A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS: 1953-54

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
1953 — 1954

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During the period surveyed(1) most of the European political organizations have been endeavouring to clarify their policies or striving to re-define their aims, while the major Non-European organizations have been engaged in planning their tactics for the future.

National Party*

In face of the fear which most white South Africans have of ultimate “black domination,” the National Party’s apartheid policy, which led to electoral success in 1948, secured an increased majority in 1953. The broad outlines of this policy had previously been defined, and these were largely translated into law during the first five years of the present Government’s regime; but the practical and detailed implications of this policy have in many instances been clarified only in recent months. It was inevitable, as the time came for broad policies to be worked out in practice, that more precise definitions would be called for; but the immediate challenge was a Parliamentary debate, initiated by the Opposition, on the “integration” of Africans into the South African economy.

In speeches on this and subsequent occasions, the Minister of Native Affairs averred(2) that in no circumstances could “integration” mean the mere presence of the African in industries and on farms in “European” areas. “One can have these workers present,” he said, “without incorporating them in one’s society . . . While on the one hand we are taking the present economic set-up into account and making use of the available labour, we are not going to entrench it in our economic, social and political structure . . . Integration is incorporation.”

There were two main trends of thought on the question of integration, the Minister said. One group accepted it as unavoidable, and the other opposed it and sought a solution, having regard to all the difficulties. This second attitude was that of the Government, which wanted to keep South Africa white and wanted separation in all spheres between Europeans and Non-Europeans to continue to be applied to an increasing extent. “The National Party says,” the Minister remarked, “Our immediate task is to lay the foundations and in regard to segregation to go a certain distance which is within immediate reach . . . In the course of time there can be fewer and

(1) 1 October 1953—30 September 1954.
* In The Cape Coloured Franchise Prof. L. M. Thompson writes, “Dr Malan’s Party is commonly called the ‘Nationalist’ Party but Dr Malan has justifiably disputed this rendering, because the correct English translation of the Afrikaans word ‘Nasionale’ is ‘National’. The ‘(Herenigde) Nasionale Party’ is therefore the ‘(Reunited) National Party’; but a member of it is a ‘Nasionals’—a ‘Nationalist’.”

(2) Assembly Hansard No. 17, 2 June 1954, Cols. 6143, 6145.
(3) Assembly Hansard No. 3, 18 February 1954, Cols. 795—797.
fewer Natives (in 'European' areas) . . . one can make that separation wider and wider . . . At the end of that long process one can foresee fewer Natives (in 'European' areas) . . . one can make that separation wider and wider . . .

In these and other speeches the Minister made it clear that while the Government recognized that there would be African labourers in the towns for a considerable period in the future, and while they would be given housing in segregated townships for as long as their labour was required, they would have no property rights to land there, and social separation would continue. Industrial colour bars would be maintained and reinforced, and Africans would be denied access to trade unions or to any political or other institutions by means of which they might eventually come to exercise power over Europeans. The Government would see to it that the farms received enough labour: “these widely separated Natives constitute no danger.”

The economic, social and political aspirations of Africans must be satisfied in their own areas, where the fullest development would be encouraged. A class of full-time African farmers would gradually be developed in the Reserves, with a superstructure of teachers, ministers, traders, and so on. In order to absorb the remainder, efforts would be made to attract industry to suitable sites on the borders of the Reserves, workers in these factories living in dormitory towns in their own areas, where freehold title would be available to them.

It is of interest that at the last census, in 1951, a little over two million Africans were in urban areas, probably one-third or more of these being permanently resident there. About three million were on European farms, and about three-and-a-half million in the Reserves; of the latter, a large proportion will have to move off the land if these areas are ever to be effectively rehabilitated.

The Prime Minister is reported to have said recently that the alarming thing about the present situation was that directly or indirectly the Non-European population was beginning to believe more than ever that apartheid means suppression.

**United Party**

Completely disconcerted by its defeat in the 1948 and 1953 elections, which were fought largely on racial issues, the United Party found that its traditional Non-European policy required re-thinking. Considerable difference of opinion developed within its ranks and in consequence no clear-cut policy has yet emerged.

During a debate on the Part Appropriation Bill in the Assembly on 15 February 1954, Prof. I. S. Fourie, a United Party member and economist, talked of South Africa's unbalanced cost structure and maintained that only if the country had a steadily rising income could the increasing State expenditure be afforded. For this to be possible, realistic use must be made of labour resources. Economic integration, which was a fact and had developed over 300 years, was in the interest of the whole country. Furthermore, one could not support economic integration and for ever-more maintain political apartheid.

A lively debate on Non-European policies then took place, during which the Hon. J. G. N. Strauss, leader of the United Party, rose to say that his Party accepted economic integration as a fact, and appreciated its value to the country. Both White and Black had benefited. The Party recognized that the majority of Africans lived outside the Reserves, most of these knowing no environment other than that of the towns or European farms. If returned to power, one of the United Party's first priorities would be to ameliorate the lot of the tens of thousands of people suffering through a lack of sufficient housing, while retaining social and residential segregation. Non-Europeans would be given individual training in the service of their people. On the political issue, the Party would put first things first. It would re-establish the Natives Representative Council and give this body a measure of executive power. So far as representation in central governing bodies was concerned, the Party stood by the 1936 settlement. It did not say that this settlement was the height of wisdom: certain unsatisfactory features had emerged. It would measure and test its policy against the facts of 1954. “History teaches us very simply and plainly,” he said, “that economic power is the forerunner of claims for a say in the political set-up of the country.”

In a subsequent press statement Mr Strauss said that it was fundamental to United Party policy that a growing measure of municipal self-government, under European supervision, should be granted in self-contained Native townships. Portions of such townships would be set aside where security of tenure under appropriate safeguards would be available to Africans who had progressed beyond the need for sub-economic housing.

Early in 1954, provincial committees of prominent Party members commenced a detailed study of Non-European problems, and, following discussion with divisional committees, they drew up reports for provincial congresses held during September and October. A Union co-ordinating committee will thereafter draft a revised Non-European policy for discussion at the Union congress in November 1954.

**Independent Wing of the United Party**

As already stated, following defeat in the 1948 and 1953 elections, considerable difference of opinion developed within the United Party.
mainly on Non-European policies. Five "right-wing rebels," led by Mr. P. Bailey Bekker, held independent conversations with the Prime Minister on the Coloured vote issue, refused support for the United Party Leader at caucus meetings, and expressed disagreement with the Party line. In October 1953 they were expelled. A sixth "rebel" resigned from the caucus in January to join them, and they formed themselves into an independent wing of the United Party. Recently, in August 1954, their leader announced that they had formed a new political party: its name would be decided at its first congress, but would probably be the National Conservative Party or the S.A. Conservative Party.

The clearest exposition of their views was given by Mr. Bekker during the Budget debate(18) when he discussed "the essential problem of our continued existence in South Africa, namely racial relations." In an amendment, he moved that every effort should be made to promote the fullest co-operation between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans; that the essential features of the South Africa Act should remain intact, especially the manner in which the entrenched clauses may be amended and the unassailability of the status of courts of law; and that the Union should remain a member of the Commonwealth. His motion called for the development of a Native policy on the basis of the 1936 Acts. Africans should be incorporated into the labour force and their economic advancement promoted, while colour bars were retained. There should be strict influx control, no ownership of land by Africans in the towns, and separate housing in townships where in the course of time they should obtain more civic responsibilities. Increased political rights in the Reserves under European supervision should gradually be granted. Comprehensive housing, health, transport and educational schemes for Non-Europeans were required.

S.A. Labour Party

The S.A. Labour Party accepts the fact of economic integration. Foreseeing the challenge to the European worker it has advocated a policy of "equal pay for equal work" and security of employment at standard rates of pay for Europeans.

The economic and social aspects of its policy, adopted at the annual conference in January 1953, were outlined in our last Survey(11). Its National Executive has since adopted a revised policy of political representation. The Party declares that as a matter of principle it accepts the universal franchise for all adult literate inhabitants, but, realizing the need for the implementation of the franchise for Non-Europeans in stages, it advocates the following reforms:

(a) All Coloured adults, men and women, in the Union and South-West Africa, to be granted a vote on the common roll if possessing the qualifications at present required of Coloured male voters in the Cape. This to apply to Provincial as well as Parliamentary elections.

(b) Present arrangement in regard to representation in the Assembly of Africans in the Cape to be retained, but African women to be enfranchised. On the basis of a Std. V franchise qualification African men and women in remaining provinces to elect three Members of Parliament for the Transvaal and two each for Natal and the Orange Free State. Similar representation to be granted in each Provincial Council. The same voters to elect two Senators from each province, and the four nominated senatorships to be abolished.

(c) Asiatic men and women in the Cape and Transvaal to have the same franchise rights as those recommended for Coloured people (i.e. a vote on the common roll if possessing certain qualifications). Those in Natal to elect three Members of Parliament, three members of the Provincial Council, and two Senators.

(d) No disqualification on the grounds of colour should debar a Non-European of any racial group from election to Parliament or Provincial Councils.

The municipal franchise for Non-Europeans is recommended too. Coloured people to vote on the common roll, and Africans and Indians to elect their own representatives.

Union Federal Party

The main concern of the Union Federal Party, formed in May 1953, is that the constitution should be safeguarded. It refuses to accept the theory that a republic can be instituted by a legal process, and advocates a greater decentralization of authority to the provinces and their right in given circumstances (e.g. declaration of a republic or violation of the constitution) to secede from the Union.

Its concern over the preservation of the constitution and the entrenched clause dealing with equal language rights for English and Afrikaans led the Party to consider the other entrenched clause dealing with Non-European voting rights, and to formulate a policy designed to promote racial harmony. This policy was outlined in our last Survey.(12)

Since then, at its first congress in March, the Party announced its acceptance of economic integration and (subject to the necessity of protecting skilled labour against undercutting of wages) the right of Non-Europeans to enter all fields of employment for which they can fit themselves. Freethold title should be available to Africans in urban areas and agricultural settlements. Limited direct representation of Non-Europeans should be provided for in the Senate and Provincial Councils (present arrangements in the Cape being retained).

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(18) Assembly Hansard No. 10, 6 April 1954, Cols. 3459—3461.
and representation of Non-Europeans in the Senate should be by Non-Europeans.

Senator G. H. Heaton Nicholls, the leader of the Party, moved in Parliament during February that the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 be amended to allow Africans to be represented by Africans in the Senate: his motion was defeated by 22 votes to 15.

Following the Natal Provincial elections in June, at which all 17 Party candidates were defeated although 20,500 votes were cast for them, Senator Heaton Nicholls announced his resignation from the Senate. He would, he said, continue to lead the Party, and his action should not affect the position of the Party's remaining member in the Senate.

**Liberal Party**

During the past year the Liberal Party has received growing support. Its three candidates in the Natal Provincial elections secured only 385 votes between them, but the whole issue was there confused by federalism. Its candidate at Simon's Town in the Cape Provincial elections obtained 1,109 votes, about one-fifth of the total cast. At the by-election early in 1954 of a Parliamentary representative of Africans in the Cape Western circle, its candidate was defeated by an opponent with extreme views who, under the Suppression of Communism Act, was then deemed incapable of taking her seat in the Assembly, but at the elections held towards the end of the year, two Liberal Party candidates who stood for election as African representatives were returned unopposed: they were Mrs V. M. L. Ballinger, Leader of the Party, in the Cape Eastern circle (Assembly), and Senator L. Rubin as the Cape (excluding Transkei) representative in the Senate. Further Liberal Party candidates are standing for election in the other two Cape circles and in the Transvaal-Orange Free State Senate seat: results are not known at the time of going to press.

While continuing to stipulate that it will employ only democratic and constitutional means to achieve its objects, the Liberal Party has recognized that it must adopt a more radical approach if it is to gain increasing Non-European support. Its Provincial Congress held in Cape Town during May recommended that all steps consistent with the Party's declared policy be taken to co-operate with the African National Congress in its struggle for the removal of all discrimination against the African people. The congress held in Durban in July resolved to work closely with representative Non-European bodies; and a revised franchise policy was adopted. The Party at first recommended a qualified franchise for all adult citizens, irrespective of race (13). It now advocates universal adult suffrage, with common voters' rolls, to be introduced in stages to be determined by interim qualifications applicable to all racial groups and designed to create an informed electorate and to provide opportunity for obtaining political experience.

(13) See last Survey, page 5, for details of the policy.

**State of the Parties in the Assembly and Provincial Councils**

Following the formation of the Independent Wing of the United Party, the state of the parties in the House of Assembly was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Party</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Party</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent United Party</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Party</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Party</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives' Representatives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a political broadcast following the 1953 general election, the Hon. J. G. N. Strauss said that through the anomalous electoral laws the National Party had gained 51 per cent. of the seats though it obtained only 45 per cent. of the votes. In the 1954 provincial elections, however, allowing for unopposed returns, it was estimated that the Nationalists polled more votes than did the combined opposition.

**African National Congress**

The basic aims of the African National Congress were restated at the 43rd Annual Conference of the Cape Branch held at Uitenhage in June. Mr A. J. Luthuli, the President-General of the A.N.C., and Prof. P. K. Matthews are both reported to have urged the necessity for racial harmony and co-operation between Black and White. The aim of their organization was by non-violent methods to achieve a united democratic community, in which all would have equal rights.

Dr J. Z. L. Njongwe, President of the Cape Branch, formulated the more detailed aims as:

(a) Unity among Africans.
(b) Universal suffrage for all citizens over the age of 18.
(c) Redistribution of land, and the right of all to own and buy land anywhere.
(d) Equal opportunity of employment for all.
(e) Abolition of the colour bar in industry, and freedom of the worker to sell his labour in the highest market, including the right of collective bargaining.
(f) Freedom of association, movement and speech.
Since the abolition of the Natives Representative Council in 1951, and more particularly since the Defiance Campaign of 1952, membership of the African National Congress has grown greatly (from 7,000 in 1951 to well over 100,000 by the end of 1952, it is claimed). A number of delegates to the Uitenhage conference appeared in uniforms consisting of khaki blouses and skirts or khaki shirts and trousers, with brown berets and lapel badges depicting the A.N.C. symbol — a map of Africa and a clenched hand with upraised thumb.

Other Non-European Organizations

There have been no changes of policy in the main Non-European organizations. Most of these, for example the S.A. Indian Congress, S.A. Coloured People’s Organization, Non-European Unity Movement, Anti-C.A.D., etc. stand for full franchise rights for all non-white South Africans.

Christian Council of South Africa

At its meeting in January 1954, the Christian Council appointed a committee to study the question of religious liberty in present circumstances in South Africa.

Anglican Church

In October 1953, a statement was issued to clarify the attitude of the Bishops of the Anglican Church to racial policies. They believed, it said, that it was morally wrong to follow a policy which had as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in a permanent position of authority, and they believed that racial discrimination as practised in South Africa was directed to this end. The only morally defensible policy was one giving the fullest opportunity of development to the members of all racial groups. It had been suggested that it would be possible to keep these groups separate and yet to give each equal opportunities of economic and cultural development: the Bishops did not believe that this was practicable.

Methodist Church

Also in October 1953, a conference of the Methodist Church stated its belief that in the application of the principle of apartheid through successive legislative Acts the potentialities of men and women as individuals had been ignored. Differentiation made had been mass differentiation on the ground of colour alone. In such circumstances, injustice was inevitable. Failure openly to recognize the fact that the Non-European was already an integral part of our general population and essential to our economy had led to a form of apartheid which operated just so far as it suited the needs of the Europeans.

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Other Churches

The conferences convened by the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches are described on page 17, and the attitude of the Churches to proposals under the Bantu Education Act on page 102.

International Meeting of the World Council of Churches

At a meeting of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois, in August 1954, which was attended by delegates from South African Churches, the Assembly adopted a resolution that segregation based on race, colour or ethnic origin was contrary to the Gospel and was incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. No dissenting voice was raised, although there were some abstentions from voting. The Assembly recognized that many Churches found themselves confronted by historical, political, social and economic circumstances which might make the immediate achievement of non-segregation extremely difficult, but expressed confidence in their strength and courage to overcome such difficulties.

Two South Africans were elected to the 90-member Central Committee set up to carry into effect as nearly as possible the decisions made and goals established: they were the Rev. C. B. Brink, Moderator of the Nederlandse Hervormde Gereformeerde Kerk in the Transvaal, and the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

S.A. Institute of Race Relations

There has been no change in the Institute’s attitude, which was summarized by Mr Quintin Whyte, its Director, in the publication Go Forward in Faith: the Logic of Economic Integration published in 1952.

In February 1954, the Prime Minister sent to the Rev. J. H. Pietsma, of Grand Rapids, U.S.A., the “frank description” the latter had asked for of the apartheid policy, and this letter was published in the press. The Institute sent a reply to the Prime Minister in April, later releasing copies to the press. Both letters have since been published by the Institute.

In its reply, the Institute referred to the Prime Minister’s statement that a “fundamental difference” exists between Black and White and that “the difference in colour is merely the physical manifestation of the contrast between two irreconcilable ways of life, between barbarism and civilization and between heathenism and Christianity.” The Prime Minister, the Institute said, continued to equate “black” with “barbarism,” yet he referred to the great work of missionaries in converting the heathen to Christianity. The Institute submitted that the missionary who sought to convert the heathen denied, in so doing, that differences are fundamental and irreconcilable, for his action rested on the belief that man can be and
often is fundamentally changed. The whole history of the Western world was one of progress from tribal barbarism to civilization and from heathenism to Christianity. The identification of skin colour with permanent cultural difference was not valid scientifically, and the Institute must, therefore, reject the view that the differences between different ethnic groups are unchangeable.

This basic premise of the Prime Minister's seemed to underlie his whole concept of "separate development", and of the consequent duty of the Church to help preserve "intact" the "national identity" of the black group. Such national identity would appear, according to the Prime Minister's theory, to rest on tribal — and therefore primitive — foundations, with social and economic rights pegged permanently at a lower level than those of the Europeans. The theory was already an anchronism: vast numbers of Africans, permanently settled in the towns, were no longer tribal in their habits and outlook; among them a growing proportion had already assimilated — wholly or partially — Western culture. But such persons did not desire to be racially assimilated.

The Prime Minister stated that apartheid furthered "basic human rights," and "does not begrudge the non-white the attainment of a social status commensurate with his highest aspirations." The Institute submitted that nowhere in the present political and economic structure of South Africa were possibilities of such attainment to be discovered; and that nowhere in the Government's policies was any relaxation of restrictions envisaged, even in areas where the ferment of civilization were most rapidly at work. No ground for hope was given to the millions of non-whites who were not in a Native Reserve. The Institute was, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the only interpretation possible of the phrase "basic human rights" compatible with the policy of apartheid was one which would assign inferior human rights to the black group because it was black.

The Prime Minister wrote back to say that he had carefully studied the Institute's criticisms. To his mind they revealed nothing in regard to its general point of view and attitude which was not already well known to him, and further comment on his part therefore seemed to be unnecessary.

**S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs**

Little has been heard by the general public, during the past year, of the plans and work of S.A.B.R.A. It continues to advocate a policy of gradual, complete territorial separation of Europeans and Africans, with free and separate development. At the S.A.B.R.A. Congress in Bloemfontein during January, it was reported that the Executive Committee had formulated a provisional policy regarding Cape Coloured people, based on the view that, unlike the Africans,

(14) The policy is set out in *Integration or Separate Development?*, Stellenbosch, 1952.

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they should not develop in separate reserves but as an independent unit within South Africa's political and social structure.

Prominent members of S.A.B.R.A. attended the Lahore Conference on Race Relations in the Commonwealth, the Honolulu Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective, and the International Meeting of the World Council of Churches.

**II THE PLANS AND ACTIVITIES OF NON-EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS AND THOSE WORKING IN CO-OPERATION WITH THEM**

**Proposed Congress of the People Conference**

In December 1953, the African National Congress, at a meeting in Queenstown, deplored the recent deterioration in race relations and expressed the view that only a national convention representative of all racial groups could improve the situation. Thereafter, during March, executive committee members of the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, the S.A. Coloured People's Organization and the S.A. Congress of Democrats met in Natal, under the chairmanship of Mr A.J. Luthuli, to discuss the organization of a Congress of the People, which would be called to work out a "freedom charter." A National Action Council was appointed.

Details of the plan were announced at A.N.C. meetings in March and June, and at large inter-racial meetings of specially-invited persons held in Johannesburg, Durban and other centres during July and August. The aim, it was explained, was to get the people themselves to say how they would be governed in a democratic South Africa. The movement would be non-violent, and not "anti" anyone. Hundreds of meetings would be arranged in towns and non-European townships, factories, mines, shops, farms and the Reserves, and a network of cells and local committees formed through which the people would be asked to send in their demands and their grievances, however small these might be. 50,000 "freedom volunteers" were called for to make themselves available to the organizers for whatever work was necessary.

The climax of the campaign would be a Congress of the People, to be held not later than June 1955. It would be a mass assembly of delegates elected by local cells and committees, about one for every twenty persons. Special trains and "freedom marches" would if possible be arranged. At the congress a "Freedom Assembly" would be elected to draft a "freedom charter" based on the demands and grievances sent in by the people.

(19) See page 30.

(18) See page 30.

(1) A European organization, formed late in 1952, which was in sympathy with the motives of the Defiance Campaign and set out to place opposition to laws deemed unjust on a non-racial basis.
Official observers from the Institute attended meetings in Johannesburg and Durban called to discuss these plans. They considered that the word “freedom” had been given no context, and that the movement needed a different direction if it was to produce constructive results. The impression had been given that the mere declaration of grievances and demands would bring about their satisfaction. No complementary obligations had been mentioned, such as the need for increased work and output if the country was to be able to provide expanded health, social and other services. The organization was clearly designed to make as broad a mass appeal as possible and would probably succeed in carrying the Congress message further afield.

Economic boycott arranged by the Cape Branch of the African National Congress

At a conference of the African National Congress held in Queens-town in December 1953, it was resolved that, with the approval of headquarters in every case, branches would arrange a boycott of selected shops, business undertakings and government enterprises in which Africans were not paid living wages or given adequate opportunities, or in which African customers did not receive proper treatment. Such boycott have so far been applied only in the Eastern Cape, and there to an extremely limited extent, being localized in the Sunday’s River Valley, a concentrated settlement of citrus, lucerne and dairy farmers. There are a number of small storekeepers there who serve all races, but the main portion of their business comes from African farm labourers. The African National Congress, whose members are particularly zealous in the Eastern Cape area, arranged for the labourers to boycott certain of these storekeepers, and it is understood that one or two of them have in consequence been forced to close down and that others have suffered heavy financial loss. It is also understood that the Congress hopes to widen the boycott in the near future and even to extend it in such a way as to restrict the availability of labour during the citrus picking season. For reasons which are not yet clear, attempts at boycotts in Port Elizabeth and Vleiplaas did not meet with success.

“Resist Apartheid” Conference

A mass protest conference was held in Johannesburg on 27 June convened by the Transvaal Branch of the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the S.A. Congress of Democrats (Johannesburg), the S.A. Coloured People’s Organization (Johannesburg), and the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. About 1,200 delegates from Transvaal organizations, including about 30 Europeans, were present, according to estimates in the press. A resolution was passed expressing opposition to the Western Areas removal scheme, the Group Areas Act, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, the Bantu Education Act and the Industrial Conciliation Bill.

Proposed Federation of South African Women

During April 1954, a conference of about 150 women delegates of all racial groups, and coming from many different parts of the country, was held in Johannesburg. It was claimed that they represented 230,000 women.

A Women’s Charter was drawn up expressing the aim of striving for the abolition of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate against women. Delegates resolved to establish a Federation of South African Women to unite women in common action for the removal of all disabilities. Support was pledged for the Congress of the People; and the meeting expressed its opposition to the Natives Resettlement Bill, the Native Trust and Land Amendment Bill, the Bantu Education Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act Validation and Amendment Bill, and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.

Government Reactions

As was described in our last Survey, following the intensification of the Defiance Campaign and the tragic rioting that occurred in three centres at the end of 1952, the Government placed restrictions, under the Suppression of Communism and Riotous Assemblies Acts, on many of the African and on several Indian leaders. They were prohibited for stated periods from attending any public gatherings in any place in the Union to which the public had access, their movements were restricted to certain magisterial districts, and they were ordered to resign from various organizations. The African National Congress and S.A. Indian Congress had, however, previously appointed a series of replacements for every leader, their names being kept secret; and as leaders were banned by the Government, their replacements took over. The activities of the organizations were thus not interrupted; but because on each occasion the new office-bearer was less mature and experienced than the man he replaced, and because resentment was increasing, it is probable that the leadership has gradually become more militant and less responsible.

In November 1953, the Appeal Court ruled that before the Minister exercised his powers under the Suppression of Communism Act to issue an order of prohibition from the attendance of gatherings, the person concerned should be notified and permitted to show cause why the order should not be issued. The Minister of Justice subsequently strengthened his position through the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act(4); but in the intervening half-year many of the prohibition orders issued in 1952 and 1953 were rendered invalid. A number of them expired during this period.

(3) See page 35 for details of this judgment and subsequent legislative action.
(4) See page 36.
ways its first report should be corrected. Its requests were evidently not met.

The commission arranged for the appointment of an expert and impartial economist to examine whether the policy of segregation had influenced the stability and economic development of South Africa, and requested the International Labour Office for factual material on the effects of segregation on a general employment policy. It has made a close study of methods suggested by groups or individuals in South Africa of lessening inter-racial tensions, and of measures which have been of assistance in other countries. It asked the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs to suggest measures which might be adopted and ways in which the United Nations might assist.

The Institute replied that in view of the fact that the South African Government did not recognize the competence of the commission, it was impossible for a South African organization like the Institute to do so. The Institute’s published material was, however, available to any person or organization who asked for it, and much of its material was already in the library of the United Nations.

Despite renewed protests from South Africa, the matter has been inscribed on the agenda for the 1954 Session of the General Assembly.

**United Nations Consideration of the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa**

The question of the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa has, since 1946, been debated annually at the proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly. It will be remembered that in 1951, the Assembly called for the establishment of a three-member commission to help to settle the differences that had arisen, one member to be appointed by the Union, a second by India and Pakistan, and a third to be appointed jointly by the three countries concerned, or, failing agreement, by the Secretary-General of United Nations. Nothing came of this proposal, however, because the Union Government refused to recognize the competence of United Nations to deal with the matter which, it considered, was one of domestic jurisdiction.

In 1952, the General Assembly itself set up a three-member Good Offices Commission to arrange and assist in negotiations between the three countries concerned, and called upon the Union to suspend implementation of the Group Areas Act pending conclusion of the negotiations. Cuba, Syria and Yugoslavia were appointed members of the commission, with Mr Leo Mates, of Yugoslavia, as chairman. The Union Government refused to recognize its competence, and at the 1953 session it reported on its failure to arrange negotiations.

The Government Printer, Pretoria, has published a full account of proceedings at the 1953 session (2). By 42 votes to 1, with 17 abstentions, the General Assembly passed a resolution expressing regret that the Union Government refused to make use of the commission’s good offices, continued to implement the provisions of the Group Areas Act, and was proceeding with further legislation contrary to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights(3). The Assembly decided to continue the Good Offices Commission; requested it to report back on progress achieved and to submit suggestions which might lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem; and urged the Union Government to co-operate.

The commission submitted its report to the President of the General Assembly in September 1954. It had been unable, it said, either through official approaches or through informal conversations, to arrange for negotiations to take place. South Africa was to blame for the deadlock since it continued to state that the appointment of the commission had been unconstitutional. It was impossible, therefore, for proposals likely to lead to a peaceful settlement to be submitted. A debate on the Report will take place during the 1954 Session of the General Assembly.

It was reported in January 1954,(4) that the Minister of the Interior had approached the S.A. Indian Organization to give its support for apartheid or to agree to a compromise, and that the executive committee of this organization had considered ways and means of bringing about a round-table conference to resolve the deadlock at United Nations. The S.A. Indian Congress thereupon issued a statement claiming that the S.A. Indian Organization was a small and unrepresentative body, with no right to enter into discussions behind the backs of the majority of the Indian people.

The Indian Government announced on 25 June that at the request of the Union Government, and with great regret, it had decided to close its High Commission in South Africa as from 1 July. The last High Commissioner had been recalled in 1946 after the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act and the Secretary to the High Commissioner had since been in charge, but now he, too, would be recalled. Contact between the two governments would in future be maintained directly by correspondence, or through their respective High Commissioners in London. Pakistan has never sent diplomatic representatives to the Union.

**United Nations Consideration of the Status of South-West Africa**

The seven-year-old dispute over the international status of South-West Africa was again on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly in 1953. It will be recalled that in 1951, the Assembly again asked the Union to place the territory under international trusteeship (although it accepted the ruling of the International

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(3) The Immigration Regulation Amendment Act was cited. See 1952—1953 Survey, page 43.

Court of Justice that there was no legal obligation on the Union to do so), to submit reports on the administration of the territory, and to agree to transmit petitions. The Union continued to maintain that its international function of administration was exercised on behalf of the League of Nations, not of the United Nations.

The Government Printer, Pretoria, has issued a White Paper describing negotiations conducted in 1952 and 1953. The ad hoc committee on South-West Africa was reconstituted in January 1952, and was asked to confer with the Union concerning means of implementing the advisory opinion of the International Court (i.e. that the Union was not competent to alter the territory's status unless with the consent of United Nations, that the General Assembly was qualified to exercise supervisory functions over the administration, and that the Union Government was under an obligation to render reports and to transmit petitions).

Discussions took place between the committee and representatives of the Union Government in 1952 and 1953, but proved inconclusive. The Union Government repeated a suggestion it had made earlier: that a new instrument embodying the spirit of the mandate should be concluded between the Union and the three remaining Principal Allied Powers of the first world war acting as principals and not as agents of the United Nations. Were this done, the Union would make reports on the administration of the territory available to these three Powers. The committee took the view that negotiations for an agreement could be undertaken only by the United Nations acting through an agency appointed by and responsible to it.

In November 1953 the General Assembly adopted two resolutions, by 48 votes to 1 with 10 abstentions, and by 46 votes to 1 with 12 abstentions respectively. One resolution reiterated previous resolutions to the effect that the territory be placed under the International Trusteeship System. The other affirmed that supervision of the administration of South-West Africa, though it should not exceed that which applied under the mandates system, should be exercised by the United Nations itself. It appealed to the Union to reconsider its position, to continue negotiations with the committee with a view to the full implementation of the International Court's advisory opinion, to resume submission of reports on the administration of the territory, and to transmit any petitions received from inhabitants.

In terms of this resolution, a seven-member committee was established to examine such information on the territory as was available, to examine any reports or petitions received, and to continue negotiating with the Union. Members of the committee, appointed during December, were Brazil, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Syria, Thailand and Uruguay, with Mr Thanet Khoman, of Thailand, as chairman.

This committee wrote to the Union Government in January 1954, urging it to resume the submission of reports and inviting a

See comment by the Prime Minister in the Assembly, 4 May 1954, Hansard 13, Col. 4480.

(7) The President of the General Assembly later ruled that a submission to the International Court was unnecessary. The question was subsequently re-opened, however, and the General Assembly decided to request this Court's advice.
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The South African representative is reported to have said, during a meeting of the Trusteeship Committee, that it was the conviction of his government that the mandate had lapsed, and that no legal international obligation was thus recognized in connection with the administration of the territory.

United Nations International Labour Office Committee on Forced Labour

The findings of the ad hoc committee on forced labour appointed by the United Nations and the International Labour Office were summarized in our last Survey (8). Briefly, so far as South Africa was concerned, the committee found that, in an indirect sense, a system of forced labour did exist, since Africans were compelled through the pass laws and similar legislation to contribute by their labour to the implementation of the economic policies of the country.

Towards the end of 1953, the Union Government sent a communication to the International Labour Office and the Economic and Social Council of U.N. refuting the accusations levelled against South Africa. (8) The pass laws, it was said, had been introduced with the sole aim of controlling the migration of Africans to the towns, where housing and other facilities were totally inadequate because of the vast influx during recent years. Labour bureaux had been provided to guide the movement, but were not used to prohibit work-seekers from accepting any employment that was available; and no compulsion whatever was exercised in persuading anyone to go to a particular area or to take up employment in a specified industry.

Membership of United Nations Organizations

It was announced towards the end of 1953 that the Union Government was seriously considering withdrawing from the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and U.N.E.S.C.O. The Prime Minister confirmed the report in the Assembly on 4 May 1954, (10) stating that the main reason for the suggestion had been one of economy, but that in addition Cabinet members had considered that the Union had gained very little from membership of these bodies. Furthermore, U.N.E.S.C.O. had exceeded its powers by attacking South Africa's internal policy. After full consideration, however, the Government had decided, for the present at least, not to withdraw from membership.

Control of the High Commission Territories

In the House of Assembly, on 12 April 1954, the Prime Minister moved: (11)

"That this House resolves that the transfer to the Union of the government of Basutoland and the Bechuanaland and Swaziland Protectorates, to be administered in accordance with the terms and conditions embodied in the Schedule to the South Africa Act, 1909, or such other terms and conditions as may be agreed upon between the two Governments concerned, should take place as soon as possible. This House consequently urges that, with this end in view, immediate steps should be taken towards the resumption of the negotiations between the said two Governments at the stage reached at the outbreak of war in 1939." (9)

The Prime Minister pointed out that he was not at the present stage suggesting a petition of both Houses to the British Government, upon which, in terms of Section 151 of the South Africa Act, the latter might make the transfer. Such petition would be submitted, however, if the resumption of negotiations now visualized led to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Leader of the Opposition moved an amendment (12) condemning the attempt to reinforce diplomatic negotiations by Parliamentary pressure. It was, he said, in the interests of South Africa that negotiations should take place, but he urged that the Prime Minister should not proceed in the way now contemplated.

A lengthy debate then ensued in the Union Parliament. While the debate was proceeding in South Africa, the British Prime Minister was questioned on the matter in the House of Commons. He replied (13)

"We are pledged since the South Africa Act of 1909 not to transfer Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland until their inhabitants have been consulted, and until the United Kingdom Parliament has had an opportunity of expressing its view. General Hertzog himself in 1925 said that his Party was no longer prepared to incorporate in the Union any territory unless the inhabitants wished it. It is in the interests, as it is also the desire, of this country and of South Africa that the friendship which has developed so strongly between us over the years should remain. Therefore I sincerely hope that Dr Malan and his Government with whom we have hitherto happily co-operated on so many problems we share in common, will not needlessly press an issue on which we could not fall in with their view without failing in our trust." (8)

The former Labour Colonial Secretary said that the British Opposition welcomed this statement and joined in the hope that the Government of South Africa would not pursue the matter. Speaking in the House of Lords, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary said that in the conditions which existed at the present time, the Government of the United Kingdom would not be prepared to recommend the transfer.

(9) Hansard No. 11, Col. 3769.
(11) Hansard No. 11, Col. 4484.
(12) Hansard No. 11, Col. 3803.
Dr Malan commented in the House of Assembly on Sir Winston's reply(14), saying that South Africa and Britain had always co-operated well and must continue to do so in the future. "I should like to retain England's friendship and I should like to co-operate with England. I should like to do so hand in hand ... but where the interests of South Africa come up against those of England ... then as a South African I am not prepared to crawl. I want to negotiate on an equal footing."

Dr Malan's motion was then passed by 75 votes to 31.

During the debate, on 14 April, the Institute released the following press statement:

"The South African Institute of Race Relations considers that the time for a decision in respect of any or all of the High Commission Territories will not arrive until the Union has succeeded in discharging its responsibilities in regard to its own racial problems. Should the time arrive for this issue to be decided, no decision in respect of any of the three territories should be taken without the consent of the people of such territory as regards its own destiny."

The Institute is now engaged in the preparation of a booklet on the High Commission Territories, which will contain factual information and arguments for and against transfer of control.

International Conferences

Early in 1954, Mr Maurice Webb, a member of the Institute's Executive Committee and a past President, attended a conference on Race Relations in the Commonwealth convened by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and held in Lahore. He reported afterwards that all nations of the Commonwealth had been represented, the South African delegation including exponents of all the main trends of thought in the country. The policy of "differential development," put forward by certain of the South Africans, had evoked strong criticism from all the other delegations. Representatives of African territories looked to the emergence in Africa of "white creative minorities."

During July, Mr Quintin Whyte, Director of the Institute, attended a conference in Honolulu on Race Relations in World Perspective. Thirty-six scholars and experts drawn from a variety of disciplines were invited to this conference, which was sponsored by the Universities of Hawaii, California and Chicago, and financed by the Ford and McInerney Foundations. It sought to pool the essential concrete data and analyses of race relations in different areas and to evolve a conceptual framework for subsequent studies appropriate to the world-wide proportions and the critical significance of the problem. At this conference, a new world organization, the International Society for the Scientific Study of Race Relations, was formed, Dr Franklin

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V GENERAL SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Population Figures

Further details have become available of the 1951 census, and some of these are set out in Annexure II on page 160. It is of particular interest that in that year, the proportions of the various groups living in urban areas were 78.4 per cent. of the Whites, 64.4 per cent. of the Coloured people, 77.5 per cent. of the Asians and 27.2 per cent. of the Africans.

The estimated mid-year population for 1954 is 2,805,000 Whites, 1,209,000 Coloured people, 399,000 Asians and 8,980,000 Africans.

National Registration

The Bureau of Census and Statistics has arranged for professional photographers to take the photographs of the European population which are required for identity cards to be issued under the Population Registration Act of 1950, and this work was commenced in Pretoria during January 1954, and on the Witwatersrand in September.

The registration of African men has proceeded independently, the identity cards being combined with reference books. Details are given on page 43.
The Institute of Race Relations has recently revised its cost-of-living figures, previously calculated in 1944 and 1950, for an “average” African family in Johannesburg, consisting of a worker, his wife and three children aged 14, 10 and 14 years respectively. (1)

It was found that the minimum monthly expenditure on basic necessities (i.e. food, rent, transport, fuel, cleaning materials, clothing, and tax) amounted to £23 10s. 4d. in 1954, an increase of 32 per cent. over 1950; whereas the average minimum family income, which amounted to £15 18s. 4d. per month, rose by only 24 per cent. in the same period. The deficit in 1954 was thus £7 11s. 5d. a month, and had increased considerably.

The diet used in calculating the family expenditure was one prepared some years previously by the Household Organizer of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department which “goes some way towards meeting essential requirements, with due regard to Native custom and taste.” The cost of this diet increased from £7 10s. 11d. a month in 1944 to £11 4s. 3d. in 1950 and £14 18s. 4d. in 1953, and in the last of these years, if used by an “average” family would have absorbed 94 per cent. of the family income. Because other items such as rent, transport, and tax were essentials, Africans were obviously forced to cut their outlay on food and clothing well below the minimum required for the maintenance of health and efficiency. To bridge this gap between income and necessary expenditure, families also resorted to brewing, taking in unauthorized lodgers, etc.

In Annexure III, page 161, further details of the Institute’s surveys are given, and results are compared with those obtained by the Johannesburg and Pretoria Municipalities and the National Building Research Institute.

Index of Retail Prices

The Bureau of Census and Statistics issues figures comparing the weighted average index of retail prices for the nine principal urban areas with a base figure of 100 in 1938. The average figure for 1953 was 192.4 for all items. Individual items were food 225.7, fuel and light 136.8, rent and water 146.3, clothing 288.5, and sundries 162.5. (2)

The budget survey on which these index numbers are calculated was conducted in 1936 amongst European families in the £225 to £450 income group. The Institute has on several occasions pointed out that the index is therefore not fully applicable to those families whose income is below £225 per annum, in which group the very large majority of Non-Europeans are included; and furthermore

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(1) Investigations and calculations by Miss Olive Gibson, assisted by the Institute’s President and others.
(2) From Bulletin of Statistics for August and March 1954, Tables K8 and K7 respectively.

Legislation Passed in 1953 which Affected Race Relations

At the request of the Executive Committee, the Institute’s Director addressed the Council meeting in January 1954, on “A Review of Recent Legislation.” (4) After full discussion, the findings of Council were as follows:

1. The Council has taken note of the review of legislation passed in 1953, and, while confirming the actions and attitudes adopted by the Executive Committee generally, records in particular the following comments upon some of the Acts reviewed:—

(a) While the more adequate machinery provided under the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act is to be welcomed, it would have been preferable in principle, simpler in practice, and more conducive to good race relations if the definition of “employee” in the Industrial Conciliation Act had been extended to include all Africans.

(b) The explicit introduction of the principle of inequality in the provision of facilities in the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, is to be deplored as retrogressive, unjust, and not in accord with accepted democratic principles.

(c) The transfer of African education to the Department of Native Affairs under the Bantu Education Act is unsound in principle and undesirable in practice.

(d) The Separate Representation of Voters Act, which it is now proposed to validate, is unjust, retrogressive and, in light of experience of the communal franchise in other countries, likely to increase, rather than diminish, racial friction.

(e) The Council recognizes that law and order must be maintained, but considers the Public Safety Act to be objectionable in that it is based on the dangerous principle of

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(4) U.G. 45/1953, page 34.
(4*) His paper was issued as RR. 5/54.
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substituting for the rule of law the virtually uncontrolled supremacy of the Executive Government.

(f) The wide provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the harsh penalties it imposes curtail democratic rights to full and free criticism of legislation.

II. The Council considers that the legislation reviewed is not conducive to better relations nor to the present and future welfare of the Union.

III. (a) This Council, holding that it is the essence of democracy that there should be free inter-action of thought and opinion between those who govern and those who are governed, considers that it is a primary duty of the citizens of a country to maintain constant vigilance over the legislation and work of the government of the day. It has noted with great concern a tendency to regard the rights of citizens to full and free discussion and criticism of legislative and administrative proposals put forward by the Government as having lapsed once the Bills have become Acts and the administrative proposals have been approved by the Government.

(b) The Institute conceives it as its duty to promote the acceptance of the principles upon which it has, after earnest deliberation, agreed. If legislation is introduced or measures are proposed, which conflict with these principles, the Institute must endeavour to bring to the public notice the objections to such legislation and measures, paying attention in particular to any derogation from basic human rights.

(c) It is, further, the duty of the Institute to observe with the greatest care the administration of legislation, with special reference to the operation of the untrammelled discretionary powers which are increasingly being vested in the government, in individual Ministers, and even, in the case of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, in other individuals.

(d) Council recommends to the Executive that a sub-committee be set up to watch the administrative application of legislation with particular regard to any conflict with basic human rights.

Action under the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Acts

The Ngwevela case created some confusion at the beginning of the year; and before describing the Appeal Court ruling and the Government’s subsequent legislative action, it will clarify matters if the previous position is summarized.

In terms of the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act, No. 27 of 1914, as amended, if the Minister of Justice was of opinion that enmity between Europeans and Non-Europeans would be caused, or trouble would ensue, if a particular meeting was held or if a particular person addressed it, he was empowered, in his discretion, to prohibit the meeting or to prohibit the person from addressing it, or to prohibit the person from addressing any meetings in a certain area for a fixed period. He was also empowered to prohibit the person concerned from being within a certain area for a stated period; no hearing was provided for before such action was taken, but, if asked to do so subsequently, the Minister was required to furnish a statement of such of the reasons for his action as could be disclosed without detriment to public policy.

In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, as amended, a liquidator was appointed to compile a list of names of officials or active supporters of organizations deemed unlawful under the Act, after asking such persons to show cause why their names should not be included. Those whose names are listed may, in terms of a subsequent Supreme Court decision, petition the Courts to investigate the correctness of the facts of their membership or active support of the unlawful organization.

The Minister was empowered, in his discretion, to order those listed to resign from any organization and to prohibit them from attending gatherings. He was also empowered to prohibit persons not listed from attending gatherings if he possessed information indicating that they were disseminating communist propaganda. The term “communist,” it will be remembered, is defined extremely widely. The only recourse of persons receiving such orders was to petition the courts to set aside the orders on the ground that the government acted in bad faith, or ultra vires the law, or without applying its mind to the issue.

Johnson Ngwevela was one of those who received an order prohibiting him for two years from attending gatherings. He was subsequently convicted in the Magistrate’s Court, Cape Town, of contravening this order by attending a meeting at which protests were made against certain legislative Acts. His appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court but upheld by the Appeal Court, which held that before the Minister exercised his powers under the Suppression of Communism Act to issue an order of prohibition from the attendance at gatherings, the person concerned should be notified and permitted to show cause why the order should not be issued. No such opportunity had been afforded to Ngwevela. The Appeal Court added that the principle audi alteram partem should apply unless it is clear that Parliament has expressly or by necessary implication enacted that it should not apply.

Five persons who had been prohibited from attending gatherings except of a limited nature and who had subsequently been found guilty of having done so then appealed successfully against their convictions on the ground that the prohibition orders had been null and void. After some confusion it emerged that prohibition orders
issued in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act were not affected, but notices issued under the Suppression of Communism Act prohibiting persons from attending gatherings had become invalid unless the persons concerned had been afforded the opportunity of making representations in their own defence.

In the meanwhile, the Government had found that an elaborate procedure was necessary before persons considered to be communists could be prevented from sitting in Parliament or Provincial Councils. There was nothing in law to prevent them from being nominated, and once nominated, they could not withdraw. If they were elected they could be expelled only if a Select Committee thereafter reported that they were communists as defined in the Act.

The Government then introduced the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill, which became law in April as Act No. 15 of 1954. This provided, firstly, that the Minister was entitled to issue orders prohibiting "named" persons or those convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act from membership of certain organizations or from attending gatherings of any description without giving them the opportunity of making representations in their defence or without furnishing his reasons. No question of discretion was involved; the point at issue was whether or not the person was a named communist.

The Minister was also empowered, in his discretion, to prohibit persons not listed from attending gatherings if he possessed information indicating that they were disseminating communist propaganda. No hearing need be granted, but it was provided that if asked to do so, the Minister would furnish the person concerned with a statement setting out such of the reasons for his action as could be disclosed without detriment to public policy. Banning orders previously issued to such persons, unless time expired, were revalidated.

Secondly, the Act prohibited "named" persons and those convicted of an offence under the Suppression of Communism Act from offering themselves for election to Parliament or a Provincial Council unless permission had been obtained from the Minister or from Parliament, and provided that, if elected without obtaining such permission, they would be ineligible to sit as members.

Under the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1914 the Minister has been empowered to prohibit all public gatherings in places to which the public had access in specified areas for specified periods. In terms of the new Act his powers were widened: he may now prohibit any particular public gathering, or all such gatherings, in any public place for a specified period or on certain days of the week.

Further provisions of the Act were that persons wishing to petition the courts against the liquidator’s action in listing their names must do so within twelve months of their naming; and that it is an offence in future for recordings of speeches by persons banned from attending meetings to be played at such meetings.

A number of further banning orders has been issued since the Act became law. In some cases these have prohibited the persons concerned from attending all gatherings without exception unless special permission is obtained; in orders issued previously, gatherings of a bona fide religious, social, or recreational nature were excluded from the prohibition.

The Institute of Race Relations once again drew the attention of Members of Parliament to the fact that while it shared their resolute opposition to communism, and while it considered that the Government must have the power to protect our society against threats to its safety, it was anxious that in assuming such power the Government should take no action which would endanger the fundamental principles upon which the whole structure of western civilization rested.(5)

**Refusal of Passports and Visas**

The Supreme Court, Pretoria, ruled in December 1953(6) that although a passport could not be called up and cancelled by the Minister of the Interior during its period of validity, the passport regulations contained no guarantee by the Minister that he would renew a passport on application. The Minister had previously said(7) that he adhered to the view that the possession of a passport was not a right but a privilege and it was in the discretion of the Government to issue it or not.

Professor Z. K. Matthews (at present Acting Principal of the University College of Fort Hare) was invited by the sponsors to attend the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective at Honolulu in July 1954, as was the Institute’s Director. Professor Matthews’ passport was refused. The Institute’s Director took this refusal up with the Minister of and Secretary for the Interior, but was informed that the decision could not be reversed. The Institute then arranged a question to be put in the Assembly.

The Minister of the Interior replied(8) that, during 1953, passports had been refused to nine African, two Coloured and 26 Asiatic applicants. It was not in the public interest to furnish reasons for the refusal of passports. He had previously said(9) that 19,144 applications for passports were granted in 1953, and a total of 58 refused.

In July 1954, a party of Americans headed by Dr Emory Ross, President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was refused a group visa to tour the Union. The purpose of the party (which included two Negroes) was, as stated by their leader, to get glimpses of Africa and

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(7) In dismissing an appeal by Mrs. Johanna Fehner (born Cornelius), acting general secretary of the Garment Workers Union.
(9) Assembly Hansard of 28 May 1954, No. 13, Col. 5705.
(10) Assembly, 2 February 1954. Hansard No. 2, Col. 207.
either to correct misconceptions in the United States or to provide knowledge where previously there had been none. Dr Emory Ross was, however, granted a personal visa to enable him to visit Johannesburg and Cape Town to deliver the Institute's H.ordle Memorial Lecture.

Bishop Frederick X. Jordan, a Negro prelate from the United States of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was in 1953 refused a visa, but this decision was reversed in 1954.

VI MATTERS AFFECTING SPECIFIC GROUPS

Parliamentary Representation of Africans

It will be recalled that Mr Sam Kahn and Mr Brian Bunting, in turn elected to the Assembly by Africans of the Cape Western circle, were each unseated after Parliament had adopted Select Committee majority reports that they were communists as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act. Miss Ray Alexander, whose name was on the list of officials and active supporters of organizations deemed unlawful, was then nominated for the vacant seat, together with two other candidates. She was elected by a large majority, but in the meanwhile Act No. 15 of 1954(1) had become law, and in terms of this, she was immediately notified by the Minister of Justice that as a "named" person she was not competent to take her seat. The Speaker of the House of Assembly thereupon announced in terms of this, she was immediately notified by the Minister of Justice that as a "named" person she was not competent to take her seat. The Speaker of the House of Assembly thereupon announced that the seat was again vacant.

A few weeks later the Representation of Natives Amendment Bill (which became Act No. 36 of 1954) was introduced. Its main purpose was to allow the Governor-General or the Administrator of the Cape Province to postpone a by-election for a Native Representative in the Senate, House of Assembly, or Cape Provincial Council when the earliest date on which this by-election could be held was within six months of the expiry of the period for which the representative would have been elected. As the next election of Natives Representatives was due in December 1954, no by-election was therefore held in the Cape Western circle to fill the vacancy.

At the next election, Mrs V. M. L. Ballinger (Liberal) was returned unopposed to the Cape Eastern seat in the Assembly: results in the other two Cape circles are not known at the time of going to press. One of the candidates in the Cape Western circles, Mr L. B. Lee-Warden, was banned from attending gatherings after he had been nominated. As he has not been "named" he is unaffected by Act No. 15 of 1954; but it is so far uncertain whether, if he should be elected, Parliament would be deemed a "gathering" in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

So far as the four seats for African representatives in the Senate are concerned, two candidates were returned unopposed: Mr W. H.

(1) See page 36.

RELATIONS: 1953-54

Campbell in the Transkei and Mr L. I. Rubin (Liberal) in the rest of the Cape. Elections will take place for the Natal and Transvaal-Orange Free State representatives.

Native Affairs Commission

Mr J. J. Serfontein, M.P., resigned from the Native Affairs Commission during the year and was replaced by Mr W. A. Maree, M.P. Mr M. D. C. de Wet Nel, M.P., Mr F. E. Mentz, M.P., and Mr A. T. Spies continue to be members, and they will be joined by the Administrator of South-West Africa when the South-West Africa Native Affairs Administration Act is brought into effect.

Taxation of Africans

The Minister of Finance said recently(2) that during the financial year 1952/53, Africans paid £1,486,485 in general (poll) tax, £274,067 in local tax, £60,078 in quittance, and in the Orange Free State, £19,177 in hospital tax. The amount they paid in income tax could not be determined because separate records were not kept for the various racial groups (nor, of course, could the amount paid in indirect taxation be assessed.)

At the 1954 session of the United Transkeian Territories General Council (Bunga), a motion was put that the Government be asked to tax the African people according to their means and not at the flat rate at present applied to all those whose incomes are below the level at which income tax becomes payable. A European official replied that the Bunga's Finance Committee recommended that the question of evolving a more equitable system be referred to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Taxation. The main difficulty was that of finding a way of determining the means of peasant farmers.

Financial Protection of Africans

A notice has been gazetted(3) providing that any collector or organization asking Africans for money must be properly registered and controlled, in order to prevent abuses which have occurred in the past.

Operation of Influx and Efflux Control and Labour Bureaux

Mr E. Thacker, in charge of the administration of influx and efflux control in Johannesburg, kindly addressed the Institute's Executive Committee in July 1954, and replied to numerous questions. He has subsequently supplied the information from which the following picture has been constructed.

In terms of Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, as amended, no African is entitled to remain in an urban or proclaimed area for more than 72 hours unless:

(a) he was born and permanently resides in the area concerned; or


(3) Government Notice No. 600, gazetted 26 March 1954.
A SURVEY OF RACE

(b) he has worked continuously there for one employer for at least 10 years, or has lawfully remained continuously in the area for at least 15 years, and during this time has not been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period of over seven days or with the option of a fine for a period of more than one month; or

(c) the African is the wife, unmarried daughter, or son under taxpaying age (18 years) of an African mentioned in (a) or (b) above and ordinarily resides with him; or

(d) he or she has obtained permission from the urban local authority.

These provisions apply to all Africans, but until recently have not been introduced generally so far as women and Africans with exemption certificates are concerned. During the year under review, however, the Minister of Native Affairs has directed that they shall be applied to every African in Cape Town and certain other areas. This decision is dealt with below.

African men already working in an urban area who do not fall into one of the classes described may remain in their present employment until discharged. Then, if they are Union citizens or have their homes in one of the High Commission Territories, they are re-registered if suitable employment exists, and if not, are referred to the nearest district labour bureau and given the choice of accepting available work outside the proclaimed area or returning home. The position of men from other African territories is dealt with below.

Africans wishing to enter an urban or proclaimed area to seek work are now required to register with the labour bureau serving the area they wish to leave. It is only the employment officer of this bureau who may grant them permission to enter a prescribed area, and he has first to obtain authority from his Regional Employment Commissioner. Thus permission to leave an area has to be obtained as well as permission to enter a prescribed area.

All male newcomers to urban areas except those on visits of under 72 hours are required to report their presence to the Registering Officer appointed by the urban local authority. If they are seeking work and have left a non-prescribed area without obtaining the necessary permission, the Registering Officer is obliged to refer them to the nearest district labour bureau, which operates in respect of employment in non-prescribed areas. If they have obtained such permission and there is work available, they are given authority to remain and work in the town. Africans who are refused permission to remain may appeal to the Chief Native Commissioner against the decision of the Registering Officer.

All male work-seekers between 15 and 65 years of age are required to register at the local or district labour bureau, whichever applies. On registering at a local bureau in a prescribed area, men are issued

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In terms of the Regulations for the Establishment and Control of Labour Bureaux, G.N.2495 of 31 October 1952.

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with work-seekers’ permits and may then themselves seek employment or may accept employment offered by the labour bureau. If there are vacancies in the town for certain categories of workers only their permits may be endorsed to indicate that they may seek work exclusively in the categories concerned. The period of validity of the permits must be not less than seven or more than 14 days: in Johannesburg they are valid for 14 days and three extensions of 14 days may be given. If a man is still unemployed after this time and is unwilling to accept such employment as the bureau is able to offer, he is then referred out of the area. Employers are required to notify the local labour bureau of all vacancies for African workers, and to advise it within three days of the discharge or engagement of an African. They are permitted to engage registered work-seekers only. Placements that have been effected through labour bureaux are detailed on page 124.

In Johannesburg, where the system is further developed than in many other towns, the City Council is arranging for an information office to be established at the station to guide newcomers. All Africans on reporting to the registering office are medically examined, and disabilities are taken into consideration when employment for them is found. Those requiring medical attention are sent to the appropriate clinics or hospitals and covering permits are issued whilst they are receiving treatment.

It is understood that because of the tendency in South Africa to regard all Africans as unskilled labourers, difficulty is being experienced by labour bureaux in classifying them. Further, far from all employers and work-seekers yet understand or comply with the regulations, and certain persons are making high profits from forcing permits. The system is also giving rise to many cases of individual hardship. It must be acknowledged that only five years have elapsed since the enabling Act was passed, and a completely new network of machinery then had to be set up. The fact remains, however, that any attempt to regiment the movements of hundreds of thousands of African workers and to induce employers to comply with cumbersome regulations must cause difficulty and hardship.

Influx control is operated even more strictly in the Western Province than it is elsewhere in the Union. The Minister of Native Affairs recently said that the flow of Africans to the Western Province must be very carefully controlled, and the arrival of families must be severely discouraged, because this area must be looked upon as the preserve of the Coloured worker, whose future must not be threatened.

Position of Africans from Territories other than the Union, South-West Africa and the High Commission Territories

Very large numbers of Africans from Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa and territories to the North come to the

\(^{(4)}\)

Native Laws Amendment Act of 1949.

\(^{(4)}\)

In an address to the Federated Chamber of Industries, published in The Manufacturer, August 1954.
The Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs discussed what is apparently the date on which the local authority concerned was disbanded as long as they remained with the same employer. (The “fixed date” is that on which the total number of “Non-Union” Africans in the Union (apart from nearly 200,000 on the mines) had been variously estimated at between 500,000 and 850,000, and that 80 per cent. of them were working on farms. Presumably, then, between 100,000 and 170,000 are in urban areas.

In terms of Section 12 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, as amended, “Non-Union” Africans wishing to enter urban areas to work have to obtain the written permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs which is granted only with the concurrence of the local authority concerned. When discharged from the service of their employers they are usually offered the choice of working in the rural areas or returning home. In the past, Africans from Rhodesia or Nyasaland who were of good character, had paid their taxes regularly and had been in the Union for at least 10 years might, on application, be granted exemption from the terms of Section 12 and were then regarded as Union citizens and treated accordingly. This was an administrative relaxation.

In February, however, the Minister of Native Affairs announced a change in policy(7). No further “Non-Union” Africans were to be admitted to proclaimed areas. Those already there would have to leave as soon as they left their present employment. Even if they did not leave their employment, they would eventually have to go; when the period of validity of their temporary immigration permits expired, a final extension of six months would be granted. The only exceptions would be in the case of “Non-Union” Africans who at certain “fixed dates” were with their present employers and in possession of valid permits: further extensions would be granted to them as long as they remained with the same employer. (The “fixed date” is apparently the date on which the local authority concerned was instructed by the Native Affairs Department to admit no more “Non-Union” Africans). Those ordered out of proclaimed areas would have the choice of working in rural areas of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, or Northern Cape, or returning to their own territories.

In a press statement(8) the Director of the Institute of Race Relations pointed out that this ruling, if implemented strictly, would probably cause dislocation in certain types of employment, might result in a further postponement of the long-overdue improvement of farm wages and conditions of work, and would certainly mean hardship in individual cases. Many “Non-Union” Africans had married Union women and had established families and homes in urban areas. The Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs discussed the matter at their conference in July, and it was pointed out that in many urban areas “Non-Union” Africans represented a not inconsiderable proportion of the labour force, especially in the field of domestic service. It was doubtful whether they could be replaced by urban Africans.

Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill

The Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill, published in February, proved so controversial that it was postponed until 1955. One of its clauses sought to place Africans from the High Commission Territories in much the same position as are “Non-Union” Africans so far as influx control is concerned. They would no longer be able to enter proclaimed areas for employment unless with the written permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs, given only with the concurrence of the local authority concerned. Those already in urban areas would not be affected until they left their present employment, but when they did so they could not be re-registered, even if work was available, unless they obtained the special permit.(10)

Another provision of the Bill was that Africans returning to an urban area to their previous employment within 12 months of leaving the area, might do so without first passing through the influx control formalities. A further clause was to the effect that new entrants to proclaimed areas might be employed only in the labour category specified on their work-seeking permits. In a statement on the Bill sent to Members of Parliament and to the press,(11) the Institute of Race Relations welcomed the first of these provisions, but pointed out that the second was an unwarranted interference with the right of workers to seek the best market for their labour.

Further clauses of this Bill are dealt with on pages 66 and 124.

Reference Books for Africans

As is described in previous Surveys, African men are gradually being issued with hard-covered reference books to replace most of the various papers they previously had to carry.(12) Teams from the Native Affairs Department consisting of clerks, photographers, and fingerprint men have, since March 1953, been touring the Transvaal and parts of Natal collecting old documents and in exchange issuing reference books in which the identity cards required under the Population Registration Act are incorporated. Upwards of 800,000 books have so far been issued.

A matter that has given rise to some concern amongst the authorities is that numbers of Africans who would prefer their old records to be forgotten have apparently been discarding their reference books.

(8) Assembly, 23 February 1954. Hansard No. 4, Col. 1013.
(9) Rand Daily Mail, 12 February 1954.

(10) Interpretation of relative clause as given by the State Information Office, Newsletter 735 of 14 February 1954.
(11) RR, 27/54.
(12) In terms of the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) Act of 1952.
subsequently applying for new ones. The officials hope that later, when all the thumb-prints of the entire African population have been taken and sorted, this may not occur.

Holders of exemption certificates will in due course be issued with reference books with distinctively coloured covers. No new exemption certificates are being issued, but certain classes of Africans, for example chiefs, headmen, ministers of religion who are marriage officers, teachers in state and state-aided schools, and lecturers, lawyers, doctors, qualified social workers, court interpreters, and registered voters in the Cape will qualify automatically for the distinctively coloured books. As is explained above, holders of these are exempt from registering Service Contracts, but they are subject to labour bureau regulations as are other African men.

African Women and Passes

African women are not yet being issued with identity cards or reference books, and they are not subject to labour bureau regulations. If out after curfew hours in the “European” sections of urban areas, however, they require “special” permits signed by their employers or authorized officials.

In terms of Section 23 (d) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the Governor-General may by proclamation require an urban local authority to prohibit African women from entering the area to live or seek work unless they are in possession of certificates of approval from the Native Commissioner or Magistrate in the district from which they come and from the urban local authority concerned. Such certificates are producible on demand by an authorized officer in the proclaimed area. They may be issued for a limited period, may at any time be cancelled on one month’s notice, and are issued only to women who produce satisfactory proof that their husbands (or in the case of unmarried women, their fathers) have been resident and continuously employed in the urban area concerned for not less than two years. Women under the age of 21 years require proof of their guardians’ consent.

Section 10 of the Act (19) deals with influx control. Before 1952 it applied to men only; but in terms of an amendment then made (14) its provisions were extended to all Africans. Sub-section (2) now reads that the officer designated for the purpose by an urban local authority “shall issue to any native who has been permitted to remain in any such area a permit indicating the purposes for which and the period during which such native may remain in that area.”

Several local authorities, including Cape Town and Durban, have during the past year been instructed to apply influx control regulations to African women. Municipal officials in Cape Town are accordingly engaged in registering women at Langa, some 5,000 having already been issued with permits which are producible on demand by authorized officials. If the women are in employment the employer’s name and address is stated on the permit, and women are warned to re-register if they lose their employment.

The Corporation of the City of Durban has requested the Minister of Native Affairs to reconsider the instruction so far as its area is concerned.

Control of Meetings or Gatherings of Africans

It will be recalled that, following the riots which took place at Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley locations in 1952, measures providing for the “control of meetings, gathering or assemblies and prohibitions of incitement of Natives” were gazetted. (16) The question of incitement was subsequently dealt with through the Criminal Law Amendment Act; (16) but meetings or gatherings may still be subjected to control in terms of Government Notice 2017 of 1953, as amended. This provides that the Governor-General may, by proclamation, impose control in any area. Once control is imposed the permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs or a Chief Native Commissioner, Native Commissioner or Magistrate is required before a meeting, gathering or assembly at which more than 10 Africans are to be present may be held. Certain exceptions are made: Members of Parliament or of Provincial Councils, or those nominated for election as such, for example, may hold meetings of over 10 Africans in the areas concerned without obtaining permission, and bona fide church services, weddings, funerals, and sports gatherings are excluded.

These provisions have, during 1954, been brought into effect throughout the Transkei and in the magisterial districts of Mafeking, Vereeniging, and Grahamstown.

African Customary Marriages

African customary marriages are registered in Natal, and a Departmental Committee is at present investigating the advisability of extending this practice to other provinces.

Witchdoctors, Medicine Men and Herbalists

Another committee is investigating the advisability of legislation requiring the registration of African witchdoctors, medicine men and herbalists.

Research Projects Concerned with Africans

Research in progress in 1953/54 which related to general African affairs included:

Mrs Mia Brandel (for the S.A. Institute of Race Relations). An investigation of existing African women’s organizations and an evaluation of the extent to which they meet the needs of African women.

(12) See page 39.
(14) Section 27 of the Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 54 of 1952
(16) See page 34 of 1952–53 Survey.
The Institute submits that the proper function of a Member of Parliament is to represent, to the best of his ability, national rather than sectional interests and that the consideration of policy should have as its primary objective the interests of the population as a whole. . . . Differences of approach and action on the part of Members of Parliament should be concerned with matters of principle or opinion, cultural, moral, or economic, and the more such concern is submerged by subordination to sectional interests, whether of class or religion, of language or race, the less useful and effective for the common good Parliament will become . . . In a multi-racial country, demarcation by racial groups is of all forms of particularism the least desirable, and, indeed, the most dangerous, as likely to foster and intensify antagonisms of a kind which history has shown to be particularly harmful . . . The course of wisdom and statesmanship would be to strive for the subordination of sectional claims to the collective interests of the whole body politic . . .

"After a hundred years of the exercise of normal democratic rights there can be no doubt that the Cape Coloured people are, and have been, considered to be adequately qualified to exercise the franchise on the common roll. In fact, the Institute goes further and suggests that the maintenance of civilized relations under the franchise is not on grounds of colour. The denial of the right to properly qualified persons (or its curtailment) simply on the ground of their colour is therefore undemocratic and unjustifiable. The Institute believes that this follows logically from the acceptance of the values and principles of Western democracy. The curtailment of rights is particularly unjustified in the case of the Cape Coloured people, who do not differ in tradition, language, culture or interest from Europeans who have full franchise rights. It considers that to place the Cape Coloured people on a separate voters' roll and give them communal representation in the form suggested in the Bill would result in a serious deprivation of political rights based not on incapacity to exercise them but merely on grounds of colour.

The Institute's conviction is that in any democratic state the conferment of the franchise can be determined only by the capability of the person to exercise that right. Such capability is in no way affected by the colour of his skin. The denial of the right to properly qualified persons (or its curtailment) simply on the ground of their colour is therefore undemocratic and unjustifiable. The Institute believes that this follows logically from the acceptance of the values and principles of Western democracy. The curtailment of rights is particularly unjustified in the case of the Cape Coloured people, who do not differ in tradition, language, culture or interest from Europeans who have full franchise rights. It considers that to place the Cape Coloured people on a separate voters' roll and give them communal representation in the form suggested in the Bill would result in a serious deprivation of political rights based not on incapacity to exercise them but merely on grounds of colour.

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"After a hundred years of the exercise of normal democratic rights there can be no doubt that the Cape Coloured people are, and have been, considered to be adequately qualified to exercise the franchise on the common roll. In fact, the Institute goes further and suggests that the maintenance of civilized principles in South Africa demands the extension of the Cape Coloured franchise to the Northern Provinces, on the same basis as in the Cape Province, and the disfranchisement of Cape Coloured women."

In reply to questions asked in the Assembly soon after the recess (18) the Minister of the Interior gave figures which showed that the number of Coloured voters has actually decreased recently in proportion to the number of whites.

the total vote, although European and Coloured registered voters were
fewer in number after the general registration. When the Tenth
Delimitation Commission sat in 1952, there were 47,008 Coloured
and Asiatic voters in the Cape (7.8 per cent. of the total Cape vote)
and 1,190 Coloured voters in Natal (0.7 per cent of the Natal total).
As at 28 February 1954, there were 34,444 registered Coloured and
Asiatic voters in the Cape, who then formed 6.2 per cent. of the total
Cape vote. The Electoral Officer told the Coloured Vote Commission
that there would be about 150,000 Coloured voters in the Cape if
all those qualified registered their names. Registered Non-White
voters remained on the common roll for the provincial elections
of 1954.

The Joint Select Committee consisted of 11 members of the National
Party and seven members of the Parliamentary Opposition. Its
report, which was approved by 11 votes to seven, indicated a clear
split on Party lines. The evidence it received was published together
with its report, and while some Coloured organizations did give
evidence on behalf of separate voters' rolls, their representativeness was not
established, and it was clear that the overwhelming majority of the
Coloured people preferred to remain on the common roll. Many
pressed for complete political equality.

Nevertheless, the majority report recommended separate represen-
tation. The Committee submitted a draft Bill which was accepted
by the Government and placed before a joint session of both Houses
of Parliament on 17 May. The Bill sought to revalidate the Separate
Representation of Voters Act, No. 46 of 1951, with one amendment,
in regard to the Board for Coloured Affairs. The Commission
recommen-
ded that this be enlarged and called the Union Council for
Coloured Affairs.

The proposals before the joint session were that the Coloured and
Asiatic voters of the Cape be placed on a separate roll to elect four
European representatives to the Assembly and two representatives,
who might be Europeans or Coloured people, to the Cape Provincial
Council. None of these would have the right to vote for senators.
Should the total of European constituencies be legally altered at any
time, the number of Coloured constituencies would be altered in such
a manner that the originally determined numerical relation would
be maintained. Registered Coloured voters in Natal (there are none
in the remaining provinces) would remain on the common roll until
their death, but, after the Bill became law, no further Coloured persons
would be registered as voters there. A European senator would be
named by the Governor-General on the ground of his thorough
acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured
people. A Union Council for Coloured Affairs would be set up to
advise the Government on the interests of Coloured people and to
carry out such powers as might be assigned to it: it would have 12
Coloured members elected by Coloured voters in the Cape, and 15
Coloured members nominated by the Governor-General (four from
the Transvaal, one from the Free State, two from Natal, and eight,
of whom at least one must be a Cape Malay and one a Griqua, from
the Cape).

The Labour Party opposed the Prime Minister's motion for leave
to introduce the Bill, but the motion was adopted by 163 votes to 14.
In his speech introducing the second reading, the Prime Minister
said that if the Government did not obtain a two-thirds majority in
favour of the Bill at its third reading, it would ask the people for a
new and more definite mandate to continue with the matter at the
provincial elections(19). The Hon. J. G. N. Strauss said(20) that the
United Party would oppose the Bill at every stage. He moved an
amendment: that the joint sitting was of opinion that it was
undesirable that there should be legislation to give effect to the
principle of the separate representation of White and Coloured voters.

Mr P. Bailey Bekker, leader of the Independent Wing of the
United Party, proposed a compromise amendment: that registered
Coloured voters should remain on the common roll if they wished to
do so, but that new registrations should be on a separate roll;
that cognizance should be taken of Coloured men in Natal who would
in future have become eligible for registration as voters; and that the
status and responsibilities of the proposed Union Council should be
enhanced.(21)

In his reply to the lengthy second reading debate, the Prime
Minister announced a new development(22). He and the Leader of
the Opposition had both received letters signed by Mr. George
Golding, President of the Coloured People's National Union, also
by the Executive Chairman and General Secretary of that body, in
which they said that while there had been no change in their convictions
so far as the Bill was concerned, they did not want to remain a foot-
ball between the political parties. A number of their members
considered that if a national conference of Coloured organizations
were convened under the auspices of the C.P.N.U., "there is every
prospect of a large majority decision being given in favour of negotiating
with the Government and with the Opposition a compromise on an
honourable and just basis. . . . We have in mind that such" basis will
give effect to the establishment of a new roll on the lines envisaged
by the Government, but at the same time will protect the present
generation so that no one will be forcibly deprived of any franchise
right . . . ."

The Prime Minister's motion was then put, and the Bill was passed
a second time by 118 votes to 74, the Bekker group voting with the
Opposition.

During the adjournment, leading members of the C.P.N.U. said
in press statements that the Executive Committee of this organization

(20) Hansard No. 1, Cols. 26 and 46.
(21) Hansard No. 1, Col. 73.
(22) Hansard No. 1, Cols. 374 -7.
had given Mr. Golding no authority whatsoever to suggest a compromise, but had instructed him to write urging that a conference of Coloured people be held. The C.P.N.U. then issued an official statement reiterating its opposition to the Bill, and suggesting that a national convention representative of all shades of opinion of the Coloured people would afford them their first opportunity of discussing their "unfortunate position" freely and untrammelled by party political influences. The C.P.N.U., in association if possible with the S.A. Coloured People’s Organization, would convene such a convention if the Government would agree to postpone further Parliamentary debate on the Bill.

Leaders of the S.A. Coloured People’s Organization, of the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Movement and of nine Coloured organizations in Port Elizabeth and one in Johannesburg, issued statements repudiating any suggestion of compromise.

The joint sitting was reconvened on 9 June for the Committee stage of the Bill. The Minister of the Interior announced that in a sincere attempt to obtain the necessary majority the Government was prepared to move certain amendments to the Bill, but if a two-thirds majority for the amended measure was not forthcoming, the Government would in no way be bound to any concession now made. It was now proposed that separate European and Coloured voters’ lists be compiled. Coloured voters registered as at 30 June 1954, would be permitted to choose whether they wished to remain on the European roll or to be transferred to the Coloured roll, but all new registrations of Coloured voters would be on the Coloured roll. The number of representatives to be elected by Coloured voters would be in relation to the rate at which the number of Coloured voters on the European roll had decreased from time to time and would eventually reach a total of four. Only voters on the Coloured roll would be capable of being elected as or to vote for members of the Union Council for Coloured Affairs.

At the third reading on 14 June, the amended Bill was approved by 129 votes to 42. The Speaker then announced that as 138 votes were required for a two-thirds majority, the Bill had failed to pass.

It has been reported(23) that an intensive lobbying of United Party Members of Parliament has since been conducted, also that the Prime Minister stated in Pretoria on 15 September that he wanted to know by the end of September or the beginning of October whether a two-thirds majority would be forthcoming if the Bill were re-introduced next Session. The reason for this became apparent later, when Dr. Malan announced his resignation as from the end of November 1954.

**The Municipal Franchise for Coloured People**

In the Cape Province, all Non-Europeans in urban areas are eligible for the municipal franchise on the same terms as those appli-
essential services, providing technical and financial assistance where necessary. But its control and guidance should be limited to this, and it should concern itself less than it does at present with matters of procedure. The autonomous powers of larger cities, with their own technical and financial resources, should be extended.

The Committee recommended that executive power should remain in the hands of an elected council. It opposed any suggestion that the present system should be replaced by one of officially appointed commissioners. So far from a limitation, it was an extension of the elective principle that was required: measures should be introduced to enable Non-Europeans to be directly represented on local government bodies. The mayor should be elected by councillors — a system of appointed mayors or burgomasters was considered to be completely undesirable.

The Regional Committee urged that adequate provision for the housing of African employees be made whenever a new European township is established.

At the time of writing, evidence is still being heard by the Commission.

Urban Bantu Authorities Bill

The Urban Bantu Authorities Bill, first introduced in 1952, was not proceeded with during the 1953 or 1954 sessions of Parliament; but it is understood that the measure has been discussed in detail with municipal authorities and will be re-introduced, possibly in an amended form, in 1955. It provides for the creation in all urban areas of Urban Bantu Authorities with executive and financial powers, and of Urban Bantu Courts. The Institute prepared duplicated copies of the first draft of the Bill,(2) and issued two commentaries on it.(2) The main point it made was that, while the proposed extension of executive and administrative responsibility was welcomed, the Institute considered that no practical and just solution of the problem which the Bill sought to solve could be found without at the same time providing for direct representation of Non-Europeans on municipal councils.

Location Advisory Boards Congress

A four-day conference of the Location Advisory Boards Congress was held in Orlando, Johannesburg, during January, and was attended by some 250 delegates, including a number of town councillors, managers of Non-European affairs, and location superintendents. The President of Congress reported that he and several members of the Executive Committee had, a few weeks previously, discussed with the Minister of Native Affairs a difference that had arisen regarding the competence of the Congress to include in its programme matters which he considered political and outside its function. The

(2) RR. 6/52.
(2) RR. 36/52 and 78/52.

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Minister had not defined “politics”, but warned that any political discussion might lead the Congress to the fate of the Natives Representative Council.

The resolutions adopted were as follows:

“‘That this conference of Location Advisory Boards urges the Government to repeal the Bantu Education Act and place the education of the Africans under the Provincial Councils as heretofore or under the Union Education Department.”

“That the principle of equal pay for equal work be enforced.

“That the Government be requested to give Africans preference in the allocation of trading facilities in their own areas.

“That the Government be requested to decrease the number of police raids in the African townships and control them in such a way as to make them the exception and not the rule.”

General Conditions in Urban Areas

Alarmed at the depopulation of country areas, the Dutch Reformed Churches have instigated an enquiry into the effects of the concentration of ownership of large tracts of land, and the problems of adjustment to city life.

The Johannesburg Co-ordinating Council of Welfare Agencies, in conjunction with the Municipality, the University, and the Institute of Race Relations, is planning a conference on the problems of Non-European urban family life. A major problem, as members of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs pointed out at their meeting in July, is that because of overcrowding, lack of privacy, migrancy, the large preponderance of men, maladjustment to urban life, and other factors, a large proportion of African children born in urban areas are born out of wedlock and have no stable homes or families. The average illegitimacy rate in five cities in South Africa((*) in 1952/53 was 1.74 for Europeans, 2.44 for Asians, 24.37 for Coloureds and 42.01 for Africans. The Administrators of Non-European Affairs

(1) i.e. Percentage of total births. The average rate is calculated by the writer from rates for Benoni, Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth as contained in the latest Annual Reports of Medical Officers of Health. These cities were selected merely because the reports happened to be available.
A SURVEY OF RACE

urged that all Bantu unions be registered, including marriages by Christian or civil rites and by African custom and also unions by co-habitation. In reply, the Secretary for Native Affairs said that a Departmental Committee was already investigating whether the Natal practice of registering customary unions should be extended to other provinces.

Siting of Industry

The Government's broad plan for the future distribution of the African people is outlined on page 1. In essence, this is that the minimum number required to maintain industries and services in the towns will be permitted to remain there, the labour requirements of European farmers will be met, and the development of the reserves will be encouraged and facilitated so that the maximum possible number of Africans may find their livelihood there. There will still be very large numbers not provided for in these ways, however, and to absorb them efforts will be made to attract industry to suitable sites on the borders of the reserves, workers in these factories living in dormitory towns in their own areas.

During the year under review, the Minister of Native Affairs has made several statements clarifying his policy. In December he said, "A long-term policy must exist for the development of completely suitable industrial areas, situated in such a way that Native labourers in the towns can live in their own areas.... There must be a transition period to meet the development until such properly situated industrial areas are available. In this transition period there may, however, not be such an extensive establishment of industrial areas that one will be bound by them for longer in the future than is necessary." He went on to say that existing but undeveloped industrial areas spread over the whole Witwatersrand offered the widest opportunity for all the industrial development that might be expected there during the transition years. He was, therefore, opposed to the establishment of new industrial areas on the Witwatersrand, for these would attract further large numbers of Africans. He was particularly opposed to the creation of new industrial areas within the boundaries of a municipality like Johannesburg, which could not solve its existing African housing problem.

In a speech given during July to the Executive Council of the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Minister said that industry must be attracted to suitable areas in the proximity of the reserves, but not forced there without regard to economic consequences. Industrial development would be encouraged in towns like Durban and East London, where there were reserves close enough to fall in with proper planning on the lines of his suggestion. Newcastle would be a very suitable area for future development, as there was a Native area only ten miles from the town, and transport, water and coal

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were available. There were other places where industries were already developing close to Native areas, for example the Good Hope Textile Factory near King William's Town, the Foskor Works in the Leydsdorp district, the sugar mill at Pongola, the pulp and paper industry in the Tugela district, and the lime works in the Taungs district.

Later, in a press statement, the Minister said that every morgen of industrial land, if fully developed, required between 14 and 28 married African workers and between six and 12 single ones. In addition, every two Africans in industry drew one into commerce and other services. Every morgen of industrial land could thus attract up to 60 Africans to the neighbourhood concerned. The Native Affairs Department then ruled that in industrial layouts three morgen of location land must be made available for each morgen of industrial land.

The Federated Chamber of Industries stated that industry could not complain about the Government co-ordinating industrial development with the housing of employees, provided it was done within the Minister's undertaking that it was not the Government's policy to halt the economic development of South Africa. Reef Municipalities, however, have been very much concerned over the Minister's statement that in special cases only would the establishment of new industrial townships on the Witwatersrand be approved. An application of this nature by Boksburg Municipality during September 1954, was refused on the ground that the existing industrial area there was only half-developed and that, in spite of this, there was serious overcrowding in the African township. The Chairman of the Council's Non-European Affairs Committee replied that for the past two-and-a-half years the Council's endeavours to solve its African housing problem had met with no response from the Minister, who instructed that the report of the Regional Planning Commission should first be awaited. A special meeting of the Council of Reef Municipalities resolved to send a delegation to the Minister to seek clarification of the whole matter. They consider that it is essential to plan well ahead, since it frequently takes up to two years from the time of application before a township is proclaimed.

Plans for Racial Zoning of Urban Areas

There has been much planning during the year in terms of the Group Areas Act, but few decisions have been made public. Ad hoc Government-appointed planning and reference committees and local authorities have continued to draw up schemes for racial zoning, and the Land Tenure Advisory Board and committees thereof have continued to tour the country, hearing representations from these bodies and other interested organizations and individuals. The Board's recommendations are submitted to the Minister; but so far

(6) This speech was published in The Manufacturer, July 1954.
(7) Star, 29 September 1954.
(9) Statement published in the Star, 1 October 1954.
he has proclaimed one group area only — for Coloured people in Roodepoort.

Broadly, the position is that the whole Union is a controlled area, in which inter-racial transfers of ownership and occupation of property are subject to permit. The basis for control of occupation is the racial group of the owner of a property. Urban areas in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal are specified areas, in which the basis for control of occupation is the racial group of the lawful occupant of a property at a specified date (30 March 1951 in the Transvaal and Natal). In terms of proclamations issued during the year under Section 13 (3a) of the Act, portions of certain specified areas have been made defined areas, within which, whenever a building is erected or extended, the Minister of the Interior will determine by which racial group it may be occupied.

It was reported in the press in July 1953\(^{(10)}\) that the Government intended amending the Group Areas Act to make provision for a system of public acquisition of property to protect owners affected by the proclamation of group areas. The idea was that a public utility company would be formed to buy properties which their owners were forced to vacate and for which there was no ready buyer prepared to pay the full market price. On the other hand, owners who received a price above the “market value” would pay their excess profits to the company. The proposed legislation has been discussed with representatives of state departments, provincial administrations and municipalities, but was not introduced during the 1954 session of Parliament.

In terms of a Government Notice issued in May\(^{(11)}\) it was laid down that, for purposes of the Group Areas Act, a white man married to an Indian, Chinese, or Malay woman would be regarded as being of the racial group of his wife. It is obvious that there are going to be many difficulties in classifying people into group areas. In November, for example,\(^{(12)}\) a charge was laid against a man that, being a member of the Malay group, he occupied a house in Wynberg, Cape, which is a specified area, without a permit, the house having been occupied formerly by an Indian. Under cross-examination the land tenure inspector admitted that he did not really know to which racial group the man belonged. The magistrate, in acquitting him, said, “From the nature of this case it is difficult if not impossible to prove that a person belongs to a certain group.” There will be cases of hardship, too, like the one in Durban\(^{(13)}\) when a man and his wife were convicted under the Act, each sentenced to a fine of £10 (or 10 days) suspended for three years, and ordered to vacate their home, which belonged to the man’s father. The house was classified as being for white occupation, and the magistrate said that though

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the couple did associate with some white people, they had produced insufficient evidence to establish, on the balance of probabilities, that they were generally accepted as members of the white group. Counsel for the defence pointed out that the couple would be unable to purchase any other property in Durban, because there was no place where Coloured people were allowed to buy.

With the object of ensuring that housing schemes conform with group areas planning, it has been decided that the Housing Commission will not consider applications for funds unless the approval of the Land Tenure Advisory Board has first been obtained.

The Chairman of the Board has clarified the position of mission churches under the Act.\(^{(14)}\) They will be regarded as companies. European-controlled churches doing mission work in Non-European areas will thus not be affected for 10 years after the proclamation of group areas, but after 10 years will have to apply for permits to continue in operation. (A later ruling by the Minister of Native Affairs, relating to mission churches in African areas, is quoted on page 69.) Mining companies are finding themselves in a difficult position. At a sitting of the Board in Johannesburg, counsel for several such companies said\(^{(15)}\) that in terms of the Act mining companies were prohibited from using land for any other purpose that that for which it had been proclaimed, and that permits would thus have to be obtained for every building, however humble. There was no provision in the Act for a blanket permit covering the multifarious activities of a mining company.

Africans have probably been less inconvenienced under the Act than have other Non-European groups, since local authorities have for many years been required, in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, to set aside locations for their residence. Coloured people have suffered in that housing schemes for them which might otherwise have been erected, have been delayed pending completion of plans for racial zoning. But it is the Indians who are likely to be the chief sufferers. In larger towns, such as Durban, the whites have for many years been concerned about the fact that Indians were purchasing properties in “white” suburbs, and since 1943 there has been legislation prohibiting such purchases. The authorities are hoping to settle this question finally under the Group Areas Act. In smaller towns, another aspect has been raised. Because so many other doors of opportunity are closed to them, the more ambitious of the Indians have tended to concentrate on commerce. It is estimated by Mr C. W. M. Gell\(^{(16)}\) that while throughout the Union the proportion of shop licences (excluding peddlers, hawkers, etc.) held by Europeans and Indians is almost exactly in ratio to their numbers in the population,

\(^{(10)}\) Star, 20 July 1953.

\(^{(11)}\) Government Notice No. 87 of 28 May 1954.

\(^{(12)}\) Case as reported in the Star, 17 November 1953.

\(^{(13)}\) Case as reported in the Star, 2 April 1954.

\(^{(14)}\) Statement as reported in the Rand Daily Mail, 20 February 1954.

\(^{(15)}\) As reported in the Star, 17 August 1954.

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about fifty per cent. of the tiny provincial communities of Indians are shop-owning families.\(^{(17)}\)

In plans for racial zoning submitted to the Land Tenure Advisory Board during the year, five of the smaller local authorities, namely Lydenburg, Dundee, Glencoe, Brits, and Bloemhof, have proposed that their Indian communities should be moved out of town, in many cases to undeveloped stretches of land. The Indians have been represented by counsel at hearings of the Board in all these areas, and no final decisions have yet been made public. It seems unlikely, however, if they are moved out of the towns, that permits will be freely granted to them for trading in the "white" areas, and most of the Indian traders will thus undoubtedly suffer severe financial loss if the plans are implemented. It is noteworthy that in none of the applications has the evidence of the local authority shown any friction between Europeans and Indians; on the contrary, it has been evident that in all the towns concerned a substantial section of the white community trades with the Indians.

Lydenburg Municipality was one of the first to apply for the implementation of the Act, and its plan involved moving the 18 Indian families in the town, who owned seven trading licences, to a site over two miles away. At a hearing in 1952, the Chairman of the Land Tenure Advisory Board announced that he could not endorse the suggestions, and called for new proposals. Another hearing was convened in March 1954. Meanwhile, however, the Minister of Health, at the request of the local Member of Parliament,\(^{(18)}\) dissolved the Lydenburg Rent Board on the ground that there was no justification for its existence as it had held only 13 meetings in eight years. In consequence, four of the seven Indian traders, who rented their premises from Europeans, were no longer protected under the Rents Act, and were given 30 days' notice under the common law. (It is understood that an extension was subsequently granted in at least one case). As Lydenburg is a controlled area, they were unable, unless permits were granted, to purchase or rent other premises from Europeans. Indian traders have been hard hit in East London, too, where the Land Tenure Advisory Board has ruled that they may not lease shops in the new Market Building.

Attempts have been made under the Act, by local organizations and individuals, to have ejected a Catholic boarding school for Africans at Skeerpoort, near Magaliesberg, and a Catholic church, attended by Coloured as well as European worshippers, in the centre of Upington.

On four occasions during the year, at Lydenburg, Pietermaritzburg, Brits, and Johannesburg, the Chairman of the Land Tenure Advisory Board ruled that the Indian Congress should not be permitted to give evidence at public hearings, since it had no direct financial interest in the proceedings and its main object had been an attack

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on principle against the Act itself. This ruling was set aside in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on 15 October 1954, after the Indian Congress had made an urgent application to interdict the Board from continuing its public enquiry in Johannesburg until the Congress was allowed to take part. The judge said it seemed clear to him that the word "interest" could not be limited in accordance with the Chairman's interpretation. It seemed that the Board was compelled to hear any interested person unless there was good reason for not doing so. It was no more entitled to advance as such a reason the fact that objections were irrelevant than a judge would be entitled to refuse to hear counsel on the grounds that on past occasions counsel concerned had advanced irrelevant arguments to the court. The Board is noting an appeal against this judgment.

Plans for Racial Zoning of the Southern Transvaal

A large number of authorities have been engaged in drawing up plans for racial zoning of the Southern Transvaal. A Government-appointed sub-committee of the National Resources Development Council is working out a development plan for the Reef-Pretoria-Vereeniging area. An inter-departmental Native Areas Zoning Committee, headed by Mr F. E. Mentz, M.P., has been engaged in devising a plan, to fit in with the first, for siting areas for African residential purposes to serve urban areas of the Witwatersrand, the Far West Rand, Heidelberg, and Vereeniging. Government-appointed planning and reference committees have drawn up plans for the racial zoning of urban areas within the region, and so have the local authorities concerned and other organizations in the areas. The Land Tenure Advisory Board has commenced public hearings of proposals and counter-proposals for the Johannesburg municipal area.

Part IV of the Mentz Committee's report, dealing with the Johannesburg area, was released first and evoked very considerable criticism from the public. The Committee proposes that there should be three African settlements round Johannesburg: Alexandra Township, Eastern Native Township, and the large Meadowlands — Orlando — Moroka area south-west of the city, which will adjoin locations serving towns on the West Rand. The population of Alexandra Township is, in terms of the proposals, to be limited to the carrying capacity of the stands, and only those working in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg will live there. Eastern Native Township (which contains only 602 houses) is to serve the eastern industrial area of the city. All other Africans, including those at present living in a number of squatter camps, are to move to the south-west. The plans would involve the clearance of large settled African townships such as Pimville and Western Native Township, and also the removal of thousands of Coloured and Indian families. A total of nearly 170,000 Non-Europeans might have to be moved (over one-third of the Non-Europeans living in Johannesburg townships — i.e. all those other than mine labourers and domestic servants).

\(^{(17)}\) Further details are given on page 51.

\(^{(18)}\) See Assembly Hansard No. 5 of 5 March 1954, Col. 1632.
Western Areas Removal Scheme, Johannesburg

It was reported in our last Survey that an ad hoc advisory committee, consisting of representatives of the Government and Johannesburg City Council, had drawn up broad outlines of a plan for the removal of about 57,000 Africans from Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare, and Pageview to new townships to be called Meadowlands and Diepkloof, which were to be established about 10½ miles south-west of the city, adjacent to existing large African townships. This plan was in due course adopted by the City Council subject to certain safeguards. Before the Council had been notified whether its safeguards were acceptable to the Minister, however, it sold Meadowlands to the Government.

In November 1953, the City Council asked the Minister to initiate a judicial enquiry to investigate ownership in the Western Areas, and requested that the Council be permitted itself to carry out the removal scheme in terms of the conditions it had previously laid down for co-operation, which were that removal and rehousing should be on a priority basis determined by the Council; that removal, except by consent, should be the last alternative after all other means had failed; that freehold title be available at Meadowlands for those who possessed it in the Western Areas; that full compensation be paid; and that adequate transport, religious, health, school and recreational facilities be provided in the new area. These conditions were not acceptable to the Government.

Public opposition to the removal scheme was meanwhile becoming vociferous. An African Anti-Expropriation and Proper Housing Movement was formed, and a number of African stand-holders in Sophiatown and Martindale signed undertakings not to sell their properties. A public meeting of property owners and tenants held in Sophiatown during March resolved to continue strenuously to oppose the scheme. Representatives of the Africans in the Western Areas petitioned the House of Assembly to allow them to put their case before Parliament. A deputation from the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee met the General Purposes and Native Affairs Committees of the City Council to press for slum clearance rather than mass removal. Western Areas Protest Committees were formed in many Johannesburg suburbs; during April they sent delegations to their City Councillors expressing opposition to the mass removal scheme, and requesting assurances that the councillors would not serve on the proposed Native Resettlement Board and would use their influence to see that the Council rendered the Government no assistance other than that which might be made obligatory by law. Another deputation of prominent citizens waited on the Council urging it to refuse to be a party to the implementation of the scheme. A deputation from the City Council went to Cape Town again to urge the Minister to allow the Council itself to implement the removal scheme in accordance with the conditions it had laid down for co-operation. But the Minister had meanwhile decided to proceed with or without the Council's co-operation.

The Natives Resettlement Bill was introduced in March and became law in June as Act No. 19 of 1954. It applies to the four townships of the Western Areas and to such other areas in and adjoining Johannesburg as may be determined by the Governor-General. It provides that a Resettlement Board shall be established, with the status of a corporate body, to undertake the removal scheme. It will consist of not less than nine and not more than 10 members, all appointed, of whom not less than four or (if 10 members are appointed) five will be chosen on the ground mainly of their knowledge of the affairs of the City Council. Its staff will consist of officers seconded from the public service, and, by arrangement, from the service of the Council, and such other persons who may be appointed. Its funds will consist mainly of loans granted by Parliament and sums derived from the sale or lease of properties. It will be responsible directly to the Minister of Native Affairs.

The Board is empowered to acquire, develop, and dispose of land, to build houses, and to grant leases and building loans. It may expropriate land, including properties in the Western Areas, if it is unable to purchase on reasonable terms. Compensation payable for expropriated properties shall not exceed the lesser of either the Municipal valuation plus 20 per cent, or the purchase price plus six per cent, per annum, and the assessed goodwill value of professions or businesses of land-owners will be added. Africans from the Western Areas who are required to move must be provided with alternative accommodation or, if they prefer, a plot on which to build for themselves. If, after receiving at least one month's order to vacate his

(20) RR. 111/54 and RR. 156/54.
promises, an African fails to do so, a magistrate may give him three
days' notice of orders for his summary removal and the demolition
of his immovable property; he may appear before the magistrate
during this period to plead his cause. No action shall lie against the
Board or any official acting under its orders for loss or damage sus-
tained.

The Board is given extensive powers over the Johannesburg City
Council. It may require the Council to supply essential services to
the areas it acquires. Subject to three months' notice it may transfer
to the Council any land and improvements in its possession, the
Council will be bound to accept transfer and to pay for the properties
and also for any expenses incurred by the Board directly or indirectly
in connection with the removal of Africans. If the Board considers
that the Council has failed to carry out adequately any work it has
been ordered to do, the Minister may direct the Board to undertake
this work, recovering the costs from the Council by action in court,
or by levying a special rate on property in Johannesburg, or by
deduction from any moneys due to the Council from the Treasury or
Administration. The Board may be designated an urban local
authority for the purposes of the administration of Native affairs in
its areas, to the exclusion of the Johannesburg City Council. Annual
reports of the Board will be tabled in Parliament.

Immediately the Bill was published, the Institute of Race Relations
duplicated a summary of it(22) and prepared a considered statement(23)
which was sent to Members of Parliament of all parties and to the
press. Attention was drawn to the extraordinarily wide powers to be
given the Board, and the drastic interference with the traditional
relationship between local and central government. Nowhere in
the Bill was there any reference to consultation with the people most
concerned — the Africans from the Western Areas, who are
of the legislation, the freehold rights of these Africans would be destroyed.
The Institute again submitted that the need was for slum clearance
and not for the compulsory removal of an entire community.

The measure was strenuously opposed in Parliament by all oppo-
tion parties except the Independent United Party. Dr the Hon. H.
Gluckman, on behalf of the United Party, moved(24) that the second
reading of the Bill not be passed because, inter alia

"(a) it usurps the statutory powers and rights of local authorities
and is undemocratic and dictatorial;

(b) it deprives persons to be removed of their existing right to
frehold title without providing any opportunity of gaining
new frehold title in areas to which they are removed;

(c) it compels the removal of persons legally residing in an area
without any attempt to gain their co-operation;

In the estimates of expenditure tabled in Parliament during April,
£850,000 was allocated for 1954/55 for the removal scheme: £20,000
for administrative costs, £180,000 for the purchase of properties,
and £650,000 for their development. It is estimated that the entire
scheme may take 10 years to effect. About 15,000 serviced stands will
eventually be available in the Meadowlands area. The erection of
houses there is now in full swing: the first 300 were built by the
Municipality, and then, following the Council's decision to co-operate
no further, the ad hoc committee (whose functions have now been
taken over by the Board engaged its own building workers. Teams of African builders, working on mass-production methods, are now erecting eight houses a day. 8,500 houses are to be built at varying sizes, 20 per cent. detached, 50 per cent. semi-detached and the remainder in rows. The numbers of each having been determined in accordance with the Municipal survey of incomes in the Western Areas. These will be grouped in village units of about 1,500 houses, each unit eventually to have its own churches, schools, communal hall, shops, creches, parks and open spaces. Africans will be distributed between the village units according to their ethnic groupings. A number of serviced sites will also be provided where Africans can build their own houses; for a start, if they wish, being permitted to erect temporary dwellings with materials provided on the hire-purchase system. There will be 30 years’ leasehold of plots. All church groups and African traders at present operating in the Western Areas have been invited to apply for sites at Meadowlands.

The Minister has given the assurance that no-one will be moved until a home is available for him and until the first thousand houses and a school have been completed. It is hoped that the railway line may be extended by then. At present the branch line ends half-a-mile from the area being developed. Those on the outskirts of the Western Areas will move first, the Native Affairs Department supplying transport. As they move out, their houses will be demolished and the Board will sell the land to members of other racial groups, as may be determined or for industrial purposes.

The Senior Urban Areas Commissioner of the Native Affairs Department states (29) that the Board has now acquired 144 properties in the Western Areas and is negotiating for a further 44 properties there. It appears that few Africans have so far sold voluntarily. Purchases have been in the main from European or Asiatic owners or as result of sales in execution. Rates had been allowed to accumulate and the Municipality has recently been pressing for payment, which has been impossible for some African owners. Until the removal begins, residents are staying on as tenants of the Government (now the Board).

Siting of African Housing Schemes in the Cape Peninsula

Cape Town Municipality, like Johannesburg, has been advised by the Minister of Native Affairs that it is Government policy to concentrate African workers in one or two large areas which must not converge on areas occupied or main roads used by other groups. An inter-departmental committee has been appointed to enquire into the siting of locations to serve the city.

The Institute’s Cape Western Regional Committee has submitted evidence to this inter-departmental committee(28). It pointed out that the provision of housing at Langa never caught up with the increasing African population, and, in consequence, Africans commenced settling in unauthorized areas, mainly as squatters, in such places as Windermerci, Cook’s Bush and the outskirts of Goodwood, Parow and Bellville. Following detailed investigations in 1941 and 1943, the Board acquired the necessary land and powers for the extension of Langa and for the establishment of a township at Retreat. The need for housing grew ever more acute: at present 12,273 Africans are housed at Langa, 4,516 at Nyanga, 1,240 in Simon’s Town location, approximately 17,300 by employers on their premises or in compounds, etc., and over 50,000 live in squatter settlements.

Early in 1954, the Minister of Native Affairs ruled that the planned extensions to Langa, east of Vanguard Drive, should not be made, since this road led to Cape Town’s new airport(27) and the extensions would conflict with his buffer zone policy. As the Western Province must be looked upon as the preserve of Coloured labour, the migration there of further African families must be severely discouraged. No more family houses must therefore be built at Langa: future buildings there must be restricted to hostels for single men. Africans from all the scattered squatter settlements must as soon as possible be moved to one central place where all future housing would be concentrated — the area south of Nyanga location was recommended, but the City Council was free to suggest another area if it so desired(28). The squatters were to be rehoused on the basis of site-and-service schemes.

These requirements, which were originally not all made clear, (29) created some dismay, and the Institute’s Regional Committee therefore convened a conference on 2 April 1954, to discuss the whole situation. The Minister was invited to attend or to send a representative, but did not do so. Eighty persons were present, representing 23 bodies including the Cape Town City Council, the Divisional Council, other local authorities in the Peninsula, the Nyanga Advisory Board, and the S.A. Trades and Labour Council. It was pointed out, at the conference, that the Minister’s decision meant that the whole area would have to be re-planned in regard to the siting of industry and the layout of roads and railways. All this would seriously delay the provision of long-overdue housing. Industrial sites at Epping and Ndaseni had been sold on the understanding that a plentiful

(27) See Assembly Hansard of 2 June, No. 17, Col. 6146, for a full explanation of the Minister’s policy.
(28) It is noteworthy, however, that discussions of the inter-departmental committee were limited to sites at Nyanga South and Blesser River.
(29) In particular, the Minister’s decision in regard to the future of Langa was not known. It was thought by many that he intended this township to be evacuated by Africans.
supply of labour would be available near at hand at Langa. Nyanga South was dune and bush country, where drift-sand control would be expensive. There was little hope of a train service there for some years to come. Nyanga was ill-served with transport, and workers in the city who were moved there would have to spend much time in travelling, and would need to devote about one-fifth of their incomes to transport costs. Already 44 per cent. of African families in the municipal area lived below the poverty datum line and another 24 per cent. below the effective minimum level; these percentages would increase considerably if the majority were forced to live at Nyanga.

The conference resolved that the provision of additional housing facilities was a matter of urgency; that it was undesirable to concentrate the whole African labour force in one locality; and that the Minister be urged to withdraw his veto on the extension of Langa.

The City Council has since submitted revised plans for extending this township in the direction of Nyanga.

In a statement made to the Cape Times during April, Dr Sheila van der Horst, the Institute's Regional Chairman in the Western Cape, deeply regretted the reversion to the policy of using migrant African labourers so far as possible. She drew attention to the serious social and economic consequences of the system, and pointed out that if industry in the Western Cape had not been able to attract African labour, its expansion would have been retarded and there would have been less employment for the Coloured people, particularly in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations.

Siting of African Housing Schemes in Pretoria

An ad hoc planning committee, appointed by the Government, completed plans during 1953 for African township development in the Pretoria area. These plans, which were accepted by the Municipality, envisage three large African areas, at Vlakfontein in the north-east, Atteridgeville and Saulsville in the south-west, and Klipfontein in the north. About 2,500 African families now living in Lady Selborne (where many have freehold title), Bantule, and Hove's Ground, and large numbers in scattered squatter camps, will gradually be moved to one or other of these main areas. Housing schemes in progress are described on pages 75, 76, and 77. Housing schemes in progress are described on pages 75, 76, and 77.

Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill

Provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill concerning influx control are dealt with on page 66. Further clauses of the Bill, if it becomes law, will enable the Minister to compel other local authorities besides Johannesburg to eliminate "black spots" in their areas.

The Bill provides that after a public enquiry presided over by a nominee of the Minister has been held, the Minister may require a local authority to take steps for the removal, curtailment or abolition of any location, Native village or hostel, on terms to be specified by himself (including terms for the payment of compensation to Africans affected). To the definition of "accommodate" in the principal Act, which reads "to house or provide with lodging" are added the words "or to make available for occupation any land or premises."

The Government is seeking power further to limit the number of Africans living in "European" areas. In terms of the Bill, domestic servants are in future to be exempt from living in locations or hostels only if accommodated on the premises where they are employed, and no children under 12 years of age may be so accommodated unless with special permission from local authority. Furthermore, accommodation for Africans in "European" areas, whether for domestic servants or industrial workers, must in future be of a class to be specified by the Minister, or approved by the Minister as well as the local authority. No employer will be permitted to house more than five Africans on his premises unless he has received special permission; this clause is intended to deal with "locations in the sky," i.e. the housing of Africans in rooms on top of flats or hotel buildings.

The Institute of Race Relations issued a statement on the Bill which was sent to Members of Parliament of all parties and to the press. The institute pointed out that while the object of the new definition of "to accommodate" was presumably to cover site-and-service schemes, there was no mention of services, and in theory it would be impossible for the Minister to order that Africans should be moved from their homes to bare veld. It was unlikely that this would be his intention, but no Minister should have this power. It should be imperative that alternative housing be provided before persons were removed from existing accommodation; and power to remove people from their homes should in any case be exercised only for the most compelling reasons of public good and with proper judicial safeguards. If it was considered desirable that the number of servants in residence in flats should be limited, an essential preliminary was that alternative housing and adequate transport facilities should first be provided.

The Southern Transvaal Regional Committee of the Institute held a public meeting during March to discuss "Johannesburg's future: What the Government's proposals mean. " The Natives Resettlement Bill and the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill were considered.

During the same month, the United Municipal Executive discussed the Bill and, by a small majority vote, decided to ask the Minister to defer the measure until it had been considered by a liaison committee of this body and the Native Affairs Department. The Bill was held over for the 1955 session of Parliament.

Freehold Title and "Black Spots"

The Minister's conception of a "blackspot" has been clarified to...
the public during the year. He has said, "A black spot is an area in which Natives own property in a European area, and a white spot is an area in which Europeans own property in a Native area." He has also explained that, in his view, a location is not a Native area. It is European-owned property which belongs to a European city council, "and the Natives who reside there reside there just as Native farm labourers live on the farm of a European owner... The only Native areas in South Africa... are the scheduled areas and the released areas." The aim of "black-spot" removal, then, is to deprive Africans of freehold title outside the Reserves.

Yet the Mayor’s Joint Committee which has been sitting in East London writes, "It is certainly a serious injustice that thrift by Africans taking advantage of the building society movement is at present directly assisting in the housing of Europeans and does not in any way help the African people who stand in far greater need of assistance in the way of housing. ... Although the many societies ... collect deposits amounting to thousands of pounds every year from African depositors throughout the Union, there are no related facilities for the loan of these moneys to Africans... We understand that they are unwilling to do so on account of the lack of security of title or tenure."

Africans who are removed from townships like Sophiatown and Lady Selborne to proclaimed locations will suffer from other disadvantages besides the loss of freehold rights. They are at present subject only to municipal by-laws which apply also to Europeans, their friends from other townships can visit them freely without special permits, and tenants, if behind with their rent, are liable only to civil action. But in proclaimed locations, owners of houses (built on leasehold stands) may not sell or bond their property except with official permission, and if they no longer qualify to remain in the urban area or infringe location regulations they may be evicted. Tenants may be evicted for similar reasons; and those who are even one month in arrear with rent are liable to imprisonment or eviction. Visitors from other townships require permits from the Location Superintendent.

Buffer Zones and Access Roads

The Minister has also ruled that locations should have their own townships should be away from developed European areas, or, should this be impossible, should be separated from main roads or areas occupied by other groups by industrial areas or other buffer strips 200 to 500 yards wide, depending on circumstances. This requirement is causing concern in many areas, particularly Durban, where the topography limits areas where housing schemes are possible.

The 170 acres set aside as an emergency camp for Africans at Umbhiw Calbe may be reduced to something in the vicinity of 50 acres if full buffer requirements are met; but the City Council has placed alternative suggestions before the Government.

(31) Assembly, 2 June 1954, Hansard No. 17, Col. 6152.
(32) Assembly, 1 April 1954, Hansard No. 9, Col. 3204

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- The Minister has also ruled that locations should have their own access roads. The use of main, and more particularly national, roads as local transport roads for locations is sternly discouraged by him.

Lease of Sites in Locations to Churches

A circular dated 3 September 1954, signed by the Secretary for Native Affairs, was sent to all urban local authorities. It emphasized that acquisition of sites in locations by churches must be approved by the Minister of Native Affairs as well as by local authorities, and continues:

"It has been decided that, as regards the maximum duration of occupation, no agreement or permission to occupy shall be for longer than on a yearly basis.

"Owing to the intervention by representatives of certain church and other bodies in matters outside the scope of the work they should undertake among Natives, it has been decided that provision should be made for the cancellation of leases if the activities of any such representative, outside the normal scope of his work, are of a subversive nature, or might tend to lead to or encourage deterioration in the relationships between the Natives and Governmental persons or bodies, if not to out-and-out defiance or breaches of the law.

"When, in the opinion of the Minister of Native Affairs, the occupier uses the site or allows or suffers it to be used for purposes other than those for which it was granted, or the activities of the said occupier, or any of his representatives whether on the site or elsewhere, are such as to encourage or tend to encourage deterioration in the relationships between Natives and the Government or governmental persons or bodies, the grantor or lessor can give three months’ notice in writing of the cancellation of the permission to occupy."

Ethnic Grouping in Urban Locations

Early in 1954, the Department of Native Affairs asked certain urban local authorities who were planning new African locations to apply the principle of ethnic grouping. Benoni Municipality agreed to do so in the new township of Daveyton. The local Advisory Boards were opposed to the principle but agreed to give the scheme a trial. Other local authorities, however, were in some doubt as to exactly what was required, and were opposed to the idea. The principle was not enshrined in any legislation. Clause 2 (4) of the Bantu Authorities Bill provided that so far as possible the African inhabitants of each ward should be members of the same ethnic group or tribe; but representatives of the United Municipal Executive, at a meeting with officials of the Native Affairs Department held in January 1954, had agreed to ask the Minister to consider deleting this clause. The Transvaal Municipal Association, in a memorandum.
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on the Bill, said that in its experience housing without regard to divisions of this nature lessened inter-tribal friction.

At a meeting held in June, the Transvaal District Committee of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs discussed the matter. A representative of the Native Affairs Department suggested that they might put it to the Africans whether they would like to live in selected areas without making them feel that it was compulsory for them to do so. The meeting resolved to ask the Native Affairs Department to state what it considered the advantages of ethnic grouping to be. Johannesburg Municipality discussed the principle with Advisory Boards in its area, all of whom expressed their opposition. There was still no indication that it was irrevocable Government policy, and no debate on the subject has been held in Parliament.

Meanwhile, the ad hoc Advisory Committee on the Western Areas Removal Scheme notified Johannesburg City Council that it was the Minister's wish that the settlement of the Meadowlands-Diepkloof area should take place in accordance with ethnic groupings, and requested co-operation. The Council replied that it could not support the proposal. There was much public discussion: the Institute of Race Relations issued a press statement(33) saying that from its experience of the urban situation, any attempt to divide urban Africans into ethnic and language groups and to settle them on a tribal basis would be in direct conflict with the unmistakable course of development of the urban African community.

The Department of Native Affairs then clarified exactly what was required. It transpires that the Minister desires local authorities to set aside separate residential areas in new townships for Africans of the main language groups (Nguni, Sotho, and "others" on the Reef), with further sub-divisions where practicable. Ethnic grouping is to be applied gradually in existing locations too. In cases of intermarriage, families may choose the area in which they wish to live. This scheme, the Minister considers, will simplify control, and will facilitate mother-tongue education in primary schools and also the creation of Bantu authorities and Bantu courts. It will in his opinion be possible through this scheme to harness the principle of tribal seniority in the maintenance of order.(34)

It is reported by the Johannesburg City Council(35) that the Minister in effect stated then that unless the Council agreed to adopt ethnic grouping in future site-and-service and housing schemes, no further housing funds would be made available. Continuing to maintain that the principle was not enshrined in any legislation, the City Council requested an interview with the Prime Minister to discuss this matter and other difficulties that had arisen in connection with site-and-service schemes, but the request was refused. The Council's Manager of Non-European Affairs later intimated that as ethnic grouping is to be based on a linguistic and not a tribal basis, he was prepared to recommend to his Council that ethnic grouping be accepted, with the proviso that if it resulted in any trouble the full responsibility would be that of the Government.

The Shortage of Housing

The report of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed in 1953 to enquire into the housing shortage has not yet been made public. No later over-all figure is available than that given for Africans by the Native Affairs Department in 1952, when it estimated that the shortage in urban areas then was of 167,328 dwellings and that a further 185,813 dwellings would be needed during the next 10 years: a total of 353,141 for Africans only.

At a meeting of the Natal Provincial Council on 16 August 1954, the Administrator said that the shortfall in the urban areas of Natal was 4,300 houses for Europeans, 500 for Coloured families, 12,000 for Asians, and 21,000 for Africans.

From information kindly supplied to the Institute by local authorities, it appears that so far as Africans are concerned, if accepted removal schemes (excluding the Mencuz scheme for the Southern Transvaal) are to be implemented, if those in unsatisfactory dwellings and slum areas, those living as sub-tenants and those in squatter camps are to be rehoused, 46,149 more houses are needed in Johannesburg. In the Cape Divisional Council and Cape Town Municipal areas, 47,000 dwellings are required; in Pretoria, 21,722; in Durban, 14,000; in Germiston, 12,000; in Port Elizabeth, 12,000; in Benoni, 8,000; in East London, 3,500; in Vereeniging, 2,100; in Vanderbijlpark, 2,000; in Brakpan, Boksburg, Bloemfontein and Springs each about 1,500; and in Kimberley, 1,000. In these 15 larger urban areas alone, then, the shortage of housing for Africans is 175,471; and (partly as result of removal schemes accepted for Pretoria and Johannesburg) the position has obviously deteriorated since 1952.

It is not only Africans who are living in overcrowded, slum conditions. Full statistics for other groups are not available, but in Johannesburg, for example, 5,662 houses for Coloured families and 2,187 for Asians are needed. Port Elizabeth needs at least 2,000 more houses for Coloured people, and Pietermaritzburg needs 920 for Asians. Pretoria requires 710 for Coloured families and 824 for Asians.

Financing of Housing Schemes

In the estimates for 1954/55, a sum of £8,500,000 was allocated for National Housing. This is the same amount as was voted the
previous year, but during that year a further £1,750,000 was later provided, giving a total of £10,250,000. (38)

This system of annual Parliamentary votes, and the requirement that amounts from their allocations not spent by local authorities during the year must be returned to the Treasury, have discouraged long-term planning. It has frequently been advocated that a National Housing Fund be created. Private organizations including the National Federation of Building Trade Employers and the Standard Oil Refining Company have during the year suggested that private enterprise should assist with the erection of houses for Africans; but this would require an amendment to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which it is understood the Minister is unwilling to make (39), to allow European-controlled companies to acquire an interest in a Native location. Durban Corporation has recently been authorized to float a loan of £10 million for Non-European housing.

At its meeting during September 1954, the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs resolved to urge that the Native Affairs Department should take over the housing of Africans from the National Housing and Planning Commission. It was considered that delays would be minimized if one body alone was responsible.

**Rate of Building during 1953**

The National Housing Office advises (38) that during the year ended 31 March 1953 with the £10½ million then available, 2,983 economic and 393 sub-economic houses were built for Europeans, and 1,031 economic and 6,560 sub-economic houses for Non-Europeans.

The National Housing Office's system of classification is probably not the same as that used by the Bureau of Census and Statistics (39), which has issued totals for 1953 of dwelling-houses and flats built in the 18 principal urban areas and 44 smaller towns. The period covered overlaps by three months only; but the very large difference, particularly in the case of houses for Europeans, makes it apparent that the system of classifying privately built houses probably differs. The Bureau states that in the towns concerned, 8,136 dwelling houses were completed for Europeans during 1953, 781 for Coloured and Asiatic people, and 5,019 for Africans. Of these, the numbers privately built were 7,249, 243, and 692 respectively. In addition, 5,176 flats, 1,025 flats incorporating other premises, and 2,772 other residential buildings were completed in the towns concerned.

In any case, looking at the two sets of figures in conjunction, it is clear that not more than about 8,500 houses for Non-Europeans could have been built from National Housing funds and privately during 1953. This rate was far too slow: 35,000 houses a year for ten years are required for Africans alone. (40)

**The Minister's Plans to Speed the Provision of Housing for Africans**

The Minister of Native Affairs has realized that a new approach to the problem is needed if all Africans required as employees in the towns are ever to be housed adequately. Under previous methods the backlog in housing was increasing from year to year.

The steps he has taken, which will in turn be described in greater detail below, have been to insist on the introduction of site-and-service schemes for the rehousing of Africans now in squatter settlements; the encouragement of economic building schemes and those providing different types of houses for the different income groups; the discouragement of purely sub-economic building schemes; the introduction of economic rentals for those considered able to afford these; the establishment of the Services Levy Fund; the introduction of the Native Building Workers Act; and the encouragement of experiments to reduce building costs.

**Site-and-Service Schemes for Africans**

Bloemfontein was the first town in the Union to adopt the assisted home-ownership policy for Africans which, in a modified form, forms the basis for the Minister's new site-and-service schemes. Africans who have worked for at least a year in Bloemfontein may apply for a building plot, at the same time submitting their building plans, simply drawn, or borrowing plans from the Municipality. Successful applicants are granted a plot, receive advice about their plans, and may, if they wish, purchase building materials from the Council to a maximum of £75 worth at any one time. One-tenth of the sum owing is payable in cash, and the remainder must be repaid over 10 years at current rates of interest. Building operations are supervised, and the Municipality provides roads, street-lighting, water taps at vantage points in the township, and night-soil and rubbish removal services. At the commencement of the scheme the Africans were permitted to live in pondokkies on the site during building operations; but unsatisfactory living conditions resulted, and a proper dwelling must now be completed within nine months of the allocation of the plot. During 1952/53, 235 of these owner-built houses were completed except for permanent roofing, for which materials were not available. About 1,400 further houses are required, but the scheme has been held up owing to a shortage of stands while the plan for the new lay-out is awaiting approval. It is possible that the

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(39) Letter 11.8/1 of 22 October 1953.
(40) Bullets of Statistics, August 1954, Table F, and June 1951, Table F.6.
(40) Minister of Native Affairs, Assembly, 15 September 1953. Hansard No. 10, Col. 3527.
(41) Information in the pages that follow has very kindly been supplied by the local authorities concerned, in some cases having been supplemented from other sources. Unless otherwise stated "the past year" refers to the period from 1 October 1953 to 30 September 1954.
Municipality may adopt economic letting rather than further assisted ownership schemes.

*Durban* has a site-and-service scheme at the Umlazi Glebe Emergency Camp. Serviced stands are leased to Africans, who make their own building arrangements, often employing European contractors. Loans to a maximum of £250 are available, repayable over 15 years at current rates of interest. Over the last year, 232 houses have been completed, all but one with the aid of loans. Unfortunately, the Government's buffer zone policy will very considerably reduce the area available for housing at Umlazi Glebe.

Similar schemes are in progress in other towns, for example *King William's Town*, and were planned in other areas, for example, *Germiston*, *Kimberley*, and *Johannesburg*. It appears, however, that particularly in towns where the housing shortage is acute, the Minister requires schemes to be of a simpler nature than was originally envisaged. Early in 1954, Johannesburg Municipality discussed a site-and-service scheme in terms of which 10,000 stands would be serviced per year for three years, each stand having a piped water supply and waterborne sewerage. The Municipality would erect houses on 2,500 stands per year, while the balance of 7,500 would be made available to Africans willing to build their own homes. The Secretary for Native Affairs, however, indicated that the scheme should be developed without waiting for the sewerage of the area, temporary bucket sanitation being provided. This the Municipality was unwilling to do, on the ground that it would be wasteful to make so large an increase in its pail service as a temporary measure only. Stalemate was, therefore, reached.

The Minister's intention apparently is (*) that, particularly in overcrowded areas, housing funds should be devoted mainly to the development of sites provided with basic services, on which Africans will be permitted to build temporary shacks, to be replaced within five years if possible by permanent housing. Sites for future churches, schools, shops, recreation, etc. will be left vacant, these amenities to be provided when feasible.

Some local authorities fear that permanent slums will result. Others are giving the scheme a trial. As part of its plan to rehouse squatters, *Pretoria* has set aside 2,400 stands at Vaalfontein East and 5,000 at Saulsville, divided into areas for the Nguni, Sotho, Shangaan-Thonga and Venda groups. Each site will have bucket sanitation, and water is provided, for the time being, in tanks at vantage points. Applicants are lent materials with which to construct one room for a start, and are expected to complete a proper dwelling within five years. *Durban* has a temporary scheme at the Cato Manor Emergency Camp, (an area zoned for eventual European occupation) where Africans requiring assistance with the erection of temporary homes, mainly of wattle-and-daub with iron roofs, are assisted with loans of $20. So far, 1,680 sites have been allocated. A more permanent scheme may be established at Dull's Road if a rail-link can be provided. *Port Elizabeth* is contemplating a site-and-service scheme as an extension of New Brighton to the north, *Kimberley* is planning one at Galeshwere, and the *Cape Divisional Council* has introduced such a scheme at Nyanga.

**Economic Housing Schemes for Africans**

Several local authorities have during the past year proceeded with economic housing schemes for Africans; but in a few cases, at least, it appears that further funds may not be forthcoming until site-and-service schemes are also implemented.

At *Wattville*, *Benoni*, a 2,500-house scheme is being continued, 446 dwellings having been built during the past year. The houses are of concrete blocks, contain four rooms, and have individual water, electricity, and earth closets. They are rented on an economic basis or sold over a 30-year period. A new scheme has been started at Daveyatong, where 70,000 Africans will eventually be housed. Municipal teams of African building workers are erecting two-roomed brick houses, capable of extension, each with a kitchen and bathroom. It is planned to erect at least 1,000 a year. Other serviced sites are provided where Africans may build their own houses, obtaining materials on loan and employing private African contractors if they wish.

*Germiston* has just completed a large home-ownership scheme at Natalspruit, 1,750 brick houses having been erected during the past year by private African contractors. Each house has piped water and water-borne sewerage. Successful applicants pay one-tenth of the cost in advance and the balance in instalments.

*Pretoria* has set aside 10,000 stands at Vlakfontein West and 3,000 at Atteridgeville where teams of African building workers are completing eight houses a day, having, since January 1953, completed 2,000 in the former and 200 in the latter area. The houses are four-roomed, and are sold by instalments to people moving in from squatter camps.

About 12 houses a day are being built by African building workers in *Johannesburg*. The scheme is a very recent one, but already 400 houses have been built at Dube, and the teams are now continuing at Mofolo. In addition, 500 houses have been built during the year at Dube by contract and 200 by the B.E.S.L. All these are for sale by hire-purchase. Fifteen Africans have built their own homes at Dube.

In *Cape Town*’s African township at Langa, 148 modified N.E.51/7 dwellings with three living rooms, a kitchen and internal water-borne sewerage were built in 1953, the economic rental being £4 a month. In 1954 an additional 24 dwellings of this type were erected, and also 48 dual occupancy houses of two or four rooms. In terms of the Minister’s decision to permit the housing of single men only at Langa in future, 148 cottage hostel which will accommodate 2,368 men are being built. About 40 will be ready by the end of 1954. The single
host of three rooms accommodates eight men, the number per room being 2, 3, 3. Some of the hostels are erected in double units.

An economic rent of £1 per month is to be charged.

Rapid housing development was necessary at Sasolburg, and teams of African builders were formed there, too. By December 1953, they had erected 80 three-roomed houses, each with bathroom, kitchen, hot water supply, electricity, and water-borne sewerage. After completing the housing scheme they will build schools, shops, quarters for single men, and a communal hall.

Vanderbijlpark is another place where rapid development has recently taken place. Semi-detached houses, each with water, electricity, water-borne sewerage, a stove and a sink are being built at Bophelong, 1,319 having been completed by December. They are for renting at economic rates, or sale by hire-purchase.

Other towns where economic schemes are in progress include East London, where African builders have during the year built 210 houses of varying sizes at Duncan Village for sale by hire-purchase; Nigel, where a similar small scheme, built by African contractors, is in progress; Roodfontein, where economic four-roomed houses, for sale or letting, are being built in a new township by private contract; Boksburg, where brick houses are being built by Africans for sale by hire-purchase; Bloemfontein, where Africans are building under contract with site permit holders and an economic letting scheme is under consideration; and the Umlazi Mission Reserve, where during the year the S.A. Native Trust has had 487 houses built for sale or letting on an economic basis.

Schemes designed for African Families with varying incomes

The socio-economic survey conducted at Springs by the National Building Research Institute is described in earlier Surveys. It showed that in Payneville, where conditions are especially favourable because the market and milk depot are subsidized, 40 per cent. of the African families could in 1952 afford to pay economic rentals or to build for themselves; 13 per cent. could afford some rent but would have to be subsidized; and 47 per cent. could really afford no rent whatever if they were to cover other essential expenses. A housing scheme for the new township at Kwa Thema was designed in accordance with these results, houses of different types being built in the correct proportions for the various income groups. During the last year, 624 houses of three or four rooms with kitchen and bathroom have been completed by teams of African builders, for rental or sale by hire-purchase.

In Vereeniging, too, there are teams of Africans implementing a scheme to cater for different income groups. Since 1943 they have built 3,383 houses at Sharpe Township, and during the past year have built 100 at Phomolong. These houses, which are mostly three-roomed with bathroom, kitchen, sink, and stove, may be sold by


(43) See Annexure III.

(44) See Assembly Hansard of 24 May 1954. Hansard No. 16, Col. 5518.
on the one hand, on building economic houses for those who can afford to live in them, and on the other, on providing site-and-service schemes for the large numbers now quite inadequately housed.

Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown were two towns whose plans had in consequence to be altered during the year. Mainly with the aid of sub-economic loans, Port Elizabeth has built 2,336 houses for Coloured people at Schauder and Stuart Townships, and about 7,500 for Africans at New Brighton, “White” Location, McNamace Village, and Efundini, also a number of amenities such as creches, old-age homes, clinics, community centres and so on. Port Elizabeth was one of the first towns to train and employ municipal teams of African building workers, and, as result of much experimentation, building costs have been kept to a minimum. But in spite of an intensification of work, it proved impossible to catch up with the demand. The Minister has now refused further sub-economic funds, and has insisted that the Municipality should instead plan a site-and-service scheme. Part of the ground necessary for this, the Minister has said, is available to the north of New Brighton, and the City Council is negotiating with the Divisional Council to acquire a further site at Bethelsdorp. All building schemes for Non-Europeans are, however, held up in the latter area pending the recommendations of the Land Tenure Advisory Board on its racial zoning.

In other areas, sub-economic building has continued while economic or site-and-service schemes were also in progress or being planned. In Pietermaritzburg, for example, the erection of sub-economic houses by African building workers has continued; but an economic scheme is also under consideration. So far as Africans are concerned, the shortage of housing is not acute here. As well as erecting an economic scheme and planning a site-and-service scheme, Johannesburg has continued building sub-economic semi-detached houses at Orlando West: 1,260 have been built under private contract during the past year. Besides erecting dwellings for home-ownership, East London has during the year built 66 more sub-economic houses at Duncan Village. Simon's Town has no schemes in progress now, but previously has provided flats and semi-detached houses for Non-Europeans. The Divisional Council of the Cape is planning a site-and-service scheme, and at the same time is continuing to erect two-roomed dual-occupancy dwellings and hostels at Nyanga: during the year 300 dwellings and accommodation for 448 single men have been built by private contractors as well as departmentally. Besides the site-and-service schemes in Durban, during the past year 102 more flatted houses for Africans were built at Lamont under private contract. Welkom Village Management Board has this year built 444 three or four-roomed houses of mazizalite blocks, has another 156 under construction, and is planning economic and site-and-service schemes. As well as proceeding with its economic scheme, Boksburg Municipality has during the year completed 572 sub-economic dwelling units under private contract, and has another 108 under construction.

Housing for other Racial Groups

It is impossible in a publication such as this to deal in any detail with housing schemes for all the other racial groups, and only a few brief indications of the position can be given.

Particularly on the Reef and in Cape Town, the housing needs of Coloured people are critical. In Johannesburg this group is being squeezed out by industrial development, no new areas can be set aside for Coloured people until racial zoning plans are finalized, and two-thirds of them are consequently living in slum conditions. The Municipality has recently started building another 150 economic houses at Noordgesig, but at least another 5,500 dwellings are required. In the Cape, very large numbers of Coloured families live in conditions of the utmost misery on the Cape Flats, many being flooded out every winter and having to rely on the Cape Flats Distress Association for emergency help. Again, rehousing schemes have been complicated under the Group Areas Act. Sub-economic schemes for them are being erected by the Cape Town City Council, the Citizens' Housing League Utility Company, and by the Councils of Bellville and Durbanville; and economic schemes are also being provided.

A housing utility company associated with Servitas is building houses arranged in garden villages at Grassy Park, and is planning further schemes there and in the Somerset West area, for Coloured families who can pay for their homes over a period of years but are unable to deposit more than about 10 per cent. of the capital costs. Servitas makes up the difference between this sum and the normal deposit required, and arranges a building society loan for the balance. Negotiations are still in progress in regard to the rehabilitation housing scheme planned by the Cape Flats Distress Association. The City Council has during the last year built 152 sub-economic houses; has undertaken a large project for economic housing, the first 300 houses having been completed; and is also constructing a home-ownership scheme.

Kimberley Municipality proposes building further sub-economic houses at Floors Township Extension. Coloured people's need are acute in Port Elizabeth, too, but the City Council's housing plans have had to be revised in view of the decision about sub-economic funds. Bloemfontein is using Coloured artisans in assisted home-ownership and letting schemes at Heatherdale.

Asiatics have been particularly handicapped under the Group Areas Act: the areas where they are allowed to live have been "pegged" and are in consequence becoming more and more overcrowded. No local authority (so far as the writer is aware) is erecting a housing scheme catering for Asiatics.

Overcrowding at Cato Manor, Durban, and uncertainty created by the Group Areas Act, have caused grave tension in the area. Indians apparently fear that Africans wish to oust them; and under race zoning plans it has been suggested that all Non-Europeans should move out. The mounting unrest led to anti-Indian rioting by Africans
during September 1953, which was fortunately quickly suppressed by the police. The Natal Regional Committee of the Institute is giving much attention to conditions at Cato Manor.

While Europeans are better off than are other groups, assisted housing is necessary for many of them, too. Port Elizabeth Municipality has provided a number of home-ownership or letting schemes for them, as have also Bloemfontein, Springs, the Cape Divisional Council and other local authorities. Further assisted housing is being built by the National Housing and Planning Commission, and, in Cape Town, by the Citizens' Housing League Utility Company.

Economic Rentals

Besides insisting on economic and site-and-service schemes for Africans, the Government has decided to enforce the payment of economic rentals by all those deemed able to afford to do so. In the past, assisted housing was theoretically reserved for those whose incomes were below a certain level, but in most cases it proved impossible to eject people when their incomes rose above this level because there was nowhere else for them to go. The authorities had considered allowing them to remain in assisted housing projects but asking them to pay rent at economic rates, but there was the difficulty that the transition would have been abrupt and severe. If the income level for economic rentals were £15 a month, an African family in one of the oldest-type sub-economic houses in Johannesburg, for example, would have paid 17s. 4d. per month in rent while its income was £15 or below; but as soon as the income rose to £15 0s. 1d. per month the rental payable would have jumped to £2 or over.

To meet this difficulty while at the same time reducing losses on sub-economic schemes, the Government has decided that a sliding scale shall be applied. An income-limit has been fixed for each racial group, and families who are accommodated in assisted housing projects will have to pay 3/- more in rent per month for each 10/- by which their monthly income rises above the limit, until the full economic rental is payable. This applies to all racial groups. The income-limit varies according to whether the housing project is or is not in an area where an industrial conciliation agreement or wage determination has been made in respect of the building industry. Within such areas the income-limit for each racial group is £15 for Africans, £20 for Coloured families and £25 for Europeans, while outside them it is £16 10s. 0d. and £22 10s. 0d. respectively.

The calculation of the family income for the purposes of fixing rents is a complicated process. The entire average monthly earnings and allowances of the tenant are included, together with half the income of each of his children residing with him and the full amount paid by each lodger in respect of board and lodging up to a maximum of £4 per child or lodger per month.

Certain local authorities, including Johannesburg, have taken the opportunity to revise the rentals of all municipal houses. Due

Native Services Levy Fund

The Institute of Race Relations and several local authorities have urged that the income-limits should be raised. Before sliding scales were decided upon, Johannesburg City Council discussed the possibility of subsidizing from municipal revenue the rents of African families with incomes of between £15 and £20 a month. Cape Town Municipality has decided upon an income-limit of £20 a month for African families living in houses built from Council loan funds. Even with the sliding scales, it is felt by many that rents should not be increased until an African family has at least £20 a month: according to surveys by the Institute, £23 10s. 4d. was until recently a more realistic measure of "economic" earnings in Johannesburg, and the figure has probably risen since the increase in rail fares was imposed.

The increased rents were originally to apply from 1 July, but the matter was postponed for three months following representations by the United Municipal Executive; and by 1 October no decision had yet been promulgated in the Government Gazette. Protest meetings have been convened by Non-Europeans in several townships, and associations formed to challenge the increases.

According to a statement by the Native Affairs Department on 1 August 1954, £3,116,013 had so far been collected in the 21 urban areas to which the Act has been applied. Local authorities, who administer the money, are allowed to spend a certain proportion on administrative costs — 7 1/2 per cent. on the first £25,000 collected, 4 1/2 per cent. on the next £75,000, 2 1/2 per cent. on the next £100,000, 2 per cent. on the next £200,000, and 1 per cent. on any amount collected over £400,000. Approximately one-fifth of the total (and more during recent months) may be used for the subsidization of transport services to and from African townships, and the balance...
ANNEXURE II

POPULATION STATISTICS

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<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
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<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>1,103,305</td>
<td>366,666</td>
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<td>64.4</td>
<td>77.5</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>13.4</td>
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<td>1954(4) Estimated mid-year population</td>
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(2) It will be noted that 11,295 Africans are unaccounted for. These were travelling by rail when the census was taken, and have not yet been classified as urban or rural. The figures will be adjusted in final census figures: the figures for Africans are still provisional.

(3) From additional Table to Bulletin of Statistics, April 1954.

(4) From Bulletin of Statistics, August 1954, Table A2.

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ANNEXURE III

THE COST OF LIVING FOR AFRICAN FAMILIES

1. Survey by the Institute of Race Relations in 1954

The cost-of-living was calculated for an "average" African family in Johannesburg, consisting of a worker, his wife, and three children aged 14, 10 and 1½ years respectively.

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<td>Food</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>1 13 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>4 5 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax</td>
<td>1 18 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£23 10 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimated monthly income—

- Man's average wage: £11 8 11
- Wife's net contribution: £3 10 0
- Children's contributions: £1 0 0

Income deficit: £7 11 5

2. Survey by the Johannesburg Municipal Non-European Affairs Department in 1950

A survey was conducted of the incomes of 66,588 Africans in the Western Areas of Johannesburg, this total including 20,298 families and a number of single men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of total in this income range(1)</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monthly family income range under £10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£10 and under £15</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£15 and under £20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£20 and under £25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£25 and over</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this survey, the average family income was between £10 and £15 a month. This corresponds closely with the monthly minimum average family income of £12 16s. 6d. obtained by the Institute's investigators in 1950.

(1) Summary of table contained in Municipal report.