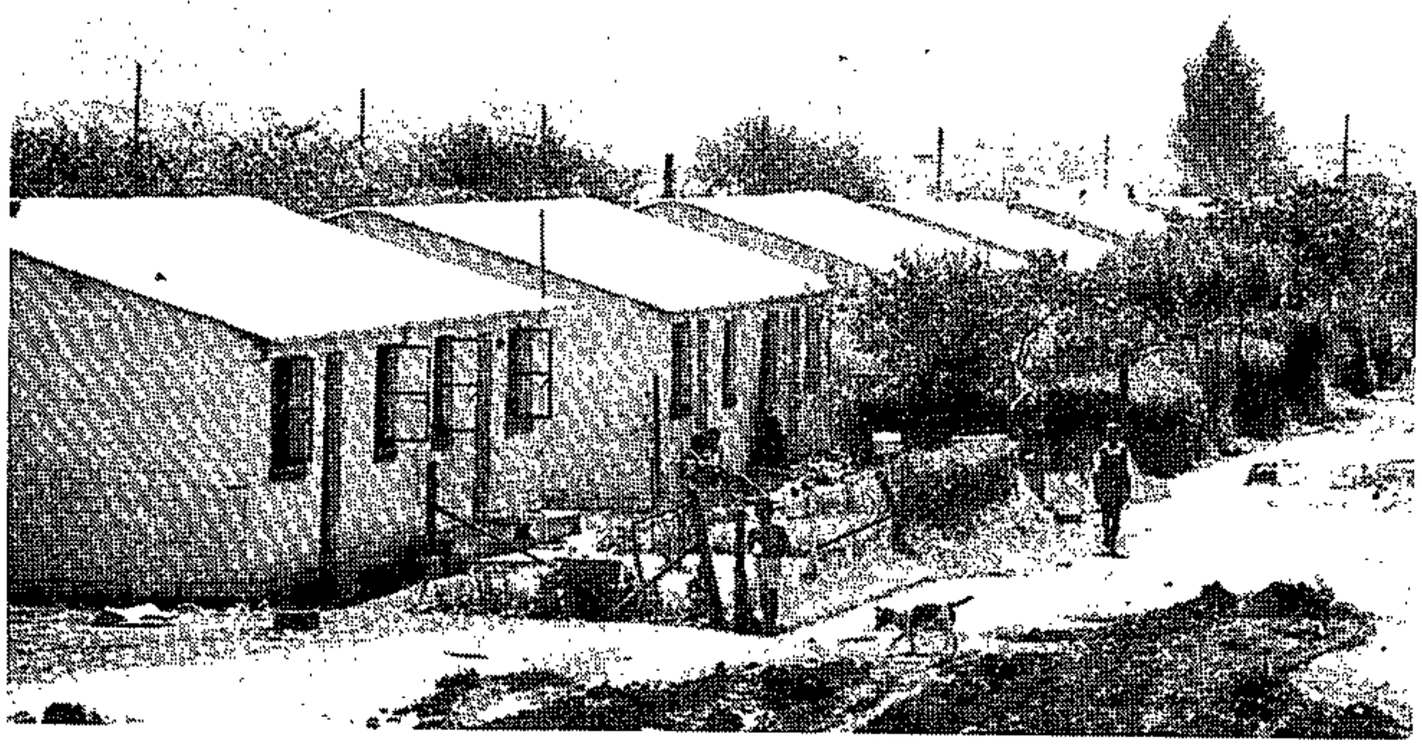
Here are some of the conditions laid down for buying or building a house in the West Rand townships include:

- A person must be male and over 21 and qualify under influx control to live in the area. At the same time a widow with children may apply to own a house, but such an application is considered by the Department of Bantu Administration.

However the West Rand

To Page 3, Col 1

F.M. 27/8/76



Black home mechanics

There are two aspects to government's leasehold scheme for urban Blacks.

First, the scheme does not really provide for homeownership in the fullest sense, since title to the land is not vested in the buyer and capital gains from land appreciation are not his.

The second point is that the scheme is *not* new but merely a reinstatement of a situation which prevailed pre-1968 when urban Blacks could lease homes from local authorities on a long-term basis.

Blacks will be allowed to enter into indefinite period leases with the different Administration Boards in their respective townships. The land itself remains firmly in the hands of the Boards.

There are two housing schemes open to Blacks. The first is where an eligible township dweller (ie with Section 10 permanent residential rights) may lease a vacant site from a Board for an indefinite period and constructs his own home. Here the rental is based on servicing costs such as sewerage water and hopefully electricity and a charge for hiring the land.

In Soweto, for instance, this cost is from R6,25 to R6,50 a month "at present" — there's no mention of escalations and the situation will be "reviewed".

Mathys Wilsnach, Director of Housing for the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) explains that once the house is built, it can be sold to any other eligible buyer.

The second scheme is for the purchase of an indefinite lease over a ready-made house from a Board. The Board determines the purchase price of this leasehold "somewhere between construction and replacement cost" and retains the right to repurchase it for the first five years of the contract. Thereafter owners can dispose of their leases in the market.

The current price for the average four room Soweto home has been put at R1 300. Applying the general terms of payment as laid down for all buyers this means a deposit of 25%, ie R325, with the rest repayable over 30 years. The WRAB is talking of charging 8,5% interest on the balance but it is by no means clear that this will be the rate in all cases.

The Department of Bantu Administration concedes that "there is still much that needs sorting out". And while the WRAB has jumped in boots and all others such as the East Rand Board "are awaiting Pretoria's full details".

The building society movement is also not in unison as to how it will participate in these Black housing schemes. Although one society has earmarked funds for Blacks, Association director David Alston cautions that the movement is still investigating with government ways of how best to finance Black homes.

Congratulations to Anton Rupert for coming forward so readily with an offer of financial assistance for his Black staff wanting to buy houses.

The Department of Bantu Administration tells the *FM* it has sent circulars to many employers urging them to help. If the scheme is really going to work, building society and government funds alone will not suffice.

WRAB's Mulder . . . too little too late?

The Cape Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1976

The Prime Minister

WHEN the Prime Minister says there is no crisis in South Africa, as he did at Springs, he is fooling nobody. We hope he is not fooling himself. Everyone will recognize that a national leader's task is to maintain public morale in times of stress. But we do not think that this sort of thing — or indeed Mr Vorster's actions and utterances since June—match up to the standards of leadership which this country is entitled to expect. The death toll in the township rioting, including children, is more than 200, schools, shops and government buildings by the score have been damaged or destroyed by arson and sabotage, commerce and industry on the Rand have been slowed down by a three-day stay-away — and Mr Vorster tells us those who speak of crisis are crying wolf!

When internal unrest flares up at the same time as economic recession and as the moment of decision is approaching in Rhodesia and South West Africa, everyone is aware that Southern Africa is in crisis. It is appreciated that Mr Vorster wishes to appear unflappable at home and abroad as he approaches a tricky stage in his negotiations with Dr Kissinger and the leaders of Black Africa. It is a matter of regret, however, that he has kept silent as the days and weeks have passed by and the country has been crying out for some statement from Mr Vorster in his capacity as Prime Minister. Instead there has been the occasional glimpse of Mr Vorster, the party politician, in his capacity as a sectional leader, saying things designed to soothe and reassure the party faithful. Whatever the effect of this on White public opinion, it can hardly inspire much confidence among the mass of urban Blacks, who are groaning under a burden of oppressive legislation and looking hopefully for signs that better days are on the way. It gives the impression that Mr Vorster regards his responsibility to the National Party as more pressing and fundamental than his role as Prime Minister of all the people. There has not even been a TV appearance in which the nation's leader has addressed the nation.

South Africans can but hope that when Mr Vorster does at last address himself to them, he will have something worthwhile to say.

White dream

MR PIK BOTHA has reportedly told United States television viewers that South Africa is working towards an African dream of a White South Africa. He might as well have said White Christmas, considering the chances of realization. Our ambassador at the UN and Washington is speaking for a very small section of the community if he considers that an ethnically-pure South Africa is still possible, or even desirable. Even those who might wish it to happen suffer understandable doubts about its practicability. Unless a special White homeland is to be established in some unpopulated region, a White South Africa just won't happen. Twenty-eight years of attempted national bleaching through legislation and administrative action have left South Africa as multi-racial as ever, and that's how it will remain. Mr Botha was perhaps on better ground when he said there must be human rights and civil liberties for everyone; the only question was how to go about it. We have a suggestion for Mr Botha: prevail on the Minister of Justice, if possible, immediately to charge or release the 800 odd people who have just had their civil liberties suspended through detention.

Grave allegation

AS VIOLENCE rumbles on in Soweto, it is deeply disquieting to hear from Mrs Helen Suzman that she has been given "pretty strong evidence" of police collusion with hostel-dwellers against Soweto residents. Tension between the hostel-dwellers, who are migrant labourers, and the residents of Soweto began last week when the former objected to attempts to make them join the three-day stay-away from work. Subsequently there have been allegations that the police incited the hostel-dwellers, many of them Zulus, to attack trouble-makers and, on occasion, stood by while mobs rampaged, attacking and killing indiscriminately. These allegations are of the utmost gravity. The good name of the South African Police and the maintenance of public confidence in the forces of law and order make it imperative that they be fully investigated without delay.

No political rights for urban blacks — Vorster

JOHANNESBURG — The Prime Minister said last night that any executive head of state for South Africa should keep the closest possible ties with Parliament if such a system was ever to succeed.

At the same time Mr Vorster made it clear that blacks would never be granted political rights in white areas and that they would have to continue to exercise their political rights in the homelands.

Mr Vorster was responding to questions during a television programme last night on his ten years as South Africa's Prime Minister. He celebrates the tenth anniversary today.

The question of an executive head of state was a subject over which one could argue for a long time, Mr Vorster said. It had both advantages and disadvantages.

He had thought about it deeply, like his predecessor, and there was much to say for it — on condition that the President was a Member of Parliament, remained one and kept the closest possible links with Parliament.

If this was not done South Africa would experience the same problems that the United States sometimes faced. Mr Vorster indicated that a separation of the executive from the legislative body had crippled many governments.

On the urban black question, Mr Vorster said that blacks from urban white areas had made themselves available as candidates in homeland elections. One homeland leader was an urban black originally.

The question was an extension of an earlier question on finding a modus vivendi for Coloureds and Indians in South Africa, which Mr Vorster conceded was a taxing problem.

Mr Vorster made it clear that his solution might not be the final one as every generation found its own solution, but he expected a tremendous amount to develop from the multiracial Cabinet Council, scheduled to meet for the first time on September 24.

Today a great deal of government and the execution of government decisions did not rest with Parliament but were delegated to boards and commissions.

Coloureds and Indians would be getting representation on these boards and commissions on an equal basis with whites where they could not only put their case but see that justice was done. It was a deviation from the Westminster democratic system and could be of tremendous advantage to the Coloureds and Indians.

Asked whether urban blacks would ever be brought into the system, Mr Vorster said there was no place for them in this solution.

On an association of Southern African states, Mr Vorster said it was unnecessary to spell out the details at this stage, except to say that the customs union between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland brought them much closer together than the European Economic Community countries.

He did not think South Africa would join the Organisation of African Unity soon. With all the division and fighting in the organisation it was a place to stay far away from. — DDC.

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Cape Nat congress

'Illegal' Blacks: crunch coming

22/9/76 STAR

(1) 200
(2) 352

John Patten,
Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The Government intends to introduce amending legislation in the next parliamentary session to increase the penalties imposed on White employers of illegal Black workers in urban areas.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Dr Hartzenberg, said last night these measures would be taken through an amendment of Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act.

Increased fines would be imposed on employers of illegal Black workers, he said.

The Black workers involved would also be prosecuted.

Dr Hartzenberg was replying to a group discussion at the Cape Congress of the National Party. He spoke after a delegate had complained that many Black migrant workers from the Transkei, recruited for farm work, were absconding from their work immediately after arrival. Farmers were thus merely providing transport costs for Blacks to work illegally in Cape Town, the delegate said.

TRANSKEI

Other points made by delegates at the group discussion were:

- Pleas for the consolidation of the Transkei to be given priority treatment in the Government's consolidation programme.
- That the Government should be asked to remove illegal workers and unproductive workers, especially from the Western Cape.

REALISTIC

- That the Government speed up homeland development to provide jobs for such workers.

Senator Dennis Worrall intervened in the debate to say there were Blacks in Cape Town who were illegally there but who were fully employed.

A realistic attitude should be taken on the issue. If it was accepted there would be Blacks working in the Western Cape, then the quality of their lives had to be improved.

"We cannot have the situation we had in Soweto where there was the attitude that these people were temporary, and then suddenly we started building facilities for them," he said.

"I base my whole constitutional and political attitude on an ethnic basis. It is unhealthy that there is a Blackening of the Cape, but you must be realistic. You must not pay lipservice to an idea. If the Blacks have a role to play and are important, then there are logical consequences."

WINNING?

Dr Hartzenberg was asked at one stage whether the Government was winning or losing with its separate development policy.

He said between 1960 and 1970 there had been a population increase in the homelands of 68 percent compared with an increase of Blacks in White areas of 16 percent in the same time. The same tendency had continued since then.

(2) 95

(3) 332

Action against demo nurses

ARGUS 23/9/76

The Argus Bureau

PRETORIA. — The SA Nursing Council today commended nurses who had stayed at their posts during the riots, often at great personal risk and in spite of intimidation — and it has warned the few nurses who took part in demonstrations to expect disciplinary action.

In a statement the council, which is the highest nursing authority in South Africa and exercises control over the education and conduct of nurses, said nurses who had continued to work during the unrest had upheld the ethical code of the profession.

Members of the public irrespective of political affiliations should feel they were safe in the hands of a nurse.

CONCERN

The ethical code of nurses included that they should never take part in political demonstrations.

The council noted with deep concern that some nurses had apparently taken part in demonstrations and intimidatory action.

It had a statutory obligation to investigate allegations of unethical conduct. It warned all grades of nurses that it would not tolerate such conduct.

Meet the Secret

9/10/76 STAR

332

Yusef Nazeer

A new and potentially powerful Black African political front emerged in South Africa last night, determined to fight for Black rights.

The front was forged behind closed doors of a Johannesburg White hotel. White reporters were barred from the meeting, in which "secret strategy" was being planned. But a Black reporter was allowed to sit through the talks.

Close to 50 men and women said to be "the country's top Black brains" and comprising politicians, civic leaders, trade unionists, student leaders, attorneys, doctors and other African intellectuals met to wipe out Black policy differences, unite the different Black voices and set up means of communications among them.

MILESTONE

The meeting, described as "a milestone in Black solidarity," was piloted by Black homeland leaders, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (kwaZulu), Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu) and Dr Cedric Phatudi (Lebowa), fresh from their talks with Mr Vorster and some Cabinet members.

Others present included UBC and trade union leaders.

In a short Press interview after the meeting, Chief Buthelezi said:

- The meeting had sown up Black fragmentation and closed whatever division existed among African leaders;
- New stategies had been planned, "but we cannot disclose those through the White Press."

The Star was told later in an exclusive interview by Chief Buthelezi and other Black spokesmen that the meeting had not been "a sudden, spontaneous get-together."

"DANGEROUS"

"A dangerous situation is being created by Mr Vorster's rejection of a national convention of all races," Chief Buthelezi said.

The meeting was the result of an "inevitable realisation" by all Black leaders that they could no longer "go it alone against a common enemy," and had to close ranks.

The leaders said that if Coloureds and Indians wanted to prove their credibility, their voices should be fully heard "in the Black struggle."

- Homeland summit: Vorster granite. — Page 3

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Union chief warns on Black labour

12/10/76 STAR

Labour Reporter

Urban Blacks do not want to be guest workers in the land of their birth and more Black workers will enter the urban labour market in spite of Government policy, a Black labour leader warned yesterday.

"The Government's decentralisation policy is not moving fast enough to provide work for the masses in or near the areas in which they live," said Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the largest Black trade union.

She told a political and investment seminar in Pretoria that urban Blacks would not move to decentralised areas or homelands because they were urbanised and because wages in those areas were as little as a third of urban wages.

The industrial laws, which were suspended in those areas, provided many benefits in urban areas although they were discriminatory.

The Government should give urgent attention to the short term aspirations of Blacks which were:

- Better job opportunities and the rate for the job.
- Better training and educational facilities and compulsory education for children.
- Home ownership and the establishment of a middle class.
- Better transport facilities.

Job reservation and the Environment Planning Act (which lays down racial labour ratios) should be repealed and Blacks should be recognised as "employees" under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Black trade unions should be legal and have the same bargaining powers as other unions. They would assist in defusing the present tension. Race relations would improve if urban Blacks were recognised as permanent in the areas in which they lived, Mrs Mvubelo said.

The greatest tragedy in the existing unrest was that many Blacks did not realise that the key to better jobs and success lay in education.

(332)

The Star Wednesday

Give us full control, say UBC men

13/10/76.

The future of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC) today hangs in the balance after a strong call by its members to be given absolute control in the running of the townships or close the institution.

The Black councillors have set forth eight prerequisites which they plan to submit to either the West Rand Administration Board or the Government. No date has been set for handing over the memorandum.

Among the requirements is that White WRAB staff should be phased out of Soweto and if any Whites are needed, their pay and annual increments should be decided by Blacks.

The decision was taken at an informal meeting yesterday specifically called to determine the future of the UBC in the wake of the unrest.

DECISIONS

The councillors decided to:

- Demand municipal status;
- Do away with township superintendents;
- Have responsibility in the allocation of houses and to have a say in the types of houses to be built in Soweto;
- Take over transport and trading services in Soweto;
- Have direct say in educational matters such as the building of schools and creches;
- Have absolute control in the running of health services;
- Control the amenities services;
- Have total control of finances.

Mr David Thebehali, the newly elected chairman, said before the UBC could decide to disband it must present these demands to the authorities.

Control of rents by the UBC was an extremely important portfolio because the council would decide who to employ and why.

Mr T J Makhaya, former chairman of the UBC, said the UBC had been getting promises from officials without any results.

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New urban move criticised

STAR 20/10/76

Both urban and homeland Blacks have reacted with disappointment and scepticism to the "innovations" in urban Black policy announced by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha.

In a midnight statement Mr Botha said "innovations" for urban Blacks, including "community councils" which would have more administrative powers than the present urban Bantu Councils, were being considered.

But the Minister stressed that urban Blacks would have their links with the homelands strengthened — a condition which has been largely rejected both by urban Blacks and homeland leaders.

Today the Soweto Progressive Party, the opposition in the Soweto UBC, said the Minister's statement had shown no change in the attitude that urban Blacks were "temporary sojourners" in the areas they had helped to develop.

"These so-called concessions the Minister announces are bound to be rejected by Blacks in general," said Mr L Mosala, deputy leader of the Soweto Progressive Party. "In fact, they are quite meaningless.

Equally sceptical of the "concessions" is Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa.

"I don't think the Minister's statement answers the questions," he said. "For a start, there are people in the urban areas who certainly do not belong to the homelands and have no roots in these areas. What of them?"

Government spokesmen have meanwhile assumed that there will be "large-scale" administrative developments in Black urban areas following the policy statement.

● More responsibility for urban Blacks — Page 27.

Bla

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Cape Times 20/10/76

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Urban Africans may be given increased opportunities of running their own community affairs through elected councils and other bodies, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, announced in a midnight statement last night.

The Minister said this was among important innovations being considered for urban Africans. Consultations with those concerned were still in progress.

Mr Botha, announcing a "further extension of policy" said that after discussions with homeland leaders he had stated that further developments in the policy for Blacks place in the homelands as well as in White areas.

At this stage only a broad outline of what the Government had in mind could be given. Consultations had to be conducted with Black Governments and other concerned bodies.

Revisions being considered

Referring to Urban Africans, the Minister said that a revision of the existing system of regulating Blacks — including influx control — as well as the recruiting and registration of African workers, was being considered.

This would be done on the existing basis of principles — that Africans in White areas, even if they were to be there always, remained secondary to the Whites (whose homeland it was) in the same way as Whites were secondary to Africans in the homelands.

Mr Botha said the urban Africans must be treated as communities and they should have the amenities they required as human beings.

They should be given increasing opportunities of taking care of their own community interests by means of elected councils and other bodies, "elected with due regard to the reality of the variety of nations".

This would entail a revision of the present system of urban Bantu councils and a replacement of the existing system of advisory committees.

The community councils functioning within the areas of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards would have to be linked with the national governments in the homelands by means of representatives or deputies appointed by those governments.

Strengthen homeland ties

The deputations may constitute councils to take care of the interests of the homelands and also to strengthen the ties between the homelands and their dispersed people in the White area.

"Naturally the community councils will be empowered by delegation and statute to perform duties which in the past fell under the boards. They should definitely also have financial powers and duties."

The Minister said it was also envisaged that a well organized system of traditional disciplinary courts (kgotla) and community guards would be connected with these community councils.

The general duties of the councils could be increased progressively.

These could include general housing services, buildings, streets, sites and transport, good order, discipline and security, commercial licences, sport and recreation, welfare services, school buildings, libraries, levies or taxes for services, budget work and financial control.

Botha plan

Continued from page 1

interest and on matters where South Africa could help such as with labour arrangements, security and defence, and economic development.

"The natural course of this growing self-government could result in complete internal freedom for every Bantu homeland.

"A logical component of internal freedom would be that every Black nation would be able to appoint its own head of state, and a monarchy or republic with the head of state and head of government separate or united.

"In relations of Black nations to the outside world South Africa could involve the Black governments."

Only a single step would then be necessary for an African nation to move to sovereign independence.

It would depend on the African nation to move to sovereign independence.

It would depend on the African nations themselves how soon they would move to the final phase.

"It should also be borne in mind that our Government has always stated that together with these emerging autonomous Black nations some kind of commonwealth, association, constellation or power bloc of nations could come into being — a set-up without authority over all the nations," the Minister said.

103/
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Transkei Blacks get reprieve

26/10/76

STAR

The position of the 1,5-million Xhosa-speaking Blacks in urban areas who have suddenly become citizens of Transkei will remain unchanged for the next two years.

This undertaking on behalf of the Government, was given by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, Mr F B du Randt, following consternation among Africans who lost their right to South African citizenship with Transkei independence today.

"Any Transkei citizen who is legally in any area of South Africa at the moment remains unhindered wherever he is," Mr du Randt said.

"He does not have to get any additional documentation, he remains in possession of his reference book and in fact may even change work within the Republic without having to return to Transkei.

"At the end of a two year interim period these Transkei citizens will have to get a Transkei identity document. That is all."

UNEASE

Mr du Randt was commenting on widespread unease among Blacks who have now become citizens of Transkei about their position in the Republic.

A number of them had voter registration stamps in their reference books after voting in the recent Transkei general election. Some felt this stamp might result in them being endorsed out of an urban area and losing their work.

There has been confusion as to whether this stamp would help or hinder passage to and from Transkei and domicile within the Republic.

Mr du Randt said his remarks regarding the "secure" position of Transkeians was from the Government and applied to Transkei citizens throughout South Africa.

"There is also no regulation about Transkei citizens having to get any special stamp in their reference books," he said. "They just carry on as in the past."

● UN chief calls on world to shun Kei — Page 3. Matanzima warns SA — Page 29.

Xhosa query on citizenship

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA — The question of citizenship for Transkei, a State entering its sixth day of sovereignty, still poses problems for thousands of Xhosas living outside the territory.

Transkeians wanting to enter Transkei from South Africa may use a reference book (dompas), but once inside may not leave without travel documents issued by the Transkeian Government.

Further, Transkeians wishing to work in South Africa not only require a valid travel document but also a contract of employment attested by a magistrate or other authorised Transkei officials.

South Africans and other foreigners need a permit if they want to stay longer than 14 days.

But South Africans entering the country do not need to show a passport. Their Book of Life will do.

102/2282

Urban - Hellers Tuesday

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Vrystellingsuur: 15h30

OPENINGSREDE DEUR SY EDELE DR. A.P. TREUTNICHT, ADJUNK-MINISTER VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE EN VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS BY GELEENTHEID VAN DIE EEN-EN-SEWENTIGSTE JAARKONGRES VAN DIE ORANJE-VRYSTAATSE MUNISIPALE VERENIGING IN PARYS OP DINSDAG 2 NOVEMBER 1976

Geagte Meneer die President, vise-president, afgevaardigdes van die onderskeie plaaslike owerhede, vriende.

Dit is 'n besondere voorreg wat my te beurt geval het om vandag in die geleentheid gestel te wees om die opening van u jaarvergadering te kan behartig. Uit die Agenda van hierdie verrigtinge merk ek dat hierdie u een-en-sewentigste jaarvergadering is en dit is duidelik dat u oor die jare heen reeds 'n lang pad geloop het en ongetwyfeld veel bereik het.

My dank ook aan die Agbare Burgemeester vir sy woorde van verwelkoming.

Graag wil ek ook van hierdie geleentheid gebruik maak om u President en vise-president wat ek verstaan by hierdie verrigtinge vir die volgende termyn verkies gaan word, sterkte toe te wens in die veeleisende taak wat vir u voorlê.

Ons hedendaagse, ingewikkelde samelewing gaan ongelukkig mank aan menige gebreke wat miskien direk toegeskryf kan word aan die gebrek aan noue, wederkerige skakeling. Moontlik die belangrikste hiervan is 'n gebrek aan wedersydse vertroue. Soos ons almal uit ondervinding kan getuig, is die goeie ou tyd toe belangrike transaksies tussen partye met slegs 'n handdruk beklink kon word en die partye hulle hierdeur eergebonde gevoel het om hulle kant van die ooreenkoms by te bring, vir goed iets van die verlede. Daar is met ander woorde nie meer die wedersydse vertroue wat ons samelewing in die verlede gekenmerk het nie.

2/...

Dit strek egter tot die Verenigde Munisipale Bestuur se eer dat ek vandag hier kan bevestig dat persoonlike ondervinding getoon het dat gebrek aan wedersydse vertroue nie 'n faktor was by onderhandelinge in die verlede nie. 'n Sprekende voorbeeld hiervan was die onderhandelinge wat plaasgevind het met die onlangse wetswysiging waardeur verteenwoordiging deur plaaslike besture in Bantoesake-Administrasierade verder ingekort moes word. Die verenigde Munisipale Bestuur se begrip van die besondere omstandighede wat so 'n stap genoodsaak het, word opreg op prys gestel. Ek is seker dat van u wat vandag hier teenwoordig is en wat ook in Bantoesake-administrasierade sitting het, uit eie ondervinding kan getuig van die talle probleme waarmee hierdie Rade te kampe het.

Terwyl die onderwerp van Bantoesake-administrasierade nou ter sprake is, wil ek graag van die geleentheid gebruik maak om verder op hierdie onderwerp, waaroor reeds baie gesê en bespiegel is 'n paar puntjies nader toe te lig. Maar voordat ek hiermee voortgaan wil ek graag 'n woord van vermaning rig soos wat reeds by verskeie geleenthede gedoen is. Lede van Administrasierade - elk met 'n deskundige kennis op sekere gebiede maar wat nie noodwendig volledige kennis van die kompleksiteite van ons Bantoesake-administratiewe stelsel insluit nie - lewer in die eerste plek 'n bydrae tot die breë doelstellings waarvoor die Rade in die lewe geroep is. U sal besef hoe 'n onuithoudbare toestand kan ontwikkel waar administrasieraadslede hulself met groepsbelange identifiseer en wil poog om die raad in te span om hierdie belange te bevorder. Dit word ten volle besef dat 'n individu eie belange en die belange van sy gemeenskap op die hart mag dra. Dit moet egter altyd opgeweeg word teen landsbelange en op hierdie grondslag onderskei word.

Bantoesake-administrasierade is daar gestel om 'n uiters belangrike taak van ons landsadministrasie op plaaslike vlak uit te voer en ten dien einde is hulle met sekere administratiewe magte en funksies beklee wat namens die sentrale regering verrig word. Die Rade is derhalwe inderwaarheid 'n verlengstuk van die sentrale regering en in besonder van die Departement van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling van wie beleidsvoorskrifte en dies meer na hulle uitgaan.

Bantu Affairs Administration in the White Areas of the Republic was previously entrusted to local authorities over a period of more or less fifty years which terminated with the establishment of the various Bantu Affairs Administration Boards during the latter half of 1971. The decision to implement the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971, providing for the establishment of the Boards, was not taken lightly and was only finalised following extensive consultation with those instances intimately involved, including the United Municipal Executive. The increasing complexity of Bantu Affairs Administration necessitated an urgent review of the situation and with this in mind the experience and specialised knowledge of experts in the field of Bantu Administration was employed to devise a system of administration capable of standing up to and be adaptable to increasing demands. Following intensive study and research, consultation with those representative of employers in the different sections of the economy, local authorities and their representative organisations and others, the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, 1971 (Act No. 45 of 1971), came into being.

You are no doubt aware of the shortcomings of the previous system where Bantu Administration was the responsibility of local authorities. The numbers alone of local authorities involved, gave rise to problems concerning communication, divergent interpretations of acts, policy instructions etcetra.

Going hand in hand with these difficulties were the limitations imposed on local authorities where they could, for the greater part, only function within their respective areas of jurisdiction, which of necessity limited their effectiveness and which made it virtually impossible to adapt to the ever increasing demands of a rapidly developing administration.

To illustrate what I have said, allow me to elucidate on one aspect. Before the Bantu Affairs Administration Act come into operation a Bantu was permitted to take up employment only in the prescribed area in which he qualified for residential purposes. The ludicrous situation now arose where such a worker was, for example, employed within easy walking distance from the nearest Bantu residential area, but was precluded from taking up residence in this area merely because it was not situated in the prescribed area where he qualified to reside. As a result he may have had to travel a relatively great distance to the residential area where he qualified for residential purposes, with resulting transportation costs and more often than not on an overloaded transport system, especially during peak periods. Measures like that illustrated must inevatably lead to frustration. The implementation of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act was a positive step towards the elimination of restricting measures such as quoted.

I have only touched on a few of the problems experienced under the previous administrative system - problems which were merely symptoms pointing to the underlying short-comings of the administration and which were fortunately timeously recognised as such.

Ek wil dit graag hier benadruk dat daar nie fout gevind was of gesoek was by plaaslike owerhede onder ou administratiewe opset nie.

Omstandighede was net sodanig dat plaaslike owerhede nie meer kon voldoen aan die eise wat gestel was nie en daar moes iets gevind word wat daaraan kon voldoen. Nieteenstaande die probleme wat tans nog ondervind word, is ek daarvan oortuig dat Bantoesake-administrasierade die antwoord is.

Bantoesake-administrasierade, soos alreeds gemeld, het egter self met 'n legio probleme te kampe, wat vererger word deur die huidige ekonomiese klimaat waarin nie alleen ons land nie, maar feitlik die hele wêreld, geknel is. Waar die Rade se inkomstebronne beperk is en inkomste staties is, is die Rade se probleem om stygende kostes te absorbeer in behoefte te voorsien en nogtans finansieel op die been te bly, 'n baie reële probleem. Die huidige onluste wat veral daardie Rade in wie se gebiede groot stedelike komplekse geleë is, finansieel uiters nadelig tref, dra geensins by tot vergemakliking van hulle verantwoordelike taak nie. Sonder die heelhartige samewerking en ondersteuning van almal betrokke, individue, werkgewers van Bantoe-arbeid, liggame soos u plaaslike besture, gaan die Bantoesake-administrasierade, ten spyte van die leiding, bystand en steun wat hulle van regeringskant geniet, moeilik die mas opkom en daarom het ek die vrymoedigheid om op die daadwerklike samewerking van die plaaslike bestuurssektor met

die administrasierade staat te maak en om 'n dienooreenkomstige beroep op u te doen.

Bevolkingsaanwas en nywerheidsontwikkeling het tot gevolg dat daar 'n geweldige agterstand aan behuising vir Bantoewerkers in die blankegebied ontstaan het, en dan veral in die groot stedelike gebiede wat hoofsaaklik 'n uitvloeisel van intensiewe nywerheidsontwikkeling is. Astronomiese bedrae sal gevind moet word om hierdie agterstand in behuisingsvoorsiening, wat in 'n geringe mate verlig word deur die huiseienaarskema wat onlangs aangekondig is, by te bring. Dit is derhalwe vir die Rade nodig om op 'n prioriteitsgrondslag vir behoeftes te voorsien en al skyn daar somtyds niks ten opsigte van voorsiening in 'n spesifieke plaaslike owerheidsgebied plaas te vind nie, moet dit nie goedsmoeds aanvaar word dat so 'n gebied geïgnoreer word nie.

Plaaslike besture kan veral baie bydra om die Rade se veeleisende taak te vergemaklik. Daar is verskeie wyses waarop hierdie hulp verleen kan word. Om maar net een hiervan as 'n voorbeeld te gebruik.

Veel kan vermag word deur byvoorbeeld die heffing van gelde vir dienste aan die Rade gelewer, op 'n billike gronslag te hou. Daar word reeds wetlik voorsiening gemaak dat hierdie gelde op 'n basis van werklike kostes bereken word, dog by die bepaling van sodanige kostes kan 'n wye sfeer van kostefaktore in berekening gebring word.

Gesien in die lig van die uiters belangrike taak wat die Rade, in belang van ons gemeenskap as 'n geheel het om uit te voer, sal dit des te meer waardeer word indien daar gepoog kan word om hierdie kostes so billik moontlik te hou.

7/...

Ek het reeds vroeër in hierdie rede melding gemaak van die waardering waarmee die Verenigde Munisipale Bestuur se samewerking by die onlangse wetswysiging, waardeur verteenwoordiging van plaaslike owerhede op Bantoesake-administrasierade ingekort is, bejeën word.

Hierdie inkorting het tot gevolg dat nie elke plaaslike bestuur in 'n Raad se regsgebied aanspraak op individuele verteenwoordiging in die betrokke Raad kan maak nie. Die Verenigde Munisipale Bestuur het die Departement van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling derhalwe versoek om, by die aanstelling van raadslede uit die plaaslike owerheidsektor, dit pertinent onder die aandag te bring dat so 'n indiwidu nie alleen sy eie plaaslike owerheid nie maar plaaslike owerhede in die algemeen in die betrokke administrasieraad verteenwoordig. Dit is nou ook gedoen, dog daar skyn nog ietwat onduidelikheid in hierdie opsig te wees, geoordeel aan die navrae in hierdie verband.

Die oplossing skyn daarin te lê, en dit is reeds in die praktyk so toegepas, dat elke plaaslike bestuurverteenwoordiger wat sitting in 'n raad het, met plaaslike owerhede in sy omgewing wat nie sodanige sitting het nie, reël om aangeleenthede van belang onder sy aandag te bring, en andersom. Dit staan enige plaaslike bestuur egter nogtans vry om in eie hoedanigheid met die betrokke Bantoesake-administrasieraad te skakel.

'n Verdere aangeleentheid wat opheldering vereis is die prosedures wat gevolg word met die vulling van vakatures in 'n Raad. So 'n vakature word nie noodwendig gevul uit die geledere van die plaaslike bestuur ten opsigte waarvan die vakature aanvanklik ontstaan het nie.

Elke plaaslike bestuur staan hier op 'n gelyke voet en 'n aanstelling kan uit enigeen se geledere, volgens die diskresie van die Minister gemaak word, of hy kan besluit dat so 'n vakature vir 'n onbepaalde tyd vakant bly of glad nie gevul word nie.

Met hierdie paar gedagtes wil ek afsluit en ten slotte wil ek graag die wens uitspreek dat die heelhartige samewerking wat tot dusver die kenmerk was van die plaaslike owerheidswese, soos verteenwoordig deur die Verenigde Munisipale Bestuur, in die toekoms net so hartlik sal wees. Graag wens ek u 'n baie aangename en vrugbare jaarkongres toe.

Hiermee verklaar ek die een-en-sewentigste jaarvergadering van die Oranje-Vrystaatse Munisipale Vereniging amptelik geopen.

Dankie.

UITGEREIK DEUR DIE DEPARTEMENT VAN INLIGTING OP VERSOEK VAN DIE MINISTERIE VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE EN -ONTWIKKELING EN VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS

2 NOVEMBER 1976 om 3.30 NM. PRETORIA

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White faces scare them

3/11/76

Mercury Correspondent

KLERKSDORP — Contact between Blacks and Whites was so limited that some Black township children ran and hid if a White person knocked on the door, the Cillie Riot Commission was told yesterday.

Giving evidence at a Klerksdorp hearing, a community leader of a township near Potchefstroom said lack of communication between the races played a major role in causing the riots.

The man, who may not be identified, said: "Although it is very difficult to understand the true feelings and behaviour of other races, we must meet and contact each other so that this hostility can come to an end.

"When a White person knocks at my door my children run away because they think it is someone who is chasing us — but it may just be a friend of mine," he said.

"Many children today are not aware of what a White man is. They don't have the opportunities of meeting White people that we had in the past."

Cape Times 9/3/11/76

Shot official 'improved'

Staff Reporter

THE CONDITION of Mr Pieter Schoeman, the Bantu Affairs Administration Board inspector who was stabbed twice and shot through the heart, has improved. No arrests have been made since the attack on him last weekend.

A man was held for questioning by the police on Saturday, but was released yesterday. However, police are confident that arrests will be made shortly.

Mr Schoeman was attacked while returning from a cafe where he had bought a cold drink. A group of men surrounded him and his gun was pulled from its holster. A bullet tore through a lung before entering the tip of his heart. Mr Schoeman was also stabbed twice below the heart.

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Cape Times 3/11/76

'Frustration' over housing

Cillie Commission

KLERKSDORP. — The Cillie Commission was told yesterday that an acute housing shortage in the Jouberton township near here was a major cause of frustration among Africans in the Western Transvaal.

An African, who may not be identified, said there was a waiting list of 1 860 people without houses in the township. The shortage had first been brought to the Western Transvaal Bantu Administration Board's attention about three years ago.

Asked by Mr Justice Cillie how the people managed at present, he said they were living with other Blacks in four-roomed matchbox houses in the township.

He said the Afrikaans language issue was raised for the first time on June 23 when pupils at the Mothusana Secondary School here refused to write Afrikaans examinations that day. All but four of the pupils boycotted the examinations, and when the police arrived they armed themselves with stones and bottles.

There was no violence, however, and the school was closed shortly afterwards.

Another African, a businessman from a Potchefstroom township, also complained about a housing shortage as well as a lack of sports grounds and sports facilities.

Asked whether Afrikaans was one of the causes of the recent unrest, he said it did not apply in his case or that of his friends as Afrikaans was their home language.

What he felt was wrong was the lack of contact between Blacks and Whites. When a White person knocked on his door, his children ran away in fear, whereas when he was a child he had swum and played with White children.

Asked what the reaction of his and his friends' children would be if told the White man was a monster, he said they would believe it.

A Black educationist told the commission that lack of high schools in the Western Transvaal forced children to attend such schools in other areas including Soweto, where they were subject to bad influences. There were also general complaints that Blacks had to pay for their schooling whereas Whites — according to Black reasoning — received free education.

Earlier, the chief director of the Western Transvaal Bantu Administration Board, Dr P Riekert, told the commission that unrest damage in the 24 townships in his area had been estimated at R55 000.

He said there had been a meeting between board officials, township representatives and police on July 26. Reasons advanced for the unrest had included lack of telephones in the Khutsong township at Carletonville, lack of a secondary school and a ban on Blacks carrying firearms for protection.

Dr Riekert said he was in favour of introducing African traditional legal systems in townships because Africans identified with their own ethnic groups. The board also aimed at establishing a traditional system of authority in the townships.

It also did not follow the Western method of dealing with an agenda item by item at meetings with Blacks, but allowed all members to address the meeting and hold full discussions in the Bantu manner. He added that addressing Africans in their own language removed many obstacles.

The inquiry will continue at Mafeking tomorrow. — Sapa

337/152

Why blacks defied call to strike

4/11/76

STAR

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

Staff Reporter

Johannesburg's 520 638 strong black work force, which was urged to stay away from work for five days this week, defied the call.

They did this fully aware of the risks involved in defying the call by the students, whose apparent aim is to disrupt the country's economy.

The students also want the workers to stay away from work as a sign of mourning for the hundreds of schoolchildren and adults killed since the disturbances broke out.

During the past weekend, workers had an agonising decision to make — to go to work or not. Many decided to go.

Staying at home would probably result in wages being docked or in being fired. Even more distressing was the possibility of finding one's home razed on returning from work.

There was also the stark possibility of being assaulted or having one's car smashed or burnt when coming home from work.

So, with all these risks, the question is, WHY did the workers defy the call when, on two previous occasions, they responded to the call to strike?

Firstly, it seems, workers felt the duration of the stay-at-home was too long. They asked "What do they expect us to eat?"

LACK DIRECTION

They argued that pupils depended on the salaries their parents earned.

Secondly, the employers' attitude hardened after the previous stay-away. Many boycotters found themselves without jobs.

Some people say the demands by the pupils are many and incessant and seem to lack direction.

Some workers also seem to have heeded rumours that if people stayed away from work, police would raid homes and demand to know why heads of families were not at work.

Some workers, especially those who live in hostels, also feared that they would be "repatriated" to their homelands if found loafing.

Another view is that the boycott was ill-timed, coming so soon after the previous three-day one.

The big question stemming from this massive defiance of student power is whether future "stay-away" calls will be resisted in the same concerted manner.

Urban Affairs – General.

(332)

Vrystellingsnr 1983

AMPTELIKE OPENING VAN DIE ADMINISTRATIEWE KANTORE EN BANTOE-BIERBROUERY DEUR SY EDELE DR. A.P. TREURNICHT, ADJUNK-MINISTER VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE EN VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS OP 4 NOVEMBER 1976 TE BLOEMFONTEIN

Dis vir my altyd aangenaam om aan 'n funksie soos hierdie te kan deelneem, want so 'n funksie staan in die teken van voor-uitgang. Dit is ook 'n voorreg om by sulke geleenthede nouer te kan kennis maak met Raadslede, en ander belangstellendes. Die feit dat beide die Administratiewe kantore en die Bantoe-bierbrouery geopen word, is vir my 'n bewys dat daar steeds po-sitief opgetree word, ten spyte van die moeilike ekonomiese klimaat en onrusfaktore. Soos u miskien bewus is, vorm die 22 Bantoesake-administrasieraade 'n baie belangrike rat in die uitvoering van regeringsbeleid en dra verder ook hul deel by tot die ontwikkeling van die tuislande.

Elkeen ..2/.....

Elkeen van die 22 Bantoesake-administrasieraade in die Republiek het 'n baie groot en verantwoordelike taak. As ons in gedagte hou dat elk van hierdie Rade die Bantoe-administrasiefunksies van 'n groot aantal plaaslike besture oorgeneem het, dan kry ons 'n idee van die omvang van so 'n Raad se verpligtinge. Voorts is die regsgebied van 'n Bantoesake-administrasieraad uit die aard van die saak oneindig groter as dié van elke plaaslike bestuur waarvan die Bantoesake-administrasiefunksies deur die Rade oorgeneem is, want dink maar net hoe baie plaaslike besture daar in die Republiek is en hulle almal se jurisdiksiegebiede is nou verdeel tussen 'n skamele 22 Administrasieraade.

Om so 'n groot gebied se sake rakende die Bantoe doeltreffend te administreer, is geen geringe taak nie. Weliswaar is die Bantoesake-administrasierade steeds aanwesig binne die regs= gebiede van die verskillende individuele plaaslike besture om Bantoesake plaaslik te beheer, maar ek dink u sal dit met my eens wees dat 'n uitgestrekte gebied soos dié van 'n Administrasieraad nie doeltreffend beheer kan word as so 'n Raad nie oor 'n doeltreffende hoofkantoor beskik nie.

Een van die hoofdoelstellings met die instelling van Bantoesake-administrasierade was juis om die Bantoesakefunksies van 'n groot aantal kleinere en grotere plaaslike besture onder één sentrale gesag te plaas. Nie net lei dit tot beter beheeruitoefening

en .....4/.....

en doeltreffender administrasie nie, maar daar word ook beter omgesien na die belange van die Bantoe op 'n grotere strecks= grondslag.

Uit wat ek pas verduidelik het, volg dit dat Bantoesake-administrasierade 'n meer uitgebreide funksie het betreffende die Bantoe as wat individuele plaaslike besture in die vroeëre bedeling gehad het. Omdat die hoofkantoor van 'n Bantoesake-administrasieraad, soos trouens dié van enige geordende orga= nisasie, die beheersentrum is vanwaar sentrale gesag uitge= oefen word, is dit gebiedend noodsaaklik dat daardie kantoor doeltreffend moet funksioneer en om dit te kan regkry, moet

dit .....5/.....

dit behoorlik ingerig wees.

Met die totstandkoming van die Administrasierade enkele jare gelede, het die probleem van geskikte akkommodasie, en veral akkommodasie van hoofkantoorpersoneel, vry algemeen voorgekom. Tot my spyt moet erken dat hierdie probleem nog lank nie oral opgelos is nie, maar ek is bly om te kan getuig dat ek van geen Administrasieraad weet wat nie ywerig en daadwerklike pogings aangewend het, en nog steeds aanwend, om hierdie knelpunt die hoof te bied nie.

As gevolg van 'n baie ernstige tekort aan voldoende kantoor=

huisvesting ... 6/....

huisvesting, het die Stadsraad van Bloemfontein onder die vorige bedeling, opdrag aan sy argitek gegee om 'n nuwe kantoorkompleks vir sy Nie-Blanke Administrasie Departement, te ontwerp. Nadat die beplanning daarvan voltooi is, het die Stadsraad 'n stuk grond geleë aangrensend aan die plaas= like Bantoewoongebied vir die oprigting van die gebou beskik= baar gestel. Gedurende hierdie tydperk is die Bantoesake-administrasieraadstelsel in die lewe geroep en is die be= trokke argitek, in die lig daarvan, opdrag gegee om voorsiening vir hierdie doel te maak. Waar die kantoorkompleks aanvanklik beplan was vir 'n laer grondvloer, hoër grondvloer en eerste vloer, moes daar inderhaas in die beplanning voorsiening

gemaak ..... 7/.....

;emaak word vir nog twee bykomende vloere.

Ten tye van die instelling van die Suid-Oranje-Vrystaatse Bantoesake-administrasieraad op 1 Augustus 1973 was die kantoorkompleks slegs ongeveer 50% voltooi en moes daar noodgedwonge van bestaande sowel as bykomende kantoorfasi= liteite wat vir hierdie doel in die stad gehuur was, gebruik gemaak word. Na instelling van hierdie Raad, is daar onder= handelings met die Stadsraad van Bloemfontein aangeknoop, wat aangedui het dat hy bereid was om die gebou aan die Bantoesake-administrasieraad beskikbaar te stel.

Dit was dan ook 'n heuglike dag toe die kantoorkompleks 'n jaar na die instelling van die Suid-Oranje-Vrystaatse

Bantoesake ....8/.....

Bantoesake-administrasieraad op 1 Augustus 1974 betrek kon word. Die meeste van die Raad se onderskeie departemente kon derhalwe nou hier gevestig word.

Tans is daar 115 Blankes en 185 Bantoe werksaam in die kan= toorkompleks, terwyl daar ook baie ruim voorsiening vir die bediening van Blanke sowel as Bantoe besoekers aan die gebou, ten opsigte van arbeidsburo-aangeleenthede, gemaak is. Onders= dak waggeriewe vir Bantoe op die terrein is ook voorsien. Die kantoorkompleks huisves ook 'n ruim moderne Raad- sowel as Komiteekamer.

Hierdie .....9/.....

Hierdie kompleks wat teen 'n koste van ongeveer R700 000,00 opgerig is, bestaan uit drie verdiepings, plus twee laer verdiepings. Voorsiening vir onderdak-parkering van die personeel is ook op die terrein gemaak, terwyl parkeer-fasi= liteite vir besoekers ook voorsien is.

As gevolg van 'n dringende behoefte aan verdere kantoor= akkommodasie is daar opdrag aan 'n argiteksfirma gegee om 'n voorlegging te maak vir die beter benutting van die bestaande kantooroppervlaktes.

Die eerste aanduiding is dat 'n 25% verhoogde benutting verkry

sal .....10/.....

sal kan word, hoofsaaklik as gevolg van die verkleining van die bestaande kantore. Dit is dus duidelik dat dit hierdie Raad se erns is om sy probleme op die mees ekonomiese wyse te probeer oplos.

Vergun my nou die geleentheid mnr. die Voorsitter, om my vandag meer bepaald te wend tot die kommoditeit Bantoebier, en die brouery wat ook vandag deur my geopen word.

Soos so baie werksaamhede wat die mens by sy huis begin het,

het .....11/.....

het die brou en verskaffing van Bantoebier van 'n baie beskeie begin gegroei tot 'n reusenywerheid waarin die plaaslike besture voorheen, en nou die Bantoesake-administrasierade, miljoene rand in geboue en toerusting moes belê om 'n diens aan die stedelike Bantoe te lewer, en hierdie bedryf besorg ook 'n leeftog aan 'n groot aantal mense.

Dit is jammer dat so baie mense so min van Bantoebier af weet. My Departement en die onderskeie Bantoesake-administrasierade word dikwels onderwerp aan kritiek, wat slegs toegeskryf kan word aan die feit dat die breë publiek oningelig is oor die oorsprong en ontwikkeling van die kommoditeit bantoebier, en die daarmee gepaardgaande navorsing wat hieruit voortgespruit het. 'n Sprekende voorbeeld van navorsing is die oprigting van

hierdie .... 12/....

hierdie brouery wat nou deur die Raad in gebruik geneem gaan word. Die feit dat die Raad dit goed gedink het om hierdie brouery op te rig, teen 'n beraamde koste van nagenoeg R2,4 miljoen as 'n voorsieningspoging vir die Raad se hele gebied, is maar net weer 'n bewys dat die owerhede in hierdie land ook na die ou gevestigde tradisies van die Bantoe omsien.

Tydens 'n vergadering wat deur die Suid-Oranje-Vrstaatse Bantoesake administrasieraad op 14 Augustus 1973 gehou is, is daarvan kennis geneem dat die Maatskappy, wat in daardie stadium die Raad se Bantoebier gebrou het, se ooreenkoms op 13 Maart 1976 sou

verstryk ....13/....

Tarkwyk, en dat dit my Departement se sienswyse was dat hierdie besondere brou-ooreenkoms nie hernieu moet word nie. Die keuse vir die Raad was derhalwe nie moeilik nie, en daar is gevolglik om die voorgeskrewe Ministeriële goedkeuring gevra, wat dan ook deur Sy Edele die Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling op 18 Maart 1974 toegestaan is. In hierdie stadium het die Raad besef dat 'n moeilike tydsdoelwit van alle deelnemers van die projek gestel sou moes word, en dat sukses slegs behaal sou kon word, indien die masjinerie in hoogste versnelling kom en so sou bly. Die Raadgewende ingenieurs, mnre. Strydom en Roux, het dan ook byna die onmoontlike vermag deur volledige planne en spesifikasies

gedurende ....14/.....

gedurende Mei 1974 beskikbaar te hê, wat tot gevolg gehad het dat die geboukontrak aan mnre. Leekor Konstruksie op 4 Junie 1974 toegestaan kon word, en die toerustingtender aan mnre. Almaks Engineering op 13 September 1974.

Soos dit maar met die oprigting van 'n projek van hierdie omvang dikwels gaan, het daar feitlik uit die staanspoor probleme ontstaan. 'n Ernstige tekort aan staal het die projek vir minstens twee maande vertraag. Daarsy onderhandelings op hoë vlak met Yskor, waarby die oormalige Adjunk-minister, mnr. Janson, my Departement, die Raad, en die Raadgewende ingenieurs ook betrokke was, i. hierdie

probleem ....15/.....

probleem opgelos.

Weens 'n gebrek aan die veiligheidsfaktor van reserwe tyd het die moontlikheid altyd bestaan dat die Brouery nie betyds op 13 Maart 1976 voltooi kon wees nie; gevolglik is voorsiening gemaak met die boukontrakteur vir die aangaan van 'n nuwe kontrak vir 'n verdere termyn van hoogstens 3 maande.

Op 1 Junie 1976 is die eerste proefbrouo onderneem, en het die byna onmoontlike 'n werklikheid geword. Teen 10 Junie 1976 was feitlik alle toerusting reeds getoets en is die Raad se nuwe Bantoebier, Thabure, gebore.

Die Raad ... 16/....

Die Raad se bier het voorheen bekend gestaan as Kwaza, maar in die lig van die oprigting van die nuwe brouery, is besluit om 'n nuwe handelsnaam aan die kommoditeit toe te ken.

'n Wedstryd vir 'n nuwe benaming is dus uitgeskryf en 'n redelike getal verbruikers het 'n wit perd met die naam "Thabure" voorgestel.

Ondersoek deur die Raad het aan die lig gebring dat Thabure die wit perd van die beroemde Basotho-koning, Letsie (seun van Moeshoeshoe - stigter van die Suid-Sotho nasie) was, en 'n belangrike verbintenis het met die Witperd teen Naval-Heuwel.

Hoewel ..... 17/.....

Hoewel dit 'n dwaalbegrip is - die perd is deur die Wiltshire regiment tydens die Driejarige oorlog aan die Oostekant van Naval-Heuwel aangebring - verleen dit prominensie aan die idee van die wit perd. Daar word dan ook gevolglik in alle Bantoeskole in Bloemfontein (Sotho, Tswana en Xhosa) gesind van Thabure, die wit perd.

Die brouery wat vandag hier staan, is beplan om 'n aanvanklike kapasiteit van 31 miljoen liter per jaar te hanteer. Met 'n bykomende skofuitbreiding sal 45 miljoen liter per jaar gebrou kan word. Indien dit nodig sou word, kan die broukapasiteit nog verder verdubbel word met die toevoeging van verdere

broutoerusting ..18/...

broutoerusting. Dit is dus vir my duidelik dat die brouery deeglik beplan is, en dat die Suid-Oranje-Vrystaatse Bantoesake-administrasieraad grootse planne in die mou voer.

Soos uself kan waarneem gaan dit hier nie slegs om die oprigting van 'n brouery nie. Deeglike beplanning moes vooraf onderneem word, 'n spoorwegaansluiting vir grondstowwe en steenkool moes aangebring word, om nie eens die uitleg van paaie, die installering van 'n stoomopwekkingseenheid, broumateriaalopbergingsruim, mengtoerusting en so meer te noem nie.

As 'n mens iets deegliks beplan en oprig, moet jy bereid woes

om .....19/.....

om jou hand in jou sak te steek. U is bewus daarvan dat toerusting soos stoomketels vandag geweldig duur is. Dit alles het meegebring dat hierdie moderne brouery wat vandag hier geopen word, soos reeds deur my genoem, opgerig is teen 'n koste van bykans R2,4 miljoen.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen

Apart from the fact that Bantu Beer is a refreshing drink, with a low alcohol content of 2-3% by weight, it is today generally recognised by experts to have a high nutritional value. It is a valuable addition of vitamins B and C to the usual Bantu diet, and is also used by the Bantu as a medicine, especially after an exhausting illness, and as a

therapeutic .... 20/...

therapeutic measure in respect of some intestinal disorders.

The brewing and supply of Bantu beer is a national service rendered by Bantu Administration Boards and because it is a service for the benefit of the Bantu, the profits yielded are of secondary importance.

In terms of my Department's policy, Bantu persons cannot be industrial entrepeneurs in White areas and it follows that Administration Boards, as administrators of the affairs pertaining to Bantu in urban areas must therefore be allowed to manufacture and supply Bantu beer. It is desirable that

Boards .... 21/....

Boards should as far as possible manage the Bantu Beer industry in White areas in so far as it served the Bantu. Local authorities, and now the Bantu Administration Boards, have, at great expense, developed this industry and if the Bantu beer industry is thrown open to private concerns, these investments may suffer serious setbacks. It is true, of course, that matters have so developed in the past that certain ingredients used in the brewing of Bantu beer like malt, yeast, beer powders and liquids are manufactured by the private sector, but that is as far as private enterprise was permitted to go.

Another consideration closely linked with the monopoly of Administration Boards to manufacture and supply Bantu beer, has to do with the utilization of such profits as may be de=

rived .... 21/.

rived from the sale of the beer. As you know, all such profits are used solely for the benefit of the Bantu communities for purposes specifically laid down in the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and also in accordance with determinations which may be made in this respect in terms of the law.

My Department and myself have in the past been criticised for allowing the erection of breweries, described as monuments, in an attempt to buy the goodwill of the Bantu. That of course is an untruth. This brewery for instance was erected in collaboration with the C.S.I.R. and the Buro of Standards and the emphasis falls heavily on the hygienic aspects which necessarily raises the costs of an efficient industry such as this considerably. In this context it must again be

emphasised ...

emphasised that it is the policy of my Department to regard Bantu beer of a high standard as a food of high nitritional value supplementary to the daily diet of the Bantu and thus the supply of Bantu beer is in this respect also a service to the Bantu.

Through development and progress the matter of brewing and supplying this traditional Bantu beverage - actually I should say food - has changed, but the ingredients and the essence thereof, have remained unchanged.

As a result of development and advancement, Bantu beer is today manufactured in modern factories and in very large

quantities ... 23/.....

quantities.

The Bantu beer brewery is a food factory where modern techniques in the manufacture, packaging and marketing of the product have been adopted and where machinery, originally designed for use in other nutritional industries was adapted to suit the demands of the Bantu beer industry.

As I have pointed out, this industry has now developed into a highly sophisticated one. Bantu Affairs Administration Boards involved in the Bantu beer industry, have therefore given earnest attention to the appointment of personnel in responsible positions in this particular industry and to the selection of

only .... 24/.....

only the best available persons with the highest qualifications and experience in this field. Educational facilities with bursaries financed by the Bantu Beer Research Fund are available. The Bantu Beer Industry, through years of hard work, in co-operation with the C.S.I.R. and S.A.B.S., has attained a very high standard, and Boards must therefore ensure that this high standard is maintained.

The basic sciences involved in the brewing of Bantu beer are chemistry and biochemistry, microbiology, physics and engi= neering. A person in charge of a brewery needs a sound know= ledge of the fundamentals of the sciences mentioned. He should also have a sound practical knowledge of hygiene. A number of the older breweries, as surveys by the South African Bureau of

Standards .... 25/.....

Standards have shown, are in this respect in an unsatisfactory state. Through ignorance prevailing at that time, equipment of unsuitable design for this particular industry was accepted from manufacturers and alterations in the course of operations were per= mitted which often worsened the position.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in Great Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, one found the beginning of what was at that stage a relatively novel phenomenon - the evolution of cottage or traditional crafts into what are presently termed industries. The reason for this was simple - by the division of labour with resultant specialization, it was

possible .... 26/.....

possible to achieve a greater output of uniform quality at lower cost.

This example of the transformation of a traditional domestically-based cottage enterprise into modern industry, is applicable to the Bantu Beer industry as it exists in South Africa at present. The industry is protected in terms of legislation in White areas by the Bantu beer Act of 1962 and in Bantu Areas by Proclamation R50 of 1963, regulating production and sale of the product. In White areas the alcohol content may not exceed three per cent. A Bantu Beer Industry Committee, reporting to me, exists and is charged with, inter-alia, policy matters concerning the industry.

This .... 27/....

This includes the erection of new breweries and the training of personnel. Research is funded by means of a small sales levy on beer sold in areas other than the homelands.

Four sectors are involved in the production and distribution of Bantu beer. The main concentration of production facili= ties is in the 22 newly constituted Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. Mines, industrial undertakings, power stations and other large Bantu employers form the second sector, while the third sector includes various homeland development organizations, which either operate their own breweries, or buy from the administration boards for redistribution in the homelands.

The .... 28/....

The fourth sector is the homebrewering activity, which includes shebeens as well as traditional domestic production in rural areas.

Bantu beer, when compared to other forms of alcoholic beverages stands head and shoulders above the rest as far as its nutritional value is concerned. Its production utilizes traditional raw materials, which are still in part produced by Bantu farmers, and it is the cheapest, low-alcoholic content beverage available. The C.S.I.R. is deeply involved in research into its future. Bantu beer is unique and is sold in an active state of fermentation; it cannot at present be bottled and sealed. Consequently it has a shelf life of, at best, about

one ..... 29/....

one week.

Special problems occur in the marketing of the beer - both in terms of actual distribution, and retail. These and other problems are currently being investigated by researchers with the primary object to produce the best beer possible at the least possible cost.

This then is a brief review of the industry today, and the role of scientific and technological research in bringing it to where it is.

The .... 30/....

The extent and importance of this industry hardly requires further emphasis, but I should like to point out that the image of this product must be upgraded by considering the erection of more restaurant/beer garden complexes. The siting of beer halls is of equal importance. A beerhall being a place where the Bantu meet socially must therefore be sited in their residential area where they can give expression to their traditions and customs in their domestic surroundings, among their own people. In the Bantu residential area the beerhall frequently satisfies another very important need, for it serves as a community hall, especially in smaller towns where no other provision exists for such an amenity. In this connection Administration Boards will be wise

if .... 31/....

if they try to improve the leisure facilities of these beer halls as much as possible. In this respect the use of Television, our latest novelty in South Africa, on a mass presentation basis beyond any doubt comes to the fore.

Mnr. die Voorsitter die langtermynvoortbestaan van Bantoebier-ondernemings is primêr afhanklik van hul vermoë om verbruikers-behoeftes te bevredig. Hierdeur sal 'n vraag van ekonomiese omvang verseker dat hierdie kapitaalintensiewe bedrywe steeds die produk in groot volumes, teen 'n relatief lae prys en teen 'n aanvaarbare winsvlak kan bemark.

.... 32/....

Die juiste winsgewendheid op bates belê in Bantoebierbedrywe is steeds vaag. Meer aandag moet aan kosteberekening, bedryfsgeoriënteerde begrotings en doeltreffende aanwending van skaars produksiemiddele geskenk word. Dit sal lei tot beter omlynde winsdoelwitte en in die algemeen sal langtermynbeplanning ook toegepas moet word.

'n Voorvereiste vir meer doeltreffende ondernemings is 'n duidelik omlynde produkontwikkeling-, investering, en bemarkingsbeleid.

Belegging in 'n bepaalde projek is baie meer as net 'n besluit om 'n bepaalde kapitaaluitgawe aan te gaan en is sterk afhanklik

van .... 33/...

van subjektiewe faktore. Die vernaamste hiervan is die bestaan van die nodige vertroue om risiko's te aanvaar en om deur positiewe ondernemingsbestuur die saak op 'n goeie winsbasis uit te bou.

'n Investeringsbesluit kan nie eenmalig geneem word nie, maar word aangevul en opgevolg deur verdere besluite, ten einde die sukses van die projek te waarborg, en meer winsgewend te maak. Hier veral is voortdurende aanpassing by die mark en verbetering van bemarking, van kardinale belang.

Die oprigting van die brouery hier, is dus net die begin van

hierdie .... 34/....

hierdie onderneming se ontwikkeling. Dit is my mening dat alleenlik deur doelgerigte mark-ontwikkeling 'n goeie produk, en diens wat verbruikers op die lange duur sal bevredig, die swart inwoners in die gebied goeie bier in so 'n mate sal verbruik dat die kapitaal= belegging alhier geregverdig is. Indien Bantoebier die beeld van gesonde voedseldrank vir alle mense kan verwerf, is die moontlikheid van 'n selfs groter mark as net vir die Swart inwoners, natuurlik nie uitgesluit nie.

Die brou en verkoop van Bantoebier is eerstens uniek in die opsig dat dit die enigste moderne bedryf is wat gefundeer is op, en voortgevloei het uit die Bantoekultuur. Tweedens is dit miskien

die ..... 35/....

die enigste moderne bedryf van hierdie omvang in Suidelike Afrika; wat sy ontstaan aan die Bantoe te danke het, en uitsluitend vir die Bantoe ontwikkel is.

Derdens word die unieke situasie aangetref dat dit 'n tradisie van die Bantoe is wat deur plaaslike owerhede (nou Bantoesake-administrasieraede) met die koms van die Bantoe na die Blankegebiede namens die Bantoe, ontwikkel en gemoderniseer is. Ten laaste word die unieke situasie aangetref dat die huisbedryf wat die Bantoe met hom saamgebring het, tot 'n reus ontwikkel het wat nie net sy plek in die Blankegebiede volstaan nie, maar nou, met behulp van die Korporasies, sy skrede wend na sy plek van oorsprong, om daar sy plek in die ontwikkelingsproses van die Bantoetuisland=

gebiede ... 36/.....

gebiede in te neem.

Die 22 Bantoesake-administrasierade in die Republiek is aangewese vir hulle voortbestaan uit eie fondse.

In hierdie opsig speel die winste verkry uit Bantoebier, ten spyte van die klein winsgrens, 'n baie belangrike rol. Dit is dus van kardinale belang dat die Rade elke moontlike mark ten opsigte van Bantoebier moet benut. Na wat ek verneem, bestaan daar 'n onderneming deur die drankhandelaarsvereniging van Bloemfontein en die Stadsraad van Bloemfontein dat hulle nie Bantoebier sal bemark nie. Verder is dit my ook meegedeel dat die verkoopsyfer van Bantoebier deur Blankedrankhandelaars in

Junie ..... 37/...

Junie 1972 toe hierdie verkope gestaak is, 150 000 liter beloop het, of 10% van die huidige omset van die hele gebied.

Omdat ek egter nie bewus is van al die feite wat gelei het tot genoemde besluit nie, wil ek my nie veel hieroor uitlaat nie.

Aangesien Bloemfontein Munisipaliteit en die drankhandelaarsvereniging, sover vasgestel kan word, egter die enigste instansie van so 'n omvang is, wat hierdie besluit geneem het, kom dit my voor asof daar iewers 'n misverstand kan wees.

Ek sal ..... 38/...

Ek sal dit dus baie waardeer indien die belanghebbende instansies weer hierdie aspek in oënskou sal noem.

Mnr. die Voorsitter, dames en here, ek wil graag al daardie personeel van die Suid-Oranje-Vrystaat Bantoesake-administrasie= raad wat gemoeid was met die daarstelling van hierdie mooi hoofkantoorkompleks, van harte bedank vir hul ywer. Daardie ywer en harde werk word vandag, by hierdie ingebruiknemings= plegtigheid van u gebou waarmee een en almal u ongetwyfeld gelukwens, ryklik beloon. Hiermee verklaar ek dus hierdie Administratiewe kantore as geopen.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it now also affords me

great ..... 39/....

great pleasure in declaring this Bantu brewery duly opened. This I do in the firm conviction that it will establish itself as a living monument - not only as a sound development scheme, but also to devoted practical idealists who were and always will be determined to make their contributions towards the inter= dependent development between our White nation, and the Bantu nations of South Africa.

UITGEREIK DEUR DIE DEPARTEMENT VAN INLIGTING OP VERSOEK VAN DIE MINISTERIE VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE EN -ONTWIKKELING EN VAN BANTOE-ONDERWYS.

4 NOVEMBER 1976 PRETORIA

(552)

Non-whites 'train to liberate'

6/11/76 RM

MAFEKING — Several organisations including White South African Opposition parties — were sending non-White students to be trained for the "liberation struggle" the Cillie Commission of Inquiry was told here yesterday.

Giving evidence was a senior Bophuthatswana Government official who may not be named.

He told of two incidents in which non-White children were sent abroad for training — one to Tanzania and the other to Europe "so that afterwards they can come back and liberate South Africa."

Asked by Mr. E. van Graan, leading evidence, whether the ANC was involved the official replied: "not only the ANC. There are many organisations like the Black Peoples Convention. Even Opposition parties Black and White are taking part," he said.

He said an Alexandra schoolboy went to relatives in Mafeking while on the run from the police.

"He told them he was a Saso member and had been given a ticket by an English-speaking White man who was financing his trip to Europe.

Gave up study

The boy said he would undergo training in Germany and other European countries and then come back to liberate the people in South Africa."

The witness told of another incident in which a schoolgirl gave up her studies and went to Gaborone, Botswana, from where she flew to Tanzania.

Her mother followed and saw where she went.

Certain organisations must be supplying these children with money because they could never afford to do these things alone, he said.

The witness believed both non-White and White opposition parties in South Africa were involved because of their opposition to the homeland policy and the independence of Bophuthatswana.

He said the "anti-independence attitude" was also a major cause of the riots that flared in the Mafeking district.

Opposition

People opposed independence because they thought the Bophuthatswana Government was accepting the separate development policy. Most people were against that, he said.

Other reasons for the rioting were dissatisfaction with Bantu education and all aspects of petty apartheid.

Chief Lionel Benjamin Sentlebe, headmaster of the Baitshoki Secondary Schol near Lichtenburg, told Mr. Justice Cillie that African students had studied the French revolution and discovered the concepts of liberty, fraternity and equality.

They believed they would never enjoy these rights in South Africa without the same violent revolution.

"They see the White man as a symbol of oppression and believe getting rid of the White man is a way of achieving liberty."

Students believed the South African situation was the same as in France before the revolution and believed violence was necessary before South Africa would be liberated, Mr. Sentlebe said.

Several teachers supported them in this belief.

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'Black rule in the homelands alone'

8/11/76 STAR.

Tim Patten,
Political Reporter

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, told American television viewers in an interview that black majority rule would never come about in South Africa itself, other than in the homelands.

The political rights in the homelands would satisfy black aspirations.

Faced with a formidable panel of questioners on the CBS programme "Face the Nation" — which reached an audience of 20 million in America alone, and was also screened on SABC-TV last night — Mr Vorster appeared confident and unyielding in his defence of South Africa's race policies.

He gave no hint of Government plans to accelerate change, especially on the status and rights of urban blacks, but emphasised the change was continuous in South Africa at a pace that was right.

The Prime Minister presented Government policies forcefully, and parried with his questioners on a variety of subjects.

The panel facing Mr Vorster consisted of George Herman, CBS political analysist and anchorman, Robin Wright, Southern African correspondent for the Washington Post and CBS, and Jack Foisie, correspondent in Southern Africa for the Los Angeles Times.

Here are extracts from the interview:

● Wright: If the talks should irretrievably break down, will South Africa continue to support Rhodesia particularly with war supplies coming through and from South Africa that are so necessary to fight the 4-year-old guerilla war?

PRESSURE

Mr Vorster: What I am prepared to say is that our attitude towards Rhodesia has always been that we don't endulge in boycotts, that we don't believe in closure of borders. And the policy of South Africa will remain.

● Foisie: I know you dislike the word pressure. But what was your influence on Smith that made him accept, or helped make him accept Kissinger proposals?

Mr Vorster: All I did was to give Mr Smith the position as I saw it. We discussed the various alternatives but the decision, and I want to make that quite clear, the decision Rhodesia arrived at was its own decision and Rhodesia wasn't pressurised in any way by South Africa at that time or at any time before that.

● Foisie: Could I try another word on you? Encourage Mr Smith?

Mr Vorster: It is not for me to prescribe or to encourage him. It is only for me to discuss, to give my frank views as far as the alternatives are concerned, but I've always adopted the attitude that I was not prepared to twist Mr Smith's arm but that any decision he arrived at would be his own.

● Wright: Exactly two years ago, this month, you announced that you expected changes in South Africa that would surprise the world. Are you satisfied that you have introduced those changes? Because the world at this point does not appear to be surprised.

Mr Vorster: No, I'm afraid you misunderstood what I said two years ago. In that speech in my constituency at Nigel, it happened in reality I didn't speak about changes at all. I spoke about South Africa's situation and then went out of my way, and I called upon the newspaper editors and commentators in this country and asked them to give South Africa a change.

"I said if you gave South Africa a chance you would be surprised how far South Africa stood within six months.

RULE

● Wright: Do you plan to accelerate the pace of change in South Africa to show the world that you are getting on with the blacks and finding a peaceful situation here.

Mr Vorster: Whatever changes are made in South Africa will not be made to show this man or that country. They will be made because it is necessary to make in South Africa. I'm not doing it to please anyone, but I'm doing it because its either right to make it or not.

● Foisie: With blacks outnumbering whites by four to one, do you foresee black majority rule sometime in the future?

Mr Vorster: Yes certainly. Black majority rule for the Xhosas in the Transkei, black majority rule for the Zulus in Zululand and for the Vendas in Vendaland and the Tswanas in their land, but certainly not in the rest of South Africa.

CRITICISM

● Wright: Do you really believe the world is going to accept South Africa's policy in the light of the mounting criticism against it?

Mr Vorster: Well, good lady, as far as the policy is concerned this policy has been devised not for the world, it has been devised for South African conditions and South African conditions alone.

It's not meant for export. But as I have said, it's for South Africa and the peculiar circumstances that do exist in South Africa itself.

● Herman: And you are convinced that it will quell what your Police Minister, Mr Kruger, called "black anger".

Mr Vorster: I think as far as the political question is concerned it will certainly do that.

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Aliens Bill for Transkei

9/11/76

UMTATA — All persons who are not citizens of Transkei, including South Africans, will be defined as aliens in Transkei, the Minister of Interior, Miss S. Sigcau, announced in the National Assembly yesterday.

DD

Speaking at the second reading of the Aliens Control Amendment Act, 1976, Miss Sigcau said her department was at present drafting a Bill to provide for the control of entry and departure of aliens to and from Transkei.

She said the Bill would be tabled during the 1977 session of the House.

In the meantime to control the sojourn and movement of aliens in Transkei the Transkeian Government would use the Aliens Control Amendment Act as Acts of 1937 and 1972.

"In view of the fact that Transkei is no longer part of South Africa, South African citizens must therefore be included in the concept alien as far as the Republic of Transkei is concerned," Miss Sigcau said.

It was necessary to amend the definition of alien in the Act to declare all persons who are not citizens of Transkei to be aliens. — DDC.

247/332

Citizens' Plea by Burger

Political Correspondent

THE official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, the Burger, has, through its influential political columnist, Dawie, been out right across Government policy.

In his column yesterday Dawie (the Editor, Dr Piet Cillie) repeated his remarkable plea of five days ago for a team approach for full citizenship for all those in South Africa who could not be given free but type "separate freedom" in their own state.

The deviation from the [illegible] by the Burger [illegible] significant since the newspaper has been noted for its conservative approach in Nationalist politics in recent years.

In effect, Dawie's proposals appear to be in defiance of the Prime Minister himself, who has repeatedly stated that blacks become outside the homelands must exercise political rights in those areas, and that the coloured and Indian people would never be represented in the White Parliament under [illegible] Government.

Dawie wrote yesterday that where a prospect of equal freedom has been seen in Israel [illegible] by other [illegible] would at least have to be the prospect of equal freedom next to the Whites in the newly designed State structure.

Basing his argument on the need for all to have an [illegible] objective for [illegible] [illegible] constitutional [illegible] to protect defeated [illegible] could be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Yesterday, Dawie [illegible] the foundation [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] did not have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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(see 123)

STAR

11/11/76

Minister asked to clear up confusion

The West Rand Administration Board is to ask the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, to specify the period of leases under the new home-ownership scheme for urban blacks.

At a seminar on black home ownership in Johannesburg today, it became apparent that the "indefinite period" term used in relation to home ownership leases in Soweto was confusing.

Several questioners referred to this "indefinite period" as not being specific enough to allay black fears that the homeownership scheme may not be reversed at some stage by the Government.

This was in spite of assurances by the chief director of the West Rand Board, Mr J C de Villiers, that he regarded "indefinite" as being "in perpetuity."

Mr de Villiers agreed that the board should ask the Minister to clear up the confusion.

"In some quarters this is interpreted as a period of uncertain duration," Mr de Villiers said.

"My own interpretation, and the one which I believe reflects the intention of the Minister of Bantu Administration, is just the opposite."

He said he had no hesitation in suggesting that "indefinite" should be interpreted as "in perpetuity."

THE EMPHASIS

Mr de Villiers added that he believed the State housing authorities agreed with the West Rand board that in future housing projects the emphasis should be on a better type of house.

"Less and less elementary housing should be

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[illegible] experience has been [illegible] ing basic [illegible] and [illegible] protective [illegible]

[illegible] new dimension in [illegible] should [illegible] not only for [illegible] [illegible] needs [illegible]

O Rampins blows up over Soweto homes—Page [illegible]

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F.M. 12/11/76

That South Africa will shortly have a new acronym to add to the list which already contains gems like BOSS, BAD, and PISCOM?

Bantustan leaders and Urban Bantu Councillors will be meeting on December 2 to launch a new Black Unity Movement, BUM. Not surprisingly, the Soweto SRC this week denounced BUM as "ridiculous".

THE UPHEAVALS

BAD vibes

Organised industry is getting fed up with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) — so much so that one member of the FCI's president's committee, J R Wilson, has described BAD as "the nigger in the woodpile".

FIN. MAIL 12/11/76 (332)

Some of the FCI's frustrations with the bloated BAD apparat are shared by Police Minister James Kruger. Kruger is particularly unhappy with the burden which the pass laws throw on his policemen.

Typically, the FCI's frustrations have come to light not in public pronouncements, but at a meeting of its president's committee at the end of August. FCI president Dan Benade was reporting back on a meeting which he, executive director Hennie Reynders, and other FCI brass had with Kruger in Cape Town.

Benade told the committee Kruger had said that failure to carry a pass should not be a criminal offence. The Minister referred to Blacks who spent the greater part of their lives in prison because they did not have passes. Every time they were released they were again arrested within a week and thrown back into prison. This was a tremendous burden both on the police and on the country as a whole.

According to Benade, Kruger had mentioned the idea of sending pass transgressors to "training centres" similar to those to which Coloured "vagrants" in the Western Cape are sent. He suggested that convicted pass offenders could be given the choice of jail or signing a contract to go to a training centre for a year.

Kruger also told the FCI men that there were 100 000 prisoners in South Africa but that industrial council regulations in the building industry prohibited him from using any of these prisoners to build prisons.

Benade . . . reporting back

D W R Hertzog told the FCI committee that it was a pity government did not take more cognisance of what some of the top police officials were saying, as many of their suggestions were way ahead of the thinking of other government departments. Other speakers confirmed this.

I G Murray, of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries (TCI), said the TCI (which submitted a long memorandum on the Soweto troubles to the Prime Minister) had received support in discussions with the police, but that BAD had been "most unyielding" to the TCI's views.

Wilson added that the experience in Natal was similar: there was a big difference between police and BAD thinking. Jack Holloway, the new president of the TCI, pointed out that there was also conflict between BAD and the Department of Community Development. This should be highlighted, he said.

Kruger appears to be taking a constructive line on some issues. A pity then that he had to regale the FCI with his tired old harangue about "Black Power", with odds and sods about "subversion" thrown in, rather than take a hard look at underlying causes.

Although the original troubles in Soweto can be blamed on the Afrikaans language issue, which fell outside the scope of Kruger's department, the major contributing factor to the continuing tension is the campaign of intimidation which his own police force is conducting in Soweto: mass raids, unprovoked attacks on mourners at funerals, large scale detentions without trial. Young children are now so terrified of police raids that many of them dare not sleep at home at night. Kruger could go a very long way towards restoring peace by simply heeding the repeated calls to him to get his policemen out of the township.

259/(333)/30.

Blacks may soon have more rights in business

Own Correspondent

The Government is thinking of extending black business rights in urban black townships.

This includes allowing white know-how and perhaps even white capital into the black townships.

However, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Willem Cruywagen, says no firm decisions had yet been taken.

He said he discussed certain matters with the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) and asked the organisation to come forward with proposals to improve the position of black businessmen.

He also proposed that Nafcoc meet him on an annual basis for discussion in this regard.

CAPITAL

Certain matters have also been referred for consideration to the Bantu Affairs Commission, including the question of investment capital for the black townships.

Mr Cruywagen said he believed black businessmen had to be given better facilities, but the question was where the capital for this should come from.

"Actually, Nafcoc does not really want white capital in the black areas, but ways could be devised of getting white know-how into the areas," he said.

He said he had suggested to Nafcoc that the immediate problems of black businessmen be dealt with, like floor space for shops and the better use of existing business premises.

Curbs on black businessmen, like limiting them to one undertaking, could also be reconsidered.

Mr Cruywagen pointed out, however, that the present limitation was not an absolute rule, and the businessmen could apply to have more than one business.

On the question of white capital and the establishment of supermarkets in the black townships, Mr Cruywagen said there was also the small businessman to think of who might be pushed out of business.

Home ownership for blacks: scheme is cynical

16/11/76 Star

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There is an overwhelming case for urban black home ownership says MR PHILIP SCEALES, chairman of the United Building Society. In an interview with Tom Duff he expresses strong reservations about the present system of leasehold for urban blacks.

It is dishonest to describe the present leasehold scheme in urban black townships as home ownership, says Mr Sceales.

"The Government would not dare to have the effrontery to offer this to the white population and call it home ownership.

"The scheme now put forward is to my mind completely cynical."

Mr Sceales compares it with the scheme devised by property magnate Chaim Wainer. As the owner of flats subject to rent control, he developed a scheme to sell the flats. The monthly instalments were much more than the rent the tenants had previously paid, yet the scheme was so devised that they never became the owners.

"This is exactly the scheme the Government is offering to the blacks," says Mr Sceales.

"At the moment they admittedly pay a very modest rental. Under the government scheme they will pay much more than the rental. But the lease is for an indefinite period, which means it can be terminated at any time.

"If a black is endorsed out, he will lose his home. If he dies, he cannot bequeath it to his family. If he purchases the lease of a piece of land, he does not own the land and any building he may erect is not his property. It is the property of the owner of the land, namely the particular Bantu Administration Board."

The United Building Society has felt strongly for many years that urban black people should be allowed to own their homes, says Mr Sceales.

"They save money with us, make deposits. It seems obvious that if urban blacks own their homes in townships like Soweto and other very congested areas on the Witwatersrand, home ownership will create a stable population. People will be proud of their homes, will seek to improve them and will be given a higher standard of living and an incentive to save."

He notes with concern the large amount of money blacks spend in beerhalls.

"As an industrialist I have noticed that since black wages were increased, in many instances there has been greatly increased absenteeism. There is so little purpose to which they can apply the money they earn.

"We believe very strongly in a capitalist society. Blacks number about 70 percent of our population. Unless they can participate in capitalist society, they are not going to support it. Here is the most straightforward way of making them capitalists.

"In short: If the vast majority of the black population in the urban townships were homeowners, the recent riots would have been far less severe than they have had deteriorated to their present state, and terrorism was only beginning in Rhodesia.

"I said that nowhere had I ever heard of a homeowner who is a terrorist

"One of the basic tenets of communism is that there is no private ownership of land By its present actions, the Government is promoting communism in this respect.

"In short: There is an overwhelming case for true urban black home ownership"

He says it may not be widely appreciated that most mortgage loans granted by building societies are subsidised by employers. This includes both the Government and the private sector.

"Virtually all the large companies have schemes with building societies in which they provide collateral security and the societies then grant loans to their employees.

"It is a great factor in recruiting, retaining and stabilising the labour force. We know from the positive approaches made to us that just as employers assist their white employees, even more would they like to assist their black employees.

"In fact, if they were able to do this, at a time when the Government is very short of money, they could help to shoulder the burden of providing houses for black people. But for this to happen, proper home ownership must be allowed."

Mr Sceales points out that six years ago he and his colleagues called for home ownership for blacks. This was at a time before political conditions

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'You have gone too far,' Kruger tells Suzman

By David Willers

17/11/76

THE MINISTER of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, this week told Mrs Helen Suzman, "This time you have gone too far."

Mr Kruger accused Mrs Suzman, of inflaming the situation in Soweto by making wild allegations about the police.

In an interview yesterday Mr Kruger admitted telephoning Mrs Suzman and said that what he had told her should not be interpreted as a threat.

"I was calling her to her sense of parliamentary duty," he said, adding: "Her comments must be seen as inflammatory insofar as the police are made to look like dictators — such irresponsible statements could make the people very, very angry with the police."

In an interview after her meeting with Mr Kruger, Mrs Suzman said that policemen were arresting Soweto pupils, who were refusing to write examinations.

Mr Kruger denied this and said that such a denial had also been issued to Mrs Suzman by a senior police officer, Brigadier J Visser, before Mrs Suzman made her comments to the press.

"This was a most irresponsible statement for a parliamentarian to make," Mr Kruger said. "She should not have made it without first checking up on her facts."

Earlier Mr Kruger dismissed as "completely unfounded" remarks by Mrs Suzman that he had misread the situation in Soweto.

Mrs Suzman said after she had seen Mr Kruger for an hour on Monday that he did not "understand the dilemma of the young people in the townships".

Mr Kruger said yesterday that while Mrs Suzman was in the USA he was already on top of the situation in Soweto, "doing the job which was allotted to me to do".

He said allegations by Mrs Suzman that the police were arresting children who refused to write exams were "patent nonsense — as anybody who is acquainted with the facts in Soweto would know."

'Hysterical'

"Mrs Suzman made a lot of statements to me in her bombastic kind of way — most of which couldn't hold water," Mr Kruger said.

He added: "It is the duty of the police to keep law and order in Soweto. Charges that the police presence at Soweto schools leads to dangerous situations being created are simply untrue — the police only visit the schools when they are called."

Mr Kruger said Mrs Suzman's attitude during the interview was "almost hysterical — a hysterical outburst". Mrs Suzman herself described the meeting as "heated".

"I attempted to put across the extreme tension and insecurity that is ruling in Soweto and the fact that many hundreds of children are missing although not all of them are detained," Mrs Suzman said after the meeting with Mr Kruger.

The meeting did produce an undertaking by Mr Kruger that he would provide a telephone number, to be announced over Radio Bantu, which parents could telephone to make inquiries about their missing or arrested schoolchildren.

Mrs Suzman had also given Mr Kruger the names of some children being held whose parents had not been informed. Mr Kruger had undertaken to investigate these cases.

"The Minister is convinced that sinister forces, both Black and White, are at work in the townships. I told him that some attempt should be made to speak to the people, otherwise confrontation would continue. He said he would speak to anybody who was not a Black Power advocate or a communist," Mrs Suzman said.

● Mrs Suzman reacted sharply to Mr Kruger's attack last night. "Mr Kruger needs a holiday. It is Mr Kruger who is becoming hysterical, not I," she said.

Mrs Suzman added: "I can understand that the poor man has been carrying the can for the Cabinet since the riots in June." Mrs Suzman said if someone was "on top" of the situation it was strange that schools should be empty and hundreds of children missing.

"Mr Kruger may think that that is a normal situation, but I do not," Mrs Suzman said. She added that Mr Kruger's comments on the phone sounded like a threat — "but Mr Kruger knows that I don't frighten that easily," she said.

Mrs Suzman said that if anybody was making inflammatory remarks it was Mr Kruger himself. "For instance, he talks glibly about the police using birdshot as though it were some kind of toy. He also claims that no one under 16 years old was arrested. I know personally of 14 people under the age of 14 and 16 people under the age of 15 years who have been arrested," she said.

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S. 18/4/76

Mr Cadman

'Give Blacks property rights'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Radclyffe Cadman, Natal leader of the United Party, said yesterday that it would be the greatest folly if the Government did not promote the free enterprise system among Blacks and grant them freehold property rights in urban and rural areas.

In a wide-ranging speech at the start of the party's provincial congress, Mr Cadman also:

- Fully backed Sir De Villiers Graaff's "save South Africa" plan, saying that the press had failed to convey its true aims and the enthusiasm with which it had been received in Natal and elsewhere;
- Said there was too much "close talk" about majority rule which in many parts of Africa had become a sort of "racialism in reverse";
- Called on the Government to promote among Blacks the concept of a free enterprise system — the key to participating in this being the right to own land — because its failure to do so would be seen to be its greatest folly;
- Appealed to the Government to do all it could to assist Transkei to attain and maintain proper standards because the new country would be seen as the likely blueprint for future Black government's elsewhere in South Africa; and,
- Said that from his visit to Southern Africa, the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, had learnt about the apparent unreliability of Rhodesia's Black leaders and the front line presidents who were now trying to change the terms of the peace plan which they knew about in advance.

South Africa had learnt of the West's weakness in facing up to communist incursion into Africa.

Mr Cadman said the Black man wanted the wealth of the West, which was White, and believed he need only take over the Government to get that wealth.

Under the Nationalist Government, Blacks had been excluded from participating in the free enterprise system. Blacks, however, could not participate in it properly until they had the key — which was until they became or had the right to be land owners in the towns and country. This should be done immediately.

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19/11/76

The Cape Times, Friday,

Piet Cillie calls for freedom

THE EDITOR of the Burger, Mr Piet Cillie, yesterday called for a Government declaration of intent — offering full freedom to all people in South Africa not catered for by the homelands policy.

Addressing a meeting of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, he said he was not advocating a new constitution, but a declaration of intent to give a prospect of full freedom to "all the children of a particular state". This would give Afrikaners a "clarity of purpose".

He reiterated the viewpoint of the Burger's Dawie column that there was a need for co-equal citizenship for all peoples in South Africa, if this was not available through the homelands policy.

"We're emphasizing this now," he said, "because people are often more amenable to good sense when they are in trouble."

Mr Cillie said he was not making a plea for the end of the homelands policy. However, the Westminster system of government had served its purpose in South Africa, and had now broken down for all practical purposes.

This had also occurred everywhere else in Africa. It also was against the tradition of the Afrikaner to dominate others permanently.

South Africa was moving, alone, towards a series of multiple crises. The current mood of the West was not conducive to support of the Republic in these crises. Their resolution would require all the spiritual, intellectual and material resources of the country.

(5524/525

Kruger offer: why blacks are sceptical

Star 19/4/86

The promise from Mr Kruger that black schoolchildren who fled to Botswana will not be prosecuted has fallen into a credibility gap, writes PERCY QOBOZA, editor of the World.

Percy Qoboza — "we have had too many promises."

If the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, expected an avalanche of students streaming back into South Africa after his offer not to prosecute them for crossing the borders without a passport, then he really must have an inflated opinion about the credibility of his government.

As it turned out, when people read about the offer in the Press, the chuckles could be heard far and wide. "Who's he kidding?" was the standard comment in almost all quarters.

Heaven knows, we carry around a litany and catalogue of government promises with very few — if any — of them being fulfilled.

To all of us, the offer was merely a device to get back the children here and then arrest them. To be brutally frank about it all, no black man in the township trusts Mr Kruger, and his word is worth very little in the light of past experiences.

This week was typical of what we mean by the little faith we place in government assurances. While Mr Kruger was fuming against Mrs Helen Suzman on the whole score of alleged schoolchildren arrests in the townships, his police were conducting a methodical swoop in Mohlakeng township, Randfontein, arresting students and their teachers.

What all this boils down to is that parents know that their children have been living in fear of the police in Soweto streets. Parents know that certain areas of the vast township complex were subjected to a house-to-house raid. Parents know that some of the children who were kept in custody for weeks were under the age limit.

The only person who appears not to know all this, is the Minister. He seems ill-informed about what is happening in his department. How, then, does he possibly think any parent or child will take him seriously if he offers not to prosecute their children?

The trouble is we have had too many promises but far too little action to back up those promises. Many have been broken. This is why we are sceptical.

Incidentally the same Minister, speaking authoritatively, recently made a song and dance about the fact that people like Mrs Helen Suzman were the front targets of the black consciousness movement. He implied that they were hated.

Another classic demonstration of his ignorance on how the minds of the people of Soweto work. People like Mrs Suzman, I can assure him, have a very high standing in the eyes of our people. This is why in times of stress and problems, many of our people turn to her and members of her parliamentary team for assistance.

They do not dream of going to Mr M C Botha, or, for that matter, Mr Kruger. I can assure Mr Kruger that if there were an election in Soweto tomorrow, and he stood as a candidate against Helen Suzman, the result would be a landslide win for Helen.

The only votes Mr Kruger would get would be from members of the South African Police.

The time may well be around the corner when Mr Kruger and his party will be grateful that Mrs Suzman and her party are around in South Africa. For they, and they alone, will be able to help bring people around the conference table when the chips are down.

They need their country's gratitude instead of being denigrated as agitators and people who incite races against one another.

Helen Suzman is far too decent a lady for that type of sordid accusation. And so say all of us in Soweto

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Not. Merc. 19/11/76

DILEMMA OF RUNAWAYS...

Mercury Africa Bureau

MBABANE — Scores of African students are believed to be in contact in Swaziland and Botswana with banned African Nationalist movements since they ran away from their homes in Soweto and other South African townships in the last few weeks.

Some of them may even agree to undergo military training, according to diplomatic sources in both countries.

The African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress — both banned in South Africa — are represented in Swaziland and Botswana.

Worried parents believe their children may be persuaded to leave for "further education" elsewhere in Africa — but that this would merely be a ruse to force them to undergo terror training.

Militant students who distrust police promises that they would not be prosecuted if they returned to South Africa before November 22 may soon find they have no alternative but to do as ordered by nationalist agents.

The students in Swaziland have been prohibited by police from speaking to reporters. Only 50 of the known 130 refugees are in the hands of the authorities at a reform school near Malkerns.

When our reporter visited the Malkerns centre, he was waved down by a group of students. They demanded identification and warned that if he returned they would take harsher action.

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19/11/76 C.T

New plan for urban Blacks

By GORDON KLING

PROMINENT South African business leaders have launched a massive initiative transcending party politics and organized commerce and industry to improve the quality of life of urban African and Coloured communities.

The founding members of the new movement, which includes top African, Coloured, Asian and Afrikaans- and English-speaking White business men, have invited other business leaders from all sections of the population to a conference in Johannesburg on November 29 and 30 to decide on a practical course of action.

A spokesman for the group, Mr D P de Villiers, head of Nasionale Pers, said in an interview in Cape Town yesterday that contemplated action would be offered in a spirit of assistance to the Government and not confrontation.

The business men appreciated actions of the authorities on Black and Coloured housing, but at the same time were acutely aware of their own basic responsibilities, particularly to their employees, and were convinced that the private sector could make a much greater contribution.

The exact methods for achieving improved well-being of the urban communities were a matter for discussion at the conference, Mr De Villiers said, and there would be subsequent liaison with the appropriate authorities.

Co-hosts of the conference include Dr F Cronje, chairman of the SA Permanent Building Society, Mr H F Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American, Mr D P de Villiers, Mr S M Motsuenyane, director of the African Chamber of Commerce, Mr F M Harris, managing director of a Coloured building group, Mr P Poovalingam, a prominent Asian business man, and Dr A E Rupert, chairman of the Rembrandt group.

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Businessmen join to aid non-Whites

19/11/74.

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Prominent business leaders have launched a massive initiative to improve the quality of life of urban African and Coloured communities.

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Liaison

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Cohosts of the conference current include Dr. F. Crosby, chairman of the S.A. Permanent Building Society, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American, Mr. S. M. Motsepe, president of the African Chamber of Commerce, Mr. S. M. Harris, managing director of a Coloured building firm, Mr. E. Poovalingam, a prominent businessman, Dr. A. E. Rupert, chairman of the Rembrandt group and Mr. de Villiers.

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Business plans to aid blacks

Star 19/11/76

South Africa's top businessmen meet in Johannesburg later this month to work out ways of improving life in black townships.

More than 150 leading businessmen, academics and administrators have been invited to the conference to be held at the Carlton Hotel.

They are likely to discuss funding for housing, education and other amenities in black areas.

Prime movers behind the meeting are Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo-American Corporation, Mr Dawid de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, and 13 other business leader of all races.

Mr de Villiers said that while it was possible that a fund would be set up to improve black amenities, it would "certainly be no paternalistic hand-out."

"We are hoping to make provision for things like education, housing and other amenities on an economic basis," he said.

Mr de Villiers said details of how this would be done had to be discussed at the conference, but "we feel that private enterprise has an enormous responsibility and should do a great deal more to help both qualitatively and quantitatively in the provision of urban black amenities."

Among business leaders who will attend the conference are Mr Punch Barlow, Dr Anton Rupert, Dr Frans Cronje, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Mr Pat Poovalingam of Durban and Dr A J J Wessels.

The conference will be addressed by leading academics and chaired by Mr Oppenheimer.

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S 19/11/76

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How people live is as important as what they earn. The time has come for business to pay as much attention to the quality of life as to the Poverty Datum Line

FINANCIAL MAIL

The quality of life

FIN. MAIL 19/11/76

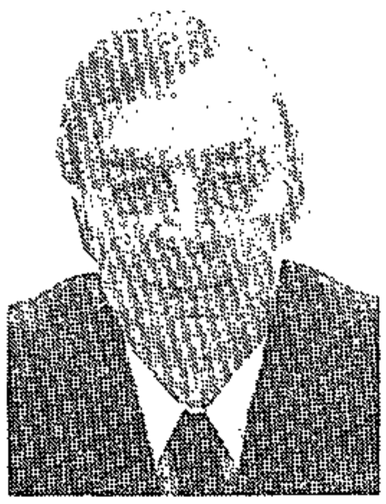
Alarmed at escalating unrest in Soweto and Guguletu, turmoil in the streets of Cape Town, the shooting of children, and rioting at Alexandra, South Africa's businessmen have asked themselves: "But what can *we* do?"

Chambers of commerce and industry have sent deputations to Ministers and urged government to respond to Black grievances. Executives have looked again at working conditions and pay scales. Personnel officers have thought hard about the problems of communication and consultation. And some courageous businessmen have publicly called for major changes in government policy.

Now that has been done, the time has come for business itself to take a major step forward towards tackling a fundamental cause of Black frustration and anger: the poor quality of life in urban townships. Paying a living wage, opening up avenues for job advancement, providing training and fringe benefits, ensuring there are works or liaison committees are important. But their beneficial effects largely end once the whistle blows and the Black employee leaves the factory gates. From then on he faces a long, uncomfortable, increasingly expensive and often hazardous journey home. Home to what?

To a township where crime, overcrowding, inadequate housing, darkness and disease, the fragmentation of family life — and now open rebellion and revolt — are added to all the other underlying anxieties and insecurities of a community whose impermanence is repeatedly underlined by Pretoria and whose lives are regulated by a remote authority structure in which they play no part.

But despite the limiting political ground rules which everyone must perforce work within, there is much that can be done to improve the quality of urban life. And it is vital that business should make its contribution to this complex and challenging task. That is why we welcome the initiative of men like Norman Herber and Wim de Villiers, Albert Wessels and Harry Oppenheimer, Anton Rupert and Sam Motsuenyane, Clive Menell and David de Villiers. As co-hosts, along with other leading figures, they have invited a cross section of South Africa's business community to attend at the end of this month what could be one of the most important meetings ever held: the Businessmen's Conference on the Quality of Life of Urban Communities.



Rupert, David de Villiers, Oppenheimer, Wim de Villiers, Motsuenyane . . . leading the way

It will be the first attempt on a national scale to bring together specialists in various disciplines to discuss with business leaders the problems the Black man encounters and how they can be eased.

If it is successful it will also link together, under the umbrella of employers in commerce and industry, mining and finance, the pioneering efforts of Monty Sack's Soweto Home Improvement Action Group, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce's housing project under Martin Putterill, and Anton Rupert's Paarlita housing scheme. On a local, and not nationally co-ordinated scale, they have already done a great deal of groundwork towards improving Black housing.

Their work will now have an opportunity of gathering much wider support and of greatly increasing its impact on the urban environment.

Indeed, what is significant about this conference is not only the strong backing it is getting, but the fact that it is coming from Black and White, English and Afrikaans speaking, government supporters and government critics.

It will of course help greatly if it gets the blessing of the authorities at all levels. The government should give this initiative its full support because in the fields of improved housing and transport, to mention only two, it could gain a powerful new ally in tackling social problems at grass roots level. Apart from that, the willingness of the private sector to mobilise money and manpower in these days of financial stringency in the public sector is obviously something Pretoria should welcome.

This is especially so at a time of mounting unemployment. A major home building and home improvement programme would not only meet a pressing social need, it could generate thousands of new jobs country-wide without adding to inflation or worsening the balance of payments problem.

Naturally an effective follow through will be vital. An action programme will be needed.

If that programme is bold, imaginative and comprehensive, if it guarantees continuity and provides for close co-operation between Black and White and, despite the destructive atmosphere which presently permeates race relations, if it can attract the support and enthusiasm of our urban communities, then it will deserve the full backing of every businessman in South Africa.

DAPHNE WILSON outlines the system and its defects which have sprung afresh into nationwide controversy.

BLACK pupils in the Cape, despite the heavy hand of authority, are determinedly making known their grievances against Bantu Education. Why is this system commonly regarded as one designed to keep Africans in a position of inferiority? What was the ideology that prompted the architects of Bantu Education when it first came into being in 1954?

Immediately there were four far-reaching changes: transference from provincial control to that of a separate state department, the compulsory registration (within the discretion of the Minister) of all schools dealing with the education of Africans, the giving of wide powers to the Minister, and the deliberate plan to get rid of mission and other private schools.

Mrs Wilson, Progressive Party provincial candidate for Constantia in 1974, was chairman of the Cape Night Schools Association whose schools the Government closed down in the 1960s.

Verwoerd's view

Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, stated (Hansard No. 10 of eleventh Parliament):

> Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live . . . Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the state. . . Good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself.

To this conviction that education for Africans must be limited by the meagre opportunities available to them was added the idea of deliberate isolation. In 1959, Mr W A Maree, then Minister of Bantu Education, stated:

> It is the basic principle of Bantu Education in general that our aim is to keep the Bantu child, a Bantu child. . . the Bantu must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators (of the Whites) that they will want to remain essentially Bantu.

So here was the philosophy at work which was determined to arrest the Westernization of Africans and to keep from them, particularly in White areas, positions or opportunities beyond the level of certain forms of menial labour; the basic attitude of Bantu Education was, and still remains, an attitude that refuses to recognize in South Africa, an integrated economy requiring the development of the skills of all its peoples for its maintenance, let alone its continuing development. Perhaps in this respect, there is now slight evidence of the Government beginning to learn from its mistakes, but in last year's provision for in-service and industrial training centres, such innovations concern "semi-skilled" Africans only, the machine operators, and not at all the production of African skilled workers, so badly needed if the South African economy is to expand and not stagnate.

How then did the Government's drastic ideological approach of the fifties affect the next two critical decades in the education of South Africa's Black population?

Hard line

On finance a hard line was adopted. There was a complete refusal to accept the practice of most modern states that elementary education, at least, should be provided for all its children by the central government. Existing subsidies to private schools were cut back, then completely withdrawn after 1957, and for very many years, contributions to African education from the general taxpayer were pegged down to R13m — the figure to be boosted by four-fifths of whatever sum was raised through African taxation; even today, when the financial straitjacket fits a little less tightly, according to the latest available figures, only R28 is spent per Black child as against say R496 per White child in the Cape, and R557 in Natal. This totally inadequate figure is surely the biggest limiting factor in the whole matter of what education facilities are available to Africans.

One of the overwhelming problems in the Bantu Education system is the shortage of teachers. White teachers at an early stage were eliminated from all "Bantu" schools and training colleges. Qualifications for teachers were fixed at too low a level but even with these low qualifications (e.g. Std. VIII with two years of professional training for teaching higher primary), in the latest (1975) departmental report, 17,5 percent of the teachers today attached to primary schools are unqualified. The percentage is even greater at the secondary level. Of the 68 083 Black teachers in the Department of Bantu Education (which includes teachers employed in remaining private and church schools and in training colleges) only 1 143 were professionally qualified with a degree, that is approximately 1,7 percent; 84 percent have only the Junior Certificate or lower.

Low salaries

Teachers' salaries have remained shockingly low. This year pupils in the Western Cape claim that a primary school male teacher is paid only R92 a month and that a fully qualified high school principal at the top of his salary scale is paid approximately the same as a White woman primary teacher with only training college qualifications, at the bottom of her salary scale.

Subsidies for mission schools were totally withdrawn by the end of 1957. Those schools that wished to continue had to be registered with the Department, had to follow departmental syllabuses and could not obtain recognition for any privately set examinations or privately issued certificates. Numerous mission schools then closed down and those in White group areas were condemned as "Black spots".

As to media of instruction mother-tongue instruction was introduced in the primary classes. Then came the hated insistence on teaching all subjects in the secondary schools half through the medium of English and half through the medium of Afrikaans. When one considers the appalling difficulties confronting children raised in the vernacular up to Std V, having then to be taught entirely through the media of two "foreign" languages, it is not surprising that so few make the grade in secondary classes.

Secondary education

As it was stated policy that priority was to be given to lower primary and primary education, secondary education took a back seat. The Minister of Bantu Education in 1954 stated (Hansard No. 17):

> The accommodation to be provided (for secondary education) will of course be based on the amount of money available after the fundamental education has been provided and on the extent to which this group of better educated can be absorbed in occupations, particularly in the service of their own people and in their own areas.

Later in May 1959, the Minister said that "you must give that higher education in the areas at the places where the process of development has to be stimulated, and this is in the Bantu areas." Thus developed the highly crippling policy of establishing secondary schools mainly in the homelands or rural areas. Such urban-based children as could not be accommodated in the few available urban classes had either to give up any further ideas of post primary education or be sent, at great expense to their parents, to far-off boarding schools.

The sad results of failure to promote actively the secondary education of Africans can be seen clearly in statistics from the latest (1976) departmental report: 90,6 percent of African pupils in school were in primary classes; only 8,5 percent were in secondary schools and only 0,24 percent were in matric. The emphasis has been on elementary education but even here is the startling fact that more than half of the pupils never get further than Std. II.

Regarding adult education, through lack of space I can no more than mention how a vast network of volunteer-run adult education classes throughout the country, was totally destroyed by the Bantu Education system and how from 1957, when the adult education subsidies were withdrawn, right up until this year, no subsidies whatsover were granted for night

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The Department of Bantu Education took over higher education for Africans too. In 1959, an Act provided for the establishment of separate colleges for Black students. Then came the "University of Fort Hare Transfer Act, No. 64 of 1959", whereby Fort Hare was to serve Xhosa people only and there were drastic changes of all kinds, particularly concerning staff. Regarding this new policy, the Minister of Bantu Education in 1959 said that in the past, White and non-White persons had served on the Council and the Senate (of Fort Hare) and had been accommodated on a basis of equality. In totally dismissing the claim that this had constituted a valuable experiment in race relations, the Minister, Mr W A Maree, said: (Hansard, Vol. 100, April 1959, Col. 4453):

> These customs must inevitably create the impression amongst the non-Whites that apartheid is something which disappears as soon as one attains a certain academic level. Not only does it create the fallacious belief that the disadvantages and defects of apartheid can be overcome by attaining a certain academic level, but it also arouses amongst the non-Whites the subtle expectation that academic training will remove discrimination from South Africa.

What an indictment on the whole policy of "Bantu Education" those ministerial words provide. If today's Government is sincere about wishing to move away from discrimination, here alone is evidence that the "Bantu Education" system and non-discrimination cannot possibly go together.

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UN care for Soweto pupils

Cr 25/4/76

Own Correspondent

GENEVA. — The United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Refugees is looking after about 130 pupils aged 15 to 25 who fled Soweto and sought refuge in Swaziland's capital of Mbabane.

A spokesman for the UNHCR said yesterday the current plan was to take them through Maputo to Dar es Salaam before they found final destinations.

"Our representative on the spot, Denis McNamara," the spokesman said, "is checking all of them out in case some want to return home. After all they are not all adults."

He added that Nigeria had offered educational scholarships for those who want to go there.

"Some have already been moved to Dar es Salaam and about 120 are waiting for transfer," the spokesman added.

He said the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress had enough money to guarantee their future "but are willing to put up enough money to cover such expenses. The High Commissioner (Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan) is highly concerned about this matter."

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SRC 'govt in Soweto'

CT 25/11/76

LONDON. — Soweto was now virtually under the control of students, the president of the Black Parents' Association, Dr Manas Buthelezi, said in a radio interview here.

"The Students' Representative Council forms the de facto government in Soweto," Dr Buthelezi said in a BBC programme.

"If you move the police, that is the only body that can direct the community at the moment."

He said that the mood in Soweto now was one of "bitterness". Many families had lost one of their members and race relations had been badly hurt in the country.

Also interviewed in the programme was the editor of the Johannesburg Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, who said that there seemed to be "a dangerous drift" due to the quality of leadership and lack of vision in South Africa. — Sapa

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26/11/76

Urban myth a reality claim

DP

UMTATA — The success or failure of separate development could be measured only against black demands, the director of the Institute of Black Studies, Mr N. Mkele, said here yesterday.

But the fact was, he told the South African Institute of International Affairs conference here, that for the South African Government the most important issue was to hang on to political power. Talk of "power sharing" meant little more to blacks than no power at all.

The Government had created a myth that blacks were temporary visitors in the central industrial economy and many South Africans took refuge in the comforts Government reasoning provided — the idea that every black man had a home somewhere in the country.

"The Government is now turning this bizarre myth into a ghastly reality, which is having to be lived out by the blacks."

Mr Mkele predicted that the homeland policy would strengthen black demands for self determination in the whole of South Africa.

But the new Transkei Ambassador in Pretoria, Prof M. Njisane, refused to see Transkei independence as an end in itself. It was a new beginning, he said, speaking in the same debate.

One day, Prof Njisane said, Transkei and South Africa would find themselves in a position to sit back and talk about reuniting in a true union of equals, without master and servant.

Independence would provide Transkei with a power base when it came to bargaining over reunion.

Summing up the discussion, a Johannesburg journalist, Mr Patrick Laurence, suggested independence could be used by Transkei leaders to argue strongly on behalf of their nationals in South Africa.

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AFRICAN LEASEHOLDS

An obstacle race

Companies attempting to assist city Africans obtain "leases" over their homes are finding they have to run an obstacle course strewn with legal, financial, and ideological requirements.

Like the building societies, they are unhappy with the fact that the much vaunted "home ownership" or "home leasehold" scheme is really nothing of the kind, amounting to not much more than giving a right of occupancy in a house built on land belonging to the various Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. Since it still adheres to the myth that city Africans are "temporary sojourners", government has refused to allow leases to be registered at the Deeds Office and to grant freehold rights.

In Johannesburg, the African in the most fortunate position is the one who can pay, in cash to the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), the full purchase price (about R1 500) of a "lease" over the house of which he is already a tenant, or alternatively himself fully finance the construction of a new house on a vacant stand. Few have this kind of money.

Next best off is the tenant of an existing house who can finance his own deposit for a "lease". The WRAB may

Wentzel . . . time to put Blacks on company boards

then grant him a loan to a maximum of R1 000 at a current interest rate of 8,75% (but subject to alteration at three months' notice) to finance his monthly instalments. The WRAB, however, does not have the money to make loans for the erection of new houses.

The African Bank of SA is prepared to lend money for the acquisition of leases over existing houses or the erection of new houses, provided it can satisfy itself that the customer is a good "moral risk", or obtain collateral security either from the customer himself or from a third party, such as his employer. General manager Allan Wentzel tells the *FM* that the best way for the bank to lend the deposit is against an insurance endowment policy. This, he says, is the most popular form of insurance among Africans.

Problems can arise when employers wish to assist their employees with loans. Not much has been done in concrete terms, though several firms are, as one director puts it, "kicking ideas around to see what we can come up with".

One large industrial conglomerate proposes lending the worker the deposit, interest free, for a year. Another large manufacturing group is discussing the possibility of lending the deposit at a relatively low rate of interest over five years. And one suggestion is that the employee's pension rights would then be regarded as security for the loan. In the event of the employee leaving the company, he would be able to retain the house, but the company would then look to pension monies owed to him to redeem any outstanding balance.

There may be difficulties attached to appropriating pension monies, however. One firm says it is looking into the idea, but thinks it may be illegal.

Several companies are studying a proposal to set up a jointly-owned subsidiary and to provide it with funds at (say) 8% to lend to their employees. The loans would be administered by the African Bank, which would charge the employee a slightly higher rate of interest than that at which the funds are lent to the joint company, in order to finance its administration costs. If the employee resigns, he will retain his house, and the Bank will try and arrange for the loan to be taken over by the new employer or by another financial institution.

Wentzel makes the point that "industry is looking to its employees to say what they want. But they may be worried about asking for 'too much' in case they get fired. The time has come for White industrialists to put Blacks on their boards so they can find out at top level what Black people want."

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AFRICAN MORTGAGES

"Cannot be entertained"

Have money, can't spend. That is the essence of the stalemate which has been reached between Pretoria and the big building societies over African housing.

The societies want to lend to Blacks on the same basis as they do to Whites — ie against a first mortgage bond over fixed property held in freehold or on a long-term registered lease. They are precluded by law from lending on any other basis.

But the Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) has put its foot down flat. A letter from the Ministry says that since African townships are in "White" areas, Africans are "debarred from owning land therein ... The land remains the property of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (Baab) concerned."

It adds that the "details and conditions in regard to the leasehold/house-ownership scheme have now been finalised." The scheme "provides that a Bantu who qualifies for a house may *only buy the right of occupation* of a house or may build his own house on a site allocated to him on a leasehold basis." (*FM* italics).

BAD also says in the letter that the registration of first mortgage bonds in Black locations to serve as security for building society loans "can, in terms of the law and the Department's policy, not be entertained favourably ... It is regretted that consideration cannot be given to amend the legislation.

"The only bonds that can be registered are notarial bonds over the right of occupation of the house with the permission of the Baab, or on the lender's movable property."

Not surprisingly, the societies are feeling pretty frustrated. They want to do all they can to assist Blacks buy or build their own homes. But the ideological hurdles erected by BAD are making it difficult if not impossible. David Alston of the Association of Building Societies says "notarial bonds have got nothing to do with building society financing. We can't lend on notarial bonds. No-one will do business on that basis."

A top executive in one society comments tersely: "So-called ownership, only by right of occupancy, is pure bullshit. The European in South Africa is fighting for survival. Unless we do something we'll find ourselves in serious trouble."

Pat Watson of the Perm confirms "there is a need for urgent decisive action. There is no time to drag this out for months and months. Blacks must either be given title to the land on which the house is built or they must be given security via a long term lease registered at the Deeds Office."

Precluded by restrictive restrictions from direct loans to Africans, the societies could follow the policy of the Natal Building Society (*FM* last week) and lend money to the Baabs. But the big three — Perm, Allied, and UBS — are loath to do this. Affirms Watson: "Anonymous loans through the Boards suit neither us nor the Blacks. Many Blacks invest their savings with us. We believe we should be free to deal direct with them."

Watson . . . distrust of the Baabs is a fact of life

Watson adds that Black distrust of the Baabs is a "fact of life. Blacks don't like dealing with them." His remarks are borne out by top men in other societies: "Africans just don't want to know about the Boards."

One society says it is averse to lending to the Baabs because "they will just build more Sowetos. This is not giving people homes. They need proper title to encourage them to make improvements to houses and turn them into real homes."

What next? The deadlock was due to be discussed at a council meeting of the Association this week. Alston puts his finger on the crux of the problem: the granting of registered leases of freehold involves BAD "having to change a cornerstone of its policy and allow land ownership rights to urban Blacks."

Watson hopes the meeting will agree upon a "basis for unified action. The best chance of getting the authorities to make changes is by concerted action on the part of all building societies, through the Association. We are pledged to making funds available for Black housing. We are waiting only for the green light."

More strength to their elbow.

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CT- 30/11/76.

Rupert wants move to lift life in townships

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Anton Rupert last night proposed the creation of an urban development foundation to co-ordinate efforts by business and industry to improve the quality of life in Black townships.

Dr Rupert, who was addressing delegates to the businessmen's conference here on urban communities, said the foundation could act as a catalyst in the transformation of the townships into stable middle-class societies.

Dr Rupert listed the foundation's objectives as being:

- To find means of enabling Blacks to own houses by arranging finance, sponsoring self-help projects and offering an advice service on town planning, house construction, design and cost.
- To co-ordinate private-sector efforts to provide amenities for sports, recreation, adult education and religion.
- To mobilize the unemployed into working on projects arising from the other aims.

Dr Rupert said a "task force" should be appointed immediately to investigate how best to establish the foundation.

Sketching the situation in Southern Africa, he said that a fear of forced socialism and Uganda-style governments had resulted in an ideology of survival among South African Whites.

"In our cities we have signs of instability, reputedly due to insecurity of tenure." It also seemed as if the young were afraid of having to live in homelands where they, probably wrongly, feared lack of opportunity.

"We cannot survive unless we have a free market economy, a stable Black middle class and the necessary security of tenure, personal security and a feeling of hope for betterment in the hearts of all our people," Dr Rupert said.

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Rupert's plan to aid urban Blacks

30/11/76

ARGUS

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The establishment of an urban development foundation by businessmen to improve the quality of life in urban Black townships was proposed here last night by South African entrepeneur, Dr Anton Rupert.

He was speaking at a conference on the quality of life of urban communities attended by prominent businessmen from all over South Africa.

He said businessmen should establish an urban development foundation to aim at transforming South Africa's urban Black communities into stable, essentially middle-class societies which subscribed to the values of free enterprise and had a vested interest in the survival of their social order.

CONSULTATION

The foundation could be the vehicle for development aid and counselling provided by the private sector in close consultation with Black leaders. It should include recognised urban Black leaders among its trustees.

Specific objects of the foundation could be:

- Housing. A major task would be to help find ways of enabling Blacks to own houses. The capital needed — would be enormous, but businessmen could make a substantial contribution.

AMENITIES

- Encouraging free enterprise. The foundation should propagate the values of free enterprise and help, educate and advise emerging Black entrepreneurs.
- Provision of amenities. The foundation should identify principal needs and help the private sector to contribution. It should also encourage and help communities to provide amenities themselves.
- Mobilisation of human resources in urban communities. In keeping with the intention of avoiding any semblance of paternalism or philanthropy, the foundation should devise a programme to mobilise large numbers of township residents not gainfully employed to work on communiy projects.

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Rupert's plan to help blacks

Tom Duff

The establishment of an urban development foundation by businessmen to improve the quality of life in urban black townships was proposed last night by South African entrepreneur Dr Anton Rupert.

He was delivering the keynote address at the Johannesburg conference on the quality of life of urban communities, which is being attended by prominent businessmen from throughout South Africa.

He proposed that businessmen should establish an urban development foundation which would aim at transforming the country's urban black communities into stable, essentially middle-class societies subscribing to the values of free enterprise and having a vested interest in their own survival.

The foundation could be the vehicle for dete-

mobilisation of large numbers of township residents, not gainfully employed, to work on community projects.

Young people especially could be included in this, he said.

"We cannot survive unless we have a free market economy, a stable black middle class with the necessary security of tenure, personal security and a feeling of hope for betterment in the hearts of all our peoples," Dr Rupert said.

Urban black problems 'are urgent'

The businessmen's conference on the quality of life in urban areas was told yesterday of the need for urgent and decisive action to solve the problems of urban black communities

future-oriented. But his attitude was also marked by a stark, puritanical commitment to a struggle.

He said there had to be swift and decisive action to solve community problems and it was essential that this should be done

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ment aid and counselling provided by the private sector in close consultation with black leaders. He said the foundation should include recognised urban black leaders among its trustees.

OBJECTS

Dr Rupert said specific objects of the foundation could be the following:

- Housing. A major task would be to help blacks to own houses. The capital required would be enormous, but businessmen could make a substantial contribution.
- Encouraging free enterprise. The foundation should propagate the values of free enterprise and assist, educate and advise emerging black entrepreneurs.
- Provision of amenities. The foundation should identify principal needs and help the private sector to make a contribution. But Dr Rupert stressed that it should also encourage and assist the communities to provide these amenities themselves.
- Mobilisation of human resources in urban communities. To avoid any semblance of paternalism or philanthropy, the foundation should devise a programme for the

Professor Laurie Schlemmer, director of the centre for applied social sciences at the University of Natal, told the conference that the private sector must help improve the quality of the lives of urban blacks and so dispel their bitterness and discontent.

He said surveys in urban black communities had revealed:

- Feelings of alienation.
- Lack of faith in community leadership.
- Feelings of being controlled by a vast bureaucratic machine.
- Lack of recreational facilities.
- A profound mistrust of the system.

Professor Schlemmer said the mistrust was most marked among young people.

He said that, like most young people, blacks were the communities involved.

Another speaker at the conference, Mr Derek Cleary, director of housing in Port Elizabeth, stressed that the responsibility of home ownership generated more responsible citizens.

RESPONSIBILITY

"No matter how poor the quality or worth of a home, pride of ownership produces greater responsibility for community involvement," he said.

He warned of overcrowding in many housing schemes. He felt it was the greatest factor in causing community unrest and frustration and had a direct influence on productivity potential.

In addition, overcrowding resulted in a variety of social problems and, at present, two out of every five coloured children were being raised without proper parental control and guidance.

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100 set of up body to lift township living

11/12/74 C. TIMES

JOHANNESBURG. — A foundation to promote improvement of the quality of life of urban Black communities was established here yesterday by more than 100 of the country's top businessmen.

At the end of their two-day conference the businessmen also stated their commitment to the rejection of discrimination in employment and adherence to a merit basis in promotion and payment.

Among matters the foundation is to promote are improvement of housing standards, education, community activities, recreation facilities and employment opportunities.

The foundation will try to co-ordinate private-sector activities in seeking means of normalizing the financing of housing in Black urban areas through improved wages and the mobilizing of loan capital.

Free enterprise

The foundation will also encourage free-enterprise values by promoting entrepreneurship in urban Black communities. In general, it will also plan and execute appropriate projects either alone or in co-operation with others as well as conduct study and research.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, Dr Anton Rupert said he hoped the foundation would have a catalyst effect.

The chairman of Anglo American, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said the question of adequate tenure for Blacks in urban areas was vital if Black housing was to be improved.

He was confident that the foundation would result in substantial improvements to the quality of life of the urban Black communities. — Sapa

History was made in Johannesburg this week. The business community decided that Black housing is its legitimate concern and is preparing to mobilise money and manpower on a large scale to tackle urban problems

FINANCIAL MAIL
3/12/76
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Singing in the streets?

As SA's business leaders prepared to leave the Carlton Hotel for their boardrooms this week, few were under any illusion about the magnitude of the challenge facing them in the coming months.

After two days' of wide-ranging discussion of the problems of SA's Black communities, the private sector's top decision-makers have committed themselves to establishing an Urban Foundation to tackle the problems of urban Black communities. They have also pledged themselves to remove colour discrimination in industry.

There is no doubting the sincerity of the commitment of most present at the conference to an ambitious programme of urban renewal, and to making a multi-faceted contribution to improving the quality of life.

The challenge is for all of us to do something to remove the conditions which at present stifle motivation, and to create a situation in which the worker who does try, can see a reasonable chance of being rewarded

— Derek Cleary, Port Elizabeth Director of Housing

The experience of architects, town planners and public officials was inspanned to outline the scope of the problem and identify the pitfalls as well as to define the real needs of urban Black communities. All stressed the danger of paternalism, of relying on charitable hand-outs to solve urban problems.

All, however, agreed that businessmen have a contribution to make and that, however far reaching the problems, housing projects are the right point to start. Provided, of course, they form part of a concerted urban renewal programme.

But throughout it all was an undertone of uncertainty, centering around the reaction of the authorities and, perhaps more importantly, of the Black communities themselves. For, while a determination to make a new beginning was obviously there, Black delegates made no bones about their feeling that the proposals which came out of the conference do not go nearly far enough.

In the end, the conference decided to implement keynote speaker Anton Rupert's idea of an Urban Foundation which would engage in community programmes while stressing the principles of self-help and community initiative.

Rupert envisages the work of the Foundation as finding the means to enable Blacks to own their own homes; providing social amenities in Black communities (and encouraging these communities to provide the amenities themselves); advising Black businessmen; and mobilising the unemployed in Black communities to work on community programmes themselves in order to eliminate unemployment and avoid "any semblance of philanthropy".

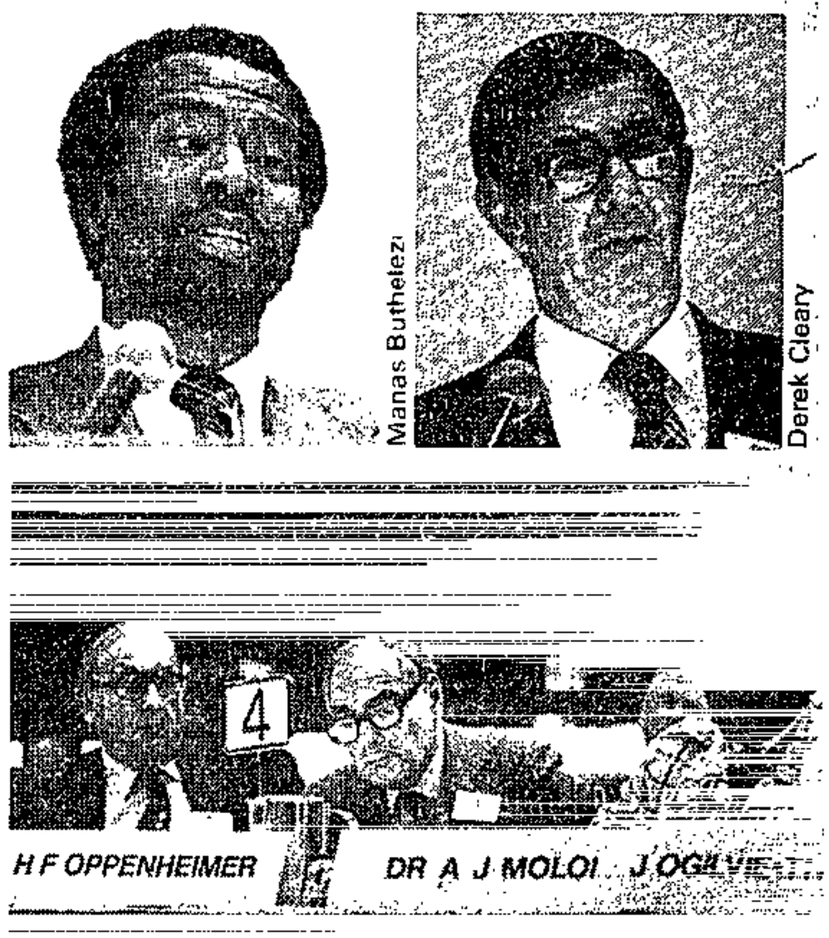
"A prerequisite for achieving our overall objectives should be the adoption of free enterprise values by urban Blacks," he told delegates.

Money has not yet been earmarked for the Foundation because, explained conference chairman Harry Oppenheimer, "We cannot expect businessmen to give money until we have presented them with concrete projects." But the money should be there once the Foundation gets down to the nuts and bolts of its commitment.

There are still hurdles to be surmounted before the Foundation can really get down to work. The primary one is the question of freehold title, or the granting of registrable leaseholds acceptable as collateral for loans. If, as Cape Town's Dr Martin Putterill put it, the first duty of the participants is to "unlearn our paternalistic tradition" — and this was certainly the tenor of the conference — home ownership is one of the first prerequisites.

There can be no economic peace as long as there is no economic justice, as long as Whites are paid more than Blacks and Whites supervise Blacks but not vice versa

Dr Manas Buthelezi, Chairman, Black Parents Association

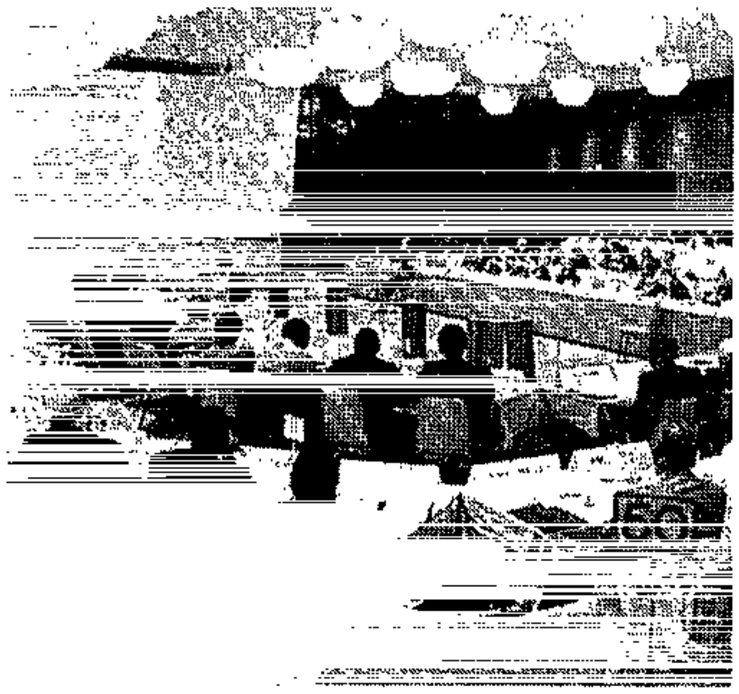


An historic conference

This was emphasised by speaker after speaker. Nowhere was it more convincingly illustrated than in the address of Port Elizabeth Director of Housing Derek Cleary. Not only is home ownership desirable in itself, he argued, it is obviously preferable for people to improve their own homes than for others to improve them for them. Cleary's own Coloured housing programme is convincing evidence of this.

Delegates left with no illusions about the size of the task they were setting themselves — even in the limited area of housing. UCT Town Planner David Dewar's daunting projection that even if government decentralisation policies prove to be as much as 50% effective — which he quite reasonably doubted — eight more Sowetos would be needed by the turn of the century, underlined the point.

The problem is not simply a shortage of housing units, but the whole way in which our cities are structured. And that,



Hammering out a blue-print for action

he seemed to say, is not an historical accident, but the result of a political ideology; it would not change until the ideology changed.

Perhaps the most significant, if last minute, decision was to include as an explicit objective the elimination of race discrimination in business. This will be no easy task either. It means creating colour blind companies in a colour-obsessed society. The reaction of registered trade unions and of government itself is unlikely to be particularly sympathetic. But, as Black delegates pointed out, business can do a great deal more than it is doing in the areas of training and job mobility, particularly in training Blacks for managerial posts. The determination with which this stated aim is tackled will certainly be one of the yardsticks by which the Foundation will be judged.

You will be amazed at the capability of the Black community to help themselves. All we need do is provide the skills and expertise

— Dr Martin Putterill, Cape Town Urban Research Unit.

Township life is like prison life

— a respondent to a questionnaire by Prof Laurie Schlemmer, Centre for Applied Social Research

In this context it is significant that the Conference had to skirt round Black Parents Association (BPA) chairman Dr Manas Buthelezi's plea for the recognition of African trade unions. Granting Oppenheimer's point that this had to be done in order to maintain unanimity this would seem one obvious implication of removing colour discrimination and a test of what Cape Town headmaster Franklin Sonn called "the need to have urban Blacks accept the *bona fides* of this Conference."

There is, in my view, more creative effort and professional skill in the making of one advertisement than in the design of some of our townships

— Hans Hallen, Past President, SA Institute of Architects

And that, surely, was the Conference's dilemma. It had heard Buthelezi reject opening speaker David de Villiers' plea to eschew politics: "You ask me to avoid politics but I cannot. For us politics is not just a profession or academic discipline. It is the totality of the Black man's experience of life." It also heard Durban social scientist Professor Laurie Schlemmer warn that young Blacks "no longer see the future in terms of jobs or education but in terms of a stark puritanical commitment to "the struggle".

Schlemmer went on to warn that young Blacks were not interested primarily in conditions in the townships, but saw these problems as part of a wider political issue.

Despite this — whether by choice or in an attempt to maintain some sort of consensus — the Conference failed to respond more imaginatively to Buthelezi's suggestions. Significantly, he did not once mention housing, but pleaded for businessmen to "construct a lasting peace" and to reject separate development: "This system has no machinery for coming together."

Other Black speakers emphasised that the youth were likely to condemn any community schemes carried out within the framework of separate development as merely "making apartheid more comfortable"; such aid would be rejected as a "hand out".

The chances of the Business Foundation's development programme winning the support of young or even not-so-young Blacks are, therefore, slim. Unless of course the participants are prepared to take their commitment a logical step further and face up to the basic need for political change and trade union recognition.

There is no way that Africans in the urban centres of the Republic can be seen as temporary. It is therefore necessary to move in an active and positive way to improve their position. The pressures which are already being felt in SA cities will increase dramatically in the foreseeable future

— David Dewar, Senior Lecturer, Town Planning Department, UCT

Finally, the success of the Foundation's endeavours will depend very much on the response of government. The home-ownership issue is a case in point. Government and quasi-governmental bodies like the Bantu Affairs Boards have it in their power to sabotage the Foundation's projects or ensure their success. Which way the government and the

SOME CHILLING FIGURES

David Dewar, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Cape Town, provided this week's Conference with some startling measures of the scope of urban African problems:

- By the year 2000 the African population will have more than doubled from a 1970 figure of 15m to 37m or from 70% to 74% of the total. By 2020 it will have increased to 63m or 77% of the total.
- If White immigration does not occur at the projected rate of 30 000 a year, Coloureds will also outnumber Whites by about 2010.
- "The most critical implication is that, because there is a direct correlation between race and income in SA, the vast majority of this staggering increase will be amongst the poorest people."
- By the year 2000 93% of Whites, 86% of Coloureds, 92% of Indians and 75% of Africans will be urbanised. This implies a growth in urban population from 12m to 40m, of which 34m will be Black. Total urban population in "White" areas will thus more than double.
- Africans are coming on to the job market at a rate of 203 000 a year — 105 000 from the Homelands and 98 000 from "White" areas. In the last 15 years 120 000 decentralised jobs have been created — *only one half of one year's job requirements.*
- The most recent study of decentralisation shows that, of the total number of relocations recorded, in the Johannesburg area, 68% were to places elsewhere on the Reef. The majority of the remainder were to other metropolitan centres.
- If separate development is even 50% successful, essential services will have to increase threefold in order to maintain present minimal developmental levels.
- These projections mean that, in the next 24 years, SA will have to provide more housing and more services in the urban areas than have been produced in the last 300 years merely to maintain existing standards. This means that four more cities the size of the PWV region or 11 the size of Cape Town or Durban will have to be built.

Boards react is therefore crucial.

On this score, the Conference got little joy out of WRAB vice chairman C P Venter's address. Besides saying that the Board saw it as its duty "to abandon procedures which are out of touch with present-day circumstances" and that the Board strove to meet the housing backlog, Venter gave few clues as to the WRAB's attitude to the Conference or to business-initiated programmes. He did, however, stress that the Board could do little without the approval of the Department of Bantu Administration and without a lot more money, preferably from sources other than liquor sales.

Granted, WRAB chief director J C de Villiers told the NDMF that he welcomes business involvement in Soweto housing. But he seemed more to imply that business should assist the Board in funding projects than that it was welcome to initiate its own.

This is hardly an adequate response. Speakers like architect Hans Hallen and UCT Professor Roelof Uytenbogaardt stressed that new housing developments should not be mere repetitions of today's "spiritless barracks"; and little would be achieved by merely putting up more "matchbox houses".

Since government's reaction to this historic initiative will be as crucial to its success as that of the Black's, its viewpoint should be spelled out as soon as possible and as unequivocally as possible. South Africa's businessmen would be much heartened by a bold constructive commitment of maximum co-operation.

Housing: the yawning cost-price gap

He can't afford to build for less and you can't afford to pay more. That spells hard times for the building industry

House ownership arithmetic no longer adds up. As salary increases slip behind the rate of inflation the gap widens between what buyers can afford to buy and builders can afford to build and the sums start going awry. What used to be the "right" of every White South African to own his own home, and perhaps also to trade up to ever more lavish accommodation, is fast disappearing.

Double-digit inflation is playing havoc with personal savings: how is the young family to accumulate enough for a down-payment and transfer costs? The mortgage rate has climbed from a manageable 8,5% to an onerous 11,5%-12% in only three years. The cost of living is currently rising at a little over 11%, but building costs in the last three years have been increasing at 15%-18% pa.

At the same time replacement values (at which owners tend to insure their houses) are diverging from market values (at which a house can reasonably be expected to change hands). Particularly in the upper-price brackets higher rates of personal tax, increasing maintenance costs and escalating municipal rates are pushing holding costs beyond the means of their owners. In the present atmosphere of both economic recession and political uncertainty, the supply of houses being put onto the market exceeds the demand for them.

This spells downward pressure on house prices. Yet the cost of replacing them still accelerates. This can only be bad news for the building industry.

Compounding building cost increases at a modest 10%, Schachat Cullum marketing director Blair Ewing points out that, 25 years hence, a house which costs R25 000 today will cost R271 000; a R30 000 house R325 000; and a R40 000 house R433 000.

The myth that property always appreciates, in market terms, is dead. As Nortrustees' Peter Alexander has pointed out (*FM* September 3), there are numerous instances where deed-of-sale purchasers have been unable to afford to take transfer from liquidated builders and have simply walked away from their

AN IMPOSSIBLE DREAM?

Home acquisition costs are already frightening. Take a R6 000 stand, probably 1 000 m² on the East Rand or Johannesburg's southern suburbs, and a building contract of R16 000 for an extremely modest home. After transfer costs and sundries of R1 000, the total package costs the buyer R23 000.

To purchase, he will need a 10% deposit of R2 300 and R1 000 in legal costs. So he needs another R19 700, of which the building society provides an R18 000 bond in terms of its lending limitations. The buyer is then R1 700 short which, if he finances it from his own pocket rather than a more expensive second bond, means that his initial outlay will be R5 000 in cash!

More typically, the stand costs R7 000, legal and sundry expenses will be around R1 200, and the building contract R20 000, putting the total package at R28 000. This provides a 110 m² house with three bedrooms, two bathrooms and a garage.

To qualify for an R18 000 bond, the buyer will have to find (including legal expenses) R10 200 cash. Alternatively he may have R5 000 and has to find R23 000 in a building society bond — which, over 20 years, will cost him R245 in monthly instalments. But the building society will not grant it if his monthly income is at least R980.

Alternatively, he might take an R18 000 first bond (R177 monthly over 25 years) and a R5 000 second bond (a further R75 monthly, making his total repayments R252) over five years. After five years, he will have to replace the capital value of the second bond by finding some R4 000 cash.

He might succeed in applying to the building society for a revaluation and for an increase in the size of his first bond. However, he is at risk in that the seller or second bondholder may repossess unless it has appreciated proportionately if the cash cannot be found.

Africans to be covered

African Affairs Reporter

THE Afribank Insurance Brokers have agreed to insure the properties of the members of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce whose policies were cancelled following the widespread riots earlier this year.

The announcement by Mr. P. G. Gumede, a director of the African Bank, has brought relief to hundreds of African traders who have been running their shops without insurance coverage.

Insurance companies withdrew soon after the riots erupted in Johannesburg and since then the businessmen have been struggling to find new companies to insure their properties, but without any success.

Mr. Gumede was instructed by his organisation to negotiate with insurance companies on behalf of the members.

Overseas insurance companies were also contacted.

Afribank will insure the shops and homes of businessmen, and also their motor cars.

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Black reforms: action urged

Star 6/12/76

Labour Reporter

A prominent economist has called for urgent Government action to raise black expectations.

"It is now imperative for the Government to act on the calls from the responsible white elite," Professor P J Nieuwenhuizen of the Rand Afrikaans University said in an interview.

"If the Government fails to respond to the pleas of those who seek peace and stability, it will promote a despondency which can be as detrimental as economic sanctions."

The essential reforms which would eliminate the basis for black discontent did not require a scrapping of separate development, the professor said.

COSTLY REFORMS

Nor was it necessary to jeopardise the economy with the full introduction of more costly reforms. These could be staggered or postponed.

But provision for some change should be made in the next budget.

"Amendments to offensive legislation which no longer serves a useful purpose could be introduced swiftly and with even more dramatic effect," Professor Nieuwenhuizen said.

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Homes plan for blacks

Hundreds of blacks employed by the beer division of South African Breweries will have the chance to buy, build or improve their homes.

The South African Breweries have prepared a housing scheme which provides their workers with finance facilities, low interest subsidised loans, building plans and insurance.

The scheme is the result of a R1-million tie-up between South African Breweries and the Natal Building Society.

"Two of the most stabilising factors in a man's life are a good job and home ownership," Mr John Seton, general manager of the breweries' northern provinces region, said today.

He said loans could be used in three ways: employees could use them to buy their existing homes, make extensive improvements to them, or to build new homes.

In terms of the scheme, which will be available to about 900 employees throughout the Transvaal, the Free State and the Northern Cape, home loans will be made available at an interest rate of five percent — which is more than five percent below the prevailing building society rate.

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Soweto operating on a shoestring

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The West Rand Administration Board will enter the new year having to operate its administration of Soweto on a shoe-string budget.

With about 750 of its migrant workers engaged on capital works projects already laid off because of lack of funds and millions of rands of damage to its property in Soweto, the board faces a year of austerity.

The main reason for the board's financial difficulties is due to the destruction during the unrest of its liquor and sorghum beer outlets. These have provided the bulk of the board's revenue in past years.

'We will just have to cut our suit according to our cloth,' Mr J. C. de Villiers, chief director of the board, said this week.

He warned that capital expenditure was having to be cut and the board would have to operate 'on a shoe-string budget' during the coming year.

Mr de Villiers said that in the past, sales of liquor and of sorghum beer each provided revenue of approximately R20-million a year to the board.

However, liquor outlets had been almost completely destroyed and revenue from these had dropped to less than R1-million.

DROP EXPECTED

Sales of sorghum beer were now at about 70 percent of normal, and thus revenue from this source was expected to drop to between R10-million and R15-million.

However, Mr de Villiers did strike an optimistic note on one issue: He said plans were still underway to provide electricity to all homes in Soweto.

STATEMENT

'This is a project which is still very much on the go, but at this stage I'm afraid that I cannot say anything.' However, he added that an official statement may be made soon.

The Government was urgd last week by the deputy chairman of the board, Mr C. Venter, to give more money to cover riot damage and rising costs in urban Black townships.

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New party to be launched for urban Transkeians

10/10/76

DD

EAST LONDON — The Transkei's Democratic Party, under the leadership of detained Mr Hector Neokazi, is to dissociate itself from all Transkei National Assembly politics and form a new party for urban Transkeians.

The new party will be known as the external wing of the Democratic Party of South Africa and it is planned to make the announcement official early next week.

The move was confirmed by one of the two Transkei Democratic Party executive members not being detained, Mr J. Kobo.

"It was decided by many Democratic Party members in the urban areas of South Africa that we form a new party.

"We feel such a move is vital to cater for the interests and welfare of the 1,5 million 'stateless' Transkeians residing in South Africa," Mr Kobo said.

"Further, we are dissociating ourselves from any politics revolving around the National Assembly of Transkei, and regard the so-called New Democratic Party under Mr Cromwell Diko as a mere mouthpiece of the Transkei Government," Mr Kobo said.

It was learnt Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of Tembuland — a staunch Democratic Party supporter — is to align himself with the new party plan.

"Chief Sabata has made arrangements to meet the Ciskei Chief Minister, Mr L. Sebe, as the problem of Transkeians fleeing from the Herschel and Glen Grey districts to Sada has intensified," Mr Kobo said.

"Chief Sabata is concerned over the plight of these refugees and wants to concern himself with the problems of Transkeians in the urban areas.

"For this reason the new party is to be formed and obviously negotiations will have to be continued with the Ciskei Government to assist the Sada refugees," he said.

Mr Sebe said yesterday he had not been contacted yet by Paramount Chief Sabata, and that his Government would be willing to discuss the refugee problem with him.

"I had heard Paramount Chief Sabata was in Mdantsane and that he was concerned about the refugee situation," Mr Sebe said.

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is high or when the rate of interest is very low.

In other words there is an increased demand for money to hold. (Not for spending). When M is increased in conditions of widespread unemployment and general lack of business confidence, V may fall. (K is increased). This occurred in the Great Depression of the 30's, when the Federal Government trying to bring about an increase in the price level, increased the quantity of money (by lowering bank rate, O.M.O. etc.) and devaluing the dollar. But it did not rise and prosperity did not return. The extra money went into hands and banks were neither willing to lend or public willing to borrow. Banks had excess reserves.

Another reason why V may fall while M rises would occur in war-time with large increases in M (Government spending) but where price controls, rationing, shortage of goods effectively reduced V and caused people (reluctantly) to add to their cash balances.

Would you be prepared to say that China has been comparatively unsuccessful in her efforts to gain significant political influence among the Black African states compared to the United States and the Soviet Union?

Also M can fall or remain the same and V can rise if the existing stock of money circulates faster. When monetary authorities tight money and restrict credit (tight money) there can be a more intensive utilisation of money, greater interest lending (often through the grey market) more self-financing (i.e. subsidies as "bankers" can make) and generally a far-sighted business conditions mean that the African capitalists and Pan-Africanists have to learn about the African capitalist optimistic.

4. Prices are not proportional to total spending. If M rises while the economy is depressed, the volume of real output (GNP) may rise but prices need not rise at first. Later, when the economy reaches full employment, prices will be driven up with further increases in M.

5. I can change independently e.g. poor harvest, famine, import restrictions to cause P to rise.

C. Potholm and R. Dale (eds) Southern Africa in Perspective.
E. Rhoodie The Third Africa.

6. A change in Africa's terms of trade (price of a change in Mozambique's steel price) and this will have a major impact on Africa's economy. The Great Powers and Africa.
Sam Nolutshungu South Africa in Africa.

The Soviet Bloc is described as a capitalist bloc.

China and Africa.

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BLACK HOUSING
EAC Enquiry II

Government, anxious to channel private funds into Black housing, has appointed yet another committee — a small inter-departmental group chaired by Registrar of Financial Institutions Wynand Louw and with representatives from the Treasury, Community Development and Bantu Administration.

It is to report to the next meeting of the Economic Advisory Council in February on "possible sources and period of financing and the repayment conditions attached thereto", and on "the nature of the security which employers and other lenders can obtain when providing housing for Black employees".

This is the crux of the matter. Since the leasehold scheme for urban Blacks was first announced early in 1975, the private sector has time and again expressed its willingness to assist — only to become entangled in red tape from bureaucratic lesser lights than government representatives on the EAC. It took another committee, chaired by Community Development Secretary Louis Fouche, to point out to the EAC at its November meeting that financial "bottlenecks" stood in the way of meaningful private enterprise participation.

The construction of Black housing is an obvious way of stimulating the economy. The import content of housing is relatively low; there is an existing housing shortage and growing unemployment; and there is underutilised capacity in the depressed building industry. This the EAC has now recognised.

Let's hope the stage is finally set for real action.

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Continuing confrontation?

Last week the *FM* reported on what the business community proposes doing to stave off further unrest. What is Pretoria planning to do?

Next Thursday, December 16, is the day when some sections of the White population commemorate their ancestors' military victory over the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River. Some might feel such celebrations would be in rather poor taste this year, particularly since the Day of the Covenant falls exactly six months after Soweto first gave vent to its rage, on June 16.

During those six months, there have been demonstrations against apartheid in at least 160 Black communities all over the country. Several hundred people are dead, millions of rands' worth of property has been damaged, between 5 000 and 6 000 people have been arrested, and about 400 are believed to be languishing in detention without trial.

As happened after Sharpeville, the current Black revolt has caused deep rumblings within the Afrikaner intellectual and religious establishment. The Nationalist Press has voiced grave disquiet at the country's political direction. Men like Professor Tjaart van der Walt of the Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging have warned that unless government introduces fundamental social change, more and more Afrikaners will not as Christians be able to support it much longer.

Piet Cillie of *Die Burger*, wearing his *Dawie* hat, has questioned the very basics of apartheid ideology, arguing that Africans outside the Bantustans must be given political rights in the common area.

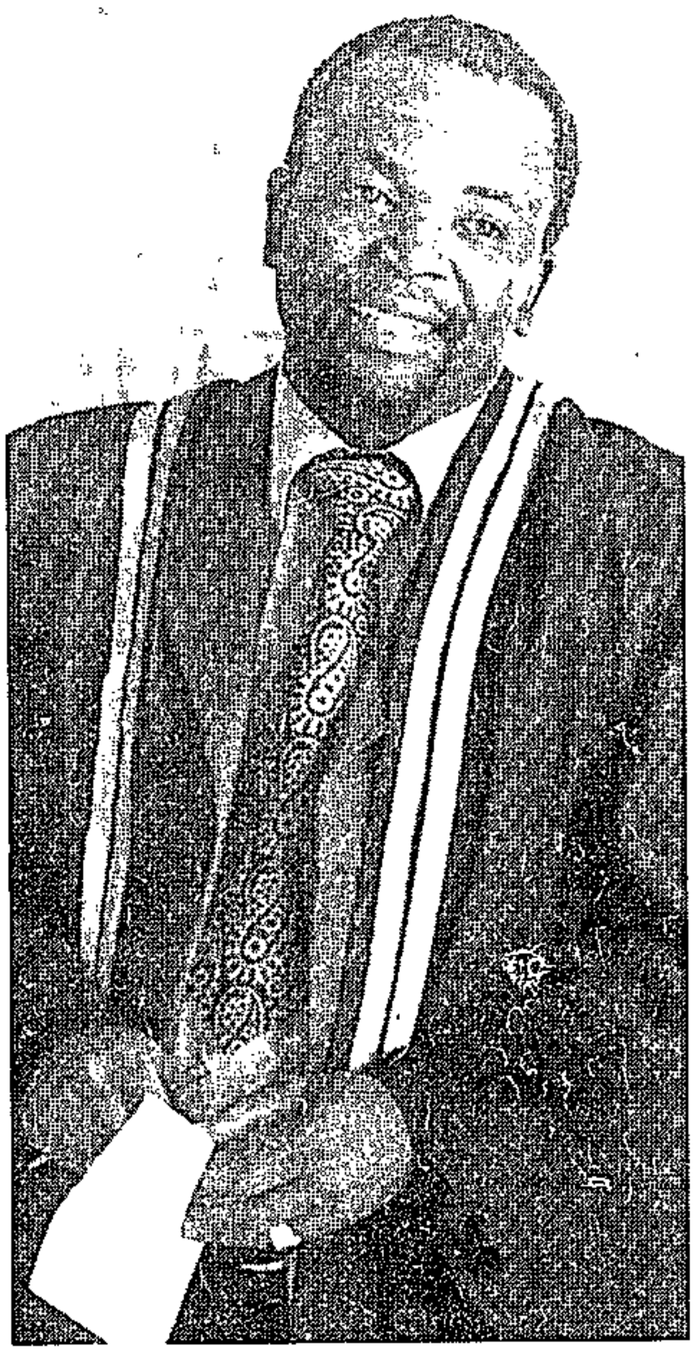
So it's appropriate to review what changes have actually been made to policy, procedure and practice, and what the future holds.

Since June 16, Pretoria has made four concessions to Black demands:

- Reversal of the Afrikaans-in-schools decree.
- Suspension of the requirement that applicants for leases over houses must first become citizens of some or other Bantustan;
- The extension of the lease period from 30 years, as initially planned, to "in perpetuity"; and
- Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) Minister M C Botha's announcement in October that government is considering delegating limited powers of municipal self-government to "community councils" in the Black locations.

According to UBC chairman David Thebehali, they will be given responsibility for things like housing, schools, health, trading, policing, transport, welfare, sport and recreation. Responsibility for things like garbage collection will apparently be handed over by the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board (Wrab) to Black entrepreneurs.

And that's about it. While the UBCs will have more responsibilities, real power over the lives of people in the locations will remain, it seems, in the hands of the 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (Baabs), which are, of course, merely the agents of BAD in Pretoria, as some Baab officials have complained to the Cillie Commission. Indeed, Deputy BAD Minister Willem Cruywagen has ruled out the possibility of Blacks being appointed to the Baabs.



UBC chairman Thebehali and PM Vorster . . . crumbs from the table

The Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), for one, is not impressed. In a statement this week, it criticised the UBC for "falsely raising the expectations of our people . . . The Black man is past the stage of accepting meaningless concessions. We do not want to be in charge of roads and rubbish. We want real and meaningful power to run our lives outside the system of apartheid."

While *Dawie's* remarks suggest that some members — albeit a tiny minority

15/12/76

...s still ready ...ork for peace

Percy Qoboza — "That South Africa will be transformed, I have no doubt."

Barrell: Can you see the whites bringing blacks into the executive-level political decision-making process to the extent where the present bloodshed in black areas ceases?

Qoboza: I can see it indeed. And the situation demands they must. Or else, as our Prime Minister has said: "The alternative is too ghastly to contemplate."

What whites must understand quite clearly is that the era of their paternalistic attitudes in which they delegate themselves the responsibility of deciding what is good for blacks is long past. And they must just reconcile themselves to the inevitability of an era where both of us decide jointly and on an equal basis what is good for the country.

Barrell: In an interview with the Christian Science Monitor while in America in 1975, and after the expiry of the Prime Minister's "give us six months" speech, you were quoted as saying: "Things are not changing. Apartheid is just becoming more subtle." Is this still your opinion?

Qoboza: One of the most incredible things, that never ceases to amaze me, is the complaint by certain Government supporters that the Government is moving too fast in changing the nation's face.

Frankly, I have seen no change at all except meaningless concessions, allowing a black boxer to pound a white boxer legally in the ring and a black man to now go to a five-star hotel.

Because blacks can't afford five-star hotels, and the white who eats there can afford his principles, these things become meaningless in terms of what should be tackled. Racial discrimination must be tackled at grassroots level and not merely by making cosmetic gestures and imagining we are doing the greatest thing under the sun, when we are in fact doing nothing at all.

We must scrap the laws that make us a racist society. We must act to influence the attitudes of people to regard each other as South africans, not in terms of black and white. And we must remove once and for all that dangerous concept of the superiority and inferiority of the races.

For, in the final analysis, here lies the root cause of our problem. As far as I am concerned, apartheid is still rampant in our society. And I of erupting at any moment, unless we take the reasonable steps to ensure the root causes of unhappiness and bitterness among my people are removed as soon as possible.

I think the Government and the Prime Minister in particular have done South Africa down by delegating to the police a responsibility they should have tackled in the political arena.

Everyone subscribes to the belief that law and order must be maintained but more important is the removal of the root causes of the breakdown of law and order.

And anybody who thinks South Africa can ever be the same again, can ever revert to its usual politics of racialism is "sleeping through a revolution."

Barrell: In some quarters, Mr Vorster is credited with trying to urge on a reluctant party to realise the need for enlightened change. Do you credit him with this?

Qoboza: I really do not believe this. How could I possibly credit a man who, at a time when it is obvious a change in direction is needed, brings into his Cabinet someone of the calibre of Andries Treurnicht and continues to harbour someone like M C Botha?

The National Party is riding a tiger. If Mr Vorster wants to get off, all he has to do is call to us.

Both these guys have by their actions shown they are beyond redemption.

I am particularly bitter about them because I believe, if it were not for their inherent shortsightedness and dogmatic adherence to a policy of white domination, so many Soweto families would not be mourning their dead now.

The bitterness, hatred tiger of racism. And now, in trying to get off the tiger's back, it's obvious they are faced with the danger of being eaten up.

If Mr Vorster is sincere in climbing off the back of that tiger, all he has to do is to call to us, and I believe we still have the goodwill to help him get off without his necessarily ending up in the tiger's stomach.

But he must show his sincerity. And the first thing he must do is fire those two chaps from his Cabinet and then hold a national convention of people representing all shades of opinion.

And together let us, for God's sake and South Africa's sake, map out an acceptable programme which will ensure that normal and happy relationships can be forged for co-existence among the races of our country.

In fact, as Martin Luther King said: "Unless we learn to live together as brothers, we shall perish as fools."

Barrell: Then are you at all optimistic about resolving the South African conflict?

Qoboza: Yes, I am. If I weren't I would have packed my cases and taken my family abroad, which is what scores of my American friends have been urging me to do since June 16.

But I have faith in the capacity of human beings to respond to the call for change. If I didn't and others also lacked that faith, then we might just as well trot into our toilets and commit suicide.

That South Africa will be transformed I have no

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Black to w

This interview with PERCY QOBOZA, Editor of The World, was given to Howard Barrell of The Star's Pretoria Bureau before Mr Qoboza's questioning by Security Police yesterday. It is being published in two parts in place of his own regular column. The second part will appear next week.

Barrell: What sincerity do you grant business leaders who met recently to plan an improvement in black living standards, and how viable do you think their proposals are?

Qoboza: There has been a lot of comment among our people about the motives of the business community — whether it is a reaction to fear generated by the happenings of June 16, or a practical demonstration that the social conscience of the business sector has at last been awakened.

I don't care what the motives are, I see this as a positive step by the business community, who must of necessity develop a social conscience and responsibility towards people who have kept the wheels of industry rolling, sometimes under the most appaling conditions.

I welcome their involvement in this field. I believe they can play a decisive and admirable role in accelerating the pace of change and in influencing the Government to move far faster than it has been doing.

I can see so much that the business community can achieve outside the arena of government policy to defuse the situation and develop South Africa into the country it should be — where all races can develop a common nationhood, where merit and not colour becomes the deciding factor.

resent the fact that people keep telling me there's a difference between petty apartheid and big apartheid. There is no such distinction — apartheid is apartheid.

Any action or law that constantly reminds me that because I am black I am thus prohibited from going to a place or using a certain facility is an assault on my dignity and causes me grave injustice. And that can't be called petty.

Barrell: In the same interview you said: "The real tragedy of it all may be that, when the white man is ready to talk to the black, we may have reached the point where blacks don't want to talk." Have we reached that tragic point?

Qoboza: I don't think we have reached the point of no return. I believe deeply there is still a lot of goodwill among my people.

But we must be under no illusion that with each passing day this goodwill doesn't fritter away. We must understand that with each police bullet that knocks down a black child, we are making it more difficult for people to talk; that with every man detained without trial and every man dying in jail in mysterious circumstances, another nail is knocked in the coffin of meaningful dialogue.

We must be clear there is a need for urgent action to take advantage of what goodwill remains to find an acceptable solution for all South Africans before the clouds of racial confrontation engulf us — something none of us finally wants.

Unless we do this, I believe we may see the day dawn when circumstances do force the white man to the conference table, and, where the black man should be sitting, a row of chairs would remain empty.

And that will be a tragic day for South Africa.

Barrell: Then how do you assess the black mood at the moment?

Qoboza: A dangerous fallacy doing the rounds at the moment is that the police have effectively put down the effects of June 16. People are glibly talking of the situation having returned to normal. I warn that this is not so.

The situation will never return to normal. What we are experiencing now is a temporary respite. I have no doubt we are sitting on a volcano, capable and anger that have become so much a part of our existence in the townships could never have reached their present alarming proportions without these men. So, how can I credit Mr Vorster with even an intention to move away from the futile course along which his party is leading South Africa.

Remember also, people must expect very little black sympathy for the problems of the National Party. They have themselves to blame. They rode on the back of the doubt. The only thing that gives me sleepless nights is whether the change will come by evolution or revolution.

And again, the ball is entirely in Mr Vorster's court. He, more than anybody, can decide how the change will come.

Unfortunately he can drag his feet no longer, he can't afford the fancy schemes that usually find their way on to the Government's drawing boards.

Time is his greatest enemy, and it is the paramount essence.

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DD 21/12/76

Botha promises urban blacks wider powers

PRETORIA — The government is to give urban blacks more autonomy in running their affairs in white urban areas, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, said yesterday.

He promised legislation would be prepared to review the existing position with the intention of giving blacks greater managerial and administrative powers.

"This step is partly a positive result of the discussions which the homeland leaders had at the beginning of last year with myself and the Prime Minister in Cape Town," he said.

Another matter flowing from the discussions the Premier had with the homeland leaders was the movement of blacks, including influx control.

Mr Botha said the Government had decided to review the entire matter with the homelands leaders next year. The intention was to simplify the procedure and to modernise it because the relationship between the people in the homelands and their compatriots in the urban areas could never be underestimated.

Mr Botha said the riots had delayed the granting of wider powers to elected bodies.

"This matter would definitely have progressed quicker if it had not been for the riots during which so many human lives and so much time, manpower and means had been squandered unnecessarily.

"Those who had been responsible for the riots or had taken part in them probably do not realise that the properties destroyed or damaged in the process had been built with funds which came directly or indirectly from the pockets of the residents themselves, and that the replacement or repair of the destroyed and damaged properties will have to be financed in the same manner.

"It is regrettable that the agitators and others concerned do not realise how they harm their own people and communities with the riots, as well as the orderly progress which is continuously being planned in various fields", Mr Botha said. — DDC-SAPA.

'Think how you can save your White brothers'

S.Ex 26.12.76

Black editor's Christmas plea to his readers

Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the nation's largest Black newspaper, The World, made international headlines himself this month when police swooped on his home in the middle of the night and held him for several hours. His Christmas message spotlights the White man's "fear and guilt complexes" and belief the Black man is not capable of forgiveness and reconciliation. "Save your White brothers," he says, "from the chains of fear. Take them along to a new South Africa . . ."

FOR THE first time in many years, I cannot wish you a merry Christmas. We are all in a state of mourning and because of the gloom and despondency existing in our townships, it will be very difficult indeed to wish it is going to be a merry Christmas season.

Maybe it is a good thing. I think it will have served a worthwhile purpose if all of us can take advantage of a sane and sober weekend to contemplate the situation in our country.

To talk to our friends and neighbours about the state in which we would like the country to be, and relationships with other people.

I am convinced that we have a role to play in shaping a new and dynamic nation in which all her people — Black and White — can develop an acceptable formula for a peaceful and harmonious co-existence.

Strange as it may sound, I believe it is within your power to save your fellow White South Africans from the self destroying dangers facing them as a result of pursuing futile political policies.

Many of them are suffering from a fear and guilt complex as a result of years in which they preserved privilege for themselves while you were labouring in the depths of deprivation, ignorance and hunger.

They do not as a result believe that you are capable of forgiveness and reconciliation. I know for a fact that you are. I know for a fact that you sincerely believe from the bottom of your hearts that they have a future in our common country provided they deviate from the path of political domination and economic privilege.

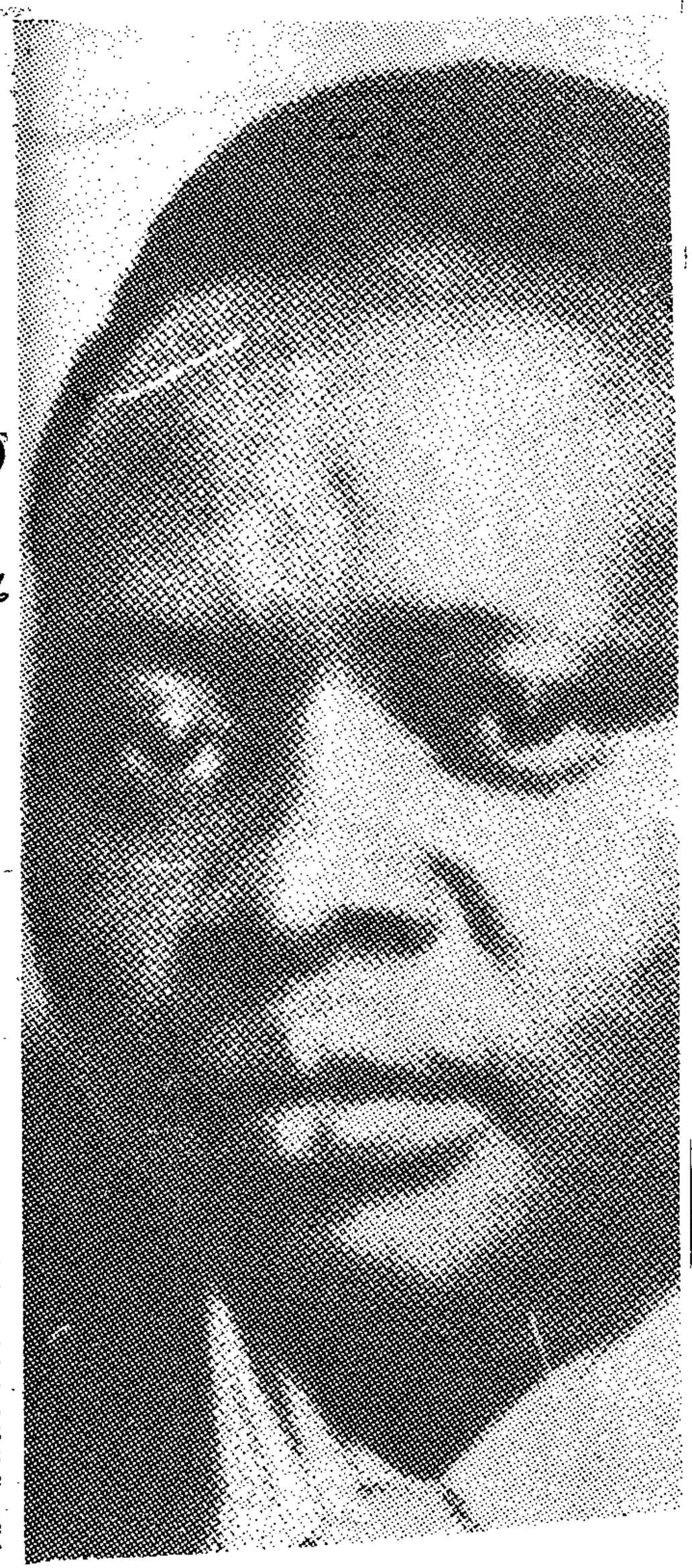
I know that the last thing you want to see is a confrontation between the races in our country. I know that you have been sickened by the bloodshed and the violence we experienced in the past few months. I know that you are keen to see the end of it all. I know that you are hoping that valuable lessons have been learned from these experiences in which those in power will reflect on effective means of bringing you into the decision making machinery of our country, thus avoiding the recurrence of the past few months.

I know that you are angered and grieved by insinuations that your legitimate grievances are a result of a communist plot or conspiracy to bring chaos and Red domination into South Africa.

I know that you reject these insinuations with the contempt they deserve because communism is also a White man's philosophy which is foreign to your aspirations and needs.

I know, therefore, that you cannot understand why people would think that you reject the present White man's system only to replace it with another White man's system imported from the Soviet Union.

I know that you have nothing but contempt for



26/12/76

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people who continue to use the communist bogy as an excuse to opt out of their responsibility in the arena of human dignity and preservation and advancement of civil liberties.

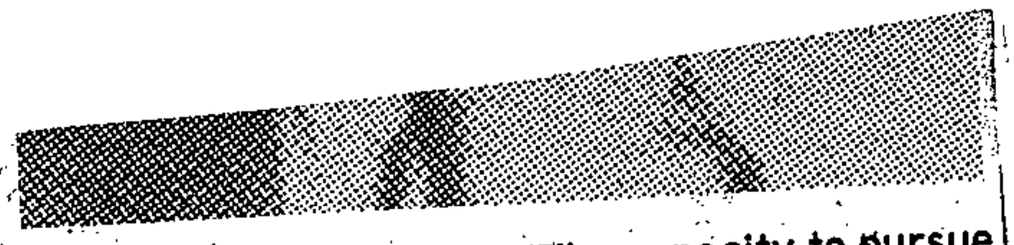
This much I know and more. I know, for instance, about the deep rooted resentment and bitterness when people discriminate against you on the basis of your colour. I know that you are proud to be Black because Black is beautiful.

I know that you know that Black is not inferior but equal to White, yellow or what-have-you provided there are equal opportunities for showing what Black can do and achieve when given those opportunities.

I know you have always wondered what would happen if people got to heaven and found that God is Black.

I know you have always wondered how people could possibly go to Church on Sunday and sing "In Christ we are one" when they spent six days of the week furiously turning the unity of brotherhood into shambles by hammering away at those things that divide us instead of unifying us.

I know it has amazed you to find people paying lip service to the sanctity of the rule of law, when their everday actions — like detention without trial and bannings — are a prostitution of every cardinal principle of the rule of law upon which our Western system of democracy is based.



• Mr Percy Qoboza . . . "The capacity to pursue the truth, no matter how bitter it may be."

I know it has always surprised you that a country that violently protests to be anti-communistic can engage and pursue policies that make communism attractive to many people. By equating the actions and intentions of the good man who believes in the sacredness of human dignity, with communism, they are in fact telling simple minds that communism is a good thing after all.

By attacking certain churches and church leaders and organisations like the Christian Institute and others, I know they surprise you because they are bent on destroying the only institution where the spirit of brotherhood and reconciliation can actively be promoted.

I know it has pained you to listen to people glibly talking about the sanctity of marriage and how the institute must be preserved, when they systematically divide and break up families under the disguise of influx control and migratory labour.

I know how offended you are when people generalise and describe you as a people who are basically criminals, when the socio-economic deprivation they subject you to turns you to crime whatever racial group you may be.

I know you are tolerant people. I know you are beautiful people. I know you love your country passionately. I know you have the capacity to pursue the truth, no matter how bitter it may be.

Finally, in the words of the late Dr Martin Luther King, "I know you shall overcome, deep in my heart, I know we shall overcome."

And in the same vein that great civic leader also echoed your sentiments correctly when he also added: "Not only will we win our freedom, we shall so appeal to your hearts and consciences we will win you in the process. And our victory will be a double victory."

So when you reflect this Christmas, think of how you can save your White brothers from the chains of fear. Take them along to a new South Africa where man will be man irrespective of the colour of his skin or the colour of his eyes. Or the length of his hair.

They need your help. They need your guidance. Help them, for our children's sake. Above all, for South Africa's sake. May the Star of Bethlehem shine on you tonight, and tomorrow think of these things.

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Upheavals, but settlers come

Star 30/12/76

Labour Reporter

South Africa's economic downturn and the recent political upheavals on the subcontinent failed to turn the tide of immigration during the first three quarters of this year.

The outflow of 203 professional people in September was more than twice that of September 1975 when 98 professionals left the country.

But the total emigration figures, though rising, amount to a mere trickle compared with the inflow.

The Star approached the Department of Immigration for details amid reports that increasing numbers of professional men are leaving the country and fears that emigration could jeopardise chances of job creation for the estimated 600 000 black unemployed.

A spokesman for the department said South Africa had 37 495 immigrants during the first nine months of this year compared with 36 740 during the same period last year.

During the first three quarters of this year, 10 269 people left the country compared with 7 485 during that period last year.

DEPENDANTS

Only 3 789 of those who left were economically active, the rest being dependants, and these included 1 300 professional men, 200 in managerial and administrative jobs, 700 clerks, 200 salesmen and 1 100 in manufacturing and construction jobs.

Emigration was 1 220 in July, 1 512 in August and 1 461 in September.

Not enough, says teaching official

Staff Reporter

MAKING African parents sign undertakings to keep their children at school until they had finished Standard Two was not enough.

Mr H. H. Dlamlense, secretary-general of the African Teachers' Association, said this yesterday when commenting on the announcement by the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr M. C. Botha, that African education would be improved.

He said legislation was needed to force parents to send their children to school "just like the Whites".

Mr Botha's plan for the phased introduction of free textbooks for African pupils met with a similar reaction.

"The State should accept the responsibility of providing all school pupils with free books and stationery," he said.

Of the plan to introduce night schools for adult education, Mr Dlamlense said: "It is a step in the right direction but there will still be the problem of insufficient teachers."

He agreed with the decision that the Department of Bantu Education would take over responsibility for financing the building of secondary schools in urban areas

But the department should accept responsibility for all schools, not only secondary schools.

The change in the composition of school committees and boards by introducing more elected members was the result of a memorandum submitted to the department, Mr Dlamlense said.

It related to the alleged refusal of the department to appoint Mr J. Mahlangu to the Orlando Diepkloof Zulu School Board though he received most votes.

Call to Vorster on influx control

C.T. 20/1/75 (319)

ON THE EVE of Mr Vorster's talks with eight homeland leaders in Cape Town this week, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport called for softer measures and "greater discretion" in the application of influx control.

In its main editorial, the newspaper said that, after Coloured people, urban Blacks had become the country's most painful problem.

The five million urban Blacks could not be described as South Africa's happiest people but their situation could not be blamed entirely on the Whites, the Government or the policy of separate development, as many people wanted to do. There was, however, no doubt that urban Blacks had legitimate grievances.

IDLERS

There were, for instance, measures which they opposed but which, in their own interests, could not be removed. One of these was influx control.

"It would be stupid to simply throw open our cities to all who want to come. There are already hundreds of thousands of idlers in the Black townships.

"But we believe that the measures can be considerably softened and applied with greater discretion," Rapport said.

The Government had indicated recently that another grievance, the restrictions on Black traders in Black townships, would be reviewed.

MONOPLY

"At the moment White shopkeepers have a sort of monopoly on the most important trade with Blacks, because Black traders may sell only essential goods (food)."

Rapport regarded this as a discriminatory measure which had nothing to do with avoiding friction and said the measure could be scrapped.

"The greatest question remains the rights of property ownership and political rights for the urban Blacks. Some very deep thought will have to be given to this question."

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THE STAR JOHANNESBURG

New deal for urban Blacks

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Important changes in living and working conditions of urban Blacks have been foreshadowed by yesterday's marathon summit conference between the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the eight homeland leaders in Cape Town.

Three concessions being contemplated by the Government appear especially significant:

- A form of leasehold for Blacks in White areas (but not land ownership) is to be considered sympathetically;
- homeland criticism of restrictions on Black trading rights in urban areas have been acknowledged by the Prime Minister to be valid. Legislation and regulations on the subject will be reconsidered; and
- a new attempt to work out a better system than the present influx control machinery will be made. Homeland leaders will appoint three representatives to sit down with officials of the Department of Bantu Administration to investigate hardships and try to work out a better system.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima (Transkei) put the homeland leaders' case for second and third generation urban Blacks to be recognised as permanent unless they associated and identified with a homeland.

Though agreeing to a new influx control investigation, Mr Vorster said there was no alternative to influx control and it could not be abolished.

He rejected a suggestion that Soweto gain the status of a homeland, but Mr Botha gained agreement with a suggestion that consideration be given to merging existing urban Bantu councils with councils representing homeland governments in the urban areas to form a new body with greater powers and responsibilities.

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Janson pass law views challenged

Staff Reporter

TWO UNIVERSITY lecturers yesterday challenged the view of Mr Punt Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, that pass laws were necessary for the protection of urban Africans.

Mr Janson told the Rand Daily Mail that an uncontrolled influx of unskilled Africans from rural areas would constitute a threat to urban Africans in that they would be willing to sell their labour more cheaply, and so undercut the living standards of Africans already in urban areas.

Dr Francis Wilson, senior lecturer in economics at the University of Cape Town, disagreed.

While there might be an argument for influx control laws in the abstract, what actually pertained in South Africa were pass laws designed to buttress the migrant labour system, Dr Wilson said.

THREAT

Far from being a protection for urban Africans, the pass law migrant labour network was actually a threat.

Under it, employers could get all the cheap labour they wanted in the form of migrant labourers, Dr Wilson said.

He went on to distinguish between influx control and pass laws, regarded as one and the same thing in official National Party circles.

Influx control kept the supply of labourers from rural areas consistent with work opportunities in the cities, but did not prevent a man from bringing his family into the city to live with him once he had a job, he said.

Pass laws allowed men or women into the cities as contract labourers only. It forbade them from bringing their families with them.

Apart from providing employers in the cities with a plentiful supply of contract labourers, the pass laws threatened urban Africans in another way, Dr Wilson continued.

Huge single-sex hostels were an inequitable consequence of the pass law, migrant labour system. No family man in his right mind would want to live in the midst of enormous hostels.

RATIO

To illustrate his point, Dr Wilson quoted the situation in the Western Cape townships of Langa and Nyanga.

The ratio of sexually mature people in Langa at the end of 1973 was nearly 25 000 men to less than 2 375 women. Nyanga was relatively better off — more than 10 350 to 2 840 women.

Dr David Welsh, senior lecturer in African government at the University of Cape Town, yesterday disputed the contention that urban townships would be swamped by rural Africans if influx control was abolished.

Port Elizabeth was not a proclaimed area subject to influx control, as defined by the Government, until 1952. But despite the rapid growth of its African population during the war years it did not experience an abnormally acute housing shortage,

Movement of Blacks sets a puzzle

MERVYN HARRIS finds in an interview with a market-research expert that the Black market in South Africa is difficult to assess owing to complex patterns of movement and behaviour.

The unique situation of Blacks in South Africa has made market research into their patterns of movement and behaviour most complex. Their world of movement does not merely lead to a different pattern from that of Whites but to a fragmentation and variability among Blacks themselves.

This is one of the main points to emerge from preliminary results of a scientific market-research survey measuring certain mobility factors in outdoor advertising.

It is "a most fascinating situation technically" to Mr Brian Copland, a market-research consultant from England, under whose direction the research, which began nearly 18 months ago, is being conducted.

He is the inventor of the Copland Poster Model, a mathematical model which relates traffic to movement pattern and measures how frequently people will see an outdoor advertising campaign.

Third visit

"Tell me the population in an area and I will tell you what its movement will be and how to place advertising," said Mr Copland, who is on his third visit to assess and analyse the findings of the survey using certain operational techniques which he has developed.

"If you want to reach 80 percent of the adult population in an area for an advertising campaign, then this research wil tell how many posters to display, for instance, in bus shelters.

"With Whites you can do this, but it is more difficult to handle the Black market," he said.

The research does not deal with the kind of message that should be put across to the different strata of the population. It is based on the "opportunity to see."

"What is said on hoardings and posters is for the advertising whiz kids to decide, on the knowledge they have of the psychology of the market," said Mr Copland.

The research so far has been into the Black and White markets and the extent to which they move about the areas they are encouraged to move in.

The traffic factor varies according to the size of a town and its population, and that variation is similar for South African Whites as for people in Europe or America.

The situation of the Black market is, however, different. "What strikes me when looking at the initial results, is the homogeneity of the Whites and the heterogeneity of the Blacks.

Mr Brian Copland . . . analysing a fascinating technical problem.

"When you look at the White market it behaves and moves as the White market in Europe or America. The Black patterns of movement are not as regular or easily predictable as those of the White or Black markets in other parts of Africa.

"The irregularities in the Black market would seem to be a product of existing arrangements. It is impossible to e conclusion that t cies adopted are be reflected in t behaviour and m of the people.

"It strikes me t of the lack of pa the Black mark stem from the p and influx control

"Surveys of thi have been carrie other parts of Bl ca but do not s same variability a South African Bla do my mati models apply as r Blacks here as th Whites.

Complicated

"The world movement of the complicated by w is permitted to l work. These geog limits may well be of the variability I

"The non-existe shopping faciliti Soweto, for insta unnatural and dist pattern of moven people.

"When you get tion as in South which is unique, i market research nature more diffic situation lends itse tificiality which natural growth an lopment.

"In other count are looking at ci ties which grow n with people movin they want to and i dance with supply mand.

Consequences

"The situation does not merely le different pattern Whites but to a f tation and hetero among Blacks.

"It is a most fasc problem technically am optimistic abo outcome. I am co we will discover t derlying pattern these variables," s Copland.

An example o variability was t some places trains used greatly and ir places buses. These are being measure their effects analyse

Mr Copland belie results of the re will enable people the consequences a as the unintended quences of the situa

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BLACK ROLE

A committee under the chairmanship of Sam Motsuenyane, President of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, has decided that the Black man's share in the economy and the problems of Black businessmen in urban areas (and in the homelands) needs further study.

ASSOCOM, the AHI and BENBO are all involved. Accordingly, to get certain basic information, the Bureau of Market Research has been asked to undertake a study on the attitudes of Blacks towards Black businesses, and on the role on the Black man in the South African economy.

The Small Business Advisory Bureau has also been asked to make a study of the problems of the Black businessman in South Africa. It is hoped that these studies will be finalised by mid-year.

COMMERCE Feb. 1975

HANSARD 3 Q. column 182.

18 February 1975.

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Bantu removed to homelands from certain areas

*36. Mr. T. G. HUGHES asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

How many Bantu were removed to their homelands from the metropolitan areas of (a) the Witwatersrand, (b) the Cape Peninsula, (c) Pretoria, (d) Durban, (e) Port Elizabeth and (f) Bloemfontein during 1974.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION:

(a) 978.

(b) 1 161.

(c) 5 864.

(d) 2 784.

(e) 7.

(f) 301.

HANSARD 3 Q. column 217-218
21 February 1975.

319

Urban Bantu Councils constituted

*21. Mr. N. J. J. OLIVIER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

In respect of which areas in South Africa have Urban Bantu Councils been constituted to date.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION (Reply laid upon Table with leave of House):

Urban Bantu Councils have up to date been established in respect of the following 24 areas:

Cape Province
- Guguletu Residential Area, Cape Town
- Grahamstown
- Uitenhage

Transvaal
- Alberton
- Carletonville
- Benoni
- Boksburg
- Ermelo
- Johannesburg
- Krugersdorp
- Nigel
- Ogies
- Roodepoort
- Standerton
- Vereeniging
- Witbank

Natal
- Durban

O.F.S.
- Bethlehem
- Bloemfontein
- Kroonstad
- Parys
- Odendaalsrus
- Virginia
- Welkom

HANSARD 3 Q. column 200-202.

21 February 1975.

319

Sports facilities in certain Bantu townships.

*2. Mr. G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What sports facilities are available to the residents of Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu, Mdantsane, Soweto, Thembisa, Mamelodi, Sebokeng, Umlazi and Kwa Mashu, respectively;

(2) whether any further facilities have been planned for any of these townships; if so, (a) which townships and (b) what facilities.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION (Reply laid upon Table with leave of House):

(1) Langa:
Two rugby fields; three soccer fields; three tennis courts; five cricket fields; one community hall for indoor recreation.

Nyanga:
Two rugby fields; two soccer fields; one tennis court; one community hall for indoor recreation.

Guguletu:
Two rugby fields; five soccer fields; three community halls for indoor recreation; two tennis courts.

Mdantsane:
Three rugby fields; one rugby stadium; eleven tennis courts; two soccer fields; three cricket fields; one swimming bath; one community hall for indoor recreation.

Soweto:
Six swimming baths; one hundred and twelve soccer fields; five pavilions; eleven community halls for indoor recreation; five rugby fields; four athletic tracks; two cycling tracks; forty-eight tennis courts; twelve cricket fields; one bowling green; seventeen softball fields; one hundred and five basketball fields; fifteen volleyball fields (outdoor); two golf courses.

Thembiza:
One rugby field; sixteen soccer fields; two golf courses; one athletic track; one softball field; twenty-four basketball fields.

Mamelodi:
Thirteen soccer fields; one soccer stadium; six tennis courts; two softball fields; one athletic track; one cycling track.

Sebokeng:
Twelve soccer fields; one soccer stadium.

Umlazi:
Five soccer fields; one soccer stadium; one golf course; six tennis courts; one swimming bath; one athletic track.

Kwa Mashu:
Six netball fields; one soccer field; one swimming bath; one pavilion.

(2) Planned facilities:

Langa:
One soccer stadium; two cricket fields.

Mdantsane:
One athletic track; two rugby fields; one stadium; two soccer fields; one golf course; one swimming bath; one cricket field; ten tennis courts.

Soweto:
One swimming bath; forty soccer fields; extensions to five existing pavilions; two community halls for indoor recreation; twenty tennis courts and one club-house; two cricket fields; two bowling greens; two softball fields; fifty basketball fields; two volleyball fields (outdoor); four hockey fields.

Thembisa:
One soccer field; one pavilion; one swimming bath; one athletic track.

Mamelodi:
Three tennis courts; one community hall for indoor recreation; two bowling greens; four soccer fields; one golf course.

Sebokeng:
One sports stadium; one golf course; one community hall for indoor recreation; two tennis courts; one swimming bath.

Umlazi:
One athletic and cycling track; one swimming bath.

Kwa Mashu:
Two soccer fields; one soccer stadium; three tennis courts; one bowling green and club-house; floodlights for soccer field; extension of community hall for indoor recreation.

HANSARD 3 Q. column 218.

21 February 1975.

(1) 101

(2) 319

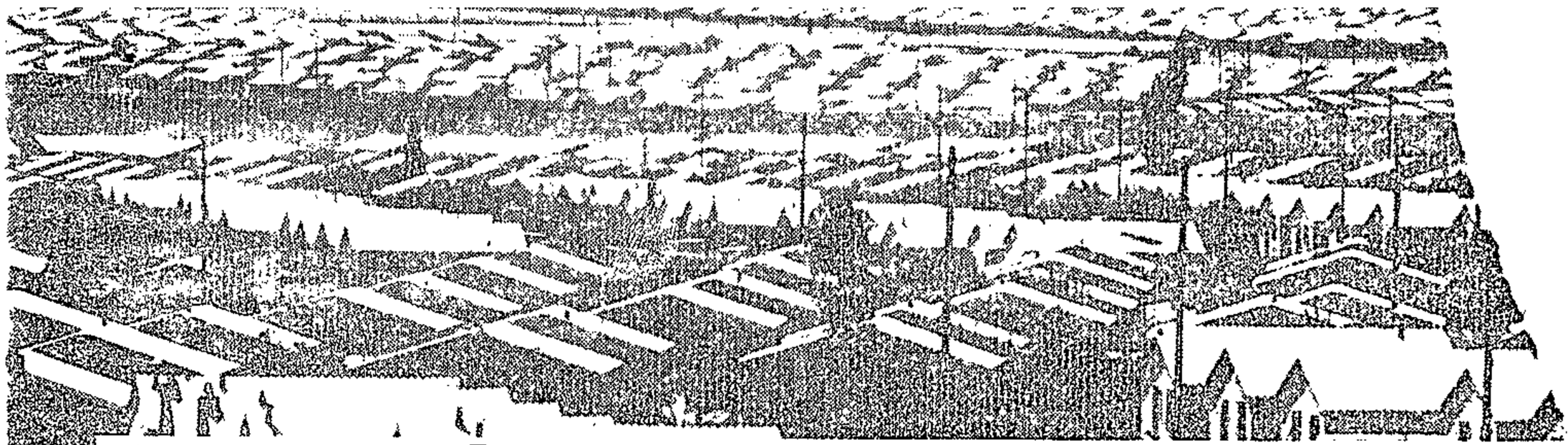
Bantu male/female adults/children resident in certain Bantu townships/areas

*22. Mr. N. J. J. OLIVIER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What are the estimated numbers of Bantu (a) (i) male and (ii) female adults and (b) children under the age of eighteen years, who are resident in (i) Zwelitsha, (ii) Mdantsane, (iii) Umlazi, (iv) Kwa Mashu, (v) Ga Rankuwa, (vi) Mabopane and (vii) Temba.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION (Reply laid upon Table with leave of House):

	(a)	(b)	(c)
(i)	6 779	7 166	15 700
(ii)	24 141	30 564	42 000
(iii)	44 208	35 280	71 845
(iv)	50 700	40 300	80 000
(v)	18 251	17 159	37 108
(vi)	7 997	13 083	43 774
(vii)	3 751	3 669	8 649



A housing time-bomb

F.M. 7/3/75

319

Which will come first? Enough Black housing or a social eruption? It's a race against time

White South Africans, it is rightly claimed, are among the best housed people in the world. But what of Black South Africans?

Mr Vorster took a giant step forward when he recently opened the door to some form of leasehold for urban Africans (*FM* January 31). A month or so earlier Planning Secretary Piet Rautenbach had pulled the covers off the outline of a plan for a huge Coloured and Indian housing scheme southwest of Johannesburg that may ultimately house 350 000. Yet other ambitious schemes are being planned.

The overall picture, however, is far from bright. Indeed, Mr A H du Plessis, the Minister of Community Development, confirms that the Coloured and Indian housing shortages are "grave".

The logistics of Black housing run like this. The various local authorities, including (in the case of African housing outside the Homelands) the 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, submit schemes to Community Development. With each scheme is an application for funds.

The schemes are considered and approved by the National Housing Commission, a statutory arm of Community Development. The Department Secretary then allocates the required funds from his overall budget, which is agreed by the Minister of Finance and the Cabinet.

Probably the most urgent aspect of the problem is Coloured housing in the Western Cape (*FM*, November 15). Reporting at the end of 1972, Prof S P Cilliers of Stellenbosch found that 314 623 Coloureds, 41% of the Coloured population of the area, lacked adequate housing. This backlog had been shaved by a mere 1,1% by January 1974. In Parliament last month Du Plessis admitted to a shortfall Republic-wide of 61 300 Coloured houses.

This depressing picture is not unique. An official of the Johannesburg City Council's Coloured and Asian Division says Coloured housing is "proportionately just as bad as in the Cape". Coloured families on the waiting list in October 1973 numbered 3 600; now there are over 4 300.

Many Coloureds are attracted to the Transvaal by better jobs and higher wages, only to discover that there is no accommodation. This is likely to continue, says Community Development's regional representative.

Approved plans provide for the construction of only 5 500 units for Coloureds by January 1977 in Johannesburg — enough to eliminate the backlog and ease overcrowding but too few to allow for natural increase and future influx.

Even if planning for the new scheme outlined by Rautenbach were to start immediately, building could not begin for at least three years, says Dr E J Jammine, chief officer of the Johannesburg Coloured and Asian Division.

Adding to the backlog are Group Areas removals. Ronald Webb of Tucsa recently estimated that 25% of the Coloured population has been relocated as a result of the Act. While many came from slums they, like the homeless, require rehousing.

The African housing situation in the common areas is not much better. Take Durban's Cato Manor. In what has been termed a "Group Areas blunder", the Minister of the Interior in 1959 declared Cato Manor "White" and began removing 50 000 Africans. Now, because of the housing shortage, homeless Coloureds have been allowed in.

Waiting lists, especially for African houses, are notoriously misleading. The lists, from which all projections of future housing needs are made, are nothing more than conservative estimates of the shortfall. Many never sign up for a house. A family, or part of it, may be in the area illegally; it may not "qualify" for accommodation; or its members may be ignorant of the procedures required.

Outside the Homelands, an African qualifies for a house only if he

- Is married;
- Is over 21;
- Was born and has resided since birth continously in the area, or has worked continuously in the area for 10 years for one employer, or 15 years for more than one.

Among those ineligible are women with children, who do not qualify as heads of households. They must attempt to secure lodgers' permits; there are now 10 500 such permits issued for Johannesburg's African areas and an unknown number of illegal boarders. Some widows are allowed, on appeal, to remain in their late husband's house.

Even officialdom cannot agree on how much housing is needed. For example Mathys Wilsnach, Director of Housing for the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board — the body responsible for all African housing in the Johannesburg area — points to a shortfall of 5 460 units.

"But these are the ones we're *obliged* to build. This 'primary list' is made up of those families qualified for housing under Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. Another 8 700 — on our 'secondary list' — are legally resident, but do not yet meet the Act's requirements."

So there are at least 14 160 African families in and around Johannesburg in need of housing. Others agree with this figure: Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash and Will Carr, former head of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department, for example.

Yet the administrative control officer of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Pretoria assures the *FM* that the "most up-to-date figures" indicate an immediate need for only 7 000 houses.

When official estimates diverge so widely, is it any wonder that their plight is regarded as less than critical?

Other examples of one hand not

knowing what the other is doing: Dr Selma Browde, Prog MPC, toured Soweto recently and observed the grossly overcrowded conditions.

"Many homes become hostels by night, with lodgers laying down bedrolls in every room. These aren't illegal boarders either. Most I spoke to have every right to be in Soweto."

One local official told her "virtually all houses in Soweto are overcrowded."

Yet Manie Mulder, chairman of the West Rand Board, evinced surprise when presented with the evidence. "My officials haven't told me of this. I'll make a note of it." Dr Browde told the *FM:* "To say I was amazed at Mr Mulder's lack of knowledge of these appalling conditions is an understatement."

Frustration in Soweto is so high, she feels, that "one incident could set it off. If there's no substantial increase in the new budget for Soweto — and other urban ghettoes as well — the citizens of Johannesburg must act to defuse this powderkeg on their doorstep. The government just doesn't realise it's faced with an emergency."

Overcrowding is clearly not limited to Soweto. The East Rand Board was warned by M P Kotze, outgoing Mayor of Springs, last November, that there would be "big trouble" unless a crash housing programme for Africans in Kwa Thema, was carried out. There were 24 people crammed into 4-bedroom houses in some cases, he said.

The shortfall of African housing in PE is reported to be a staggering 26 800 units. To alleviate it, the Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board announced in February a R45,6m 5-year plan to provide houses and services for 500 000 Africans.

The problem in Durban is equally serious. Recently Mayor Dixey Adams said Durban would have to provide 25 homes each working day for the next 15 years to meet the needs of its Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Africans would need 31 000 homes and 120 000 hostel beds over this period. And, said Adams, there was a backlog of 20 000 homes for Indians.

Mr J B Patel, president of the Durban Indian Benevolent Society, puts the figure at 27 000. That the official government figure is only 7 868 again illustrates the inadequacies of waiting lists.

There is general agreement in Opposition and liberal circles that African home ownership in the common areas outside the Homelands would make for a more stable community. However apartheid ideology has, at least until Mr Vorster's words of hope, prevented this. According to Sabra chief, Dr Chris Jooste, it is "futile" to pursue this line of argument. Those interested should direct their efforts towards "helping the Bantu have his own home in the Homelands".

This line of thought, which Dr Jooste may now feel obliged to abandon in view of the PM's *volte face,* blandly ignores the fact that most Blacks live and work in the common areas.

There are two other obstacles:

- Inflation, with its rising construction costs, has affected decision-making here as elsewhere; in Lenasia, for example, a house which cost R4 460 in 1971 today costs R7 200.
- Land is a problem which is often ignored on the assumption that there is enough for the country's 24m inhabitants. Yet local authorities are increasingly forced to think in terms of greatly improved land utilisation schemes and high-density housing.

Housing, experts argue, must be put on a mass-production basis, after a careful assessment has been made of the basic needs of the people to be housed. This falls far short of what is usually done: the mere provision, sometimes, of physical accommodation.

Johannesburg's land allocation backlog for Coloured housing has been eased by recent proclamations, and Community Development Secretary Louis Fouche notes hopefully that "within five years we'll wipe it out".

Durban also faced a similar land problem: the Mayor said too little had been zoned under the Group Areas Act for Coloured housing until two years ago.

That the Black housing shortfall has a number of serious social implications is clear. Crime, alcoholism, rent-gouging of illegal — and legal — boarders, family instability and promiscuity are some of the "cultural universals" flowing from overcrowded and inadequate conditions.

Government officials maintain that the problem is implementation, not resources. "A substantial proportion of the money is there — but money is not really the problem," notes Wilsnach.

"There are simply too few hands to do the work. We at the West Rand Board have our own building teams, which turn out 35 houses per week. How can we get to 70?"

Yet goodwill alone won't house SA's homeless. If housing is not voluntarily given top priority soon, a social eruption will, sooner or later, see that it is.

WHEN HOME'S A KAFKA CASTLE

Housing the poor is clearly the first priority. But what about the Black middle income group?

"It's a horrible state of affairs," laments Wilby Baqwa, senior industrial relations officer of Roberts Construction. "If you're Black, you move into the house that's available and that's it."

Blacks point to a demotivational problem: why work hard and advance if you are so restricted? Urban Blacks are not permitted to move at will; given the housing shortage, most consider themselves lucky to have a house at all.

Nor may they build, even though stands are available — in Soweto's Orlando Extension, for example. Self-building was halted on instructions from the Deparment of Bantu Administration and Development at the beginning of 1968.

Baqwa: "It's humiliating. I often have guests from overseas. Where can I take them? After getting them permits, which is bad enough, I'm embarrassed to take them home. The toilet's not even attached to the house."

Other problems arise from the non-differentiation of neighbourhoods. Laurie Hall, personnel manager of South African Associated Newspapers, calls for "economically segregated" housing, as it exists for Whites.

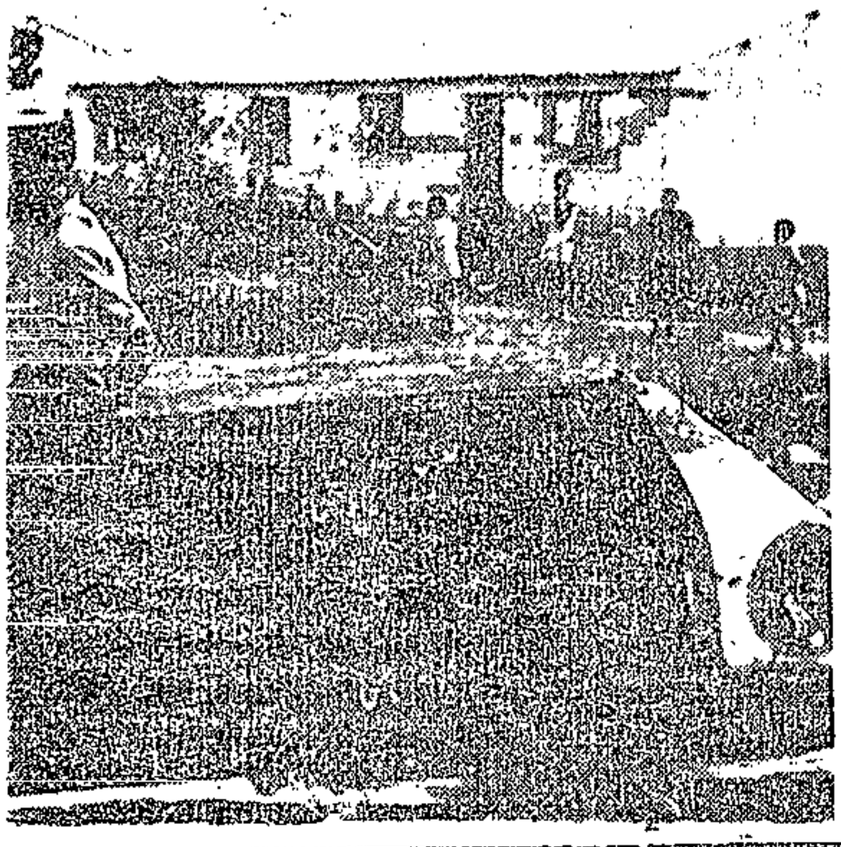
"A man with money and status should be able to separate himself from his subordinates".

The UBC spokesman agrees. "Often success causes hatred among neighbours. The others resent what they take as 'trying for White'. Housing distinctions should be made, if only to protect successful Blacks."

At present, there are no official plans to build better Black housing. As West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board housing director, Mathys Wilsnach, puts it, "We'd rather build ten houses at R650 than two at R3 500."

Let's hope the principle of leasehold is the breakthrough needed to make better class housing for higher-income Blacks a practical possibility.

Time is short.



MIGRANT LABOUR (319)

Probing the problems

F.M. 27/3/75

A two-man team of senior Bantu Administration officials has invited comments and suggestions for a study of migrant labour which they are conducting.

The team, under Johannesburg's Bantu Affairs Commissioner Frans du Randt (seconded to the Department of Bantu Administration in Pretoria for the purpose), has been commissioned to look into the system of migrant labour with special reference to the mining industry, larger employers (such as Iscor), and the Western Cape.

Du Randt told the *FM* it would make a comparative study of migrant labour in another country, probably West Germany. The first phase of the study, he said, would also involve drawing

Financial Mail March 27 1975

attention to archaic aspects of legislation — with a view to possible amendment or overhaul.

Documents on file are to be studied, and consultations held with other government departments, with Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, and employee organisations and organised labour. As the *FM* went to press, Du Randt and his colleague, Mr W Kruger of Bantu Administration, were due to meet officials of the Chamber of Mines.

Du Randt added that certain Black workers would also be approached. He has already had discussions with several mine employees.

The study should be completed in about four month's time and will then be submitted to Willem Cruywagen, the newly-appointed third Deputy Minister in the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

Du Randt said the question of a formal "charter" for migrant workers, as suggested by Deputy Minister Punt Janson (part of whose responsibilities have now been handed over to Cruywagen) was "still a long way off. There are a great many loose ends to be tied up first". Cruywagen is convalescing at the moment, and is not expected back at his desk before the beginning of May.

Those wishing to submit representations on the migrant labour system to Du Randt should send them to the Secretary for Bantu Administration, PO Box 384, Pretoria, 0001.

HANSARD 9

Q. column 643-644

8 April 1975.

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2 319

Banks in Bantu townships

*10. Mr. D. D. BAXTER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) Whether his Department restricts the number of banks or branches thereof which may be established in Bantu urban townships; if so, (a) how many banks or branches are authorized and (b) in which townships are they located;

(2) whether he has received representations in regard to the establishment of additional banking facilities in Bantu urban townships; if so, (a) what was the nature of such representations and (b) what was his reply thereto.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes.

(a) Five commercial banks have been authorized to establish four branches or agencies each in urban Bantu residential areas subject to the proviso that not more than one bank be permitted to operate in the same residential area.

(b) The information is not readily available and the expenditure involved to obtain such information urgently, is not considered justified.

(2) Yes.

(a) Representations were received for the extension of banking facilities in Soweto.

(b) Authority has been granted for the establishment of a branch of each of the other banks not yet operating in Soweto.

RDM 9/4/75

Town Blacks lose in numbers game

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE percentage increase of Africans living in the homelands was nearly double that of their kinsmen living in White-controlled South Africa between the 1960 and 1970 censuses, according to Professor Flippie Smit of the University of South Africa.

Professor Smit's calculations — disclosed to the Rand Daily Mail yesterday — come as Parliament considers proposals to partially consolidate the homelands into an area constituting some 13 per cent of South Africa.

But Professor Smit does not believe that the rising population of the homelands in itself reinforces the pleas by African leaders for a larger share of the land.

His calculations show that the homeland population increased by 70 per cent between 1960 and 1970 — against an increase of some 38 per cent for the African population in White-controlled South Africa.

The more rapid increase of the homeland population was due to boundary changes, resettlement programmes and better census techniques rather than the "voluntary return of Bantu," Professor Smit said.

According to the 1970 census nearly 7-million Africans were de facto residents of the homelands — or 47 per cent of the total population as against 38 per cent at the previous census.

But, argued Professor Smit, the increase, for whatever reasons, did not make the African case for more land irresistible.

"Just to add more land because the homeland population density has increased makes no sense," he said.

To support his argument further, Professor Smit, professor of geography at Unisa, quoted figures for the Transkei and Botswana. With a population density of more than 50 people per square km the per capita income for the Transkei was more than R70 a year. Equivalent figures for Botswana were two people per sq km and R50.

But that did not mean Professor Smit thought there was no case for better consolidation of the homelands through the addition of more territory.

EASIER

From the "geo-political" viewpoint there was a case for better consolidation than was contained in the proposals before Parliament. It would make the homelands easier to administer and give them a better chance of becoming viable political units.

Mr Gavin Maasdorp, of the University of Natal, agreed with Professor Smit that an increasing population and rising population density did not necessarily mean more land should be given to the homelands.

What was needed was detailed studies of particular homelands — their populations, growth trends, resources and so on — and only then could a proper assessment be made of whether the land resources were adequate.

(1) 319
(2) ~~101~~
(3) ~~236~~

HANSARD 10 Q. Columns 692-693.

15/4/75

Question.....
on both sides of the paper

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Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund

*7. Mr. G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) Whether any sums have been contributed to the Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund since 25 September 1974; if so, what total amount;

(2) whether any money has been allocated since that date for sporting and recreational facilities; if so, (a) in what areas and (b) what amounts were allocated in each area for each type of facility.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes, R49 750.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b)

Eastern Transvaal Bantu Affairs Administration Board area: R15 000 to develop a soccer and athletics complex at Kanyamazane.

Central Transvaal Bantu Affairs Administration Board area: R4 809 for improvements to tennis courts and club house at Atteridgeville.

Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board area: R2 000 for improvements to cricket facilities at Langa.

Diamond Fields Bantu Affairs Administration Board area: R28 500 for a soccer and athletics stadium.

Vaal Triangle Bantu Affairs Administration Board area: R12 200 for facilities for soccer and athletics.

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Urban townships threat to whites says Prog

DURBAN — Urban black townships were causing a crisis situation in South Africa which threatened the well-being of whites and blacks, Mr Rene de Villiers, Progressive Party MP for Parktown, said here.

Addressing a Progressive Party meeting in Pinetown, Mr De Villiers said in Soweto alone there were 17 000 families, comprising 80 000 people, who were homeless.

"It is a crisis of housing, a crisis of crime — Soweto has three murders a day — and a crisis of living," he said.

Influx control had failed because it was a sin against economics and ham-strung development.

"It is no use Mr Punt Janson threatening white employers who engaged blacks illegally," Mr De Villiers said, referring to a speech made in the Assembly last week by the Deputy-Minister of Bantu Admininstration.

"He must provide an answer to the situation where employers need workers and workers need jobs, but the government refuses to allow the two to come together."

He warned it was extremely dangerous for the government to move people who had jobs out of the urban areas to places where there were no jobs and no accommodation.

He launched a strong attack on the budget, which, he said, gave a paltry amount to black education.

"Consider there are four million whites and 21 million blacks in South Africa. The whites get R27 million for education and the blacks R832 000.

"That means three times as much money is spent on white education than is spent on black education."

Similarly, while subsidies for the blind, deaf, cripples and cerebral palsies in the white community amount to R11,6 million, the figure for blacks is only R1,2 million.

"You may not know our defence budget is R2,6 million a day," Mr De Villiers said.

"Surely we could use this amount more profitably and give everyone a country they would be proud to defend."

The government's policy was dangerous when put into practice. Referring to recent outbreaks of violence at the Hartleyvale and the Rand Stadium, Mr De Villiers said it was inevitable when whites were pitted against blacks — or blacks against brown — the chances of trouble must always be high.

"Wherever possible white and black should play with one another and not against one another," he said. — DDC-SAPA.

MR DE VILLIERS . . . . R2,6m a day on defence.

HANSARD 12 Q. 844-5.
29 April 1975.

319

Chief Directors/Directors of Bantu Administration Boards

*18. Dr. G. F. JACOBS asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) How many (a) Chief Directors and (b) Directors of Bantu Administration Boards have been appointed to date;

(2) (a) what is the basic salary range and (b) in each case what other allowances or benefits are paid to these officials.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION:

(1) (a) 22.

(b) 98.

(2) (a) Chief Director: R13 200—R15 600 per annum.
Directors: R9 900—R14 400 per annum.

(b) Transport allowance. Housing allowance or housing subsidy where applicable. Subsistence and travelling allowance.

1+ ANSARD 11 Q. column 753 21 April 1975. 319

Improvement to houses for Bantu

189. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) (a) What is the latest year for which additions to houses occupied by Bantu have been approved and (b) how many housing plans were approved during that year;

(2) for which improvements to houses are Bantu occupants liable;

(3) whether a maximum is placed on the compensation paid for improvements when houses have to be vacated; if so, (a) why and (b) what is the maximum;

(4) whether occupants who have made improvements without approved building plans are entitled to compensation on vacating their houses.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Bantu tenants may still improve houses occupied by them in urban Bantu residential areas at their own expense with the prior approval of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards.

(b) Falls away.

(2) All improvements approved of in terms of (1)(a).

(3) No, no compensation is payable by Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, but tenants vacating houses are at liberty to dispose of the improvements at a price to be agreed upon with the new tenants.

(a) and (b) fall away.

(4) See (3) above.

N IN EIE BUURTE EIENDOM KOOP

(319)

Swart huisbesit toegelaat

(1) DB
(2) 319

DB. 2.5.75

Die Burger 2/5/75

Van Ons Parlementêre Redaksie

NAARSKAP vir swartmense in hul stedelike woonbuurte in blanke gebiede sal in die toekoms weer toe-d, het die Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling, mnr. M. C. Botha, gister in die Volksraad

„Diegene wat sodanige huise het, sal dit aan ander kwalifiserende Bantoes kan verkoop en aan kwalifiserende erfgename kan bemaak. Met hierdie skema kan werkgewers ongetwyfeld baie doen om kwalifiserende Bantoes te help met die verkryging van huise," het die Minister gesê.

Sowat 30 persent van die 444 000 huise in die swart woonbuurte in Suid-Afrika is reeds die eiendom van Bantoes, maar staan op die grond van plaaslike owerhede.

In die praktyk sal die reëling daarop neerkom dat kwalifiserende Bantoes 'n perseel in 'n stedelike swart woongebied sal kan verkry en self 'n huis daarop bou en dat 'n reeds geboude huis van 'n plaaslike raad gekoop kan word. Terugbetalings sal oor termyne van tot dertig jaar gedoen kan word. Reeds bewoonde huise sal verander kan word.

„Alle wettige Bantoe-huurders van wonings in stedelike swart woongebiede sal ook toegelaat word om tot hierdie stelsel oor te skakel. Dit sal in die toekoms natuurlik nog moontlik wees vir Bantoes om huise te huur."

Dié ontwikkeling, wat ook geld vir die besit van sakegeboue en persele wat gebruik word deur swart geneeshere en ander beroepsmense, is „'n treffende openbaring van die positiewe verloop van die dialoog tussen die tuislandregerings en die Suid-Afrikaanse regering", het min. Botha gesê.

Ander toegewinge raak die handelsregte van swart mense in blanke gebiede.

Die Minister, wat die debat oor sy begrotingsposte ingelei het, het gesê sy aankondiging is die Regering se antwoord op sekere vertoe wat die tuislandleiers op 22 Januarie in samesprekinge tot die Regering gerig het.

Aangehelp

„Die goeie resultate wat deur dié konstruktiewe dialoogvoering opgelewer is, lewer bewys van die Regering se opregte bedoeling om, getrou aan sy beginsels en beleid, steeds met nog uitbreidinge vorendag te kom," het min. Botha gesê.

„Daar sal van die Regering se kant af altyd vordering wees as koers gehou word volgens die Regering se beginsels, te meer nog as ons aangehelp word deur dialoog op 'n vriendskaplike grondslag, soos in hierdie geval."

Oor huiseienaarskap het hy gesê: „Die gebruik wat tot einde 1967 bestaan het en toe beëindig is, naamlik dat kwalifiserende Bantoes eienaarskap van huise in stedelike swart woongebiede kon geniet — d.w.s. om die reg van bewoning te koop van huise wat staan op die grond van die owerheid — sal weer op bepaalde voorwaardes in werking gestel word."

Dit sal in die betreklik nabye toekoms ingestel word. Sekere administratiewe voorbereiding moet uiteraard eers getref word. Die datum sal mettertyd aangekondig word.

Meer as een

Die Minister het gesê die prosedure wat gevolg word met die hernieuwing van handelsregte in stedelike swart woonbuurte, word ook verander. Die doel is om die posisie van die swart handelaars so na moontlik in oor-

* VERVOLG OP BL. VYF *

Gekoop

0 123
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RDM 2/5/75

Urban Blacks can no

ly BERNARDI WESSELS
Political Correspondent

LACKS will be able to wn their own homes in White South Africa on a 0-year lease basis.

This was one of the sweeping concessions announced y the Government yesterday for South Africa's urban lack millions.

Spelling out the relaxations i Government policy for ty Blacks, the Minister of antu Administration and evelopment, Mr M. C. Botha, also announced that:

- Blacks will be able to bequeath or sell their houses, although the site on which they are built remains municipal property.
- Traders will be allowed to deal in a wider range of commodities, establish more than one type of business, and enter into partnerships.
- Doctors and other professional people will be able to possess their own consulting rooms and offices in Black residential areas.

The new deal is a direct result of the discussions in January between the Prime Minister, the Bantu Administration Ministers, and the homeland leaders.

It is clearly aimed at removing some of the major points of resentment suffered by Blacks in urban areas and raised on their behalf at the January meeting.

Mr Botha announced the concessions at the start of the debate on his department and said the new home ownership scheme would mean a return to the position existing until 1967.

Blacks who qualified to be in urban areas would, under specified conditions, again be able to buy the right of occupation of houses on land belonging to the local authorities.

This would allow a "qualified" Black person to build his own house on an undeveloped site in a Black residential area, or aquire a house that had already been built.

He would be able to extend or alter the house, and either pay for it immediately or by payments over a long period.

He would also b sell it to other persons or bequea "qualified" heirs.

Asked by the I the Opposition, Si liers Graaff, whe legislation would red, Mr Botha said deal could be im with possibly a re the relevant regul

The Minister said cedures would allo licences to be annually.

Partnerships wou

Firms offer home loans for Africans

RDM 3/5/75

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE "new" home ownership deal for urban Africans will release housing loan money to them from major companies, it was learnt yesterday.

Two major companies said the reintroduction of the 30-year leasehold system of home ownership, announced in Parliament by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, would facilitate the granting of loans to African employees.

A spokesman for Anglo American said: "Subject to further details it seems as if it will be easier for us to assist our Black employees."

A spokesman for Johannesburg Consolidated Investment said: "Housing loan facilities have been available to head office Black employees since 1966 to help them purchase stand leaseholds in the townships."

The 30-year leasehold system was abolished in 1968, and it followed as "day followed night" that its reintroduction would give African employees a better chance of applying successfully for loans.

The JCI scheme includes loans for building materials to improve existing houses and the building of new homes in both townships and the homelands.

The "Mayor" of Soweto, Mr T. J. Makhaya, yesterday appealed to employers of Soweto citizens to help them help themselves in the interests of good race relations. He was confident of a good response.

With an official housing waiting list of 17 000 families, Soweto is in the midst of a housing crisis, aggravated by the smallness of the standard 51/6 Soweto house.

If money was available, the people themselves would contribute to easing of congestion in two ways:

- By buying houses owned by the West Rand Administration Board and adding to them. They already have the right to add to board houses but have no rights to compensation when they leave, according to Mr Makhaya.
- By building their own houses on the 30-year lease basis.

The director of the Association of Building Societies, Mr David Alston, said yesterday: "Societies will give sympathetic consideration to loan applications by urban Africans if legally possible."

But before any definitive statement could be made the Building Societies Act and the Deed Registries Act would have to be studied in full context of Mr Botha's statement.

The West Rand Administration Board's director of housing, Mr M. P. Wilsnach, said of Mr Makhaya's belief that employers were willing to help African employees: "I would go along with him."

Even before Mr Botha's announcement the board had received offers of assistance from many employers.

The first 30-year leasehold scheme operated from 1955 to 1967 and was introduced by the then Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd, as part of his site-and-service campaign against slums.

In that period about 10 000 Africans in Soweto owned their own houses and even today "not a single house in Dube" is owned by the board.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of KwaZulu, said yesterday he was disappointed that leasehold would not be for a longer period than 30 years.

Sapa reports from East London that the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has said the 30-year freehold leases on land and houses promised to urban Africans fell short of what was desired.

In an interview yesterday, Chief Kaiser said the concession to give urban Africans some form of permanence was nonetheless welcomed.

"It will thrill all concerned in the struggle for human rights," he said.

It would also prove, said Chief Kaiser, that the homeland leaders were true and real leaders of the Black people in South Africa and should be recognised as such by the doubting Thomases who advocated revolution as the means for getting freedom.

Chief Kaiser said the object was to press for removal of obnoxious regulations such as the pass laws and influx control which controlled the movement of Black people to the extent of seemingly enslaving them.

White South Africa should be educated into understanding that the world would accept nothing short of full equality between all the races.

FOR AS LIT AS R1,4

319

Prog calls for 'legitimate' squatting sites

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Suggestions for handling the squatter problem were put forward by Opposition MPs in the Assembly yesterday.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, PP Rondebosch, proposed that first the actions of government on all levels should be synchronized and that then special areas should be demarcated where there could be legitimate squatting.

Officials should be appointed who could advise people coming into the area where to build their shelters. Minimum health services for both people and animals should be provided and finally the squatters should be left to rely on their own ingenuity to provide the necessary shelter.

There is squatting anyway, he said, so it might as well be made orderly.

Mr N J J Olivier, UP Edenvale, said it was the duty of the Government to give guidance in connection with alternative housing for squatters.

The Government should consider making available loans for building materials to Blacks wishing to build their own homes and the Bantu Administration Boards should have building plans at their disposal. Water, sanitation and other essential services should be provided timeously.

Municipalities should seriously consider re-introducing the system of Black building teams which proved to be such a success in the 1950's. In all cases, the Government should provide the necessary capital.

Profits made from the sale of Bantu liquor should not be used to provide amenities in the homelands but in the urban areas as well.

'ALREADY DECIDED'

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha: "It has already been decided to do that."

Mr H J van der Walt, NP Schweizer-Reneke, said that the time had arrived for the Opposition to rid itself of the myth that Blacks were in the White urban areas permanently.

The Black man was in the republic as a citizen of his particular homeland merely to sell his labour. He was not there on a permanent basis but in a loose capacity.

Thursday's announcement by Mr M C Botha that Blacks in urban areas would now be able to own homes on municipal property should not be seen as an admission that Blacks were there for all time.

URBAN BLACKS GET MORE GOOD NEWS

Sunday Express 4/5/75 (319)

By MARTIN SCHNEIDER
Political Editor

THE Government is going to follow up this week's major concessions for urban Blacks by revising the entire Urban Bantu Council system and allowing Blacks a greater say in the running of their affairs at municipal level.

The moves mark the beginning of the practical implementation of the most far-reaching change yet made in Government policy — the recognition that the country's urban Blacks are permanent residents of "White" South Africa and that a formula must be found to accommodate their aspirations.

While the Government is still waiting for the Transkei to gain its independence before it faces the problem of formulating a new political approach towards urban Blacks, the latest moves indicate social and economic concessions are now to be made at an increasingly faster tempo.

This will include the development of more representative and effective local government and priority has been given to a revision of the Urban Bantu Council system.

All Blacks who qualify in terms of the law to live in the jurisdiction of a Bantu Administration Board will be allowed to purchase homes under the new system.

The land itself may not be purchased and while the average leasehold on buildings and homes will be about 30 years, the homes may be bequeathed to an heir who qualifies as a resident of a township.

All buying and selling of homes will be made through the Bantu Administration Boards. People who buy existing houses will be able to renovate them and make additions subject only to municipal building by-laws.

Provisions will be made for larger stands on a limited scale and people will be able to design their own homes on new land made available for township development.

Costs involved in the purchase of a house on leasehold are still being calculated and Mr Janson was unable to give even a general monthly or weekly repayment figure.

Mr Janson added: "I am confident that we can create out of this something really worthwhile, something well-organised and something which will create better understanding."

He said he envisaged that, over a period of years, better class Black suburbs would develop.

Abandoned

This week's concessions — the granting of leasehold home and building ownership rights and relaxations of restrictions on businessmen — are the first practical steps made by the Government since it officially abandoned its policy that urban Blacks are "temporary sojourners" who will eventually be attracted back to homelands in significant numbers.

The old policy was officially buried 18 months ago when the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Janson, told the House of Assembly urban Blacks will be in "White" South Africa for generations to come and their needs must be met.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr Raubenheimer, went a step further this week by claiming the urban Blacks "are here forever."

Spelling out the concessions announced this week, Mr Janson told the Express he hoped employers would now come forward with loans to enable employees to purchase their own homes on the new leasehold scheme.

Another method of financing the homes purchased on leasehold will be through loans and bonds granted by the Bantu Administration Boards.

Papers hail homes plan for Africans

By MARSHALL LEE

THE Afrikaans Press has welcomed the Government's plans to grant leasehold ownership to urban Africans. They say it is a step in the right direction.

In an almost jubilant leader, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, greeted the announcement as one that "rang like a bell".

"It was a move away from the comfortless location world in which only rogues and vultures can be fortunate."

Rapport looked optimistically ahead to further steps that would follow "as certainly as night follows day". They referred particularly to the provision of proper recreational facilities, more schools and services, the protection of life and property and improvements to the transport services between Soweto and Johannesburg.

It said many things were lacking that were taken for granted in other communities. Without these things life was worth little and as long as lives were worth little it followed that others' lives could not be worth much either.

Rapport said it was thankful for "a purposeful step towards an orderly community."

Die Vaderland on Friday made the point that land ownership and political rights for Blacks in White areas remained out of the question.

Africans could not be lumped together with Coloureds and Indians and to give way on these things would spell doom for the future of White, Coloured and Indian.

Nevertheless, the latest measures were decidedly a step in the right direction. The urban Black was a permanent factor, economically and socially.

The circumstances under which he lived "in our Sowetos" and worked in "our towns" were of the utmost importance for a peaceful and well-ordered community.

Home-ownership and the provision for better business opportunities, were an important step towards a more stable existence.

Die Vaderland, however, thought the 30-year term was unrealistically short. It argued that a businessman could hardly establish and expand a business undertaking in that time.

It also raised problems for the homeowner: if a man bought a house when he was 25, his right would expire when he was 55, before he had to retire. And to make over a house to a child for a year or two was meaningless.

Die Transvaler on Saturday hammered the opposition — the UP, Progs and Herstigtes — for trying to make political capital out of the move.

It said the opposition did not know whether to laugh or cry. Their attack was damaging not to the National Party but to race relations in South Africa.

It was political opportunism in its most dangerous form. The UP's promise to support the Prime Minister's positive steps was worth nothing. Their attitude was backstabbing.

All major newspapers in Britain gave prominence to the plan on Saturday.

The dramatic change in Nationalist policy has astonished the traditional anti-South Africa lobby in London, but has not yet removed cynicism.

A member of the British Government said: "An amazing volte face, but we will have to see it happen before we believe it. South Africa has been too insincere in the past for the world to accept something like this from newspaper headlines.

"We are talking about dramatic domestic changes, now, not meaningless foreign policy issues."

The Daily Telegraph headlined a half column report: "Vorster gives Blacks property rights." Reporter Christopher Munnion said opposition parties in the Republic had hailed the change as the "turning of the tide" in race policies of the Nationalist Government.

The Times said the "concessions" were sweeping and a significant change in Government attitudes, but reported that Black leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi felt the changes were not sufficient and merely opened the way for further advance.

The Star Tuesday May 6 1975

① 123
② 200
③ 319.

Reform plan for urban Blacks

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Reform Party announced today details of its policy towards urban Blacks.

In a statement released by the MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, the party — which is continuing to express itself on aspects of policy in spite of continping progress in merger negotiations with the Progressive Party — came out strongly in favour of:

- Blacks being accepted as a permanent part of South Africa's urban population:

POLITICAL RIGHTS

- Blacks being given the same status and consideration as other urban groups:
- Their citizenship being decided as soon as the consolidated boundaries of the homelands have been finally dealt with.

The choice should be offered them to take homeland citizenship or become citizens in the rban areas. Those choosing rban citizenship must then be accorded political rights there.

- Urban Blacks who choose homeland citizenship should nevertheless be accorded all the other socio-economic rights enjoyed by other population groups.

HOME LOANS

The Reformists go on to spell out the changes necessarily flowing from acceptance of those principles.

At a sociological level, the statement made clear, urban Blacks must be permitted to buy homes and properties "on freehold title." Building societies, in association with Government schemes, must be [illegible] couraged to provi[illegible] able loans to [illegible] in a positi[illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] neighbo[illegible] All urban [illegible] and cities had [illegible] ance of "dormitory [illegible] at present, said the [illegible] and it was necessary [illegible] spend far more on services [illegible] and amenities.

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Well and good to transfer power to Black authorities in the townships. But with it must come proper financial backing, writes HAROLD FRIDJHON.

Black towns must have payability

STAR 8/5/75

Plans which could lead to setting up Black local authorities in townships such as Soweto are said to be on the Government's drawing boards. When the blueprints eventually emerge they could make a significant contribution to bringing stability and security to millions of urban Blacks — provided that a comprehensive financial scheme is part and parcel of any political programme.

But if power is transferred from the present White Boards without the financial resources necessary to ensure the viability of Black "municipalities," instead of living conditions being improved, present hardships and dissatisfaction would be aggravated.

When the West Rand Bantu Board took Soweto over from the Johannesburg municipality no provision was made to replace the annual "subsidy" the city council had provided to balance the township's books.

To meet the shortfall the Bantu Board raised rents — a move which created ill-feeling; residents were compelled to pay more but received nothing more in return.

If a Black Soweto council had to take a similar step, as well as fail to give its citizens additional facilities, the result could have been.

Transfer of power from White to Blacks demands a close examination of how the Black urban areas are financed. And of the changes that will have to be made if township local authorities are to be given real municipal dignity instead of being the charity wards of a White society.

Bantu Boards reflects not only the uneconomic structure of Black residential areas but also the twists and distortions of Black-White social patterns and attitudes.

More than a quarter of the total net income flows from the levy of R1,80 a month which every employer must pay for each African man and woman working for him. About half of the board's income is made up of rents from houses and hostels. And a quarter is the profit earned by the board from the sale of liquor.

The liquor turnover of the West Rand Bantu Board — surely the biggest retail purveyor of drink in South Africa — is more than R35-million a year, a sorry way of financing the home life of the urban Black.

Capital expenditure is provided by loans from community development for the building of houses and to a lesser extent from capital allocation out of income.

This financial framework is far from satisfac- from handouts is yet another irritant which emphasises dependence instead of independence.

The introduction of leasehold rights into the townships adds another dimension which will complicate financing to an extent which cannot yet be determined — particularly until arrangements have been made for financing the private buying of houses.

Before any transfer of power, the Bantu Boards must start to change the financial structure of the Black areas. Townships should be graded into socio-economic suburbs with differentiated rating. Business areas demarcated with differentiated rating.

And the rent structure must be divided into house rent, stand rent, and rates so that ultimately rates and services slowly take over as a prime generator of income.

The central government, operating perhaps through building societies, should provide funds for home-owners to buy their properties. This should bring a capital inflow which township authorities could use to develop new areas for private building, for the building of new houses for renting and for paying for roads, lighting and other facilities.

But basic to all change is the level of wages paid. Low wages, low rents supplemented by a compulsory levy on employers. The very existence of that levy shows the system is wrong.

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(319)

Town councils mainly derive their income from rates levied on property owners and from the profits earned from providing their citizens with essential services such as electricity, water, sewage removal and garbage collection.

But the income of the tory by any standard. But if Soweto, for example, were to become a Black municipality the present system would be distasteful to a Black administration. The monthly levy, for instance, is in itself an indication of a wage standard that doesn't enable a man to pay his way. And the dependence on an income from drink — and drunkenness — is abhorrent to most decent people.

Capital expenditure

FM

Financial Mail
MAY 9
1975

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Back to 1967

wo steps back and one forward brings the urban African to where he vas eight years ago. But, believe it or not, that's progress

ow, here you see, it takes all the run-ing you can do, to stay in the same lace. If you want to get somewhere else u must run at least twice as fast as at — Lewis Carroll, *Through the ooking Glass*

he **concessions** to urban Africans nounced by Minister of Bantu Ad-inistration, M C Botha, in Parliament st week have generated considerably ore heat than light.

It is a measure of "detente fever" that ps (however praiseworthy) which sentially revert to the pre-1967 posi-n, should arouse such excitement.

Furthermore it is almost certainly no incidence that this hasty announce-nt — which inspires more questions an answers — should have been put t just as Prime Minister Vorster's nous six months were running out.

Botha's statement makes it clear that vernment has not really thought ough any comprehensive new deal the urban African (see page 487) and almost ecstatic response to it makes qually clear that it will have to do so n.

Briefly, this is what he promised:

Restoration of the principle of 30-r leaseholds of sites and the right to chase houses from local authorities urban Africans, both of which were hdrawn by administrative fiat in 7.

The restoration of the right to sell ses or to bequeath them (also oved in 1967).

Annual renewal of trading licences to brought into line with the position of ite traders' licences (i.e. "without the ting uncertainty attached thereto").

raders to be permitted to trade "in a er range of commodities than at pre-", as well as to establish more than type of business on the same pre-es (rights withdrawn by Departmen-ircular in 1963).

Business partnerships to be allowed traders with businesses in Home-ls to be allowed "to retain their exist-business in the urban residential area finitely".

Building ownership "will again ome possible for Bantu traders in the urban Bantu residential areas in the White areas in the same manner as in the case of houses" (rights also withdrawn in 1963. As Richard Maponya, a Soweto businessman, points out, granting of *leaseholds* to traders would be an entirely new step).

● Doctors and other professional Africans again allowed "to possess their own consulting rooms or offices . . . as also in the case of houses and other business buildings". As with traders, the granting of leaseholds (implied but not promised by Botha) would be a new concession.

M C Botha . . . running to stay in the same place

All these concessions will take effect "in the reasonably near future" and will be available to "qualified Africans". Botha does not specify what a "qualified African" is, though it is probable that he is referring to "Section 10 Africans" (see box).

The only concession Botha described as new was the undertaking to "look more closely into" the possibility of allowing Africans to pledge their houses and shops in order to raise loans by negotiable, registered mortgages.

Obviously a good deal of detail is needed to flesh out these undertakings. The exact terms under which leaseholds are granted will be crucial.

Traders will also want to know if they may form companies in urban areas as well as partnerships. Limited liability, after all, is a cornerstone of capitalism and makes risk-taking feasible in a way partnerships cannot.

Conditions under which defaulting of lease payment leads to the loss of a leasehold will also be important, as will the definition of the larger range of commodities which can now be traded.

The changes are welcome and significant and have (predictably) delighted the African middle-class, which is most affected. What is urgently needed now, however, is to make the concessions meaningful.

Government must now work through the logical implications of restoring urban Africans their 30-year leasehold rights. Its official stance is still that urban Africans merely serve as temporary ministers to the needs of White SA.

But this seems to be weakening in spite of Botha's breezy assurance — aimed no doubt at the less detente-ophile of National Party supporters — that all this amounts to is the changing of a few regulations and a return to the pre-1967 position.

Even if one takes this at face value, the question remains why government has backtracked. The Minister's answer to the *FM* was that the measures were the consequence of "positive, constructive dialogue". Is he suggesting that such dialogue was not available in 1967 when leaseholds were suspended?

Another sign of basic re-thinking of the urban African's status in "White" SA is Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration Punt Janson's statement (page 487) that Africans, other than those qualified under Section 10, may also be allowed 30-year leases.

Certainly this is necessary. Even more, the government has to accept that the urban African is a permanent and welcome feature of the cities. This needs

to be accepted as a basic premise.

From this flows many necessary and fairly short-term implications:

- Freehold land rights for Africans in the cities, however unpalatable for certain doctrinaire government supporters, must come. And the sooner the better.
- African urban *communities* must be developed. As Progressive Party MPC Selma Browde points out: "It is not enough to build houses, you must build communities".

Local creches, shopping centres and community halls must be established to help reduce crime.

- The Bantu Administration Board must grant land more liberally to alleviate the critical African housing shortage (*FM* March 7).

It must also grant blocks of land to traders, for example for supermarkets, if concessions permitting partnerships and traders to build their own stores are to have any meaning.

- Section 10 must be overhauled in a way that existing rights of holders are not jeopardised, but which makes it easier for other legally employed Africans to obtain such rights. Women's rights to permanent urban residence and to a home must be entrenched beyond the whim of the Minister.

If the government is *not* basically rethinking the position of urban Africans (as Botha takes pains to imply) it is playing with fire. Such concessions, in the present climate, have created an enormous surge of rising expectations which will not now be side-tracked by administrative manoeuvres.

If it *is* thinking of major changes, it must do better than dribbling through *ad hoc* concessions. The structure of legislative and administrative repression of urban Africans is too complex and intertwined to allow anything but a comprehensive approach.

Tinkering with these problems for short-term political gain is no answer. In fact, it is highly dangerous.

THE NEEDLE'S EYE

Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945, as amended, lays down *inter alia* that:

"No Bantu shall remain for more than 72 hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that (a) he has, since birth, resided continuously in such area; or (b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than 10 years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than 15 years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding one hundred rand or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months . . ."

Black housing: a quandary

F.M. 9/5/75 319

· **building** societies are in a quandary. /ernment's decision to grant lease- l home-ownership rights to urban :ks was taken without consulting the ıary financial vehicle for implement- that decision.

he rub is that the societies have no ı as to how to resolve the dilemmas :d by that decision.

)eposits made with the building eties come from Blacks and Whites e. Without rights of home owner-, however, Blacks have until now ı excluded from standing in the ıes for building society loans.

f the 30-year leases on houses (not l) promised by government can be perly registered, then the demand for already inadequate pool of building ety finance will be considerably eased.

Not only is it unknown at this stage ther the proposed leasehold rights be registered, which is a necessary equisite for the granting of a build- society loan and without which ernment's home ownership gesture ld scarcely be meaningful, but the ıber of Blacks who would "qualify" the right is also undetermined.

: would seem that the limitation of se qualifying is likely to go beyond ction 10 Bantu". (see page 479). In nterview with the *FM*, Punt Janson, ıuty Minister of Bantu Administra-, envisaged the scope of the conces- as possibly extending to "all those uited legally" (*FM* January 31). And analogy at the time with sectional s clearly indicates that the long es might indeed be registered.

here can be no doubt that, under e circumstances, the building socie- will be only too pleased to lend to :ks.

eslie Lucas-Bull says that the UBS lend "to any race group provided bonds can be registered suitably to ect the interests of ourselves and our stors, and provided the property red as security is adequate".

ike UBS, the SA Perm also supports concept of Black home ownership. ıt chief executive Boet Viljoen ıuld welcome the opportunity of con- ring applications for loans by Blacks the same basis and subject to the e qualifications as we presently con- r applications for loans by other al groups".

hroughout the society movement, e is a consensus that its funds should be made available on the basis of merit. As Trust Building Society's Ané de Wet puts it: "There is no question of Black money and White money — all money is green".

But difficulties will arise.

First, fresh pressure on building society funds by thousands of Blacks who might qualify can only worsen the overall problem of funding home ownership.

It is no use arguing that increased demand should sort itself out by pushing up the mortgage rate, for this would price house ownership beyond the range of many.

Second, the societies are reluctant to act in the high-risk area of sub-economic and economic housing where the security might be of questionable value. However, since this is the area which falls into the ambit of the government's concession, methods would have to be found of encouraging building society participation.

They are after all, best equipped in terms of administration, specialised knowledge and public trust for handling an operation of this nature.

It could be that government will consider guaranteeing high-risk loans and making cash available for the purpose. In this event, the societies could simply administer the loans (at a reduced interest rate?) for the various local authorities and Bantu administration boards.

Politically, government is playing its cards well. The changes can be effected by regulation and not legislation, so avoiding embarrassing parliamentary debate over the permanence of urban Blacks. Deputy Minister Janson has passed the baby onto Deputy Minister W A Cruywagen, who has been so recently appointed that he is unable to elaborate on government thinking.

Even Manie Mulder of the West Rand Bantu Board has to maintain silence because he is awaiting "details" from government.

Clarity, it seems, will only emerge with the passing of time — once government and the societies have got together, as they must.

Women without a

STAR 9/5/75

Mother's Day — which falls on Sunday — puts the spotlight on the unsung heroines of every family.

The increasing pressures of today's world have made a mother's basic role more and more difficult everywhere — but nowhere more so than in the Black community.

Consider the load that rests on the shoulders of the Black mother. In an unprivileged community she is battling against heavy odds, says Miss Ellen Kuzwayo, general secretary of the World Affiliated YWCA of South Africa.

Miss Kuzwayo will speak on the disabilities of African women at a special Mother's Day service to be held at the Civic Centre Methodist Church in Rissik Street, Braamfontein, tomorrow at 1.30 pm.

The actual service will be conducted by the Rev Dr Unez Smuts, and people of all denominations are welcome to attend.

"The Black mother has a double load to bear. Not only is she discriminated against by the South African Government, but also by her tribal law.

"She is regarded by both as a minor, and has very few legal rights. Her employment opportunities are poor, her wages low. She is generally a dehumanised person," says Miss Kuzwayo.

"This is a shocking state of affairs, particularly in a Black family where the mother is the backbone of family life. She is often left on her own in the homelands for months, if not years, while her husband tries to earn a living in the towns.

"Why should such an important person be regarded as a minor?" asks Miss Kuzwayo.

"Under tribal law when your husband dies, everything the pair of you own goes to the nearest male relative. One of your husband's brothers can take you as his wife into the bargain.

"Those married by Christian rites can fight this law and keep their property.

"If your husband dies intestate, then the Bantu Commissioner in certain parts of South Africa will ask the closest male relative to decide what happens to the rest of the family and your property.

"You may live in the city and this relative lives in the country. Your values and his are completely different.

"When your husband dies, because you are a minor, you have to marry someone else if you want to stay in your house, and the house wil name."

Miss Kuzw Influx Cont used to depr their house them back, t lands.

"To preve move from house. The your life aff dren, who

ELLEN KUZWAYO — "The instability of the Black woman's life affects her children who oft delinquent."

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Plea by Botha

STAR 10/5/78

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, has appealed to employers to take the initiative in providing housing for Africans in urban areas.

Speaking on a SABC news programme, Mr Botha spelt out the conditions under which Africans will be able to own houses in urban areas.

"Employers can assist a Bantu person depending on the employer/employee relationship

DONATION

This could be done by:

- An outright monetary donation.
- A loan repayable to the employer on a monthly basis in terms of an agreement between the parties.
- By erecting a building and recovering the capital investment.
- By making building material available to Africans.
- By giving them time off to erect their own homes.

Mr Botha said the home ownership scheme, which would come into effect "at a future date," applied equally to all urban African areas near towns and cities.

QUALIFICATIONS

To qualify for a house a person must be over 21 with dependants.

"A person may obtain a house if he has resided since birth continuously in that prescribed area or if he has worked continuously for one employer in such an area for a period of 10 years, or more than one employer for at least 15 years," said Mr Botha.

He listed ways under which Africans could come by houses in urban areas:

Arrange for the building of a house on a property that had been awarded to him but of his own capital. Or, if he could manage it, build his own from the Bantu Administration boards for cash or home. Or buy a house on terms. Or buy a house from another African who

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Rethink on urban Blacks

Star AR 13/5/75

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Ideas for a major breakthrough in political rights for urban Blacks are beginning to crystalise among academics working directly with the Government's "separate development" model.

Two alternative directions of policy are favoured in different camps — both well in advance of anything the Government has yet announced.

They are:

- To establish community councils (almost on the federal model of the United Party) allowing for direct political participation by urban Blacks, but linked directly to the homeland governments; or
- To establish homeland "constituencies" in the urban areas through which Blacks living permanently in the cities or towns could be directly represented in the homeland parliaments.

At present Government policy allows urban Blacks to register in homeland constituencies for from where they live. Because homelands have no jurisdiction over the areas where the urban Blacks live many regard these rights as meaningless.

The Government indicated a major change of direction recently in announcin that urban Blacks would soon be allowed to buy their own homes on leasehold land and be permitted increased business rights in the urban townships.

There has also been a hint from official quarters that the Government is working on plans to establish fullyfledged Black local authorities in urban areas. Such bodies would have no more than municideal" on political rights deal' 'on political rights has been advanced till now.

The first hint of the new thinking comes from Senator Denis Worrall in the revised edition of his book on government and politics just published.

He wrote: "The communal council concept central to the policy of the main Opposition party could be used . . . as a way of linking groups — whatever their race or nationality — who are domiciled outside their respective homelands, with their homeland political systems."

The alternative plan has been put by Professor Julius Jeppe, Professor of Bantu studies at Stellenbosch University in an interview with The Star.

Professor Jeppe recognised Senator Worrall's "community council" concept, but foresaw difficulties in having a legislative arm of a homeland operating in what would become a foreign state when the homelands gained independence.

He came out strongly in favour of urban "constituencies" of the homelands being established for Blacks in the cities

PM urged to play Robben Island trump

RDM 16/5/75

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, should play his "trump card in the detente exercise" and release the Robben Island prisoners, Mr Lennox Mlonzi, of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, said yesterday.

Addressing Rand Afrikaans University students on urban Africans, Mr Mlonzi said: "Our first demand is please release our leaders and give us the chance to work out our own destiny."

He conceded there were Whites who feared the imprisoned men, but said if South Africans of all colours were really interested in change it was imperative to "forget the past" and begin again at the beginning.

Continued detention of the Robben Island men would not diminish the threat which some Whites felt they posed because imprisonment of "national figures merely serves to increase their status and the threat they represent to the established authority."

Mr Mlonzi warned that the pass laws were a cause of friction among urban Africans, particularly the clauses of the Urban Bantu Areas Act which:

- Resulted in Africans losing their rights to be in an urban area if they left it for even a short while.
- Forced Africans to work continuously for one employer for 10 years to "earn" the right to live in urban areas.

Many urban African children lost the right to be in urban areas because their parents sent them to live with relatives or friends in the country.

When they returned to join their parents they were refused permission to do so and were supposed to go to their "homelands".

"But they remain in the urban areas illegally and never find work there because they are not allowed to be in the area.

"Finally, what happens to them? They form the nucleus of the hooligan and tsotsi element. Who is responsible — the law."

It was unfair to demand that Africans work for one employer continuously for 10 years because in order to improve his salary and status a man had to be free to move from one employer to the next.

"Twelve days is too long working for a cruel employer and an exploiter," Mr Mlonzi said.

"Yet a Black man is expected to tolerate that kind of employer for 10 years in order to qualify to remain in urban areas. Nowhere in the world do you get such qualifications for citizenship."

Turning to housing regulations in African townships, Mr Mlonzi deplored the fact that widows or deserted wives did not have the automatic right to live in the house — that they were dependent on permission from the Bantu Affairs commissioners, and this was "often" refused.

"How long must it happen before we develop a sense of racial hatred? Is it not enough to make a Black man regard a White man as his greatest enemy? Is it not sufficient for a Black man to disregard Christian principles?"

None of the solutions to the race questions proposed by White political parties were acceptable to Blacks — because the conditions were laid down by Whites.

Boards bring workers, employers together

Daily Dispatch 6/6/75 (319)

EAST LONDON — The district labour bureax of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards existed to bring work-seekers and employers together, the chairman of the Eastern Cape board, Mr L. A. van der Vyver, told the Eastern Agricultural Union congress here yesterday.

But if farmers did not work one hundred per cent with the bureaux, the system could not work.

The increase in the levy from 10c to 40c for each farm worker was to improve the salaries and conditions to attract the right type of person to the board's service.

"If you pay peanuts, you'll get monkeys," said Mr Van der Vyver.

He said it was incorrect to say workers could not leave farms to seek work in other sectors.

A worker could be signed off to return to his homeland where he could apply for other work but it was illegal for farm workers to leave the rural areas directly for the townships.

Delegates complained that the labour drain to the cities continued in spite of legislation and that the efficient working of the board could not give the assurance of permanent efficient labour on a farm.

"Only the farmer can keep him (the worker) there," said Mr Van der Vyver. — DDR.

RDM 10/6/75 (319)

Passes

PROFESSOR Hennie Grobler, the chairman of the Western Transvaal Bantu Affairs Administration Board, said at a recent board meeting that he thought the era of passbooks for Africans was something of the past.

He said the Department of Bantu Administration and Development was busy with certain arrangements and the matter would probably be cleared up soon.

Prof Grobler said the granting of quitrent to Africans would not cancel the policy concerning homelands and separate development.

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Blacks are losing hope, poll finds

STAR 12/6/75

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Urban Africans are fast losing hope for a better future and are more pessimistic than they were two years ago.

This is the finding of a survey carried out by Markinor as a follow-up to its 1973 survey on Soweto attitudes.

A big majority of the 1 025 Africans polled in six main urban areas think there has been no improvement in Black-White relations in spite of detente and the abolition of some petty apartheid measures.

Only 10 percent overall (four percent in Pretoria and Bloemfontein) feel there has been any improvement in race relations. This compares with 13 percent who think they have deteriorated.

More than three quarters of those polled (89 percent in Bloemfontein and 84 percent in Pretoria) said things had remained the same.

These results are all the more disappointing because the 1973 survey had given some cause for optimism, the current survey says.

In 1973 a third of Soweto people thought Black-White relations were improving against only one in 11 now. The number who feel relations have remained the same has almost doubled.

"Whatever development may have been in 1973 it has come to a grinding halt," the survey says.

In a breakdown of the reasons for the deterioration in race relations, more than half those who thought things were worse listed job discrimination, better pay for Whites and the heavier burden of inflation on Blacks.

The number of Soweto people who consider themselves economically worse off today than in 1973 has more than doubled — from 18 to 41 percent.

The number who feel they are better off has dropped by half — from 42 to 20 percent.

These results give cause for serious concern, the survey says. They reflect the grave negative impact which inflation had on the Africans.

"Two years ago we found hope and almost enthusiasm with regard to their potential development.

"The attitude today appears subdued and rather resigned."

Older people and the lower income and education groups are suffering most, but scepticism and mistrust of the future extends to a large majority.

The survey points out that although inflation affects all racial groups the feeling persists that Africans are harder hit than Whites, who are largely blamed for the cost of living rise.

"The psychological effect of inflation is thus a rather negative one in terms of Black-White relationships."

Expectations appeared higher than before but it was now more difficult to fulfill them.

HANSARD 19 Q. 1166-67

17 June 1975.

Bantu beer

*5. Mr. R. J. LORIMER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What is the estimated number of bottles of Bantu beer sold annually in the areas of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards:

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION:

(1) No Bantu Affairs Administration Board sells Bantu beer in glass bottles but, the 22 Boards sold approximately 511 181 000 litres of Bantu beer packed in cartons and plastic containers, during 1974.

(2) (a) and (b) Representations by a Bantu Affairs Administration Board regarding the use of recyclable containers for the sale of Bantu beer are at present being investigated by my Department in collaboration with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research as to practicability.

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Arabs' move on SA shelved

STAR 18/6/75

London Staff Reporter

GENEVA — Delegates to the International Labour Organisation's annual conference have shelved an Arab move — obviously aimed at South Africa — to condemn forced removal of populations.

The move came in several amendments to the draft of an ILO convention on migratory labour.

The amendments proposed by the Egyptian workers' delegate, Mr A Karaiwa, in the ILO migratory labour committee, were sent to the ILO governing body for debate at some future annual conference.

Mr Karaiwa, seeking to prohibit "undesirable migratory movements of political motivation," included "compulsory repatriation of certain categories of the population, such as the indigenous or tribal groups, with a view to preventing them from being settled in urban and industrial areas and to deprive them of being assimilated in modern and more advanced patterns of human society."

CONDEMNATION

The ILO committee on migratory labour also put off an attempt by Mr Karaiwa, to prohibit expansionary migrations of populations.

This was said to be a condemnation of the migration of Jews to Israel but an Egyptian spokesman added that it also applied to the "White settlers" in South Africa and Rhodesia.

This proposed amendment was seen by some western countries as an attempt to give political rights in Israel to Palestinian refugees.

They also feared its implications included the granting of full citizenship rights to migratory workers in host countries.

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WEEKEND ARGUS, JUNE 21 1975

Race discrepancy in housing loans

By Hugh Robertson

A HUGE difference in the rates of interest paid by Whites and Africans on Government housing loans was exposed in Parliament last week and has caused an uproar, with demands that urban Africans be given a new deal on housing.

The Minister of Community Development, Mr A. H. du Plessis, revealed the discrepancy in reply to a question on Government loans to the different race groups for sub-economic housing.

He disclosed that Whites, Coloureds and Asians were granted sub-economic housing loans at a minimal interest rate of only 1 percent through their local authorities.

But loans for the construction of African homes in White residential areas were granted to local authorities—who redeemed the amount in the form of rent—only at the current rate of interest of 9 percent.

EXPLANATION

The staggering difference applies even though all available records show that, on an average, Africans are in the population group least able to afford high housing costs.

Mr du Plessis offered Parliament an explanation for the difference, which has been rebutted by Opposition spokesmen.

He said: 'Contrary to the position with other population groups, township developers must make donations of land to town councils by way of endowments for the development of Bantu residential areas.

'In addition most services for the development of Bantu townships are financed from the levies fund, instituted in terms of the Bantu Services Levy Act, 1952, and from profits on Bantu beer.

INFLATION

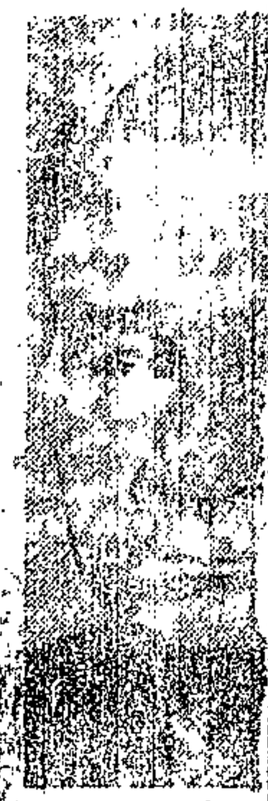
'Furthermore, the use is made of semi-skilled labour for the erection of Bantu houses.

'The saving on the cost of providing Bantu houses on these lines is therefore so great that no further subsidies are needed to make the rents low enough for the occupants.'

In a statement today, the United Party MP for Walmer, Mr Theo Aronson, who asked the questions in Parliament that exposed the difference in interest rates, said the current rate of inflation was, in itself, sufficient cause for a review of the rates being charged.

'I feel that in view of the circumstances, the Minister should reconsider the position and charge 1 percent on housing loans for the construction of Bantu dwellings in the sub-economic group, as is charged for Whites, Coloureds and Asians, and not the present 9 percent.

'This will obviously bring down the rental paid by Bantu persons and in view of what inflation has done to the earnings of the have-nots, the Minister would do well to reconsider the position in regard to the interest charged on these particular loans.'



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Bantu boards want liquor 'wars' banned

Sunday Times 22/6/75

By G. R. NAIDOO

THE GOVERNMENT may take action to stop liquor price wars because Bantu Administration Boards are complaining that Blacks are being attracted by lower prices in White bottle stores.

The boards control liquor off sales in African areas and profits are used to subsidise local amenities — but, by law, prices must not be lower than those prevailing in the district.

The boards say that because of the constant price fluctuations, they are often technically in breach of the law. More important, they are losing revenue because Blacks are being enticed by lower prices to shop at White outlets.

This emerged at a top secret meeting in Durban this week addressed by Mr. Mike Pieterse, vice-president of the Federated Hotel Associations of South Africa (Fedhasa).

Government representatives were also present.

They were warned that the Government was considering a levy on them to off-set the loss in turnover suffered by Bantu Administration Board liquor outlets.

As a first step, legislation may soon be introduced to compel bottle store owners to keep a separate register of all sales to Africans so that a proper assessment could be made of the amount of African custom diverted from bottle stores in townships.

They were also instructed, with immediate effect, to keep a record of all sales of more than nine litres of Bantu beer to a customer. His name and address, and the quantity of beer over nine litres sold must be recorded in the same way as sales of more than a dozen bottles of liquor are.

The regulation was introduced when bottle stores were permitted to sell Bantu beer, but has not been strictly enforced till now.

(319)

The mind of the crime gang

Cape Times 8/7/75

FANNY A GROSS, student of criminology and writer on the subject, explores the psychology of the youngster who joins a gang, and ways to combat this phenomenon of "mixed-up, frustrated youth, unable to break out of their surroundings and floundering in a rudderless world which offers them so few meaningful life objectives".

GANG or group formations among youngsters are not only normal but even desirable, provided of course they do not indulge in anti-social pursuits.

To obviate this, care should be taken to see that their legitimate needs are catered for. Where they form themselves into groups with no ulterior or sinister motives and with no apparent aggressive tendencies, the group formation constitutes part of the natural process of psychological weaning, of a reaching-out ego development of the adolescent, who has graduated beyond the narrow confines of his home.

In specific cases, gang life may fill a certain void and act as a substitute satisfaction for parental or society's neglect. It offers an escape from the hum-drum of a hurly-burly existence in an over-crowded city slum for instance. There is a togetherness about a gang and a sharing of experiences from which members are able to build up a common tradition.

Youth clubs

Since gang activity is to a large extent dependent on local conditions it often reflects the moral and social laxity of the community in a given area. As communities-in-miniature of a sort, juvenile gangs are responsible to a large extent for the shaping of the behaviour and ideas of their members, often influencing otherwise law-abiding youngsters to join them in their anti-social activities. If better and more worthwhile counter-attractions in the neighbourhood, like well-run youth clubs, could be organized by the more civic-minded elements in the community, the collective energy of these youngsters could be diverted into harmless and far more useful channels.

The typical gang, as distinguished from the ordinary play group is, as a rule, composed of undisciplined youths in conflict with the family, the school and/or other approved agencies and institutions in the larger community. In pursuing its activities, the gang follows its own folk ways and mores while disregarding the rights and interests of others. They live for the present and are impatient for instant satisfaction of their needs and desires.

The writer

tructive in their attitude towards others more fortunately placed then they. It is an attempt to strike back at those who, they feel, have disinherited them.

Beginning with truancy or isolated delinquent acts, the typical city gang boy graduates to more serious criminal exploits. Not all members of juvenile gangs, however, become serious criminals or professional gangsters. Fortunately, the gang, for various reasons, may disintegrate before a true professional stage is reached.

Gangs of destructive, angry, disillusioned young people are not endemic to any one section of a community or to any one country. Most cities the world over have their "tough, unsafe neighbourhoods," where, people are warned, it is unsafe to walk alone, especially after dark. They are generally referred to as criminogenic areas because they have a higher rate of criminality than the more conventionally respectable neighbourhoods.

New townships

The delinquency areas are mainly found in the slums or new housing estates and, in this country, in certain new townships created without adequate planning and without proper facilities as a result of the Group Areas Act. A community of interest and a sense of values held in common in the community life of the old settled area are both lacking in these new, artificially created townships, and are replaced by an indifferent, impersonal approach. Because of man's gregarious nature, the decline of primary relationships leads to a seeking after secondary and more impersonal relationships.

Thus a dearth of proper family life, adequate family interest and control, and failure by the family and/or

opportunities, improved circumstances generally and better living conditions would greatly reduce the number of delinquent gangs.

Properly run and supervised boys' clubs, which could absorb and hold the interest of the pre-adolescent Coloured youngster doubtless would also help to curb this venture into lawlessness. Moreover, better results can be attained by trying to work along with teenage gangs as a group, guiding, counselling and helping them to find more wholesome outlets as groups, than by trying to break the gang up.

Headlines, such as "Eight die in weekend violence", "Thirteen women raped", "Citizen stabbed and robbed by gang," are becoming commonplace. Every weekend the casualty departments in our hospitals are kept busy treating assault cases largely the result of gang activities. Indeed, according to reports a hospital for Coloured people and Indians in Coronationville, Johannesburg, has had to engage a security firm to guard patients and staff against gang warfare.

A Coloured social worker with 12 years' experience in dealing with these "lords of the streets" stated that gangs composed of members in the 25 and over age group were usually interested in dagga peddling and dealing in wine, while those in the younger age group (they generally start at the age of 12), went in more for pick-pocketing and kindred offences. He felt that the underlying cause of so much unrest and violence in the townships was largely the "rootlessness of the whole set-up and feelings of frustration experienced by so many of the township dwellers." In seeking an outlet, an escape from their shackles, they turned on community. The remedy lay in breaking the culture of poverty and its by-products, in enabling people to make full use of their potential and in restoring individual dignity. "Kew Town," he said, "is aiming to build a better society by trying to attract and involve the whole community, including the gangs, in wholesome activities."

Handicapped

Because of the discriminatory laws which the policeman in this country, whether he be Black or White, has to enforce he is unfortunately not seen in the light of a protector but rather as the common enemy by a large percentage

gang follows its own folk ways and mores while disregarding the rights and interests of others. They live for the present and are impatient for instant satisfaction of their needs and desires.

Way of life

They pursue and develop a range of activities, values and attitudes that are contrary to, and in conflict with, the mores of he dominant society. Coming from environments where few of their activities would not amount to trespassing or infringing some statute or other, law-breaking for them becomes a way of life, part of their daily routine, as it were.

The lower-class gang, composed of urban youngsters of the underprivileged and depressed social classes, faced with unbridgeable gaps between the aspirations and desires aroused by mass media and their chances of fulfilment within the opportunities available to them, has perforce developed a sense of values that conflicts with middle-class norms. They look upon life as a battle for existence in which the individual is of but little consequence. Hard work, they feel, does not necessarily lead to success and happiness, especially for those like themselves who have to start with the cards heavily stacked against them in the game of life.

The gang leaders become their heroes, upon whom they try to model themselves. They make every effort to conform to the requirements of the gang, which, for them, assumes the guise of a unified force against all their common enemies. Gangs thus created out of a sense of deprivation and frustration become hostile, aggressive and des-

broken, the decline of primary relationships leads to a seeking after secondary and more impersonal relationships.

Thus a dearth of proper family life, adequate family interest and control, and failure by the family and/or the community to provide the necessary recreational and social outlets, induce youngsters who are similarly placed to gravitate towards each other and form themselves into gangs with an anti-social bias.

Until these townships are transformed into communities with proper amenities — educational, social and sporting — until they develop what Mr Justice J H Steyn so aptly described as a "community pulse" — gang life and lawlessness will continue to flourish there. Indeed, the recent report of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce makes it quite clear that terror stalks the townships with disastrous effects upon their unhabitants

Transferred

Gangs that had their being in old slum areas together with their gang traditions, get transferred to the new Coloured and African townships, which are proving to be first-rate breeding grounds for their anti-social activities. According to a high-ranking police officer, who has had wide experience in dealing with them, most of these gangs existing in the new Coloured townships, have had their origin in District Six. He supported the view that among the causes that led to the formation of these gangs were unsatisfactory early environmental conditions, overcrowding, lack of education, lack of proper supervision and of recreational and cultural facilities. Better educational and more job

Because of the discriminatory laws which the policeman in this country, whether he be Black or White, has to enforce he is unfortunately not seen in the light of a protector but rather as the common enemy by a large percentage of the dispossessed non-White population. He is, therefore, greatly hampered in his fight against crime in his effort to stem the rising tide of social unrest and violence in the Republic and the reign of terror in some of the townships.

From information furnished by ex-prisoners many gangs operate inside our prisons and exert a powerful influence over their fellow-prisoners Moreover, the foundations for gangdom laid in the institutions are carried on outside by the various members of these gangs on release. To overcome these unsavoury effects, the offender must be helped to adjust more satisfactorily within the environment to which he is returned and the demands that are bound to be made upon him by the wider society. Agencies employed to win him away from the gang will have to plan recreational outlets and occupational opportunities that can compete successfully with what the gang has to offer.

Failures

There is, of course, evidence of solidarity of thought and deed among young people the world over, who constitute the conflict groups reflecting attitudes, prejudices, deprivations and lines of conflict in our society. Early in life many of them realize that they are failures that socially, culturally educationally and economically their place is on the lowest rung of their ladder, hemmed in by poverty, unemployment and social ostracism by the community at large. They see themselves as the victims of circumstances often beyond their control and the world as a cosmos of inevitable conflict, blocked opportunities and non-existent choice.

Such is the horizon as envisaged by a section of contemporary mixed-up, frustrated youth, unable to break out of their surroundings and floundering in a rudderless world, which offers them so few meaningful life objectives. It is a problem that confronts thinking people from one end of the globe to the other and causes a great deal of perturbation to the socially orientated, because they realize that the roots of maladjustment lie deep and have to be tackled conscientiously on many fronts if success is to be attained.

APARTHEID A CANCER, SAYS ECONOMIST

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Star 11/7/79

Michael Chester, Financial Editor

Warning was sounded today by a Wits University professor that while South Africa enjoyed a glowing record of economic progress, the division of Whites and Blacks had created "a cancer in our society."

Professor Joubert Botha, head of the department of economics at Wits, told business leaders and racially mixed students from all the main universities: "We ought to allow economic forces to follow their natural course and relax some of the more glaring impediments to vertical mobility in the labour market.

"If we refuse to do so, economic forces will eventually compel us — perhaps with unpleasant consequences. Then we may indeed fear for the economic survival of this country."

NO NEED

Professor Botha was opening the 8th congress of the International Association of Commerce and Economic Students, a two-day conference called in Johannesburg with the theme "Southern Africa's economic survival."

On basic statistics, he conceded, there appeared no need to fear the future. Over the last 10 years, the real growth rate of South Africa had pushed ahead by 5,4 percent — compared with only 4 percent in the United States and 2,8 percent in Britain.

Between 1963 and 1973, the index of physical volume of production had almost doubled. The inflow of long-term capital in the private sector amounted to R2 000 million — boosted to R2 300 million if the Government and banking sector were also counted.

GOLD DESIRED

The future of gold — which netted South Africa nearly R10 000-million over the past decade — seemed to be secure. Bullion markets had convincingly shown that gold was still desired universally as a standard of value, especially in a world of inflated paper currencies.

"The position of the than it has been for a long time, which is another reason why we should be optimistic about our economic future."

More items that set the mood of optimism:

- R100-million being sunk into two new gold mines.
- Plans for a R1 200-million programme to switch freight to containerisation.
- R1 000-million going into coal pipelines to Richards Bay.
- R400-million steelworks at Saldanha Bay.
- Capital expansions of R400-million in the chemical industry.

RAMPANT

"There is a spirit of entrepreneurship rampant in this country which is unique in a world where private enterprise is becoming more and more subjected to state interference."

Even so, a huge question mark hung over Southern Africa — caused by labour relations.

Professor Botha said the accumulated economic effect of current policies on Black labour defied calculation.

"The amount of fumbling with Black labour issues is unbelievable — and we have not come to the end of it yet."

In 1948 the Fagan Commission found that:

- The idea of total segregation was "utterly impracticable."
- The permanent settlement of Blacks in the Urban areas should be acceptable as an unalterable fact.
- The movement from country to town had a background of economic necessity.
- In the urban areas there were not only Black migrant labourers, but also a settled, permanent Black population.

TRAUMATIC

Today, official policy still did not fully accept these findings. The result had been traumatic.

"In short," said Professor Botha, "our system has created, and continues to create, the most wonderful revolutionary material in the world.

"This whole sorry state ility of the authorities to frame a policy which would provide our millions of Blacks with a future. At the moment their future is uncertain.

"The idea of total segregation, rejected by the 1932 Native Economic Commission, was nevertheless tried out — and has been proved to solve nothing.

RELUCTANT

"We now realise, but we are reluctant to admit, that the Fagan Commission was correct when it concluded that a permanent Black urban population was an unalterable fact.

"We are now putting our hopes on a new idea: completely independent Black states. But we know that these states cannot absorb the urban Black population. And economists know that they cannot be economically viable for a long time to come.

"We must remember that independence proper brings with it not only flags and anthems but also impediments such as independent monetary systems, customs tariffs, foreign aid of a possibly dubious kind, and a limitation of the home market."

Workers warned of cities

Cebu Daily News 10-25-1974 p.15

MISS MAGGIE OFWES, [illegible] organizer of the Young Christian Workers' [illegible] warned the [illegible] to prepare [illegible] to a rural [illegible] coming to work in town in the days and months ahead.

Being new to the city and [illegible] for work, these young people are, she says, easily understood by their employers.

They are in contact with 15-year-old domestic workers who earn P10 a month. They have to send up to P5 a month home, leaving them with very little to see them through their month — and bring career problems for example, no money for education, entertainment and so on.

Because of this, they tend to depend on their employers or friends, and in many cases, this dependence leads to exploitation.

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Bantu beer sales froth up

W/E ARGUS 19/7/78

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From Peter Goosen

PORT ELIZABETH. — Umqomboti, for centuries the traditional Bantu beer, has emerged from the kraal with a vengeance. Its new 'with it' Westernised image, rocketing sales throughout the country, is giving the industry a turnover of more than R13-million a year.

Africans now down more than 900-million litres of the brew every year.

Most of it is made in breweries controlled by Bantu Affairs Administration boards, the Xhosa Development Corporation and the Bantu Investment Corporation. The profits are used for community services for Africans.

Some time in the future Whites may be drinking the beer in a much refined form, according to the Midlands Bantu Administration Board's brewery manager, Mr W. R. Smith.

The Midlands Board, one of the largest in the country, is putting the finishing touches to a new R1,2-million brewery at Port Elizabeth which will be turning out 2,5-million litres a month by December.

Mr Smith forecast that Sorghum Beer Breweries would eventually produce refined beer. 'I have actually seen some which was made in Pretoria as an experiment. It is crystal clear with a lovely golden colour and I think one day it will be a real seller.'

He added: 'At present the government does not allow the manufacture of refined sorghum beer, but I think eventually circumstances will force breweries to manufacture it.'

'I believe the Eastern Cape has the potential of a turnover of about R5-million a year provided we are successful in giving the product a modern "with it" image and we improve our beer halls to such an extent that they can compare with the best private bar lounges in White areas,' Mr Smith said.

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Own Correspondent STAR 22/7/75

DURBAN — Chief Buthelezi of kwaZulu today criticised the Government's intended introduction of rehabilitation centres for African pass law offenders in the homelands.

Matanzima silent on rehabilitation

The Transkei Chief Minister, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, would not say whether he was consulted on the establishment of "rehabilitation" centres in his homeland.

In an interview today, Chief Matanzima said the Transkei Government did not approve of some of the laws passed by the South African Government.

Asked if he knew or approved of the establishment of the centres he said he did not want to comment on the issue.

He said the Transkei Government had control over police stations but the prisons department was still controlled by Pretoria.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Punt Janson, has said the "rehabilitation" centres were a means of preventing "idlers and derelicts" from becoming hardened criminals. He said they were being established with the full knowledge of homeland governments.

"I think it is unfair of the Government to dump these people in our laps when they are born and bred in the cities," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said the scheme could cause a backlash because so-called offenders would resent being sent to the centres and would accuse the homeland leaders of conniving with the Government.

REORIENTATE

According to a proclamation in the Government Gazette last week, the rehabilitation centres are to "reorientate" African pass offenders by making them aware of the "necessity for the laws," of South Africa.

According to the regulations pass offenders may be held for up to three years.

DENIAL

Mr Janson, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, has denied the rehabilitation centres would be used to indoctrinate inmates and said the main aim was to prevent "derelicts, idlers and loafers from becoming hardened criminals."

He said the centres were being established with the full knowledge of the homeland governments.

Chief Buthelezi said he could not recall being informed about the centres. The homeland governments might have been told, he said, but he could not remember it.

Asked if he would support or allow the centres to be established in KwaZulu, he said this would be a matter for his Cabinet to decide.

BITTER

However, he said the Government could create a new atmosphere of understanding and good relations by scrapping the pass laws altogether. "I would not mind if the laws applied to everybody," he said. "But as long as they apply only to the Africans I am very bitter about it."

Chief Buthelezi said, in effect, that it was unfair of the Government to expect the Homelands to participate in administering laws that were abhorrent to Blacks.

RAND DAILY MAIL, Tuesday, July 22, 1975.

RAND
Daily Mail

QUESTIONS FOR MR M. C. BOTHA

MR M. C. BOTHA, the Minister of Bantu Administration, has sought to dismiss the reports in Saturday's Rand Daily Mail on the "rehabilitation institutions" for African pass offenders as "distorted and badly written". He does not, however, say what he means by this.

What, in fact, could he mean? It may be that Mr Botha has not read the proclamation setting up the institutions — Government Gazette Notice No R133 — and has no knowledge of its contents. Or he has read it and does not understand how monstrous its terms are. Or worst of all, and dismayingly, he has read it, does understand it — and it represents exactly what he wants.

Whichever one of these possibilities it may be, the terms of the proclamation are so sinister that Mr Botha needs to answer some basic questions about the institutions...

● Why, if they are as pure and innocent as his Deputy, Mr Punt Janson, claimed at the weekend, is it necessary to invest them with the harsh regime and punitive powers normally associated with a prison?

● Specifically, what sort of "welfare services" are intended in institutions where the inmates will be required to work for 56 hours a week — and will be subject to punishment such as more work, deprivation of meals or solitary confinement if they refuse to work, "malinger" or refuse to undergo body searches?

● Still more, why are institutions supposedly dedicated to welfare given the protection of provisions taken from the Prisons Act which serve to inhibit easy access and free reporting on what happens behind the walls?

● Mr Janson says the centres "are being established with the full knowledge of the homeland governments..." Yet why is it that at least four Bantustan leaders, as we report today, deny any knowledge of them?

● If, as Mr Janson asserts, the institutions are meant only for "idlers and loafers" (which, incidentally, hardly makes them any less objectionable), why do the enabling regulations extend to all African men and women who may fall foul of the pass laws and influx control?

● And can Mr Botha explain how the declared purpose of the institutions can be taken to mean anything but a concerted drive to brainwash — "reorientating" is the official word — Africans to accept the Nationalists' Bantustan ideology?

Let's hear Mr Botha's answers — or let him withdraw R133 immediately.

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We say no —homelands

RDM 22/7/75

By PATRICK LAURENCE

KEY homeland leaders yesterday denied knowledge of "rehabilitation" centres in their territories for pass law offenders.

Regulations governing administration of the centres have been compared to the statutes of "Communist Russia and the Third Reich" by Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash.

But the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Punt Janson, has defended them as a means of preventing "derelicts, idlers and loafers" from becoming hardened criminals.

"The centres are being established with the full knowledge of the homeland governments to rehabilitate idlers and loafers into a sense of responsibility," he told the Rand Daily Mail.

Homeland leaders approached by the Mail yesterday denied all knowledge of the centres and expressed disapproval of them.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said: "The Central Government has not informed us. I view the centres with great alarm. I cannot see why pass law offenders should be dumped on our lap."

Pass laws were put on the statute book by the South African Government and it should accept responsibility for them, he added.

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, said: "I know nothing at all of these centres. We have not been informed to my knowledge."

Initially Prof Ntsanwisi declined to comment on the idea of homeland based rehabilitation centres for pass law offenders as he had not yet had the chance to study the relevant details.

But when parts of the proclamation providing for their establishment were read to him, he commented: "It is more than a rehabilitation centre. It sounds more like a prison."

Dumping

Mr Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of Qwaqwa, said: "It is the first time I have heard of it. We would not like to be used as a dumping ground for 'idle or undesirable Bantu.' We strongly deplore such a move. It puts us in a very bad light."

According to a Bantu

... but does it add up to real change?

Cape Times 24/7/78

BEING BORN and having spent so much of my teenage life in rural surroundings have been perfect counterpoints to later years of more maturity in and around big cities. It still amazes how little urban Black and White people have insight into the lives of Black and White people in rural environments.

From the nature of things the city dweller's life-style and social interests almost as a rule bring him into contact with the community on the other side of the colour line.

Not only is this brought about by people "just being friends", but also by the demands of commerce, art, politics — and a generally more liberal view of life in metropolitan areas. A strongly developing class culture in, particularly, the big cities has tended to bring together people with similar interests.

Even in reactionary South Africa it is no longer world-shattering news that Black and White jazzmen had a blow together somewhere in Sea Point, or Lansdowne, or Houghton. Or that a Black-White mixed business symposium had been held in — of all places — Nationalist stronghold Bellville.

It is this class culture — in the widest sense of the word — which has dimmed the image and idea of the life-style of those in, for want of a better word, the lesser urban areas. By the same token, this "dimming of the image" has given birth to an urban euphoria which will do little to contribute to a really open society in South Africa.

Things are changing, city people say, when the Cape Town City Council is allowed to have totally integrated audiences for symphony orchestra performances in City Hall. Things are changing, they say, when the Nico Malan is opened to all colours.

Things are changing, they say, when the authorities allow a mixed business symposium in, say, Nationalist-held Bellville. Things are changing, they say, when a cocktail party is held with Black and White attending. Class culture — after all, everyone at the cocktail party, whether Black or White, knows what London Fog is, and all agree that they do not treat their maids too badly.

The "dimming image" syndrome has afflicted not only the White (liberally) politically minded, but frighteningly so many Blacks who consider themselves politically educated, politically aware and politically qualified to speak for people of colour.

It is with extremely little exertion that Black and White in the sophisticated confines of a plush office or luxury home in either Constantia or Athlone can agree over a (mixed) drink that police would not burst in at any moment to terminate said cocktails summarily — and that, because of this police tolerance, "things are changing", and political renewal is around the next corner.

Is there really change in South Africa? Meaningful change? Such as making the tot system a criminal offence; such as decreasing the vast farm prison populations; or not making proposals at agricultural union meetings calling for farming methods to be taught in Coloured schools rather than increasing academic training facilities at such schools?

Harassment of the farm or small-town traveller by a railway ticket clerk who still believes in the dubious adage that the "Hottnot must be kept in his place" is often still complained of.

"You do not know how good you have it here in the big city," was the remark recently of a visitor to Cape Town. The population group of the speaker need not be made known. He added: "And then you politicians here so easily call for boycotts of this and boycotts of that. With the best will in the world I cannot support such boycotts.

"Where I come from you speak the language of the man who pays you, even more so when he is White. Many of our CRC (Coloured Representative Council) members do not know what they are talking about when they ask us to raise our voices in the country against White authority," the country visitor said.

One must be generous to many political leaders, even those in the CRC — some of them do know of the plight of people in rural environments. Also, the country visitor should be allowed some room for exaggeration. But it would also be fair to everybody concerned to apply the principle of there being fire where there is smoke.

It is when the smoke starts clouding issues — and areas of real change — that concern must be expressed, and that the urban Black and White be made aware that the "dimming image" is a dangerous malady.

The cocktail party at which a card-carrying member of the Nationalist Party proposes the toast to a mixed audience or the across-the-colour-line platitudes in the bar-foyer of the Nico Malan Opera House should decidedly not be seen as a meaningful sign that "things are changing".

Some even say fast.

Boorish attitudes towards Blacks have not changed all that much in rural areas since I exchanged my residence for one in the city 20 years ago. Admittedly, to a much greater degree they have changed in urban surroundings.

But only a very small minority of Blacks have tasted the euphoric fruits of the more liberalized class

Neville Fransman, born in Oudtshoorn, was a teacher in Cape Town before leaving that profession for journalism 10 years ago. His column today is the first of a regular series.

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Shopping boost for Blacks?

STAR 29/7/75

A large chain store has begun negotiations to get permission to open stores in African homelands.

Reacting to a call for supermarkets in Black areas made yesterday by Mr Eugene Roelofse, former director of the South African Co-ordinating Consumer Council, the vice president of Checkers, Mr Bob Harvey, said negotiations had been under way.

"We would very much like to help these people in townships and the homelands, but it also depends on their reaction.

"Some Black businessmen fear they will be put out of business and we don't want that to happen," he said.

He could give no further information about negotiations taking place, he said.

A director of the Pick n Pay group, Mr Richard Cohen, said that because his was a young group, it had been concentrating on White areas. The new Hypermarket had absorbed a lot of the group's energies.

"I believe Raymond Ackerman (the chairman) has given some thought to this question, but along the lines of going into a form of partnership with Black businessmen," Mr Cohen said.

If anything developed along those lines it would most likely be as a completely separate venture possibly even under a different name.

Mr A Fabig, personnel director of the OK Bazaars, said his company was in the forefront of the Black market, with thousands of shoppers making use of the commuter system to shop at the store's Johannesburg branches.

He pointed out that, at present, only Black entrepreneurs were allowed to run businesses in the townships.

"It is doubtful whether any of them have the capital or knowledge to open supermarkets which could compete in price with the existing big chains," he said.

Mr Fabig could give no indication of OK Bazaars' policy on other Black areas such as homelands.

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Liquor profits to aid Blacks

STAR 31/7/75

John Patten, Political Correspondent

The Government has made a major policy switch to inject millions of rands of additional funds into services for urban Blacks from profits on the sale of liquor.

Reversing its policy on its share of profits on hard liquor—not Bantu beer—the Government is now allowing 80 percent of profits to be used for services in the urban areas.

Previously 80 percent of the profits were taken by the Department of Bantu Administration for use elsewhere, including the homelands.

ATTACK

The change was made by the Government to demonstrate it was prepared to play its part together with employers and Black urban residents in putting the financing of urban services for Blacks on an entirely new and sound footing.

Details of the new deal emerged from an interview today with the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr Cruywagen, who held an important conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday at which the Bantu administration boards, commerce, industry, agriculture and city ratepayers were represented.

The three-pronged attack on the problem of finding funds for services

To Page 3, Col 6

Drink cash for Blacks

(From Page 1)

in the urban townships involves:

- The increased Government contribution from hard liquor profits.
- Increased employers' levies, which took effect in April this year.
- Increased rents on housing, which is seen as the contribution the Blacks themselves make to stable urban financing.

Mr Cruywagen said Tuesday's meeting was convened after discussions he held with the South African Agricultural Union during the parliamentary session and after other complaints had been received concerning the increased levies.

A unanimous decision was taken to retain the present levies and fees as they exist, but a committee was appointed on which officials of the department would also serve which would handle further complaints and receive future representations, he said.

The switch in the channeling of liquor profits for use in the urban areas will add about R4-million a year to funds for urban services.

The new levies on employers range from 40c for farmers to R1,80 a month for industry and commerce, with special rates for employers who provide housing for their employees.

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Blacks will benefit from liquor profits

31/7/75

The Argus Bureau

PRETORIA.—The Government has made a major policy switch to inject millions of rands of additional funds into services for urban Blacks from profits on the sale of liquor.

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Biggest complaints had been that farmers' levies had gone up without better services being given in return. Farmers had called for a reduction in their 40c levy and also for better services.

Shebeens are a place to live—and a place to die

Rand Daily Mail 1/8/78

OBED MUSI

● It's a place to exchange pleasantries, to talk about frustrations and ambitions; it's a place where Africans, denied the amenities of social clubs, gather to live and laugh. They also learn to die in the shebeens . . .

A STORM in a glass hit South Africa when Africans, Indians and Coloureds, joined by a White MP, urged that shebeens be legalised.

WRAB — the West Rand Administration Board — representing the Government and, therefore, White thinking, was understandably silent about one of the most misunderstood sides of township life.

A shebeen in strict legal terms is "an unlicensed drinking premises". But to Blacks it is more than that. Much more. It is one of the township houses, bleak by day, bright by night.

Family

It is normally a family unit whose business is selling liquor after the official lights have gone down. It is where Blacks in the townships meet after work to exchange pleasantries, to talk about their work, their frustrations, their future, their ambitions or whatever.

Veteran social worker Shimane Khumalo, of the National Institution for the Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders (Nicro), in a memorable address to his colleagues described it as:

"A place where Blacks learn to live and laugh: where they learn to love and lie: where they learn to die . . ."

Lieutenant H. van Rooyen, of the South African Police in Brakpan, heads the Liquor Squad in those areas. He had a curt description.

"A shebeen is an unlawful place of drinking and under section 100(1) of the Liquor Act people who run such places and their patrons are guilty of an offence," he said.

But Nimrod Mkele, who holds an MA in industrial psychology, and Professor F. van Zyl Slabbert, former don in sociology at Wits and UCT, disagree.

Mkele: "It's the only place where Blacks can relax and it would be in the long-term interests of township residents for these places to be put beyond police control."

Tensions

Prof Van Zyl Slabbert said: "If shebeens were legalised a lot of our so-called racial tensions would disappear."

A Soweto shebeen queen whose daughter is employed in the southern suburbs of Johannesburg said:

"I still run a shebeen at the backyard where my daughter now works. I myself used to work there and the madam knew nothing of my personal life.

"I sell liquor at a slight profit to guys who do not wish to sleep in the location for their own reasons. Employers know nothing about what happens to their servants after hours."

But the best description comes from a long-time observer of the shebeen scene. He says: "Dominating any shebeen is the queen or 'auntie' as she is called, larger than life, the confidante of many men and women, who solves deep social problems with the finesse of a trained psychiatrist and marriage guidance counsellor rolled into one; who keeps gangland secrets that leave the most astute detective in a tizzy and who is also a member of the local Mothers Union."

As soon as "Mail" Extra started running stories about shebeens there was an avalanche of letters from Black readers who opted for shebeens to be legalised.

Amenity

Archie Ramailane of Dube said they were "here to stay and provided a better social amenity than the municipal-controlled beerhalls".

From Brakpan, Daveyton and Hammanskraal readers wrote saying that shebeens were better than the Government's liquor outlets because they "provided brotherly atmosphere".

The letters keep pouring into the Editor's mailbox but no official in Government circles seems to want their views.

LEFT: Some of the letters sent to "Mail" Extra on the subject of shebeens.

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the wall in the face of the alarming shortage of 980 classrooms.

To keep its own school building programme just moving it approved a loan from the Bantu Services Levy Fund, but said gloomily that any further loan from Community Development would be a long time coming.

has a three-year programme to break the back of the school shortage yet it managed to budget for a surplus in the current financial year of R265 595.

Besides this, it should have another R3-million or so to play around with as a result of the beer price increase and liquor profit reallocation.

The Star Friday August 1 1975

How drink will aid Blacks

BACK-GROUND TO THE news

Alcohol is the goose that has laid a golden egg in the lap of the 22 administration boards that rule South Africa's 9-million urban Africans.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr Cruywagen, announced yesterday these boards are to get a major financial injection in the form of redirected profits from the sale of liquor in Black townships.

Until now the Government has been getting 80 percent of the liquor profits from places like Soweto and this has caused considerable frustration to many of the administration boards which struggle under the burden of having to be totally self-financing.

REVOLUTIONISE

Under the new arrangement, the Government will take only 20 percent of the profits and the boards 80 percent.

This move, together with the recent one third increase in the price of African beer will revolutionise the financing of Black urban areas.

For the West Rand Administration Board the profit and price increases will turn its deficit-ridden booze economy into a very healthy one.

In the current financial year the West Rand Board budgeted for a deficit of R1,1-million. The picture has changed so drastically that it can now add about R6-million to its current budget.

DESPERATE

And the West Rand Board desperately needs every cent it can get.

Besides the millions of rands needed to electrify Soweto, there is a house waiting list of 17 000 families who have been dependent on the provision of housing loans to the board from the Department of Community Development.

And at its last monthly meeting the board admitted it had its back to

These must be some of the possible schemes the West Rand Board could spend its new-found millions on, but the acting chief director of the board, Mr A H Stander, could not give any indications just what the board would do with this extra money this year.

BETTER HOMES

For one thing it would put the board in a position to build a better type of home in Soweto — something it has long wanted to do. But it has been hamstrung by the stipulation that the housing loans from the Government be used only for the old, disliked four-roomed township "pondokkie" without bathroom and inside toilet.

The East Rand Bantu Administration Board on the other hand could do very well without the extra liquor profits or the African beer price rise. It has a R30-million surplus tucked away — a unique position among the generally capital-short boards.

BACKLOG

This was collected from the various local authorities which administered the Black townships on the East Rand until July 1973 — in spite of a school shortage which has built up to at least 80 schools and a housing backlog of about 5 000 homes.

The East Rand Board

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New deal for urban Blacks nearly ready

The Argus Correspondent 12/8/75

PRETORIA. — The Government is almost ready to announce its formula for leasehold housing, improved trading rights and amended influx control regulations for urban Blacks.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr W. A. Cruywagen, said in an interview that the final memorandum to the Minister, Mr M. C. Botha, was now being typed and that a round-table discussion on the details of the scheme would take place in the department soon.

He said considerable progresss had been made in working out a method to implement the housing leasehold plan and trading relaxation announced by Mr Botha in Parliament last session.

Though he had not yet seen details of the departmental findings on the investigation into influx control changes, he understood this investigation also to be in its final stages. He presumed this had been done in consultation with the homeland governments.

HOUSING SCHEMES

urban Blacks flow from discussions held in January between the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, and the leaders of eight homeland governments.

Dealing with the leasehold plan for housing, Mr Cruywagen said proposals under consideration covered the question of how such housing would be financed. The detailed scheme would affect Bantu Administration boards, employers of Black labour and aspirant home owners.

Advantages of the scheme would be that it would partially alleviate the housing shortage and should improve the image and appearance of the townships.

The new deal, he believed, would also help to improve race relations in that 'when a man's living conditions are better, he feels better disposed towards his immediate neighbours and to everybody else.'

Mr W. A. Cruywagen

The proposed changes for

The leasehold scheme would give big employers of labour the opportunity to make their contribution to employees by improving housing.

The improvements arising from the leasehold scheme could take several months to work through to the Black public, he said.

The planned relaxation of restrictions on trading rights for Blacks in the urban townships could lead to an important reduction in prices of goods bought by township consumers.

The range of goods should be increased and the quality of service in bigger shopping complexes improved, while greater commercial competition would force township shopkeepers to reduce their prices.

INFLUX CONTROL

Dealing with the investigation into the influx control and migratory labour system, Mr Cruywagen said: 'Something should come from it. We cannot have a single formula suitable for 10 or 20 years. When you work with human beings, you must make adaptations as time progresses. If a man is not prepared to change his mind, then he is not prepared to correct his mistakes.'

The Deputy Minister claimed substantial changes and adaptations had been made by the Government since it came to power in 1948.

He said the Government was as eager as the Blacks to see the improvements introduced. 'There is no reason for the department to delay this. The sooner we can launch it, the better,' he said.

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SAKE-RAPPORT

Bantoe-rade breek deur

DIE suksesvolle plasing van die lening van R34 miljoen vir die Hoëveldse Bantoe-Administrasieraad deur Senbank beteken 'n groot deurbraak vir die rade.

Die lening wat teen 'n koers van 11,15 persent geplaas is, is oorvolskryf en volgens die uitgiftehuis dui dit daarop dat die beleggers nie langer twyfel aan die status van die administrasieraade nie.

Met die huidige onseker-heid in die kapitaalmark was die sukses waarmee die lening afgehandel is, nogal verblydend. Die sekuriteit van die uitgiftes staan bo verdenking aangesien alle lenings alleen met ministeriële goedkeuring kan geskied. Dit bring mee dat dit deur die Staat geborg word.

As sodanig het die lenings in der waarheid 'n hoër status as die van sommige groter munisipaliteite.

Volgens die kapitaalmarkbestuurder van Senbank, mnr. Louis Kruger het baie van die beleggers ook te kenne gegee dat hulle die lening ondersteun omdat hulle die funksie van die rade as noodsaaklik sien in die hele Suid-Afrikaanse opset.

In die lig hiervan kan verwag word dat die rade in die nabye toekoms met groter gemak geld in die kapitaalmark sal trek. Met die huidige tendens in die mark kan daar egter verwag word dat die koers van nuwe uitgiftes heelwat hoër sal wees as die van die Hoëveldse Administrasieraad.

Bantu boards 'not up to scratch'

RDM 14/8/75

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Staff Correspondent

ONE [illegible] Bantu Administration Boards, [illegible] years [illegible] Mr [illegible] Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr [illegible] Brain [illegible] would [illegible] before [illegible] pro- [illegible] annual [illegible] of the [illegible] increase [illegible] registration fees from 100 a head to 200 for farm workers [illegible] the Lowveld, they claim, demands more labourers than in other regions, making higher registration fees an unnecessary burden especially since they got no help from the boards in recruiting or keeping labour on the farms.

Mr Rauhenheimer agreed that since the boards were not functioning effectively, farmers were not getting value for their money. But he said it was up to them to help to make the system work.

He said he could not consider exempting farmers from payment of the fees.

Farmers had not yet been prosecuted for failing to register labourers, but this could become necessary in future.

"I think you will then see a system that works, if not 100 per cent efficiently, then, at least 80 per cent efficiently," he said.

The boards were not yet effective because of a lack of funds and because people, especially farmers, do not want to be regulated or have their affairs arranged. But we must make it work in practice.

He said all boards had now been ordered to establish committees to discuss new methods or adaptations, giving attention to practical matters to ensure a properly controlled flow of labour to cities, industries and farms.

The passbook system, he added, was not wholly effective but would be retained because it did provide some documentation of labour.

He had proposed to the department that it used mobile registration units so that farmers would not have to drive to town to register labourers.

But several association members told Mr Rauhenheimer of their disappointment and scepticism.

"Registration of labour is expensive when you are getting absolutely nothing for your money," said Mr Brian Simmons, who did not feel Mr Rauhenheimer had made out a case for registration boards.

"Businessmen do get help from the boards but not farmers — nobody transports or houses our labourers. We do that. Just give us something for our money," he said.

DAILY DISPATCH 22/8/75

Phase out racial laws — Reynders

CAPE TOWN — Dr H. J. J. Reynders, executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said here yesterday that discriminatory legislation which threatened South Africa's economic progress should be phased out, and at the same time both whites and blacks would have to make radical adjustments in their traditional attitudes.

Dr Reynders was addressing the change — orientation and planning seminar organised by the graduate school of business of the University of Stellenbosch.

He said it had to be accepted the black urban populations of South Africa were here to stay, and "once we accept this fact our planning for the future must take cognisance of it."

The inevitable changes would mean better training and vocational instruction for the blacks for higher occupations and inducing white workers to accept blacks as their equals at the work bench.

He said that four-fifths of the blacks in South Africa had the characteristics of a stable population, and as far as industry was concerned stability was essential, as it made for better planning.

Dealing with the problem of wage discrimination, Dr Reynders said that discrimination between people of different races who performed identical work "is repugnant to us."

But certain economic realities had to be considered. Regardless of race or colour, the price of labour depended on supply and demand, productivity and the capacity of the employer to pay. It also had to be recognised that every person required the basic necessities of life.

The most obvious approach to bridging the wage gap problem was equal pay for equal work regardless of race. But tied up with the problem was job reservation and the fact that most black and Coloured workers are still unskilled.

This meant that the majority of non-white workers would not benefit from the equal pay for equal work approach which was an attractive slogan, but did not make economic sense.

Change had to come, but it had to be gradual. There was the question of whether to give more people work at a lower wage or to pay a higher wage and give work to fewer people.

To adopt a new wage structure faster than the economy could absorb the change would be to defeat the whole object of the exercise. — SAPA.

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DAILY DISPATCH 22/8/75

Permits control life—Sash

EAST LONDON—The Black Sash has called on the Government to abolish colour bar in industry, commerce and other professions and to give equal opportunities to all.

This call was made in a pamphlet published by Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash in Johannesburg and which was distributed in the Coloured areas headlined "Who cares about detente?"

"To Mr Vorster, detente means trying to relax tensions outside our borders but detente outside cannot succeed unless fundamental change is bought about inside South Africa," the pamphlet stated.

"There are tensions, frustrations, anger and resentment at home because people — blacks ,Indians and Coloureds are discriminated against because of the colour of their skins.

"Black people's lives are controlled by permits — permits to be where they are, to find accommodation, to go to school, to live as families, to seek work, to work, to be self-employed, to visit.

"Blacks must provide documentary proof of any statement they make in order to get every single permit. Their families are broken up by the laws and they are denied free, compulsory education and must pay for "Bantu education," the pamplet continued.

"They have unequal job opportunities and unequal pay. Although they comprise of 71 per cent of our population, they have 14 per cent of the land and have no say in the laws which control them," it said.

"Compulsory education and vocational training should be provided for all people and the government should make the right to freehold tenure available to all and to provide for meaningful political representation for all in the central Parliament," the pamphlet concluded.—DDR.

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STAR 22/8/75

3/9

Black woman's unequal fight

Pretoria Bureau

A Black fighter for women's rights had University of Pretoria students applauding loudly when she spoke on the problem of the urban Black woman.

Addressing the third meeting of "Women's Week" at the university yesterday was Mrs Frances Kutumela, National Secretary of the National Council of African Women.

Her speech included an attack on poor Black-White relations, a bid for equal rights for women — but strictly not women's lib — and information on the traditional roles of the Black woman.

LIKE SCUM

Mrs Kutumela said the Black woman was the most unfortunate victim of petty apartheid, influx control and job reservation. But what she despised most was that she was treated like "scum of the earth by shop attendants, passers-by, and even pre-school White children."

Black women had never been treated like anything but minors. When she married in community of property, she had no say whatever over the house or property if she got divorced.

"Despite the relaxation of job reservation, Black women are still reserved for the lowest job and the lowest wages."

Mrs Kutumela, a qualified nurse, reflected on the times when she used to pick up her pay cheque at the same time as the White student nurses. She noticed the fat cheques the students took home, compared with her meagre salary.

"From that salary," she said, "we had to buy school uniforms and books for our children."

Pleading for free and compulsory education for Black children, she said it was the children who did not want — or could not afford — to go to school who were responsible for the extent of juvenile crime in their areas.

(319)

JANSON WARNS ON BLACK PRESENCE

The Argus Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Transvaal Nationalists were given a blunt warning yesterday to face the realities of Blacks being present in White areas for many years to come.

Speaking near the end of the congress during which the opinions of conservative delegates seemed to predominate during discussions on race relations, Mr T. N. H. Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said that the sharing of facilities such as theatres would continue to be strictly regulated by the permit system.

One of the motions on the agenda asked the congress to oppose the possible opening of theatres and similar cultural facilities in the Transvaal and asked that steps to provide separate facilities for other race groups should be hastened.

While giving the assurance that separate development would be maintained, Mr Janson warned that the presence of non-Whites in White areas could not be 'thrown away'.

SIDE BY SIDE

It was a fact that Whites and Blacks were side by side in the cities for many hours each day.

He could not foresee Blacks moving out of these areas completely for the next 50 years.

'We must be realistic. Where else are they going to go to earn their bread? We cannot get away from this and we must not run away from the realities.'

He said some Whites were complaining about the presence of Blacks on Church Square in Pretoria but these people had nowhere else to go.

MEALS

This was why his department had made arrangements for premises near the centre of the city where Blacks could have meals at lunch time. Unfortunately some poeople, egged on by the Herstitigte Nasionale Party, had protested about this, too.

Referring to requests that Blacks should be moved further away from White areas, Mr Janson said the reality of the situation was that Black and White areas in fact grew nearer to each other [illegible]y became bigger.

Mr T. N. H. Janson

These matters would be regulated in terms of Government policy and separate facilities would be created for each race group.

SHOPPING

It was important that proper shopping facilities should be created for urban Blacks in their own areas to ensure that they were not exploited. He mentioned the example of Soweto where milk had been sold at 19c a pint when it cost 9c elsewhere.

The necessity of having Black labour on the platteland also had to be faced.

There, as in the cities, it was necessary to provide schools and recreational facilities because the Whites regarded themselves as the guardians of the Blacks.

The ambitions of Black parents had to be recognised and many Black parents were prepared to make sacrifices to educate their children.

NOT ENEMIES

'The Africans are not our enemeies and they must not be turned into our enemies. In the past there were never better relationships than those between the Afrikaner and the African.'

Mr Janson said the Government would regulate matters in ways to prevent any move towards integration.

Speaking before the Deputy Minister, Mr A. E. Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, expressed the feelings of conservative Nationalists.

He said he was worried that the ideal of separate development was in some cases far removed from reality. There seemed to be a widening gap between the ideal and reality and he felt it was necessary to give greater and more dynamic content to the policy.

Mr A. J. Raubenheimer, Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, assured delegates that everything possible was being done to speed up the consolidation of the homelands. Up to now R25 000 000 had been spent to buy land for this purpose and more money was being sought from the Treasury.

One delegate said that it was clear there were differences in Nationalist ranks on questions such as sport and separate facilities.

BIG MOVE

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Mr M. C. Botha) said the Transkei was already preparing for independence.

Other homelands would watch this first big move but he felt that it was a process that should not be unduly hastened.

There were certain prerequisites for independence. These were the development of the people of such a homeland, economic and constitutional development, physical development and the provision of an infrastructure and inter-dependence with neighbouring countries.

In other parts of the world the constitutional structure of countries who had become independent too early had disintegrated.

The delegates accepted the explanations from Mr Botha and the Deputy Ministers and none of the motions on Bantu Administration was pressed to the vote.

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Cheers? (1) 161 (4) (2) 319 (5) 123 (3) 323 (6) 127

ONE FOR THE HOUSE

F.M. 29/8/75

It's a question of drink.

When the Bantu Administration Boards (for the control of African affairs in "White" SA), were set up in 1972-73, apartheid dogma laid down that they had to be financially-self-sufficient. Today, the results are all too plain: in effect Africans are being told to booze more, or their rents will rise even higher.

The clear link between increased liquor consumption and the Boards' financial viability was underlined at the end of last month, when government ruled that it would forego its customary 80% share of the Boards' hard liquor profits. The cash will be used in the cities and not, as in the past, spent in the Bantustans.

For the monolithic West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), which in Soweto controls the largest concentration of Black people in SA, the move means they will cover their anticipated deficit of R1,2m (out of a total budget of R70,5m) for 1975-76. Retaining the government's share of the profits could mean another R2,5m, or even more, for WRAB.

Even before the policy switch WRAB got 55,7% (R38,8m) of its revenue from its beerhalls and bottle stores, and it is expanding its liquor operation mightily.

It has to. Estimates for this year show that rents for houses and hostels should bring in a mere R14,5m (20,8% of the total), while compulsory employers' contributions add up to only R8,4m (12,1%). And this after a recent heavy rise in rents and employers' contributions, making it doubtful whether the Board can resort to further hikes of this nature in the immediate future.

A Soweto family (average: five people) occupying a new standard four-roomed house pays R20,95 a month for rent, services and water. (Average earnings for an unskilled Black labourer are R80 a month.) And now the Boards demand that non-dependents over the age of 18 in a household must pay an additional R1 a month in lodger's fees. Since these people are generally the children of the family head the issue has understandably caused anger and resentment.

As far as employers' contributions are concerned, these now stand at R1,80 a month for industrial workers, R1 for domestics and R0,40 for farm labourers. The farmers, in particular, have jibbed, and Deputy Minister of Bantu Development Braam Raubenheimer admitted to them in Nelspruit last week that the Boards were not functioning properly.

However, as a BAD spokesman explains it to the *FM*, there is absolutely no question of revamping the Boards. Raubenheimer, it seems, was merely responding to farmers' queries as to just what it was they were getting for their 40c. The Boards, certainly, have had "teething troubles", but only because they have not been going long. BAD, incidentally, has now asked the Boards to "give service to farmers".

Yet if the Boards are to fulfil their obligations to Blacks as well as satisfying White employers, their crucial task is housing; and Soweto's need is greatest. In July this year WRAB had 17 841 names on its primary and secondary housing lists. This could mean up to 86 000 without their own roof, and as Progressive Reform MP Helen Suzman points out there are countless thousands in the region who have not bothered to put their names on a list, or who do not qualify for a house anyway "even though they're working in the area". As it is the pace of building is that of a snail.

By the end of WRAB's current financial year, in all the areas of its domain, the Board "expects" to complete 4 000 new units.

So until government spends far more than it is on Black housing, thousands will remain homeless. Since it *has* made a loan for low-density housing to Paraguay presumably funds are available — or are they only for buying chumminess overseas?

Daily Aspatch

Blacks can be happy — Janson

29/8/75

PRETORIA — It should be frankly admitted that the number of blacks in white areas had not decreased as anticipated, Mr Punt Janson, Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was addressing the Transvaal Agricultural Union on their registration of black labour and answering complaints about the activities of the Bantu Administration Boards.

He said that half of the black population, had been frequently stated did not live in the cities, but on the platteland. They could not be removed to their homelands because of the cost.

If a black was productive, he should remain on white farms provided he worked under happy conditions. Mr Janson said he would rather have a reliable black on his farm than a terrorist or somebody who had been forced to remain on the farm.

Blacks could be made happy on farms by the work done by the Bantu Administration Boards. During the past three years the boards had achieved so much that the nation would thank them for the creation of happy relations.

He said the haphazard registration of blacks had to end and a computer system would be introduced for the identification of blacks.

He announced that the subsidies system for the building of schools for blacks on farms would be increased shortly. Schools together with hostels would be established in platteland towns for black children to prevent the migration of parents to cities.

Mr Janson said the growth of nationalism and the desire of blacks to give their children the best education could never be stopped and he would help them to become happy blacks. — SAPA.

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BLACKS NOT LEAVING

Mercury 28/8/75

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MR. PUNT Janson, Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration admitted yesterday that the number of Blacks in White areas had not decreased as anticipated.

He was addressing the Transvaal Agricultural Union on their registration of Black labour and answering complaints about the activities of the Bantu Administration Boards in Pretoria.

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If a Black was productive, he should remain on White farms provided he worked under happy conditions.

He would rather have a reliable Black on his farm than a terrorist.

During the past three years the Bantu Administration Boards had achieved much in creating happy relations and for this the nation would thank them.

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He announced that the subsidies system for the building of schools for Blacks on farms would be increased shortly. Schools together with hostels would be established in platteland towns for Black children to prevent the migration of parents to cities. Hospital clinics for platteland Blacks would also be extended.

Blacks keep rights

STAR 10/9/75

John Patten,
Political Correspondent

Black industrial workers in the urban areas are being allowed to keep their urban privilages if they agree to work at decentralised factories near the homelands.

This emerged from a speech by the Minister of Mines, Dr Koornhof, when he opened a new tool factory at Ladysmith in Natal today. The firm previously operated exclusively in Germiston.

Dealing with official help given to the company in decentralising its activities, Dr Koornhof quoted from a report showing that:

- Black employees in Germiston moving to Ladysmith were each given a letter guaranteeing they could return within two years if they became unhappy in at Ladysmith;
- Two Administration Board officials accompanied a delegation of Black employees on a fact-finding visit to Ezakheni near the factory site some months before the move;
- Fifty brick-built houses at Ezakheni were reserved by the Department of Bantu Administration for re-located employees;
- The kwaZulu leader Chief Buthelezi, cleared the way for the few non-Zulu Black employees moving to the factory to be permitted to live in kwaZulu.

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Inside

Rand Daily Mail. 11/9/75

BAD letter to the bad BAAB boys

In dealing with pass law offenders, whose feelings do you consider—those of Blacks, Whites or the Department of Bantu Administration?

WEST RAND BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARD

TO: ALL OFFICIALS

ILL-JUDGED ACTIONS BY JUNIOR OFFICIALS OF ADMINISTRATION BOARDS

The following circular letter has been received from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development:

"1. During the past few months several complaints by the public have been brought to the attention of this Department and the Ministry regarding junior officials of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards who, in the course of their duties, acted unwisely, thereby disturbing relations and causing great inconvenience to employers and employees.

A few examples of such actions are quoted here:

EXAMPLE 1

Two cleaners were arrested at a primary school because they allegedly gave illegal accommodation to two Bantu women in the school servants' quarters. Both cleaners were in registered service and at the time of the arrest were in possession of the school's keys. The principal was not informed of the arrests, with the result that the school's work was rather seriously upset because the principal did not know where to get the keys. The keys were later delivered to the school by a strange Bantu, which was also irregular and considered "highly improper" by the principal concerned.

EXAMPLE 2

A respected woman of very high standing who had employed a Bantu illegally, had her fingerprints taken, which drove her to the edge of a nervous collapse. Although Act 25 of 1945 provides for maximum sentences for first offences and minimum sentences for second or more offences, the standing that this person enjoyed in society should have been taken into consideration before fingerprinting her.

The magistrate fortunately imposed a suspended sentence because he realised that her fingerprinting and the fact that she had to appear in court already constituted considerable humiliation.

EXAMPLE 3

A Bantu employed by a certain person was arrested on this person's property, charged with trespassing on private property and found guilty.

After his conviction the Bantu Affairs Administration Board concerned wrote to the magistrate and explained that the Bantu had been wrongfully arrested. Because the magistrate and the prosecutor had not been fully aware of the circumstances, the Bantu had already been sentenced and nothing could be done about the matter.

2. As already indicated the above-mentioned examples are only a few of the many recent incidents which have seriously embarrassed the Department and which could easily have been avoided if greater circumspection and judgment had been applied.

3. The Department requests that you apprise the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in writing of the need to stress to junior officials that good judgment should be exercised in the execution of their duties.

4. If a junior official is at all uncertain about his intended action he should rather discuss the matter with a senior official, since an incorrect step could seriously embarrass the Department and could disturb good relations."

Although the Executive Committee is aware that not one of the cases mentioned above occurred at this Board, they are nevertheless of the opinion that these instances be brought to the attention of all officials to avoid similar incidents.

V. C. MILNE

Chief Administrative Officer.

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Chance for Blacks to buy own homes

STAR 18/9/75

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Pretoria Bureau

Home ownership for Blacks on leasehold land in urban areas is expected to be resumed, probably before the end of the year.

A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development today said the minister, Mr M C Botha, would announce the resumption date shortly.

Mr Botha announced in his Budget speech in Parliament earlier this year the Government had decided to revert to the policy which was in force before 1967, and which allowed city Blacks to own houses in Black residential areas.

SUPPORT

Officials feel there will be widespread support for the scheme and Blacks in this way will help solve their own housing problem.

The backlog of Black housing in South Africa's urban areas has been estimated at 89 000.

The re-introduction of home ownership will affect Blacks in most urban areas. Pretoria's two main townships — Mamelodi and Atteridgeville — have been frozen and will thus be excluded.

EMPLOYERS

Although plans must still be finalised, it seems that Blacks will qualify for home ownership only if they were born in a Black urban area, or if they have been working for one employer for ten years or for more than one employer for 15 years.

Another likely condition will be that they must [illegible] citizenship of their homeland, or that they will be able to obtain citizenship.

LEASEHOLD

Blacks who buy or build their own homes under the scheme will do so on leasehold with the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. The leases will be for 30 years and can be renewed.

Black property owners will be able to sell their homes to other qualified Blacks and may leave the properties to their heirs.

Those who buy existing homes will be able to extend or change them with administration board permission.

Free State Nats uneasy over mixed facilities

Dispatch 18/7/73

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BLOEMFONTEIN — Free State Nationalists expressed their unease yesterday over government concessions towards allowing all races to share certain public facilities.

A delegate to their annual congress bluntly told the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr Willem Cruywagen, that they were troubled by many things for which they could find no answers.

He complained about the removal of notices and the sharing of toilets, theatres and roadside facilities for motorists. Many good Nationalists were avoiding these facilities and this was creating friction.

It was the party's policy that there should be parallel development and the Government should see to it that the blacks developed in their own areas, he said.

Mr Cruywagen was at pains to spell out the Government's policy and assured the congress that everything was being controlled by the permit system. Of the 44 applications for open restaurants seven had been refused.

Similarly of the 52 applications for open theatres, ten had been refused. Each case was considered on merit. Each application had to be justified.

The Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, assured the congress that Indians would never be granted residential rights in the Free State.

He said such a move would create friction in the province and the Government's whole policy was directed at eliminating friction between the races.

The travel restriction on Indians had been lifted because the decision made by Gen Smuts in 1913 had become redundant. It had brought great friction and unfairness.

He said he had not had one complaint since June 12 when the concession was brought into force.

The Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger warned strip-tease artists that the police had been instructed to continue with prosecutions under existing legislation "until this imported phenomenon is smothered."

Speaking in favour of a resolution demanding stronger action against stripping, the minister made a "friendly appeal" to newspapers not to accept advertisements from strippers.

"I don't want to solve everything with a law but if they carry on we will have to think about it," Mr Kruger said.

Women had complained to him that stripping was a tremendous humiliation to them. He disapproved of girls stripping naked and then allowing their bodies to be rubbed with oil.

Mr Kruger said he and the Minister of Sport, Dr Koornhof were considering the question of organised sport on Sunday but no final decision had been made.

The congress gave Mr Kruger full permission to go ahead with legislation requiring fingerprints of new drivers to be taken for licensing purposes.

Both the Cape and the Transvaal congresses of the party had given the minister their unanimous permission.

Mr Kruger urged the public to help the police in controlling undermining and trespassing.

He reminded the congress that trespassing was an offence and farmers had the right to challenge any persons on his property. Some of these people were criminals and underminers. — PC.

Bantu boards criticised

BLOEMFONTEIN — Free State Nationalists, particularly farmers, gave the Government a grilling yesterday over the functioning of the Bantu Administration boards.

But a lengthy explanation by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr W. A. Cruywagen, appeared to satisfy delegates at the National Party congress, and he was warmly applauded.

The discussion on the Bantu Administration Boards and other problems with farm labour was the longest and most controversial during the two-day congress.

One of the major complaints was that although farmers had to pay 40c each month for every labourer they employed, they had received few benefits as a result.

Replying, Mr Cruywagen pointed out that the new levy had only come into force in May this year. The Bantu Administration Boards had to finance their own activities and little could be done until farmers had actually paid their levies.

Mr Cruywagen pleaded with farmers to regard the Bantu Administration Boards as partners, not as enemies.

Another major complaint concerned the contractual relationship between employer and workers since the scrapping of the Master and Servants Act.

Mr Cruywagen admitted this was a problem but said no satisfactory solution had been suggested.

Another complaint concerned the availability of farm labour. Mr Cruywagen assured delegates that both the boards and the Government were doing everything possible to facilitate the supply of labour for farmers but they should recognise there were other demands, particularly on the mines, since the position of foreign workers was not as secure as in the past.

Replying to complaints about unnecessary expenditure in the homelands, Mr Cruywagen said agricultural land would not become unproductive as a result of the consolidation of the homelands.

The Bantu Affairs Commission had recently been given the responsibility of ensuring that no productive ground was left unused. The commission had to ensure that agricultural land remained productive.

Mr Cruywagen told the congress the Government was considering allowing big department stores and businesses trading rights in black areas and townships.

However, no final decision had been made and the Government was still considering the issue.

Mr Cruywagen told a questioner that only black people with so-called permanent rights in the urban areas would be entitled to long-term leasehold of houses.

Leasehold rights could not be sold to blacks from the homelands.

In reply to another question he said unemployment benefits were not paid to jobless black people in the homelands by the Government. If unemployment benefits were paid by the homeland governments that was their concern. — PC.

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The Cape Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1975

The migrant myth

PROFESSOR MONICA WILSON exposed a number of myths in her Hoernle memorial lecture* last week: the myth, for instance, that White South Africans occupied an empty land, or that its population was very small; and the myth, which itself contradicts the first one, that Southern Africa, before the advent of Whites, was in a permanent state of turmoil. Another myth is that people who are physically different prefer to remain apart and do so "naturally", contradicted in turn by the mass of legislation that distrusts such "natural" inclinations and in fact enforces segregation in marriage, residence, education, recreation, travel, industry and nearly every other facet of life. Two other myths are of particular relevance to the unhappy situation of South Africa's urban Blacks. The first is that the policy of reducing the number of Africans in towns has cut down on the number of men employed. The second is that South Africa represents, for urban Blacks, an orderly society. Both beliefs are demonstrably false.

As Professor Wilson noted, endorsing Africans out of the towns has only increased the number of migrant workers and contributed to the destruction of family life. In 1953 Langa had a male-female ratio of four to one. By 1974 this ratio had risen to 11 to one. In spite of the regret sometimes expressed by Government spokesmen and their descriptions of migratory labour as a "necessary evil", the system has been deliberately encouraged over the past 20 years. According to Professor Wilson, it is the "single most destructive force in our society". It is the antithesis of what makes for order. In her own words:

> South Africa is not now, as is claimed, an orderly society. Life is extremely insecure in African townships; the murder rate and capital punishment rates are higher than in most countries; the prison population is exceptionally large. The number of those imprisoned is immediately linked to pass laws regulating the movement of population to work.

How can order and stability be regained? The answer is simple: to allow the settlement of families at the breadwinners' place of work. It is already happening at the De Beers mines in Kimberley. And it was happening at the Cape until the trend was reversed by Government pressure. This week the Government belatedly showed some appreciation of the problem and its solution. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Cruywagen, told the Bloemfontein congress of the National Party that a 1945 law—presumably the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act—which prevented Black women from joining their husbands in urban areas was being reconsidered. This is good news indeed, though goodness knows how long it will take for such a revision of policy to have any noticeable effect. In the Western Cape, for instance, no family housing has been built for Africans since 1966. There is an enormous backlog to catch up.

The elimination, or at least reduction, of migrant labour would not only stabilize Black life in the cities. It would have an equally beneficial effect on the homelands whose problem, Professor Wilson observed, is too large a population and a disproportion of dependants. Which pricks yet another myth—that the homelands are a sort of ethnic dustbin into which problems of urban Black family life can just be emptied.

* "So truth be in the field . . ." The Alfred and Winifred Hoernle memorial lecture, 1975, by Professor Monica Wilson. Published by the Institute of Race Relations.

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ERDAG, 20 SEPTEMBER 1975

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Trekarbeider en vrou ‚bly geskei'

Beeld 20/9/75

Van Ons Politieke Redaksie

DIE gees waarin hy gesê het dat hy simpatie het met swart gesinne wat vanweë wetgewing verhinder word om in stedelike gebiede saam te woon, was 'n openbaring van blote menslikheid.

Dit beteken nie dat die bepaling van die Bantoe-Stadsgebiede wat die skeiding veroorsaak môre, oormôre geskrap gaan word nie, het mnr. Willem Cruywagen Adjunk-Minister van Bantoesake aan Beeld gesê.

ONNOSEL

„In enige situasie waar 'n mens met mense te doen het, is daar verandering, stuwing, ontwikkeling. Om nie daarop ag te slaan nie, sou mos net onnosel wees," het mnr. Cruywagen gesê.

Daar was ses beskrywingspunte op die Nasionale Partykongres van die Vrystaat in Bloemfontein wat gehandel het oor Bantoesake. 'n Ander een het gevra dat die Regering die getal onwettige swartmense in blanke gebiede verminder en die stroom na die tuisland aanmoedig en vergroot — indien nodig, met dwang.

„As ek nou sou verlof gee dat mans hul vroue na die stedelike gebiede bring, dan vererger ek die probleem van huisvesting en die kinders wat uit so 'n huwelik in die stad gebore word, kry die reg om permanent daar te woon. Daarmee skep ek mos weer ander probleme en dan is die hele ding geensins opgelos nie."

'n Departementele komitee het 'n verslag opgestel oor die hele kwessie van trekarbeid, maar hy het nog nie hierdie verslag gesien nie en kan dus nie daarop kommentaar lewer nie.

Dit is in die gees waarin daar huiseienaarskap en meer handelsgeriewe vir swartmense beskikbaar gestel word, dat daar na die probleem van verbrokkelde gesinne gekyk sal word.

Wanted—a commission on urban Africans

Sun Express 28/9/75

ALLISTER SPARKS

(319)

NOW THAT THE Nationalists' Coloured policy is at last beginning to assume a more coherent form, they must turn their attention to that other and even more important area of neglect—the urban Africans.

This is in fact the sharp end of our race problem, yet the Nationalists have never had anything even remotely resembling a policy to deal with it. Only the fatuous belief that the problem itself would miraculously go away; that the urban Africans were "temporary sojourners" who would gradually be drawn back to their homelands as these were developed.

At least the Nationalists are getting around now to realising what utter nonsense this is. "The urban Blacks are going to be with us for a very long time," said Mr Punt Janson the other day.

Indeed they are. For all time, in fact. And what is more, in increasing numbers. Today there are some 10-million Africans in what we blithely call "White" South Africa; in a generation's time, even with successful Bantustans, there will be about 25-million and Soweto will be bigger than Johannesburg.

But this Nationalist realisation has not yet reached the point of producing a policy to deal with the situation.

There are signs of a reassessment taking place. For example . . .

● Urban Blacks are now to be allowed 30-year leasehold rights to homes in the townships, which is an important step nearer to recognition of their permanency;

● The whole system of migrant labour, so fundamental to the concept of the "temporary" townships, is clearly being reassessed. This week, Mr Janson denounced it as bad and said it could not be allowed to increase. Last week, his sidekick, Mr W. A. Cruywagen, indicated that the law which prevents Black wives from joining their husbands in the townships might be changed.

● More money is to be allocated for the improvement of facilities in the townships. For years local authorities have received only a paltry 20 per cent of the money collected in liquor tax; the other 80 per cent was sent back to the homelands. Now the urban Blacks are to get a much bigger share.

● The Minister of Labour, Mr Viljoen, has announced that Black workers can form "labour committees" with powers to bargain collectively on an industry-wide basis — a major step towards granting the urban Black proletariat trade union rights which, in turn, means real power in the body politic.

● Hotel integration is being phased in, and Mr Vorster indicated in Windhoek on Tuesday that more and more integration of urban facilities would be allowed.

● Finally, the Nationalists are scratching their heads hard over what status to give the 2-million Transkeians in our urban areas after that territory becomes independent next year. In terms of the ideology they should be regarded as foreigners domiciled in "White" South Africa. But will they have the same status as, say, Germans or Portuguese in Johannesburg? Or visiting Black Americans? Independence Day for the Transkei could therefore be as important for the Black townsman as for the *amaqaba* themselves.

Now all this is very encouraging, but it doesn't amount to a policy. It is merely a tentative scratching around the edges of the problem. What has still to be decided is how the urban Blacks, now that their permanency has been accepted, are to fit into the overall Nationalist scheme of things.

The theory of separate development is that each race should run its own affairs. Very well then, let the urban Blacks run their own townships. Remove the paternalistic White hand of Mr Manie Mulder and his Administrative Board and let the people of Soweto elect their own Mayor and their own City Council, with all the authority of any other municipality.

Let them appoint their own municipal staffs, with Black town clerks, town engineers, traffic departments, building and health inspectors, typists, clerks and meter readers.

After all, if we can train Transkeians to take on responsibilities like these, why not the urban Blacks, whose level of education and sophistication is far higher?

But the right to local government is not enough to satisfy a people's aspirations. Urban Blacks must also participate at a far higher level in the affairs of the country in which they are permanently resident.

At least as high as the Coloureds and Indians.

Therefore the Government should consider an elected urban African Council, similar to the Coloured and Indian Councils, with the same promises of participation in the decisions of statutory boards and even the Cabinet.

The Government has used the Theron Commission to help it evolve a more meaningful policy for the Coloureds. What it needs now is a similar multiracial commission to do the same for the urban Africans.

Of course, my own belief is that whatever the Nationalists decide, there are social, economic and political forces at work which are generating their own momentum and pushing us inexorably towards integration.

But it is important that these forces should be contained within an institutionalised framework so that the change can come about peacefully, rather than be left to vent themselves in an inchoate way leading to violence.

Migratory labour to be dropped?

(1) 320
(2) 200
(3) 4
(4) 334
(5) 319
(6) 206

Daily Disp. 26/9/75

DURBAN — A strong hint that the Government's migratory labour policy would be dropped or drastically revised was given yesterday at a Natal National Party congress by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr T. N. H. Janson.

"We cannot allow more migratory labour. The liberals are also right sometimes. Migratory labour is a bad thing," he said to an obviously stunned congress strongly attended by many farmers from northern and central Natal.

He bluntly told a delegate he could not use Shangaan and Xhosa labour or any other black labour from outside the province for the simple reason that it clashed with National Party policy.

It was, he said, Government policy to place labour near growth points and it was this labour that had to be used.

Mr Janson was replying to a motion calling on the Government to arrange labour contracts with the homeland governments which would be binding to both parties. A delegate complained that local people worked only when it suited them, despite pay of R60 to R80 a month plus food and housing.

The deputy minister said that in the interest of black workers they had to discipline themselves in their work.

He supported the narrowing of the wage gap "one hundred per cent" and did not want to be misunderstood on this score. But there was also a wage gap between white and white. "We do not pay for rotten white work."

"I am all for giving workers a living wage, but we are not going to dish out presents to those who want to loaf, — who want to work now and then," he said.

He urged that there should be consultation at a local level with responsible black leaders, who should see to it that contracts concluded between two people were respected.

He also hoped that the Bantu Administration Councils would keep a list of the "loafers" so that they could see to it they did not go on seeking work elsewhere only to loaf again. It was after this that he made his brief statement on migratory labour.

Later Mr Janson said migratory labour at heart was not a good system. One did not have to ask questions about it: one need only look at Cape Town where blacks who left at the end of their contracts left illegitimate children behind.

Each year 18 000 were caught in Cape Town for being there illegally — and we only catch ten per cent," he said.

"The official black population of Cape Town is 110 000 which means that almost 90 000 are there illegally. We can't throw them out. Let's face it: these people have families to support."

Referring to his childhood he said that although his parents had been separated his father would have given anything to feed and educate his children.

"Will you blame a black man for wanting to do the same for his children?" he asked. — PC

319

Migrant labour system to stay — Janson

(1) 200
(2) 206
(3) 319
(4) 205

The Argus Correspondent 26/9/75

DURBAN — It was unfortunately impossible to do away with the migratory labour system, but the Government would do everything possible to eliminate the evils arising from it, Mr T. N. H. Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, said in an interview here today.

He disclosed that a senior official of his department had recently completed a study of migratory labour which the department would examine.

Mr Janson went on: It is clear that to do without migratory labour would be impossible.

There are conflicting attitudes to this system — people say they are against it but at the same time call for more labour from Lesotho, for example.

FROM HOMELANDS

The Government's view is that, if at all possible, migrant labour must be from the homelands and the workers should be able to stay with their families.

This we are trying to achieve through decentralisation.

Mr Janson said the report would be studied for opportunities to do away with evils arising from the system — for example, improved transport between the homeland areas and the cities so that they could live with their families.

FACILITIES

The Government could also provide better leisure facilities for migrant labourers, such as sports fields and study opportunities, he said.

Mr Janson said the Government had no intention of scrapping the controversial Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

Mr T. N. H. Janson

He appealed to the public both on the farm and in the cities to co-operate and allow the boards to prove their value.

He warned that if people persisted in refusing to register their labour, they would be prosecuted.

CRITICISM

The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards came under heavy attack at the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban, particularly from farmer delegates.

Mr Janson said, however, that the Government had co-operated fully with agricultural unions in establishing the boards and appointing staff.

He made no apologies for the fact that the chairman and vice-chairman of the boards were political appointments. They were part of the machinery of National Party policy and could not be administered by people whose views differed from the policy.

Mr Janson said the Government was working on the computerisation of the boards, which would increase their efficiency and reduce some of the irritating paperwork employers and employees had to suffer.

BLACK LISTS

The Minister said boards would compile a black-list of African workers who broke their contracts or were loafers. Such workers would not be offered jobs again.

While the Government was fully committed to closing the wage gap, it was not going to dish out presents to people who wanted to loaf.

There was a wage differentiation: that between a skilled, hardworking man and one who was not, and this gap would remain.

(News by R. Griffin, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

319

Tucsa plea on urban transport

ARGUS 26/9/75

(1) 362
(2) 84
(3) 319

CAPE TOWN'S already over-congested road and rail transport system would be even more affected by the mass removal of Coloured people to housing schemes such as Mitchell's Plain, trade unionists were told today.

Mr S. Moerat of the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers was moving a resolution calling for massive subsidies to keep the cost of urban passenger transport 'within reasonable bounds.'

He was addressing the final session of the 21st annual conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) held in Cape Town this week.

Pointing out that transport experts had said South African cities would have to have integrated transport systems 'or none at all,' Mr Moerat attacked the Driessen Report for its neglect of this issue.

'For the report not even to have mentioned apartheid in transport is inexcusable,' he said.

It was ironic that many of the people to be moved lived in areas at present well served by road and rail transport.

Mr S. Lekaba, a Johannesburg leather workers' representative, said Soweto workers had great difficulty in getting to work.

Private combi operators who tried to ply between Soweto and the city were dubbed 'pirates,' but only a few African taxi drivers could get licences for this route.

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Tucsa calls for transport bodies

Cape Times 27/9/75

(4)84 (2)319 (2)264

TUCSA delegates yesterday unanimously called for a metropolitan body in each major centre responsible for providing cheap and efficient public transport.

Urban transport had become too big a problem for local authorities or private enterprise to cope with unaided, the resolution said.

It called for a body in each urban centre to plan and direct all forms of public transport including rail traffic, with power to request "massive subsidies" from Government to keep down costs to the passenger.

Such bodies should include representatives from local authorities, transport companies, commerce, industry and the unions. The resolution added that transport boards should give attention to the training and more efficient use of Black labour in the transport system.

Moving the motion, Mr M S Moerat of the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers said that the Group Areas Act had placed South Africa among those few countries where the poorest commuters lived furthest from their work.

Train services from the Cape Flats were limited and buses streamed along through hopelessly inadequate roads to reach the city.

F.M. 3/10/75 (319)

lack market beckons

D weekend's statement by Deputy ter of Bantu Affairs, Willem Cruy- n, that White business may be ed into the townships, has set the rty industry fluttering hopefully. ng more can be gleaned from Pre- at this stage, though the *FM* stands government is meeting with st one large retailer to thrash out s.

will certainly be a good thing, if it ens, for Black consumers. Not se White stores are necessarily scrupulous than others, but because competition is better than less. s in Black township shops are lously high, partly because of the restrictions on the Black trader and ze of his store, and partly because ck trader cannot make use of the mies of scale available to a large

e big White retailers are, in the delighted. It will open up big new ets, although some argue it will at ame time take away trade from stores. But retailer policy is usually where the shoppers are, and there lenty of shoppers in the townships.

k n Pay's Raymond Ackerman he is "thrilled" about it, with one iso — that however it is mented it must be done with con- ation for the African businessmen dy there. There must be some form rtnership.

Inev Matus, executive director of says his organisation is already try- assist a few Black traders, but has nto red tape. He feels Black business d be free to develop in a free enter- situation. To allow Whites in, he without lifting the restrictions the trader has to contend with, would usly be unfair.

's Cyril Atkinson says before he make a decision about setting up in vnship he would have to know on terms and under what conditions he d have to operate. But he agrees the bility holds out "some prospects for nsion of trading" and as such he mes it.

eatermans has already made provi- l agreements with the Bantu Invest- t Corporation to open three kers stores in KwaZulu. Greater- ' President, Lawrence Herber, feels going into the townships would be a al step.

operty developers are more cau- . Because of rising interest rates and ing costs they are having a hard at the moment, and some are com- d to developing sites they have held long time. One developer feels that

Black shopper ... closer to home

if Whites are merely to be allowed to go in as caretakers, government should provide financial safeguards regarding rent.

Institutional developers, who would in practice put up most of the cash, seem open minded. Sanlam says it hasn't really investigated the situation as it has always regarded the townships as out of bounds. But, it says, it is a property investor, and if the return and potential of a proposition look good, it would be "carefully considered".

Legal & General tells the *FM* a township shopping centre project would "stand in line with the rest". It would have no objection in principle.

Clearly, there is a lot of enthusiasm. Over to government.

Do not write in this margin

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Buying a ticket to rage

SUN. TIMES 5/10/75

AMOS KHUMALO gets up every morning before the sun has touched the roof of his home or the dusty streets of the township where he lives. Before his children are awake, he is standing some kilometres away waiting in the morning chill for the bus that will take him many kilometres more to his work in the White town.

Fleur de Villiers

At night, the journey is reversed and Amos arrives home long after his children are asleep.

One day this week, Amos Khumalo did not take the bus that has taken him to work these many years. He took to the streets with a stone in his hand.

And in their home in the White suburb, Amos's employers shook their heads and wondered why he was not at work. Perhaps yet another grandmother had died.

Julia Selepe lives in Mabopane, 32 km from Pretoria Her home is in a homeland, but there is no work there for Julia. So every day she travels those 32 km on four different buses to reach her work in the White city. It takes eight hours out of her day and R1,50 out of her daily pay packet of R3. But Julia travels because she must feed her child and buy the uniforms and the books he needs for school.

Jacob Mabitsela is a nightwatchman in Johannesburg. From six in the evening until six the next morning he waits with his knobkerrie outside the premises he guards. And then from six until nine he waits for the company bus that will take him back to his home in Soweto. He is lucky if he reaches it by 11. At three he is waiting again—for the bus that will take him back to work.

The train is quicker, he says. But it is too much money.

Drummer

Jakes Mpendu won't travel by train. His brother, the musician, took it once too often. Now the former drummer sits at home paralysed, thinking about the men who took his money on the crowded train one Friday night and then stabbed him in the back with a sharpened bicycle spoke. So Jakes takes a taxi and tries not to think about the money it costs him.

Out in the streets of Madadeni township near Newcastle this week, Amos Khumalo, with the stone in his hand, could not think of anything else. Already the bus fare was taking too much out of his wages, money that he needed for food, rent, clothing for his children. Now, they had told him, it was going to go up again.

The bus fare had bought a ticket to rage.

There are Madadeni townships all over South Africa.

In Johannesburg it is known as a sprawling, unseen twin city called Soweto. In Newcastle, Calvinia, Rustenburg or Beaufort West, it is the "location".

Most Whites have never seen it; but they know it's there—a grid of dusty streets and hot tin roofs over the hills and far away from their ordered lives.

Bridge

Too far away for the millions who have to travel each day from the township to the town to work and who have to pay a double price in wasted hours and wasted money for the journey.

The roads are crowded, the trains are dangerous, the journey long. Sometimes the bus goes over a bridge into a river and the commuters arrive late—if they arrive at all.

Then one day the bus fare goes up once again and the price becomes too high for Amos, or Jakes or Julia to pay.

They boycott the buses and they walk.

Sometimes they pick up a stone and they riot.

Three years ago a Supreme Court judge looked at me in the quiet of his rooms in the Palace of Justice in Pretoria. He was thinking about the distance from Pretoria to Mabopane, the long hours in a crowded bus on a crowded road. He was thinking about Julia, Amos and Jakes—their weariness and their anger. He thought about the price that they were paying and the price that South Africa might have to pay if nothing was done.

And he said: "We will have a rebellion on our hands if we are not careful."

319

End curbs on African trade, chamber urges

RDM 9/10/75 (1) 319 (2) 28

By PATRICK LAURENCE

MR Richard Maponya, vice-president of the Johannesburg African Chamber of Commerce, yesterday urged the authorities to speed up the planned easing of restrictions on urban African traders to help fight against inflation.

Lifting restrictions would enable African traders to form companies and pave the way to the establishment of supermarkets able to sell at lower prices, said the Soweto businessman.

Many African consumers were still forced to buy household necessities from small township retail shops at higher prices than supermarkets in the city centres.

Bearing in mind that many Africans lived and shopped in urban townships, it was of vital importance to strike a blow against rising prices by giving African businessmen the opportunity to buy in bulk and get appropriate discounts, Mr Maponya added.

"I would call on the Government to treat it as a matter of urgency," he said.

"The sooner we establish supermarkets, the better for the anti - inflation campaign — and the better for township people, who are among the poorest in the country."

Several restrictions operate against urban African traders under the regulations of 1963 and 1968. Among them are:

- The one-man, one-business only ruling;
- Limitation of businesses to those providing for the "day-to-day" needs of the township people.
- Prohibition of the formation of companies and partnerships.

The president of the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce, Mr Samuel Motsueyane, was not available for comment yesterday, but he has repeatedly called for abolition of "harsh restrictions".

At the meeting between the Prime Minister and homeland leaders in January, Mr Vorster said the points raised on behalf of urban traders were valid and the situation would be reconsidered.

Later, in Parliament, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, announced that at least some of the restrictions would be eased.

A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration said yesterday departmental proposals for revision of the regulations had already been passed by Deputy Bantu Administration Minister, Mr W. A. Cruywagen.

"There will be a statement quite soon," he added.

Threat of transport chaos in SA cities

Star 18/10/75

319

Pretoria Bureau

The seriousness of South Africa's growing urban transport problems, and the extreme urgency with which they must be solved, were detailed at the start of a weekly conference on the Driessen Committee's report in Pretoria today.

Top speakers at the conference, including the Minister of Transport, Mr Laurens Muller, and the Secretary for Transport and chairman of the Driessen Committee, Mr John Driessen, pulled no punches and used the word "chaos" to describe the situation now building up in South African cities.

They warned that this situation was almost upon us. "In fact, we are already into our injury time," Mr Driessen said.

Approaching traffic conditions were so serious in their implications for all city dwellers, and for the country's economy as a whole, that only revolutionary measures would suffice to solve them.

The cost, in money, changes to our way of life, and sacrifice would be tremendous — but the alternative was urban strangulation and the personal inconvenience and economic deterioration accompanying it.

Directly affected will be commuters and shoppers under pressure to keep their cars out of city centres, bus authorities coping with the task of transporting all the new pedestrians, city centre businesses facing additional property rating, office, facing staggered working hours and bus motorist, facing fares.

It is to discuss these wide and varied changes to South African life that the conference in Pretoria

319

Trek to work that starts at 2 am

RDM 17/10/75

(1) 29
(2) 200
(3) 319
(4) 205

By JOHN IMRIE

UVONGO. — A silent Assocom audience yesterday heard Mr B G. Koning, of Bloemfontein, Chamber of Commerce, say that 12 000 of his city's Africans had to get up at 2 am to travel 68 km to work from their Thabanchu homes.

A Pietersburg delegate told a similar story.

The congress adopted a string of resolutions calling for, among other things, better bus services for Africans, removal of tax discrimination against them and improved banking facilities in the townships.

The president of the National African Chambers of Commerce, Mr Sam Motsuenyane later spoke saying he welcomed this "rising concern for the problems and welfare of Black people," but felt the resolutions would have been better had Assocom consulted the Black private sector first.

"We would like you to help us get into the mainstream of South Africa's economic life" he said.

Several delegates stressed that inadequate transport was one of the most explosive causes of Black worker frustration as well as the cause of lateness for work and absenteeism, all of which led to low productivity.

One resolution adopted asked the authorities to be more flexible in the issue of permits to private bus operators and in the allocation of bus routes.

The congress also called for elimination of taxes paid by Africans which were so low that they were uneconomic to collect, for consolidation of the three different forms of tax payable by Africans and for introduction of rebates for dependants.

A resolution calling for the easing of restrictions on the number of branches which banks and building societies may establish in the townships was adopted unanimously, speakers pointing out the high crime rate in Black townships and the difficulty Africans had in keeping their money safe.

It was felt that the situation could be vastly improved if employers could pay wages directly to local banks.

Consolidation of the various levies payable by employers in respect of African workers into one annual payment, the simplification of registering Black labour and development of the homelands were also called for.

319

Bantu boards to help with farm labour

Star 17/10/75

(1) 4 (3) 323 (5) 98
(2) 319 (4) 48 (6) Manpower Training (7) 205

Farming Editor

Bantu administration boards have asked organised agriculture how they can help farmers with their African labour force.

Mr Manie Mulder, chairman of the West Rand board told farmers this at the Transvaal Agriculture Union symposium here yesterday.

Mr Mulder suggested boards could assist with:

- the building of houses by the board's building teams;
- provision of recreational and welfare facilities;
- medical services and clinics on farms;
- family planning;
- education and the provision of bursaries for farm children to attend city high schools;
- in-service training of farm labourers and selection of employees;
- mobile registration units to visit farms.

He reminded farmers that their registration fee of 40c a labourer a month would not be enough to finance all these projects.

Mr J J Druwer, director of the Division of Agricultural Engineering of the Department of Agricultural Technical Services, pointed out that overseas farm workers with Standard 8 were given intensive training in the handling and maintenance of farm machinery.

In South Africa illiterates were pitched into their jobs without even in-service training. The result was that South Africa's tractor maintenance cost 40 percent more than in overseas countries.

At the turn of the century the country would need about 400 000 tractor operators and if current training provisions were not stepped up considerably only 25 000 would be qualified.

If 20 000 tractor operators were not trained within the next few years agricultural mechanisation was bound to remain inefficient and capital losses would be enormous, Mr Gruwer said.

319

'Blackening' worries Prof.

(1) 101 (2) 319 (3) 4 (4) 110 (5) 153 (6) 289 Mercury 17/10/75

PRETORIA — If the continued growth of the Black community in the White areas could not be reversed by settling at least 10 million Blacks in their homelands by 1985, there could not be any question of the survival of the Whites in South Africa, Prof. C. W. H. Boshoff, chairman of Sabra (South African Bureau for Racial Affairs), said yesterday.

Reading a paper on "the Black labour force in the Republic" at a symposium on farm labour organised by the Transvaal Agricultural Union at Silverton near here, Prof. Boshoff said it would cost from R800-million to R1 000-million a year to win "the struggle for the survival of the Whites in South Africa."

Prof. Boshoff said that if the inflow of Blacks were merely stopped, he foresaw a radical Leftist agitation developing.

Quoting census figures, Prof. Boshoff came to the conclusion: "The Blacks who originally came as employees into the White areas developed into a Black community of which less than 50 percent is economically active while only 25 percent is concerned in actual production and about 12 percent in agriculture."

Referring to the shortage of White labour, Prof. Boshoff said it was due to the fact that Whites were needed to provide amenities, services, education and hospitalisation for an ever - growing Black population.

With the upgrading of Black wages, demands for these amenities also increased, resulting in the total exhaustion of the White labour force."

Blacks were taking over from Whites at the rate of 12 000 jobs a year.

"In this dilemma the Whites will have to think again on their future," he said.

"They will have to allow themselves to be led by principles, not by what is practical. They will have to stop the process of Blackening of their country and reverse the process.

"Separate development means the settlement of each nation in its own homeland or it means nothing."

He said a change should come about in soil utilisation in homeland farm lands. White farmers should work for periods of up to three months there to teach the Blacks farming. — (Sapa.)

319

Janson nod for black housing

Daily Dispo 20/10/75

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Government's growing recognition of the permanency of blacks in white areas was highlighted at the weekend with the announcement by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr T. N. H. Janson, that employers would be permitted to build and sell houses to their black employees in urban areas.

In an address to a National Party meeting here in which he also announced the Government's decision to shelve the massive Committees Drift resettlement project in the Eastern Cape, Mr Janson said that blacks, too, had a right to live with their families in properly constructed houses.

In a speech characterised by an emphasis on the need for changes in the country and balanced by repeated appeals for party unity as well as an invitation to more English speaking people to join the National Party, Mr Janson spoke of carrying on with the job, "even if we have to do without many of the things we have enjoyed over the past number of years, thanks to National Party rule.

"More and more the black worker will be entering the field and we will have to consider his needs. We will have to train him so that he can be more productive for the betterment of the country as a whole.

"We have a duty to assist the black man so that he can assist his family and give opportunities to his children," Mr Janson said.

He said a greater sense of permanency would be given to the black people and they would be given the right to transfer their rights of tenancy to those who inherited their properties.

In an impassioned invitation to English-speaking people to join the party, Mr Janson said: "We've been fighting opposition from overseas and communists in our midst.

"May I appeal to those of the calibre of the 1820 Settlers — the English-speaking people — to come forward now while South Africa is besieged by the rest of the world and show solidarity as their ancestors did during the siege of Grahamstown, and to fight side by side with their Afrikaans compatriots."

Referring to a "growing tendency in the Transkei among some blacks — with prompting from outside — to view the coming independence of the homeland as a chance to tell whites that this is their country, now get out," the Deputy Minister said he wanted to warn those blacks that this should stop.

Turning to Left-wing groups in South Africa, Mr Janson spoke of young men who were fighting on the border with Angola — "even for the lives of some students with big mouths who could not give a damn."

After an interjection from the floor, "kap hulle" (chop them), Mr Janson warned Left-wing students that 180-day detention was not long enough for them. They should be locked away forever. — DDR.

319

Bus riots may recur — warning

Natal Mercury 20/10/75

African Affairs Correspondent

THE RIOTS during the Newcastle bus boycott could break out in other places or all over South Africa, warned Chief Gatsha Buthelezi during a speech to the boys of Michaelhouse at the weekend.

Whites were always appealing to Blacks to be patient. "We have been very patient and we remain patient even at this late hour"

But this patience was wearing thin. The Newcastle situation was an example of what could occur again if nothing was done to defuse it.

The Black man's dignity, oppressed by oppressive laws, was reasserting itself. The bottle into which it had been forced could burst at any time.

"This is not a threat. These are the facts of our South African situation. Only a fool will interpret what I am saying here as a threat, for on it hangs my own future and that of my children. I am as concerned as anyone else that the situation be resolved peacefully."

Discussing the role of youth, Chief Buthelezi said most Africans applauded the emergence of the South African Students' Organisation, but the young people had been cautioned against "a reverse racism against Whites."

However, Black leaders were given no chance to repeat their cautions against racism because the Government had banned "the first batch of student leaders who in my opinion were balanced and articulate leaders of our youth."

By doing so the Government had ensured the situation would not mellow "into a healthy medium for meaningful dialogue between Whites and Blacks of your generation."

The chief felt White youth had a pivotal role in the resolution of the country's problems.

He knew this would not be an easy part to play. "I know that the White society has been so ordered that your mere membership of that society insulates you

319

(1) 319

~~2) 258~~

See also POPULATION — Vital Stats.

Bantu Law and the African woman

STAR 21/10/75

The African woman is losing the protection she once enjoyed, reports VIVIEN ALLEN from Pretoria.

African women married under Bantu Law are better off than White women in one way: they have a right to maintenance even after their husband's death.

This was pointed out by Mrs J Church of the University of South Africa's law faculty when speaking at the National Council of Women's seminar Women and the Law at the weekend.

A White woman, Mrs Church pointed out, who was married out of community of property (with an ANC) has no claim against her husband's estate for maintenance, although her children do.

But in all other respects, Mrs Church said, African women suffered more disabilities than their White counterparts.

Rejected

There is a great need for the legal position of African women to be looked into, she said, but earlier this year a motion put to parliament by Mrs Helen Suzman calling for a commission of inquiry was rejected.

African women could be married either by "customary union" or by a Christian/civil marriage according to South African law, said Mrs Church. Most urban African women are in fact married according to South African Law, but traditional marriages according to Bantu Law still continue.

One effect of this is to make the African woman a perpetual minor, subject to the guardianship of her husband during his lifetime and to that of his successor — possibly her own young son — after his death.

Under Bantu Law the death of one of the spouses did not necessarily mean the end of the marriage. If the husband died, one of his brothers took on the wife, and continued to raise children by this is common among the Sotho. The "little sister" is sent to the husband.

Sometimes he would send a beast or two as a present to his wife's family, but this was not lobolo, nor was it a new marriage. The same one continued with a substitute. This is also the case when a widow is handed over to her brother-in-law.

While this might seem to give the Afri- on what the grounds for divorce are.

It was a complicated matter which could lead to litigation, though in practice it was often settled between the families concerned.

Lobolo is the basis of customery marriage and not necessarily a bad thing. It links two families together and as a result, the widow remains a member of her husband's kraal

Blacks to have own homes in townships

319

1 319 2 123

23/10/75 The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Government is finally poised to launch home ownership for Blacks in urban areas. Within weeks, Blacks will be able to apply to buy or to build homes in townships on a 30-year-lease.

This follows the announcement in Parliament almost six months ago by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha.

But it seems urban Blacks will have to take out homeland citizenship before they can own their homes.

Under the new dispensation, all Black homes in urban areas will be open for purchase and land will be made available for those who want to build their own homes.

Other likely details of the scheme include:

- Residents who want to buy their homes will have to pay the replacement value of the house and not what it cost to build originally.

This will be about R1 200 for the four-roomed township house and R3 000 for the four-roomed house with a bathroom.

SITES READY

- At least 1 200 sites in Pimville and other areas of Soweto are serviced and ready for immediate building.

People will be able to advertise their houses and sell to the highest bidder.

- Plans may be drawn up by any architect or selected from those available from the West Rand Board or organisations like the Soweto Home Improvement Action Group, or Ebony Homes.
- Ethnic grouping will stay.

Financing will be in the form of straight purchase by the buyer, assistance to an employee by his employer, loans from banks, building societies or other financial institutions, or even Bantu Affairs Administration boards.

Several homeland leaders reacted angrily to the suggestion of enforcing homeland citizenship and called it 'blackmail and against the spirit of home ownership.'

- Brigadier J. H. van der Westhuizen, chairm[illegible] of the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board, said today that his board had not received any additional information following the Minister's initial announcement.

He did not know how the scheme would be implemented and when.

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Black home ownership

Star 23/10/75.

From Page 1

of 21 years and adult females with dependants) who qualified under the influx control laws to be in an urban area could apply for a permit to buy or build a home on a 30-year lease in selected areas of Soweto.

Financing of the scheme will be by straight purchase by the buyer: assistance to an employee by his employer; loans from banks, building socities or other financial institutions; or loans from the West Rand Board.

"The board wants to start a revolving fund into which local authorities or large organisations can put money which will be used to assist the Black buyer at hopefully lower interest rates than the current building society rate," Mr de Villiers said.

While home ownership is being welcomed by many Blacks as a move in the right direction there is suspicion and resentment about having to take out homeland citizenship to buy a home in an urban area.

This sentiment was echoed by Mr John Mavuso, a city personnel officer and chairman of the King of Zululand's Council, and Mr J M Moikangoa, a Soweto architecural draughtsman who has been designing home improvements for Blacks since 1957.

(See also Pages 20, 21

The Government is finally poised to launch home ownership for Blacks in urban areas. Within weeks Blacks will be able to apply to buy or build homes in Soweto or other townships on a 30-years lease.

Under the new plan all Black homes in urban areas will be released for purchase and land will be made available for those who want to build their own homes.

This follows the announcement in Parliament almost six months ago by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, that Blacks would be able to own their homes in urban areas under a 30 years' leasehold scheme. At the time no further details were given.

But it seems likely the home ownership concession will carry a sting in its tail. Urban Blacks will be required to take out homeland citizenship before they can own their homes.

Mr J C de Villiers, chief director of the West Rand Administration Board, would not comment directly on this issue.

"If homeland citizenship is a pre-requisite there is likely to be some latitude allowed in handling housing applications," he said.

Latitude

Other likely details of the scheme as it affects the West Rand include:

- Residents who want to buy their homes will

Own homes for Blacks on leasehold

Government proposed to launch urban scheme

319

Star 23/10/75

have to pay the replacement value of the house and not what it cost to build originally. This will be about R1 200 for the four-roomed township house and R3 000 for the four-roomed house with a bathroom;

- At least 1 200 sites in Pimville and other areas of Soweto are serviced and ready for immediate building;
- People will be able to advertise their houses and sell to the highest bidder;
- Plans may be drawn up by any architect or selected from those available from the West Rand Board or organisations like the Soweto Home Improvement Action Group or Ebony Homes;
- In the broad, ethnic grouping will be adhered to.

"More details on all this will become known soon, but it is certain that this leasehold ownership will operate under the same regulations as governed home ownership in Soweto up to 1968," Mr de Villiers said.

Under these regulations Blacks (males over the age

To Page 3, Col 1

and 29)

Own homes seminar

A one-day seminar to iron out the finer details of how home ownership will be applied in Soweto and other townships will be held within the next three weeks by The Star and The World in conjunction with the West Rand Administration Board.

This was announced today by Mr J C de Villiers, chief director of the West Rand board.

People interested can phone the Promotions Department of The Star at 836-1331.

- The Star and The World are to sponsor a home improvement exhibit in Soweto early next year.

Black home plan held up by quibbles

Star 24/10/75 (319)

Certain Bantu Administration Boards are hamstringing the Government in its efforts to get urban Black home ownership off the ground.

Information from Department of Bantu Administration circles is that the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, and his Deputy Minister responsible for the scheme, Mr W C Cruywagen, are pressing frustratedly for finality on the scheme but quibbles from boards are holding back others who are raring to go.

Six months have gone by since Mr Botha announced the Government's acceptance of the return in principle to the 30-year leasehold for urban Blacks which had been abandoned in 1968.

The Government, meanwhile, is seeking adoption of a uniform formula for the scheme and this requires consultation with all the administration boards in the country.

It is believed some of these boards are dragging their heels about endorsing the scheme.

Initial Black reaction to the scheme has been widespread scepticism over the likelihood that homeland citizenship will be a prerequisite to owning a home.

Mr Lawrence Kobaka who has been on the house waiting list since 1970 said he first thought the home ownership scheme was a breakthrough.

SURPRISED

"I was terribly surprised about this homeland citizenship clause. My whole family was born in Johannesburg and know of no other home than this," he said.

Members of the Urban Bantu Council in Soweto have also reacted angrily about the scheme and said they do not acknowledge leadership from the homelands.

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~~Agri-labour~~

(2) 319

Farmers don't want to pay

RDM 24/10/75

DELEGATES to the annual congress of the South African Agricultural Union yesterday pledged their support for the Bantu Administration Boards.

They said expansion of the boards' functions could result in greater efficiency, but appealed for an alternative method of financing the boards. Delegates asked for a source of finance which would absolve them from paying levies for Black workers, and for all labour matters to be dealt with by one group instead of by various Government departments. — Sapa.

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Agric - Labour

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(1) ~~Energy~~
(2) ~~246~~
(3) ~~262 - General~~
(4) ~~84~~
(5) 319
(6) ~~313~~

Fares up . . . or service down, warns prof

RDM 25/10/75

Staff Reporter

BUS passengers should brace themselves for an increase in fares or a deterioration of services, Professor Peter Welgemoed of Rand Afrikaans University said yesterday.

Prof Welgemoed, a specialist in transport economics, was commenting on the 3,1c a litre increase in the price of petrol which came into operation yesterday.

And in Pretoria yesterday the Motor Industries Federation warned it would be making another approach to the Government for increased profit margins for petrol retailers before the end of the year.

And this could mean another petrol price increase.

The director of the MIF, Mr R. G. du Plessis, said the federation had appointed an economist to investigate the plight of petrol retailers and to motivate another claim.

The claim would be for a 10 per cent mark-up on delivered cost of petrol. A similar claim in April was rejected.

Motorists now pay 21,1 cents a litre. If the MIF demand is agreed to by the Government the price would reach 22 cents.

BUS 5 6 7 8 — wouldmk 11

Prof Welgemoed yesterday said: "The inflation spiral will force fares up or the service spiral will plummet.

"In road transport a lot of inefficient companies will be forced out. The petrol price increase will hit hard."

Prof Welgemoed is a director of Trans Tugela, the Bantu Investment Corporation company which was hit by a boycott after it raised its fares in Newcastle.

He is also an adviser to Mr Dana Viljoen, the man responsible for the corporation's vast bus network.

Mr Johann Maree, development and labour economist with the University of Cape Town, warned yesterday: "Coming on top of devaluation, the price increase of petrol will have a ripple effect on major African needs, particularly food."

Rising prices were a potentially explosive issue among the African people unless they could increase their real wages—but that was dependent on their ability to organise themselves into trade unions to bargain for higher wages.

The petrol increase is also likely to push up Black taxi fares.

A Soweto taxi-owner, Mr G. M. Molangani, said Soweto taximen absorbed the previous petrol price increase.

"But now that petrol has gone up tremendously, it would be fitting to raise fares as well."

In Johannesburg yesterday manufacturers and retailers said they would not push up their prices before Christmas in reaction to the petrol increase.

Mr H. S. Drue, marketing manager for Bambi Toys said it would be unfair to increase prices now. But he expected prices to go up between five per cent and 7,5 per cent next year.

A spokesman for Greatermans said they would not increase prices before the new year.

And Mrs Dolly Shiller of Lilliputs said the petrol increase had forced them to cut down on home deliveries.

"But we won't be putting our prices up any further this year."

Mr E. Apter, marketing manager for Checkers said: "If a manufacturer demands an increase before the end of the year, we will discontinue the line rather than pass it on to

(319)

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Influx control migrants to be reconsidered

29/10/75 **The Argus Correspondent**

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Government is re-examining two of the most controversial aspects of separate development — influx control and migrant labour — according to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha.

Opening the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs here, Mr Botha said a 'penetrating look' was being taken at both the migrant labour system and at influx control.

'This is to determine whether the criteria and procedures of yesterday still hold good for today and how it is possible to get rid of the unnecessary measures that are irritating and frustrating for the worker, the employer and the authorities,' Mr Botha said.

NEW ERA

There was also a new era in sight for the Black shopkeeper in urban townships, he added.

'I have already given my approval for the new directives which will cover housing and trade and my department will make these details known shortly,' Mr Botha said.

'But there are a number of necessary alterations to be made to the regulations, which must first be worked out.'

Mr Botha also gave indications of a possible new approach to other aspects of Black administration.

'Within the department (of Bantu Administration) cardinal facets of our administration are being reviewed anew, and the front we are moving on is wider than many people realise,' he said.

At the same time Mr Botha made it clear that influx control would not be summarily dropped.

'MISERY'

'Who would then take responsibility for the misery that will follow when the maximum number of people will compete for the minimum services and work opportunities in the area in which they find themselves?' he asked.

Mr Botha said note had to be made of the Government's decentralisation policy and the development of the homelands to political independence.

'This means our dealings in the White areas must be so that they contribute to and do not work against our purposes for the development of the homelands,' he said.

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Proviso 'spoils scheme'

Star 29/10/75

Political Reporter

The home ownership concession for urban Blacks had been tarnished by linking it with homeland citizenship, Mr Sam Moss, MPC, said today.

The former chairman of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Committee was commenting on the announcement that urban Africans who wanted to buy homes would first have to produce certificates of homeland citizenship.

Mr Moss said what had technically seemed to be an advance in Government thinking was now tarnished by "this political motivation."

Second and third-generation Africans in Soweto knew no other home and the provision would make it possible for them to be deported to a homeland of which they knew nothing.

"I can't deprecate strongly enough that home ownership, a person's security and investment, should be tied to a political consideration," Mr Moss said.

INEVITABLE

The United Party MP for Hillbrow, Dr Gideon Jacobs, said it was an absolute contradiction to pretend that people who lived in the cities belonged elsewhere.

"The Government refuses to accept the inevitable: that urban Blacks are here for good."

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Reform MP for Houghton, said people with 30-year leases and homes in urban areas were a stable, settled community, but they were being reduced to temporary sojourners.

Calling this "technical blackmail," she added that citizenship should be exercised where people lived, not elsewhere.

(News by H Leggatt, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

(See Page 29)

Homeland Blacks to get own homes

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Star 29/10/75.

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — It is official: Every urban Black who wants to buy his house must first become a citizen of a homeland.

This was clearly stated by the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr I P van Onselen, when he addressed the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs here today.

"Every Bantu who wishes to take in this scheme (urban home ownership) will be required to identify himself with his appropriate homeland," Mr van Onselen told the delegates representing all facets of Black administration in South Africa and Rhodesia.

CERTIFICATE

"When applying, a person will have to produce a certificate of citizenship of his homeland. This is a primary condition and no consideration will be given to any application unless the applicant is in possession of such a certificate."

Mr van Onselen mollified the strict ruling slightly when he said a plan was being considered to permit "provisional allocation" of houses to those who had difficulty getting citizenship immediately.

The Secretary for Bantu Administration spelled out further details on the home ownership scheme.

- Right of occupation will be for 30 years which, upon expiry, may be extended for up to another 30 years.
- When a person gets a loan for a home from an Administration Board, repayments would be over 30 years.
- The person who owns a house may sell it to whoever he pleases as long as the buyer complies with the purchasing conditions.
- The selling price of houses already erected in urban areas will be set by the Minister of Bantu Administration in consultation with the Department of Community Developments.
- The maximum loan from an Administration Board for building a house will R650.
- A person wishing to buy a house may get a loan from his employer or any other financial institution.
- Mortgages on property in urban Black areas are not possible but notarial bonds over the right of occupation and removeable property of the borrower can be taken out with the consent of the Administration Board.

Mr van Onselen also called on employers to help Black housing because "the presence of Bantu in our urban complexes is a result of employment opportunities which exist there and have been created by our business enterprises.

"The provision of sufficient housing for the Bantu is of national importance and affects us all," he said.

D-D. 29/10/75.

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Africans 'need civilised amenities'

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The provision of certain facilities for Africans who were of necessity in the White areas of the Republic could no longer be delayed, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education, Mr M. C. Botha, said last night.

Opening the 19th annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs of Southern Africa (IANA), the Minister said the progress of Africans had brought with it attendant stimulation of needs and aspirations beyond the merely mundane or bare necessities of life.

"I am particularly mindful of the need for further provision of a variety of the necessary ancilliaries of civilised living which are required to relieve the pressures of city life. I am referring to amenities such as theatres, cinemas and sport fields, to mention a few," he said.

"A craving for these facilities is now indeed strongly discernible and has to be met. The need therefore in terms of demand was not of importance a few years ago, but it is so now.

"And the question of eating facilities for Black workers in and visitors to White areas: the buying power and higher standard of living of the Bantu and the varieties of food produced by a strong agricultural sector available to him have created a demand for better eating facilities which likewise cannot be ignored."

The Minister said he realised that the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards as such and many employers and members of the public shared his concern.

"In fact, there are some outstanding examples of efforts made by the boards and the public sector to meet the demands I have sketched. But I plead to all those involved in these matters to rationalise and co-ordinate their efforts and to this end make use of the services and advice of the Bantu Afairs Administration Boards and my department to ensure that the priorities are right and that the bounds of policy are taken into account," he said. — Sapa.

SA can't keep out migrants, says Sebe

CAPE TOWN.—No police force, no rigid laws and no prisons in "White" South Africa, would curb the flow of African people from the homelands to the major cities, the chief minister-elect of the Ciskei, Mr Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

Nor, he said, would the "superficial" methods applied by authorities who believed that they could stop the influx by being tough.

The only answer was a crash programme to create jobs and to generate viable economies on the doorsteps of the homelands.

"Failing that you can build as many prisons as you like, but they will always be filled."

Mr Sebe is in Cape Town with a party of nearly 50 Ciskeian Legislative Assembly members, chiefs and senior councillors, who make up the entire governing structure of the homeland.

He said in an interview that the aim of the "public relations" tour was that chiefs, members of the assembly and senior councillors, who had not had the opportunity of being in a city such as Cape Town, could be exposed to the situations in which their subjects were working.

"At the same time we want to bring home to them that development is not the task of the few, but is the task of everybody in a developing country.

"Also, as it has been proved on this tour, they must realise that we have a great reservoir of goodwill from the White people."

Asked about migration of workers, Mr Sebe said: "If a man has common sense he will see where he must get his food. You cannot prevent that.

"So the only answer to the problem is a crash programme to create jobs at the doorsteps to the homelands." — Sapa.

GUIDANCE ON BLACK HOMES IN THE CITY

Mercury 30/10/75

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BLOEMFONTEIN—Every African who wished to take part in the house ownership scheme in urban African residential areas would be required to produce a certificate of citizenship of his homeland, the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. I. P. van Onselen, said here last night.

Addressing the 19th annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs on "the housing of Africans employed in White areas," Mr. van Onselen said this was a fundamental condition.

Although the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, had already made an announcement on the matter in Parliament, finality had not yet been reached on all the details, with the result that it had not yet been possible to issue directions to the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards.

He was, however, pleased to be able to disclose certain broad guide-lines, Mr. van Onselen said.

"The system of house ownership will be introduced in accordance with existing conditions and sanctions. It will, however, be an additional condition that every African who wishes to take part in the scheme will be required to identify himself with his appropriate homeland.

"It is appreciated, however, that in certain cases problems may be encountered in obtaining the certificate of citizenship immediately, and consideration is now being given to possible administrative ways of overcoming this problem.

"It should be noted that the condition will apply in all cases where application is made for the purchase of the right of occupation, erection, sale, additions to and transfer of dwellings," Mr. van Onselen said.

Consideration was being given to a method of provisional allocation of houses until such time as the certificate of citizenship was available.

The right of occupation would be for a period of 30 years which could be extended for further periods of 30 years or less.

Where Africans took up loans from administration boards, repayment of the loan would also be spread over a maximum of 30 years, at the interest rate prescribed in the regulations. The holder of the right of occupation, or the man who had built his own house, could then dispose of it as he deemed fit, within the directions of the existing regulations.

Where local authorities until recently, and at present the administration boards, were the only body to whom a house could be sold back. Any African who complied with the provisions laid down would now be able to purchase the house, and the administration boards would be the authority to whom a seller could turn as a last resort.

It had also been approved that the maximum amount which could be granted as a loan by the administration boards be increased from R500 to R650, and that the maximum cost of the house be increased from R900 to R1 200.

Any African who complied with the requirements would be free to obtain a loan from his employer, or financial institutions such as banks or building societies, for the purpose of building or buying his own house.

In such cases mortgages over the property could not be permitted. It would be possible, however, to take out notarial bonds on the right of occupation, with the consent of the administration board concerned, and over the movable property to the borrower.

Sales in execution could only take place in cases where the administration board had approved of the purchaser in terms of the existing regulations.

In cases where an employer had advanced the money and the employee concerned left, the employer reserved the right to lay claim to the house and, with the co-operation and approval of the administration board, allocate it to another employee on the basis of the amount still due on the house, and for a further 30 years.

The relevant regulations would, however, have to be adjusted.

The department was prepared to consider whether an African who qualified for family housing, but could not afford to rent a scheme house, should not be allowed to erect his own home.—(Sapa.)

(Sapa.)

F.M. 31/10/75

Giving and taking

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For sheer cynicism M C Botha's Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) is hard to beat. With one hand it offers leasehold rights to Africans in townships in the common area; with the other it greatly diminishes the attractions of the offer by making the obtaining of a lease conditional upon taking out citizenship of some or other Bantustan.

Presumably, housing rights are to be granted because government has finally accepted that city Blacks are entitled to be recognised as permanent residents with some sort of social and economic security. Introducing the citizenship requirement undermines this very philosophy.

According to "tentative estimates" by Erich Leistner and Willie Breytenbach of the Africa Institute in their recent booklet *The Black Worker of South Africa* 80% of the SA-born African population in towns in the common area have the "demographic characteristics" of a settled population. That amounts to 3,2m people.

These "permanently settled" people must surely have first claim on leaseholds. Does BAD really expect them suddenly to take out citizenship of some distant Bantustan some of them may never have seen and most of them do not want to go to?

No, Mr Botha. City Blacks are going to be very wary of taking out Bantustan citizenship. They have had far too much bitter experience of government's attempts to keep down the number of Africans in the common area by using the pass laws to endorse them out on one pretext or another. They are likely to see the leasehold-plus-citizenship deal as yet another ruse to diminish already tenuous privileges under Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

What, for instance, will happen to Xhosas who obtain leases? Since SA generally does not allow its nationals to have dual citizenship, people who take out citizenship of the independent Transkei stand to lose their SA citizenship. In the case of Africans, SA citizenship may not be worth very much at present. But if and when the Nationalists are thrown out of power its loss could well be something every African resident of SA would mourn.

What — if any — guarantee will government give Transkei citizens holding leases that it will not one day turn round to them and say: "Sorry, you are now foreigners and you must sell your leases and go to your new Homeland"?

While many of the sentiments in Botha's speech to the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, in Bloemfontein this week are obviously unexceptionable city Blacks will greet some of them with a yawn. Botha talks of a thorough investigation into the pass laws. But one of his proconsuls, Punt Janson, promised the same thing more than two years ago. What has happened to that investigation?

M C Botha . . . what is he playing at?

What has happened to the Du Randt committee's investigation of migratory labour (*FM* March 27)?

Ministers are obviously becoming more and more conscious of the virtues of good public relations work. But so far there is not much evidence that the noble rhetoric reflects real changes of policy.

lministration officials suitable appointments'

ıese, which contact be- ɜst.'

The Argus Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — A note of realistic appraisal seems to be creeping into Bantu administration. At least some of the 200 senior officials of the Institute of Administrators of non-European Affairs who have just ended their annual conference in Bloemfontein admitted that they had made some mistakes in the past.

'A lot of damage has been done in the past by appointing officials not suited to any other work to posts in Bantu administration,' said Mr Botha Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Western Cape.

'But I believe the time for these unsuitable appointments which were often to positions of contact between Black and White, is past.'

Mr Mulder, chairman of the West Rand Administration Board, solidly aligned himself with these sentiments.

'FAILURE'

'When I first went into local government, many years ago, it was the failure who was sent as an administrator to the Black areas.'

Mr J. D. van Heerden, a personnel expert who addressed the institute's conference, went so far as to warn the officials that the future of the country was more in the hands of people who deal with Blacks at work level — supervisors and Bantu administration officials — than in the deliberations of politicians.

Even this was accepted without murmur.

But Professor W. J. O. Jeppe, of the University of Stellenbosch, suggested Bantu administration officials should keep to securing the welfare of the Blacks in their areas rather than 'stressing ideological standpoints so strongly.'

Mr C. H. Kotze, secretary of the institute and chief director of the Central Transvaal Administration Board, disagreed.

A BLACK WELDER — Bantu Administration officials were told that because they dealt with Blacks at work level, the future of the country was more in their hands than in the deliberations of politicians.

way to move him is to build better facilities elsewhere. So he decides off his own bat to move to enjoy a better life.

'But to tell a man: "go" without providing all the facilities he has enjoyed — that is asking for trouble.

'Also, I do not believe the African will accept leasehold tenure. Like any person, he wants to feel he fully owns his home.'

But it was on a note of optimism that he concluded.

'I can sense there is a great change among people in South Africa. And I got the feeling that the few diehards still existing among the Bantu administration officials will be swept aside,' he said.

(From S. Hannig, 47 Street, Johannesburg.)

pa[illegible] in the political and [illegible]ological decision making,' he said.

But the point Professor Jeppe stressed was not taken up — that Blacks will be in the cities for many generations to come and there would be no social and political peace unless they were happily settled there.

DIFFERENCES

Several officials involved in African administration in Rhodesia were also present at the conference and in putting their philosophy of urban Black administration they underlined the huge differences between Rhodesian and South African policy.

In Rhodesian terms every Black man is first and foremost a Rhodesian. In South Africa he is firstly a member of an ethnic group with permanence only in a homeland.

After this he is, in broad terms, part of South Africa. This showed up clearly in the different approaches to urban Black administration between the two countries.

VIEWS

In an interview after the conference one of the Rhodesians — Councillor J. C. Kircos — chairman of the African Affairs and Health Committee of Umtali — gave his views of South Africa and urban Black administration.

'I do not believe for one minute that once a person has lived in a city and enjoyed urban life, you can shift him to some Bantustan,' he said.

'He is part and parcel of the city and the only

The Star

Wednesday November 5 1975

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

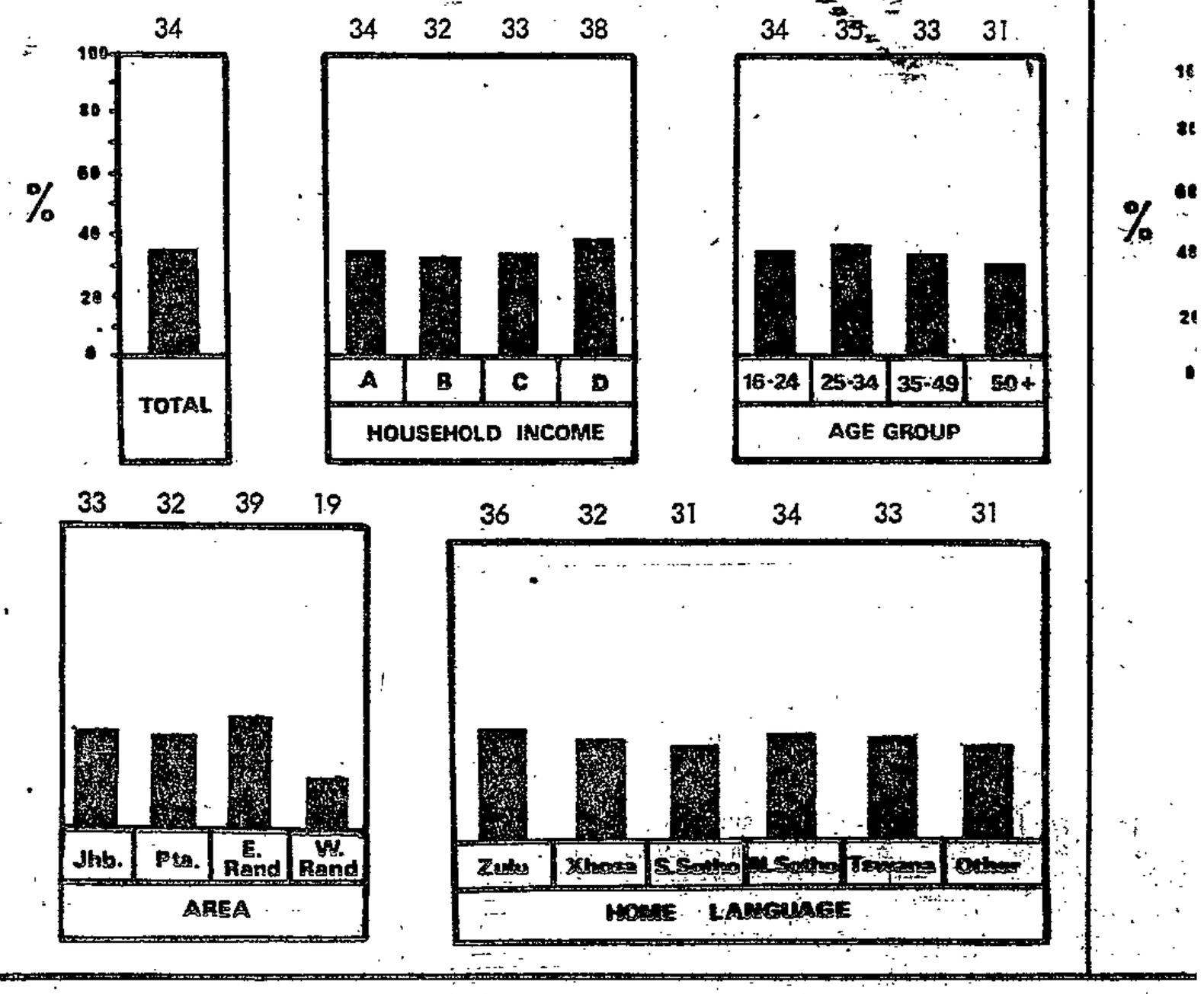
3/9

Blacks find little cheer in new homes plan

Most urban Africans have not heard of the new home-owners' scheme

QUESTION: Do you think the leasehold s

34% good idea



QUESTION: Will you try to buy your own house under this scheme?

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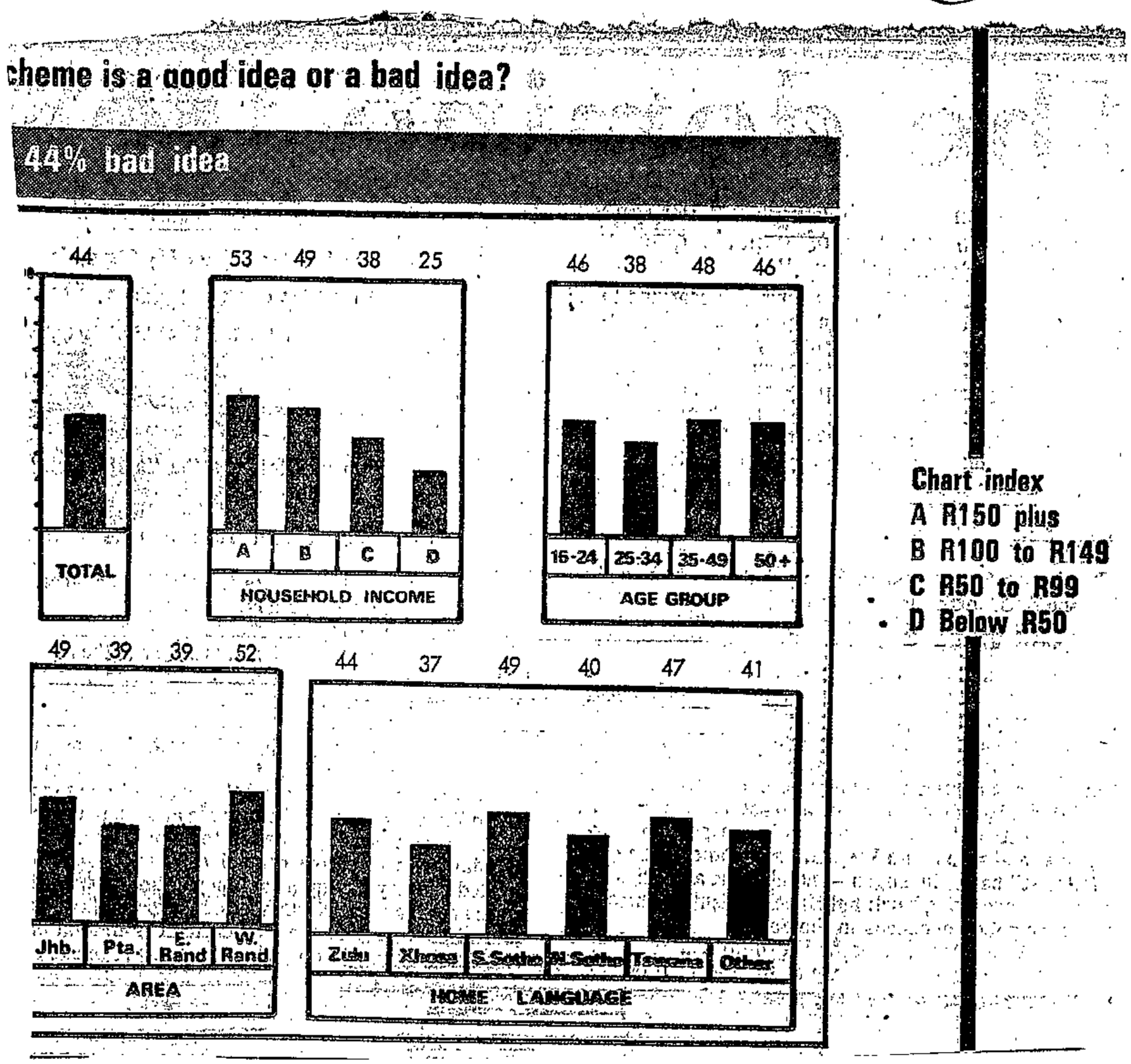

The figures are open to different interpretations because of the information gap which stopped most Africans from knowing about the scheme.

That 34% think it a good idea to allow leasehold rights in urban areas indicates that most of those who have heard of the scheme and know how it works approve of it.

But it does not mean that they do not think they should be allowed full freehold ownership of housing and land.

The poll also indicates that ignorance of what is happening has a direct correlation with poverty.

Although 55 percent of those with a household income of more than R150 a month had not heard of the scheme, the figure for those earning less than R50 a month was 85 percent.

The information gap also makes it difficult to judge whether the 44 percent who thought leasehold rights a bad idea based their opposition on anything substantial.

Their rejection of the scheme could mean that they are rejecting second best and are not prepared to settle for anything less than full freehold ownership of land in urban areas.

It could also mean that they know nothing of the scheme and when told about it they oppose it out of reflex suspicion of anything offered by the Government.

Most probably there is a mixture of motives. Thus the group expected to be best educated and most aware had a far higher rejection rate than that expected to be least aware of what was going on.

Fifty-three percent of those earning more than R150 a month are opposed to the leasehold scheme compared with a 25 percent rejection rate among those earning less than R50 a month.

The "don't know" rate was particularly high among those in the lowest income group — 37 percent had no opinion.

Home ownership apart the survey furnished important information about urban African areas.

● Vital information is not reaching a very large proportion of urban Blacks. This could be read as an indictment of the Bantu Affairs Boards, the Black Press and Radio Bantu.

● Only a very small section of urban Blacks has saved an amount of R200. (The figure is 11 percent.) This could either mean that most are unable to save because they are not paid enough or that many do not bother to save. Again the answer is probably a combination of the two reasons.

—*Kevin Stocks*

5/11/75

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in urban areas to obtain houses on 30 years leasehold.

Mr Alerton Asprey.

This is one of the major conclusions of The Star's first poll of urban African opinion. The poll was conducted by Market Research Africa.

It concentrates on attitudes to howeownership and the 1 000 respondents were asked the following questions:

(1) Have you heard of the new scheme which enables Black people to buy houses to live in for a period of 30 years?

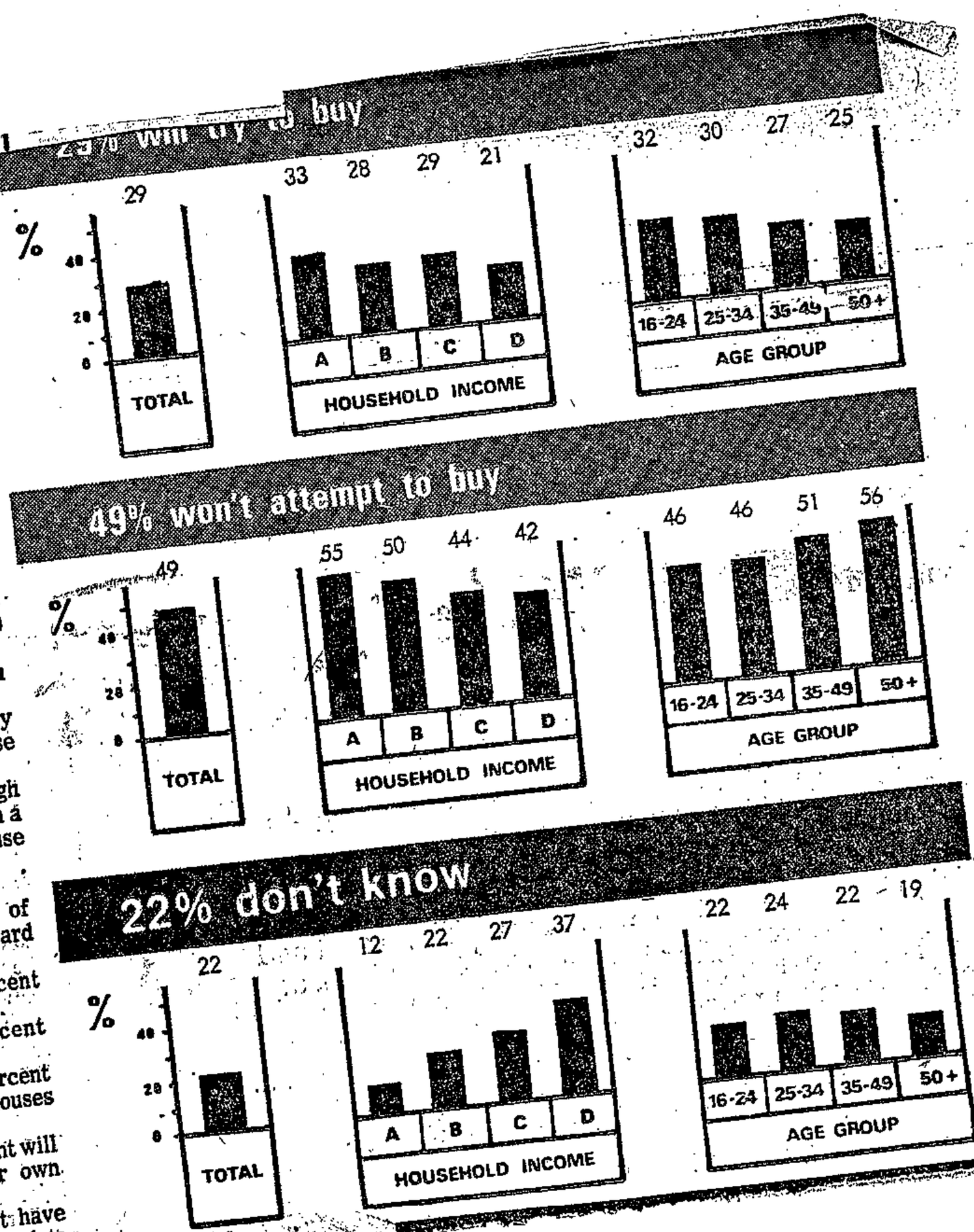
(2) Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?

(3) Will you personally try to buy your own house under this scheme?

(4) Do you have enough money saved to put down a deposit of R200 on a house under this scheme?

The answers showed:

- Only 36 percent of urban Africans have heard of the scheme.
- Thirty-four percent think it is a good idea.
- Forty-four percent think it a bad idea.
- Twenty-nine percent intend trying to buy houses under the scheme.
- Forty-nine percent will not try to buy their own leasehold houses.
- Only 11 percent have sufficient money saved to put down a R200 deposit.



Janson acts to prevent Black bus boycotts

W/ARGUS 8/11/75

PRETORIA. — A tariffs committee had been appointed to consider transport charges affecting Blacks, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr T. N. H. Janson, said here.

It would be the task of the committee to find effective ways of eliminating repeated bus boycotts and the unpleasantness which usually accompanied transport tariff increases, he said.

The committee, which would start functioning immediately, consisted of three members. They were Mr P. A. Gray, Deputy Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development, chairman, Mr D. J. Poolman, Deputy Secretary of Finance, and Mr H. C. van Zyl, Deputy Secretary of Transport.

RESULT

The Deputy Minister said the appointment of the committee was the result of discussions between himself and representatives of the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development, Finance and Transport.

Mr T. N. H. Janson

Where local road transportation boards had already approved tariff increases but had not yet put them into operation, the implementation of the tariff increases would be postponed pending an inspection in loco by the tariffs committee, the Deputy Minister said.

This, he said, would enable the tariffs committee to have consultations with the local authorities concerned, such as the Bantu Administration Board of the area, members of the local African community and representatives of the employers about the merits of the increase so as to determine to what extent the increase should be borne by the Government by way of subsidies, by employers by way of adjustment of wages and salaries and by the workers themselves.

LIMITS

In the long term the committee would, in consultation with organised employers' organisations, representatives of transport services and representatives of workers, determine ways and means of keeping future unavoidable tariff increases within limits.

It would also consider ways in which such unavoidable tariff increases could be applied so as not to affect the lower-paid Africans excessively, particularly in his daily needs. — Sapa.

Star 10.11.75

Chief attacks homeland citizenship

319

Do not write in this margin

Own Correspondent

MAFEKING — Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, says his Government totally rejects homeland citizenship as a prerequisite to leasehold rights for Blacks in urban areas.

He told the two-day congress of his ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, which ended yesterday in Mafeking, that it was imperative the South African Government accept that Blacks were permanent residents in urban areas.

His government had not diverted from its previous policy that urban Blacks should not be forced to take out homeland citizenship.

DISAGREED

Bopthuthatswana disagreed with some cardinal provisions of the Homeland Citizenship Act, particularly the qualification that one of the parents be Tswana before anyone was allowed to take homeland citizenship.

Although Bophuthatswana was aware urban and rural Tswana citizens were one people and all had a role to play in the development of the homeland, it was against forcing anyone to subscribe to a course with which it did not agree.

"If we had the power to decide finally, citizenship would be given on merit regardless of race or tribal affiliation," said the Chief Minister.

Homeland rule to register at birth

ARGUS 20/11/75

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Africans applying for birth certificates for their children are compelled to register them with a particular homeland even if they were born in an urban area.

This was intended to assist the children when they wished to go back to their homelands, said a spokesman of the Department of Bantu Administration in an interview in Johannesburg.

The spokesman said the homeland governments wanted their citizens to be registered with them and 'if they want to go back we help them that way.'

If for any reason, the spokesman said, a homeland government rejected the application for citizenship, the parent was free to apply to another homeland.

It was also revealed that if parents of a child, say, born in Johannesburg, came from outside South Africa, that child's citizenship was regarded as alien.

In a case where the father came from outside South Africa and the mother was a South African, then the citizenship of the mother is taken for purposes of classifying the child.

2. ~~239~~

3. ~~267~~

4. 319

(1) 239
(2) 101
(3) 319

Homeland registration denial

D.D. 20/11/75

PRETORIA — Reports claiming urban blacks had to register their children with the homelands before they could get birth certificates were incorrect, a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development said here yesterday.

The position was that parents were asked to fill in their homeland citizenship and ethnic group, or ethnic group alone if they were not homeland citizens, he said.

"This is definitely not a pre-condition for registering a birth, but it is certainly desirable that these parts on the form are filled in."

This was not a new provision, but was part of the implementation of the 1970 Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, the spokesman said. — SAPA.

MADAM, DID YOU KNOW THIS . . .

Star 28/4/75

+. 281
2. 246
3 319

Madam, it could take about a quarter of your servant's wages to get to work every morning.

In the past 10 years the cost of commuting from the Black townships to work has more than doubled — from about R4 upwards to more than R9.

But it is in the past few years that the pinch has really come for Black workers.

Their transport costs were kept low in the past by subsidies, but they have risen dramatically in the past three years.

Take Mrs Anna Buthelezi of Soweto, who has worked in Randburg for 10 years. Like thousands of Blacks who are forced to live far from their places of work, Mrs Buthelezi has to commute daily in uncomfortable and irritating situations to earn R40 a month as a domestic servant.

Rises at 4.30 am

She says: "Nearly a quarter of my salary is spent on travelling to work. If for any reason I have to visit a relative or friend at weekends or take a sick child to hospital, I spend even more — and that means I have to forego something to eat."

She gets up at 4.30 am and leaves home at 5 am to reach work by 7.30 am.

She has to change transport three times in the morning and three times in the afternoon.

She takes a Putco bus from near her Emdeni township home to travel to Naledi station where she catches a train into the city. In town she walks eight blocks to catch another bus to Randburg.

In all she pays R9,55 a month for her transport against the R4,20 of 10 years ago.

The Railways, which carries 200 000 workers a day from the Black townships, has steadily raised fares over the past 10 years.

A Factory Worker

In 1965, for instance, a third class monthly ticket from Naledi in Soweto to Johannesburg was R2,50. Today it is R4.

For an Orlando resident who paid R1,48 in 1965, the rail fare has gone up to R3,24 for a monthly ticket.

Mr Sello Maphekela, a factory worker, lives in Diepkloof, Soweto, and has to get a train to his place of work in Jeppe. He first catches a bus near his home at 6.30 am each day to get to Orlando Station 6 km away.

His transport to work costs R9 a month on average, but again this does not include travelling he does in leisure time.

Adding visits to friends and relatives at weekends could mean another R10 a month because he may often have to get taxis. In other words, he is likely to spend a total of about R20 a month on transport out of his R82 salary.

"It seems we are earning our money to pay for getting to work," says Mr John Kambule, of Orlando East, who uses taxis and Putco buses to commute to Steeledale, where he works. He pays R8 a month for taxi fares and R6,80 a month for the bust trip.

Rising Costs

As Putco is pushing up its fares by up to 14 percent from the beginning of next month, Mr Kambule and about 32 000 other workers who us

Mr Albino Carleo, managing director of Putco, said his company was justified in asking for the increase because of the rise in costs. "We have to continually review and revise fares," he said.

Mr T J Makhaya, Soweto's "mayor," has repeatedly called on employers of Black labour to improve wages to meet costly daily travelling.

He, and members of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council have even made strong representations to Government bodies and employers of large Black labour for increases.

Dissatisfaation over fare rises in many parts of the country have often become focal points for expressing resentment and frustration.

Bus Boycotts

In 1957, 50 000 residents of Johannesburg's Alexandra Township daily walked 28 km to and from the city for nearly three months rather than pay increased bus fares.

It was the cry heard in 1971, at strife-torn Gelvandale outside Port Elizabeth, and echoed once more in East London environs during an eight-week bus boycott last year.

Recently at Newcastle, in Natal, production and lives were again lost as the boycott, taking 180 buses off the road, dominated a riotous and tension-ridden month. The fares have been reduced to their previous level pending an inquiry.

These events have focussed attention on the delicate financial balance that exists in Black society where a rise in cost which the average White person does not notice places an unbearable burden on the mass of Black people.

Langa Skosana

Homeland leaders not consulted on property rights

(319)

ARGUS 4/12/75

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Homeland leaders did not co-operate with the South African Government in making homeland citizenship a prerequisite to leasehold rights to urban Blacks, Gazankulu's Chief Minister, Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, said in Soweto.

The Chief Minister told about 800 Shangaans at the official installation of Mr B. B. R. Shilubana, Assistant Urban Representative of the Gabankulu Legislative Assembly, at the Eyethu Cinema, that Government acted on its own in formulating conditions under which urban Blacks could obtain leasehold rights.

Homeland leaders were neither consulted nor co-operated with the Central Government.

In their meeting with the Prime Minister in Cape Town early this year the leaders asked that Urban Blacks be given rights to own homes and businesses and allowed to own land 'with no strings attached.'

'The Prime Minister promised to look into the matter, and the result is the prerequisite that has been attached to leasehold rights,' Professor Ntsanwisi said.

'I want to assure all Blacks living in urban areas that we (homeland leaders) did not tie citizen-

Professor Ntsanwisi

ship with our proposals for better living conditions for our people.'

There was no way Blacks could be 'expelled' from urban areas, where most of them were born and brought up. Others did not know what 'homelands' meant to them.

'South Africa belongs to Blacks and Whites, and therefore Blacks should not be considered as sojourners in towns and cities. They must be accepted as permanent and cannot be expelled from those areas.'

All South Africans had common interest and the spirit of interdependence should be encouraged regardless of people's colour and political affiliation.

Homes clause —Chief points at Vorster

STAR 1/12/75

Staff Reporter

Homeland leaders did not co-operate with the South African Government in making homeland citizenship a prerequisite to leasehold right to urban Blacks it is claimed.

The Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor H W E Ntsanwisi, said in Soweto yesterday that the homeland leaders were not consulted.

The central Government acted on its own in laying down the conditions of leasehold rights.

The Chief Minister told about 800 Shangaans at the official installation of Mr B B R Shilubana, assistant urban representative of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly that in their meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in Cape Town early this year the leaders asked that urban Blacks be given rights to own homes and businesses and allowed to own land "with no strings attached."

"The Prime Minister promised to look into the matter and the result is the prerequisite that has been attached to leasehold rights," Professor Ntsanwisi asserted.

"I want to assure all Blacks living in urban areas that we (homeland leaders) did not tie citizenship with our proposals for better living conditions for our people."

There was no way Blacks could be "expelled" from urban areas where most of them were born and brought up.

DID NOT KNOW

Others did not know what "homelands" meant to them.

He continued: "South Africa belongs to Blacks and Whites — and therefore Blacks should not be considered as sojourners in towns and cities.

"They must be accepted as permanent and cannot be expelled from those areas."

All South Africans had common interests and the spirit of inter-dependence should be encouraged regardless of people's colour and political affiliation, he claimed.

'No strings attached'

RDM 1/12/75

Staff Reporter

AN enthusiastic crowd of more than 1 000 people packed the Eyetu Cinema to standing capacity and cheered Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, when he rejected conditions set by the Government for home ownership by Blacks in the urban areas.

The Chief Minister led instead, for land ownership, because, he said, there were thousands of Africans who had no connection with the homelands, and who should not be regarded as sojourners.

He said when homeland leaders reached agreement with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in Cape Town in 1973, "there were no strings attached."

PS 23.9.1975

Cape Times 12/12/75

Squatters' lot 'unimproved'

293

320

DR A L BORAINE MP for Pinelands said yesterday, after visiting the Crossroads squatter camp for a second time in recent months, that he had listened to many of the residents and it was quite clear that the situation had not improved.

Dr Boraine said: "Most of the women I talked with were particularly concerned about the behaviour of some of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board inspectors. I am quite sure there are exceptions, and I am only too aware of the difficulty of their work, but as a group, the inspectors are regarded as rude and rough.

NO RESPECT

"According to those with whom I spoke, they show little or no concern for pregnant women and women with infants, and often swear and show a degrading lack of respect."

He said that Brigadier J H van der Westhuizen, in a recent letter to the press referred to the "need to implement law," when in fact at Crossroads, "the board is systematically disrupting family life and ignoring the provisions of the law which make it possible to legalize the position of a significant portion of the families."

Dr Boraine said that the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945 (as amended) makes provision for men who have "earned" the right to live in Cape Town to have their families with them.

Have you found staff and tutors. Comment

12. Should there be more or fewer tests? Essays and tutorial exercises?

13. General comment

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Trader's cancelled pass 'gross insult to Blacks'

RDM 13/12/75

Staff Reporter

THE cancellation of Mr Solomon Moema's work permit was "a gross insult to the Black people," the chairman of Soweto Urban Bantu Council, Mr T. J. Makhaya, said yesterday.

He had hoped there would be no further incidents like it because he had asked the homeland leaders to take up the case of self-employed Black businessmen when they met Mr Vorster earlier in the year.

Mr Makhaya angrily reacted to Mr Moema's case after reading about it in the "Mail" yesterday.

Mr Moema, who owns a hairdresser's and general dealer's shop, went to the labour office on Thursday to register two employees.

An official, Mr McCarthy asked why there was no employer's endorsement in his pass. Although Mr Moema said he had no employer — he was entirely his own boss — the pass was cancelled.

Mr Makhaya said: "We very much detest the signing of Black businessmen's reference-books by labour officials. This does not happen with other race groups.

We regard Mr Moema's case as a gross insult to the Black people.

"It is time the procedure was changed and I appeal to senior officials to do something about it.

"Unless the matter is rectified soon, I shall summon my fellow councillors to consider further steps of protest."

Mr Moema phoned the "Mail" yesterday and said Mr McCarthy had reversed his decision after he had read a letter from Mr S. Ras, chief labour officer, who had said a mistake had been made.

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Six to get top jobs in Bantu Board

Mercury Reporter

AFRICANS are to fill new senior supervisory positions at the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board for the first time next year.

Six senior posts — the highest held by Africans within the entire Board — have been created to fill needs within the Board's Department of Business Undertakings, according to its director, Mr. Pierre Neethling.

"My department's aim is to improve customer relations while offering increased responsibility and economic advancement to our own employees," he said.

The six men who have been with the board for between 8 and 20 years and have a thorough knowledge of the sorghum beer and liquor markets, are Messrs. M. Hlanti, A. Lushaba, B. J. Mhlongo, C. Mkize, W. C. Ndlovu and D. Nkhonza.

Mr. Neethling said they would conduct market surveys when necessary, supervise staff, recommend the appointment of agents and "generally be the eyes and ears of our marketing division in the market place."