

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS AT
SOWETO AND OTHER PLACES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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perhaps they would be..(intervenes).

CHAIRMAN: Blacks in Johannesburg.

DR. YUTAR: Blacks in the Western Cape and then perhaps there would be time to prepare it and hand it in before we conclude the leading of evidence which will be hopefully very early next month?

DR. McCRYSTAL: We shall endeavour to do so.

CHAIRMAN: We would be indebted to you if you could do that. Of course the position about the Blacks in Cape Town is that it really lasted very much longer than the unrest..the unrest there(10 lasted longer than the unrest amongst the Coloureds, I think up to the end of the year it was really serious, well, even after the end of the year. You will remember the unrest in the three townships. If you could do that, because I must say that I very much appreciate the clear way in which you have put your points and the findings in the survey.

DR. mMcCRYSTAL: Thank you.

My Lord, I would like to just make one point and that is that in this kind of thing if there is a period, an intervening period between the time that the event happens and that we (20 conduct our survey, there might be extraneous influences which might come to affect the judgment of the..all the views expressed by the respondents in our investigation, but with that reservation we will very happily conduct the investigation.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

DR. YUTAR: My Lord, the next batting team will be another two gentlemen, Mr. John Edward Holloway and Mr. Jacques de Kock Malan. Are those the full names? Mr. John Edward Holloway and Mr. Jacques de Kock Malan? All right. (30

WITNESSES SWORN IN.

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DR. YUTAR: Now gentlemen, both of you have come to submit this report which you have prepared to the Commission and it has been prepared in your capacity Mr. Holloway as?

MR. HOLLOWAY: At the time of preparation, as Vice-President of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries.

DR. YUTAR: And today you are..(intervenes).

CHAIRMAN: I'm sorry to interrupt one moment again.. - PAUSE -

DR. YUTAR: You appear today in your capacity as?

MR. HOLLOWAY: President of the Transvaal Chamber of Commerce.

DR. YUTAR: And Mr. Malan, your goodself? (10)

MR. MALAN: I am the Labour and Legal Adviser of the Chamber.

DR. YUTAR: Now, who drew up this report, is it a joint effort?

MR. HOLLOWAY: This report was drawn up by a Committee of..I think it was several people of the Executive Council of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, assisted by Mr. Malan as a staff member.

DR. YUTAR: All right. Without further ado I think we can proceed to...(intervenes).

CHAIRMAN: It wasn't originally intended for this Commission was it? (20)

MR. HOLLOWAY: I would like to explain that point too if I may.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, not that I feel out of the picture, but you are here.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Would you permit me first just to make the point of clarification in what could be a misunderstanding of the name of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries. There is indeed also a Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries. As such the sphere of operation of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries is primarily that of the Johannesburg/Witwatersrand complex and (30 the Vereeniging and Vaal area. The Pretoria area is not covered by/..

by my Chamber at all. Then in reply to your question, sir I would like it to be made very clear that there was no intention at any stage to slight this Commission. On our examination of the terms of reference, it looked as though it was going to be a great deal narrower and we thought to put forward a very much broader memorandum which as you will see, was addressed to the Prime Minister.

DR. YUTAR: And in any event you have both readily agreed to submit this memorandum to the Commission in person?

MR. HOLLOWAY: That is so.

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DR. YUTAR: And for that we are grateful.

DR. YUTAR: All right, now who is going to do the reading, ..

MR. HOLLOWAY: I will start and if my voice doesn't last out too well, may I hand over for a while?

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. HOLLOWAY: One more point that I would like to make is the date of this is the 29th of July, 1976, so a great deal further happened at a later stage, that it must be seen in the context of the problems that had arisen up to that time and notably those of June. Memorandum to the Honourable B.J. Vorster⁽²⁰ M.P. Prime Minister. Black Unrest. Introduction. The Transvaal Chamber of Industries which is the largest regional chamber in the country and the most representative of organised employers in the Witwatersrand has long been concerned over the simmering discontent of the urbanised Blacks which has once again boiled over into widespread riots, loss of life, destruction of property and loss of production since the 16th of June, 1976. Our Chamber represents the core of South African industry, ranging from small factories to some of the largest in South Africa. As industrialists and as businessmen, regardless of individual political opinion, we have a deep and vested interest

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not only in the economy of the country but also in the work force without which our factories cannot operate and without the efforts of which the economy of the country as a whole would collapse. The Chamber believes that the only way in which a stable and contented work force can be established and maintained is to look at all the legitimate grievances which workers and their families have and to do whatever is practical to overcome such grievances. The members of the Chamber will always do what they can within the work environment to eliminate any possible discontent, but this will be to no avail if the broad basis of discontent is not first removed. In the six chapters hereunder we have endeavoured to examine one by one the major factors which we think merits consideration by government. We believe that the constructive practical suggestions which we make under each heading will go a long way towards eliminating legitimate grievances on the part of the Blacks to the benefit of the country and all its inhabitants. In making recommendations we recognise the progress must be balanced to prevent our very efforts at improvement becoming the seeds of discontent. Increases in wages mean nothing if these are unable to produce a greater quality of life for the Blacks. Education without its ultimate fulfilment in participation in the administration of the Blacks will bring disillusionment. Training without the opportunity of access to better jobs will be the cause of bitter frustration. The concern of industry is that the right path for future harmony between the races should be taken and followed at a steady, unfaltering and balanced pace. The thought most basic to our submission is the need to ensure a stable, contented urbanised Black community in our metropolitan and industrialised areas. In this context a stable "middle class" is most important. The emergence of a "middle class" /..

class" with western-type materialistic needs and ambitions has already occurred in these areas. The mature family orientated urban Black already places the stability of his household uppermost and is more interested in his pay-packet than in politics. Our prime point of departure should be that this "middle class" is not weakened by frustration and indignity. Only by having this most responsible section of the urban Blacks on our side, can the Whites of South Africa be assured of containing on a long-term basis the irresponsible economic and political ambitions of those Blacks who are (10) influenced against their own real interests from within and without our borders. To achieve this ideal we regard it as essential to recognise the permanence of the urban Black in contrast to viewing him as a temporary sojourner. Furthermore it is believed that the Blacks' desire for a form of civic self-government in the townships must be recognised. The government's recognition of the Homeland leaders as the only "true" and representative leaders of the Black people, including the urban Blacks is in conflict with this desire of the Blacks. It has long been the view of the Chamber that (20) the present system under which the Black employee is paid a low wage and then protected by a variety of subsidies and levies upon employers should be phased out. In order to give the Black employee the dignity and self respect to which he is entitled, his wages should be adequate for him to pay for the services which he utilises. These subsidies and levies occur in the fields of inter alia, house rental, transport and local administration and reference to this principle will be found from time to time in this memorandum. It may also be noted that payment of such adequate wages will go a long way towards (30) countering the criticism from beyond our borders regarding the

rewards/..

rewards given to the Blacks in South Africa.

DR. YUTAR: You now proceed to deal with the topic under the six headings set out on the next page, but we can proceed immediately to the content because we repeat the headings. ---

1. Permanency of the urban Black. It is important to note that the creation of large permanent Black townships near all our cities together with the provisions of Section 10 of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945 have contributed in no small measure to the feeling of permanence of the Blacks who live in these townships. The present (10 population of Black people in the townships are in various stages of permanence but many are second, third and even fourth generation of residents in the townships. They, therefore, have as much adherence to their forebears' homelands as the Whites have to the countries of their forebears. These Blacks consider themselves as South Africans and not homelander; they have indeed strong unwillingness to be considered anything but Black South Africans. Intermarriage in the townships among persons from various tribal backgrounds has also contributed to breaking down tribal loyalties thereby creating a more (20 homogeneous population which has also influenced the urban Black dweller in considering himself a citizen of South Africa and not affiliated or attached to a Homeland. The Government has encouraged industry to train Blacks both within industry and through outside permanent training facilities so that Blacks can fill the enormous gap in the manpower requirements of industry which could never be filled by the relatively small White population of the country. This has also contributed to the concept of permanency which the Black urban dweller has developed. The Blacks see themselves as permanent urban (30 dwellers and industry needs the Blacks on a permanent basis.

Black/..

Black urban dwellers should therefore be regarded as being permanent and be officially recognised as such. It is proposed that black satellite towns be given full municipal status exactly the same as White towns. It may well be possible, without the need for any elaborate legislation, to achieve such a status through suitable amendments to Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945 and the Urban Bantu Councils Act No. 79 of 1961 Section 4, providing for Urban Bantu Councils. It is further proposed that municipal citizenship be granted to qualified permanent (10 Black residents. Such municipal citizenship will qualify the citizen to vote in elections for town councillors and will bestow on him the right to land ownership, with all the consequences of civic rights and responsibilities. The elected council must have full power and authority for the handling of its own finances, i.e. income from rating and other revenues and the control of expenditure as well as the raising of loans. Ultimate jurisdiction over these Black municipalities should be the Provincial Administrations in exactly the same way as with White municipalities. At the outset, the total land within (20 a Black township would be transferred from administration board ownership to the Black municipality which would then have the right to sell stands in the town to the Black citizens for residential or business purposes, thereby raising capital funds for the purpose of providing amenities for the town. The sale, valuation and rating of these properties would follow normal practice in the White areas and the black citizen owners would be required to pay rates in the usual way. Unsold properties would be rented on an economic basis until sold and such rental would provide also for a contribution to the "rates fund" of the (30 of the municipality.

DR./..

DR. YUTAR: Of course, the municipalities, these would still require financial assistance from either the Provincial or Central authorities.

MR. HOLLOWAY: I believe that that point is covered a few paragraphs further down.

DR. YUTAR: Yes, I know. But I thought it only correct to mention at this stage.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Before I continue, may I ask for a possible amendment, certain copies have been amended, some have not in the paragraph I am about to come to, the third line we have (10
"..retain those known local authority functions...", that was an error, it should be "..non-local authority functions..". My apologies if your copies have not been amended.

DR. YUTAR: It should therefore read: "..so that they will only retain those non-local authority functions..". Right.

CHAIRMAN: Yes?

MR. HOLLOWAY: If I may proceed to read. As far as the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards are concerned, their functions will have to be changed in relation to the urban townships so that they will only retain those non-local authority functions (20 which are provided for in the Bantu Affairs Administration Act No. 45 of 1971. Naturally, provision will have to be made to cover the period of transition from control by a Bantu Affairs Administration Board to control by the black municipality. The municipal citizen, with full property rights in that town coupled with full control and responsibilities by the town's elected representative, establishes a channel of communication for the normal settlement of problems resulting from their living conditions in exactly the same way as the White municipal citizen communicates to higher authority within his town, even (30 to that of appeal on the level of the Provincial Administration.

Amenities/..

Amenities provided by the Central Government, e.g. education, railways, postal services, water and power, police, etc. would be catered for in exactly the same way as it is in White municipalities. In this case however, as the black municipal citizen has no vote in the affairs of Central Government the respective Government departments should set up Advisory Councils consisting of representatives of the black municipal councils. These Advisory Committees would assist the government departments concerned in the development and operation of these departments' services insofar as the black municipal areas are (10 affected.

DR. YUTAR: We come now to the second heading: Greater involvement of Blacks in Civic Affairs. --- It is generally accepted that the outbreak of violence in Soweto was not expected by the West Rand Administration Board and came as a complete surprise in spite of the fact that Soweto Urban Bantu Council has been in existence for several years for the purpose inter alia of communicating with the responsible department on all matters concerning the welfare and aspirations of the Black inhabitants of the townships. It is important to (20 examine in the first instance whether the Bantu Councils are from the Black man's point of view, effective, and what steps could be taken to make improvements in order to make them acceptable as an effective mouthpiece of the inhabitants of the townships. Under these circumstances, it is important to note that: (a) the South African traditional way of life has until now made communication between Black and White verbally or otherwise, very difficult. (b) Elected urban Bantu leaders realise that their views and advice which in many instances can only be channelled to officials very much down the ladder, (30 do not reach the policy makers and that they therefore feel frustrated/..

frustrated and that they service little purpose. This frustration is aggravated by the fact that the elected representatives on Urban Councils, Schoolboards, etc. are no longer seen in the eyes of the electorate as effective champions of the Black population. These representatives themselves realise that in the eyes of the Blacks they are seen more or less as rubber stamps of government thinking, if not as government stooges. (c) The Government's recognition of the Homeland leaders as the only "true" and representative leaders of the Black people, including the urban dwellers...apology..the (10 Government's recognition of the Homeland leaders as the only "true" and representative leaders of the Black people, including the urban dwellers, is in conflict with the urban Blacks' desire for a form of civic self-government in the townships. (d) Laws and regulations concerning the life of the township's inhabitants have so far been designed and imposed by the Whites without prior consultation with the people concerned and this has helped to undermine the status of the members of the Bantu Councils. In the light of these shortcomings it is the Chamber's opinion that the Urban Bantu Councils can serve (20 a useful medium between Black and White, between the law and regulation makers and the affected population, provided that-

(a) real power of local Government be given to the Urban Bantu Councils; (b) these Councils have access to top officials in order to put their views and those whom they represent to highest authority; (c) representation on the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards be granted to a Bantu Urban Councillor. This will prove to the people that the Whites are serious in establishing channels of meaningful consultation and greater involvement with authority. When this greater involvement (30 is granted to the Blacks they will have to accept a greater sense/..

sense of responsibility in all matters concerning themselves. Community services such as care for the aged, sick and handicapped, creches, nursery schools, sports and leisure time activities and many others are at present largely provided financed and administered by White organisations. While it is acknowledged that the Whites' help cannot be withdrawn by a stroke of the pen, without causing hardships and social problems, Blacks must be trained for the purpose of taking over these services eventually. When this has been achieved it will help to quash arguments of paternalism and it will imbue in (10 the Blacks a larger measure of civic pride and arouse a greater sense of responsibility.

CHAIRMAN: I think before you go on to the question of housing it will be convenient to adjourn.

COMMISSION ADJOURNS / COMMISSION RESUMES

DR. YUTAR: Mr. Holloway, are you going to take up the cudgels again at this stage? Then we start with page 8, Chapter 3, the Living Environment of the Urban Black. 3.1. Housing Requirements.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Probably no single aspect of the urban Black's (20 environment is more crucial to his stability than his house. The Chamber must stress that in circumstances of national shortage of capital funds, the priority to be given to adequate finance for urban Black housing should be second only to National defence needs. No other expenditure of available funds, is likely to reap the dividends that will flow in the national interest from the provision of sufficient urban Black housing. The Chamber desires to put forward its recommendations on this subject under three headings, viz: 3.1.1. Overcrowding, Undifferentiated Housing and Home Ownership. 3.1.1. Over- (30 crowding. The Chamber acknowledges that the authorities have for/..

for the past 30 years struggled against a vast housing backlog and that apart from slum clearance and essential resettlement programmes, the natural population growth has aggravated the problem. We are deeply concerned however, that instead of an improvement the advent of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, with the attendant administrative and financial problems has if anything, delayed house building programmes. The Chamber is informed that waiting lists of six or seven years are normal in Soweto. We know that newly-marrieds who applied for homes then, now have families of three or more children, (10 that such families are either still lodging with parents or worse still, are split among various relatives. The standard four-roomed house is barely large enough for one family unit. It is usual for such houses to be occupied by two families with often one or more unmarried adult lodgers in addition. There is a real danger of the supposedly orderly post-war townships degenerating into new slums. Reference is made in Annexure A to this document under the heading "Delinquents, Hooligans, et al" to the break-down of family life and discipline. This problem is to an important extent due to overcrowded (20 housing. Adequate funds must be made available for urban Black housing, and forward planning to ensure that sites are available (for both housing schemes and private building) must be adequate and shorn of delays and red tape. 3.1.2. Undifferentiated Housing. The crises of the post-war years led to the development of standardised houses to provide minimum facilities at minimum cost to the State and which could be let at a rental compatible with the then levels of income of the Blacks.

CHAIRMAN: Is that the object or was the object perhaps to (30 provide as many as finance would be able to..(intervenes).

MR./..

MR. HOLLOWAY: Your Lordship, I think the two go together. The reference to minimum cost to the state I think infers your comment.

CHAIRMAN: Well, it is...how many houses can you provide for what money we have available?

MR. HOLLOWAY: Correct.

CHAIRMAN: And then unfortunately some of the facilities have to be taken away

MR. HOLLOWAY: But I think that it should also not be ignored that the or overlooked, rather, that the level of income of the Blacks in the 1940's and 1950's was infinitely below what his income is in the present..at the present time. (10

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Such houses were probably reasonably in accordance with the basic aspirations of the Blacks at the time. But these standards are still being used today, 20 or more years later. The income of the urban Black has increased rapidly, particularly in recent years. Despite the impact of inflation, the available disposable income of most individuals is far beyond what it used to be. The members of the Transvaal (20 Chamber of Industries, who are all important employers of Black labour are distressed at the lack of avenues that exist for the constructive spending of this disposable income. Far too much is spent on liquor and it is noticeable that abuse of liquor is very often found amongst those employees who, through their very sense of responsibility, have achieved large increases in wages. In the western world, a major avenue of expenditure of a growing income lies in consumer durables. Furniture, appliance, hobbies, etc. or in home improvements. Faced with the limitations of the "standardised" house the urban Black (30 who has moved beyond the lower wage levels has no place to keep such/..

such possessions and little incentive to improve his home. It is almost axiomatic that people living in groups according to their means and status. The urban Black, whether he be a graduate or a street sweeper is allocated his house by the Administration Board and obliged to live there. With the housing standardised as it is, this makes little difference to the individual circumstances within the home but it does directly affect his aspirations and his dignity. He is deeply conscious that his children are forced to mix with others of a lower social strata which can only serve to negate the example set by the parents. It is therefore essential and urgent that provision be made not only for areas (as opposed to individual sites amongst standardised houses) where more affluent Blacks can erect homes to their own designs but also for areas of rented housing of a higher standard. The exact amenities to be included in such houses should be established by survey among the Blacks but would certainly include more and larger rooms, ceilings and electricity and possibly also a bathroom, verandah and garage. The rent would clearly be higher; sight should not be lost of the fact that whereas Whites in this country spend around 30% of their salaries on housing, the standard Bantu township house costs less than 10% of the wages of an average Black worker in industry. The sociological advantages of a man's pride in his home, cannot be overstressed. 3.1.3. Home Ownership. Under this heading the Chamber, accepting the practical problems of converting existing townships to freehold, includes leasehold ownership. You will note from that that our prime interest would lie in full ownership but we do realise that there are considerable practical problems. The Chamber is deeply concerned at the delays in putting into practice the announced thirty-year leasehold scheme. Your Lordship the thirty-year was still the

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thinking at the time, that has of course since been replaced by an indefinite period. The Chamber also expresses its reservation about the acceptability to the Black mind of a term as short as thirty years even though it realises that the practical implications may not be very important. Of even greater concern is the hesitation created in the Black mind by the much publicised Homeland citizen requirement. As matters stand at present, thinking urban Blacks see the scheme as "a fraud designed to deprive the Blacks of their birthright". That again has been superceded since this document was written. (10

The Chamber is aware that in addition to other avenues of finance the building society movement is anxious to play its part in the Black home ownership scheme, given the removal of present legal obstacles. Reference has been made previously to constructive spending of disposable income, home improvements and a man's pride in his home. Only under a broadly accepted home ownership scheme can all these ideals come to their full right and can the goal of a stable, contented "middle class" be fully realised. 3.2. Township Amenities. Whilst the Chamber would not wish to see capital funds diverted to any great extent from the provision of housing as such, it would be failing in its duty if it were not to draw attention to the vast backlog that exists in basic amenities in the townships that have developed so rapidly. The more urgent of these would appear to be: (a) electrical reticulation of all premises; (b) street lighting - in which respect highmast lighting has proved itself as the most suitable counter to criminals and vandals. (c) tarred roads and (d) storm water drainage, the lack of both of which accentuate the present squalor of the townships and motivates against any growth of civic pride; (30 (e) provision of telephones, both public and in private houses;

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(f) Proper Shopping facilities: The township resident is dissatisfied that he cannot buy locally at competitive prices and the indications are that the basic reason for this lies in present restrictive regulations, notably the "one-man business" principle. (g) additional sports and recreation facilities, including halls for civic, cultural and recreational activities; (h) providing assistance for private organisations to run a larger number of creches and youth clubs. It should be stressed that in providing the last two items, the schemes should be introduced with the active involvement of the township (10 residents. 3.3. Transport. The pressures that exist on the train and bus services are well known. What must be stressed in the context of this memorandum is the need to realise the connection between the daily difficulties of the individual commuter and the policy of resettlement of the Blacks in townships remote from the city centres and the industrial areas. Thus problems which in other environments could be accepted as a part of life become linked in the mind of the Black man with the treatment he receives from the White. Thus the provision of a fully adequate rapid transit system between all parts (20 of the townships and all areas of major employment becomes a crucial part of ensuring a stable, contented feeling among the urban Black. Overcrowding in the trains serving the townships of the Witwatersrand is a chronic cause of complaint and unfortunately the situation is exploited by hooligans and criminals. Apart from this factor, and the fact that many residential areas are remote from the stations, the impression gained by the Chamber is that the service provided by the S.A. Railways is basically good. The same cannot be said for the majority of bus services. The main carrier in this Chamber's (30 area is Putco and the quality of service and general attitude

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towards passengers displayed by this organisation has deteriorated in recent times. These developments are watched with growing dismay by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries. The risk of bus boycotts has presented a real danger to industrial peace in the urban areas since the Putco boycott of the late 1950's. We believe that new widespread boycotts in June, 1976, were avoided only by close co-operation between Government and Administration Board officials, the private sector and the police. Only the provision of an adequate efficient and regular bus service in all areas where train services are impractical will permanently remove these risks. Such bus service must at all times respect the dignity of its passengers at the hands of its employees, both Black and White. The whole question of adequate public transport must also be linked to the principle enunciated elsewhere that the Black be paid an adequate wage to enable him to pay an economic price for the services which he utilises. (10

DR. YUTAR: We come to the next heading, Education and Training.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Education. The subject of education is of such importance that this Chamber's drafting committee has seen fit to enclose, as annexure A, the full working document prepared for its consideration. Under the circumstances only a brief, a very brief outline of motivation and recommendations appears below. It is predicted that in the year 2000 the population of South Africa will be 60 million of which Whites will be some 6 million. By that year South Africa will be well on the way to maturity as an industrial nation and at least 60% of the work force will need to be at or above the skilled worker level. Obviously, Whites alone will not be able to fulfil the demands of this situation. Blacks will have to play their part. An educated person is not created overnight/.. (20 (30

overnight and some 20 - 24 years are needed to establish a sufficient number of educated and trained personnel able to undertake the skilled jobs that our economy will require. The Chamber must stress that the priority to be given to adequate finance for education and particularly Black education is such that it should follow closely after defence and urban Black housing. There are not enough schools for the Blacks in the urban areas. It is in the highly industrialised metropolitan areas that the greatest need for Blacks at the artisan and technician level will arise and it seems sensible that emphasis should be placed on improving this deficiency as soon as possible. The scarcity of teachers is no less than the deficiency of schools. This deficiency is aggravated by salary scales which fail to attract Blacks to the teaching profession. Furthermore, teachers are often lured into the more lucrative fields thus compounding the problem. In areas where urban school population is sizeable, large non-ethnic training colleges should be set up. The teacher is the key to the whole educational situation and these training facilities should be given priority so that the numbers and the quality of teachers can be improved. There is a need for greatly expanded technical training particularly in the urban areas. At the same time the removal of the barriers to Blacks entering the skilled job level is necessary..apologies..at the same time the removal of the barriers to Blacks entering the skilled job level is necessary to absorb these trainees and make the training meaningful in terms of manpower utilisation. The Chamber therefore recommends a programme to - 1. Devote progressively more money to Black education; 2. build more schools, add classrooms to those which are not at their maximum and renovate and upgrade the schools which are below standard; 3 Phase in free compulsory education/..

education to age 16 for Blacks at the earliest possible date which should include free school books and materials; 4. Encourage pupils to go to at least form III and bright students to go on to form V, assisted by bursaries to cover such expenses as are not part of the free education; 5. Provide adequate teacher training, improve salaries and generally make the profession more attractive.

DR. YUTAR: That I think is a fair summary of Annexure A.

I don't think it is necessary to read Annexure A then we can.. it goes in as an exhibit. (10

MR. HOLLOWAY: I would be happy with that.

DR. YUTAR: Yes, I will hand that in when we come to it as a separate exhibit so that it is attached to the record but in the meantime this is as far as I can see, a fair summary of it.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Correct.

DR. YUTAR: Right, then we go on to training and job opportunities.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Training. In its many submissions to government over the past decade organised industry has repeatedly drawn government's attention to the need for training of all potential (20 sources of manpower and has laid particular stress upon the need for training non-Whites to cater for those positions in our economy previously held by Whites but for which Whites in sufficient numbers, are no longer available. We must commend the government's real concern with the technical training needs of Blacks as evidenced by its actions arising from the Van Zyl Commission's report. Your Lordship it would have been more correct to have said the Van Zyl Committee's report. The setting up of technical training centres for secondary school pupils, the establishment of public centres and the tax (30 incentives to encourage in-plant training are belated steps in
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the right direction. In particular however, secondary school technical training facilities are, we know, inadequate to meet the enrolment applications of young Blacks who are anxious to benefit from the practical courses offered. It is not proposed to describe here the present scope of training its inadequacies and its shortcomings since these are well known to all. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the training facilities which have been created for all races are unco-ordinated and in many instances overlap unnecessarily because of being spread amongst too many government departments and governing bodies. (10) Additionally, in the case of Blacks, training is subject to unrealistic opportunity and promotional ceilings and limitations. Opinions expressed by educated and responsible Blacks who were consulted after the recent Soweto (and other) disturbances, revealed that Blacks are genuinely frustrated by the lack of training and particularly the limitations on the levels of training which inhibits their full potential earning powers. Such earnings could be derived from a greater contribution by themselves of skilled work if they are allowed to train up to the level of their individual capabilities. They (20) see the upper limit barriers as a design by the Whites to keep them in a perpetual state of semi-poverty. If the goals of the economic development programme are to be realistically aspired to, we cannot ignore the essential factor of labour in their achievement. The creation of sufficient skills in this field is paramount since comparisons in the industrial context have shown that one skilled man is more productive than three semi-skilled workers. It is a sine-qua-non that training and acquired skills must be matched by the requirements for such skills in the economy; since, unless this is so, the arts and (30) crafts learned become dulled by non-usage and the individual becomes/..

becomes depressed and resentful of the lack of job opportunities where his acquired skills could enable him to improve his standard of living as well as his self realisation as a human being.

Job Opportunities. In trying to ensure the maintenance of law and order with a fuller and more satisfying life for all at the major point of contact between the races we confine ourselves here to the urban Black in his expectations and frustrations in the work situation, both in regard to advancement and to labour movement restriction. As the Black sees it, (according to several whose views were sought after the disturbances) the average Black cannot understand why he, as a permanent and traditional member of the South African community has to be restricted to only unskilled and semi-skilled work in one prescribed Bantu Administration Board area in which skilled jobs are open, whilst the Government conducts an intensive immigration campaign to bring in foreign Whites and give them unrestricted freedom of movement and job opportunities in these industries in which Blacks have served for years at a subservient level. They feel that after years of assisting artisans in the motor, building, engineering and other industries they have so familiarised themselves with procedures that with only a relatively short period of further training they could adequately perform the required work up to the normal standards of craftsmanship required. They cite as proof of this that not only do Blacks meet production standards as to quality and quantity in other countries but do so also in South Africa in building in urban Bantu townships and in artisan activities in Homeland areas where training to artisan standards in various industries have proved their ability to perform at these levels. The Blacks point out that whilst they are not permitted to be trained to higher standards in South Africa, the other non-white groups/..

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groups can legally practice their skills in certain parts of South Africa and yet in the Blacks' case in areas where Blacks are predominant, shortages are met by White immigration. They see this too as a ploy by Whites to keep them subjugated even at the expense of an improved economy and inflation due to paying to other groups "scarcity value" wages far in excess of the value of work produced or contributions made. Resentment also arises when young men who have - at the cost of enormous sacrifice by their parents and at the cost of outstanding application by themselves under most unfavourable conditions, (10) succeeded in achieving matriculation standard only to find that jobs anywhere near comparable with those offered to Whites or Coloureds and Indians are seldom open to them. Where they are so employed there is invariably a wage differential applied against them - they are expected to be eternally grateful for even being employed. Training, whether by education to matriculation level or in any other sphere can only be a waste of time and money if not fully utilised in job opportunities. The frustrations and resentment of such persons who are denied suitable job opportunities can readily be appreciated but are (20) seen only to be a matter of concern when such frustrations are violently demonstrated under whatever pretext. In the PWV area the Government's 2,5 - 1 Black/White ratio in industry effectively nullifies job opportunities since, when a trained person can perform a job for which a suitable White cannot be recruited, the employment ratio still has to be maintained. The answer from an economic, profit motivated point of view, is usually to increase mechanisation and automation sometimes to that point where over capitalisation occurs and Blacks' unemployment increases. Job reservation as applied at all (30) levels, e.g. under Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act

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or under Industrial Council Agreements are bars to Bantu job opportunities. I note Your Lordship that in our editing we missed via the word Bantu..we started with rather a mixture and eventually changed everything to Black except at that point. This system is riddled with exemptions which then add further frustrations and resentments. An example of the above is where under exemption, a Black is employed as a painter, welder, rigger, lift driver, plasterer etc. he may perform the job for some years in a highly efficient manner. However, as soon as a White - no matter how undesirable or less efficient, (10 presents himself for employment and claims the necessary skills or trade union membership the Black is under threat of being discharged to make the job available to the White. I might add that we have seen this very thing happening in the building industry in the last couple of months. It is highly regrettable that the Black has then to default on personal commitments and to lower his living standards. It would appear that job opportunities in the main are in the labourer, unskilled or semi-skilled occupations unless the Black concerned has had the exceptional opportunity of post-matriculation education. (20 Where in-plant operated training has taken place and Blacks are employed in the higher levels of semi-skilled work it would appear that in the eyes of the urban trade unions and the government, these people have reached the highest point to which they can aspire. If we are to believe this to be acceptable to them we are deluding ourselves to our ultimate downfall since the rising generation is no longer prepared to accept the limitations which its parents accepted as a penalty for having been born without a White skin. We ignore the situation at our peril and attention must urgently be directed to the (30 realisation of the emergence of a new generation of Blacks with

new/..

new aspirations and the determination to achieve them.

It must be agreed that there is in fact no real conflict of interests between the races. The findings of the Human Sciences Research Council on South Africa's future (skilled) manpower needs between now and the next 20 years show that our economic growth will be severely restricted to the detriment of all sections of our population. Recommendation.

1. As a first priority a central co-ordinated manpower planning policy must be designed to overcome the present lack of a coherent flexible national manpower policy. This (10 should then be able to be established as an overall masterplan for the future since out of such logical planning and its implementation will come not only the removal of the existing frustrations on the part of non-Whites but also a complete policy covering manpower utilisation for all groups of our population. Hopefully those Whites who think that their livelihood is endangered by Black progress will be made to realise that their fears are groundless following such logical planning. 2. That immediate steps be taken to widen the skills training aspects and the removal of severely restricted overall usage of Blacks (20 in order that the necessary full utilisation of the available manpower of the country can be mobilised, both in the fight against the present inflation and in meeting the known future needs in the South African economy for the required skilled manpower upon which the economic growth of the country will depend. With Your Lordship's permission I would like to ask Mr. Malan to take over for a while.

MR. MALAN: 5. The Economic Position of the Black Worker.

Approximately seventy per cent of the economically active persons in South Africa are Black. The economic situation of the (30 Black worker and his contribution to the national economy are

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therefore, of vital importance to the country as a whole. The Black workers of the Republic are almost entirely confined to the labouring and semi-skilled categories of work. There is evidence to show that, in the Witwatersrand area, less than 7% of the Black work force falls in the skilled and supervisory categories. The Black urban dwellers' wages are therefore in the bottom brackets and there is evidence to show that his movement upwards in the occupational ladder is pathetically slow - in fact probably not more than about 1% improvement per annum. This is far too slow, to meet the manpower needs (10 of the economy and the aspirations of the Black worker. A developing country depends to an ever increasing extent on skilled technicians and supervisors rather than labourers. The inability to move our Black workers up the occupational ladder fast enough is very serious indeed; a major hurdle being lack of education. The outcome is an ever increasing shortage of skills in the higher occupational levels and a glut of unskilled and semi-skilled workers at the bottom. This exerts pressures in the labour market which force industry to pay to the scarce skilled categories unrealistically high rewards which are (20 firstly unrelated to existing wage agreements. The reverse is true at the bottom of the ladder. An over supply of labour leads to wages which are close to the already low laid down minima. While industry in the Transvaal has, on average, more than doubled labourers' wages since 1973, it has not succeeded in narrowing the wage gap because it has had to overpay the skilled White workers. Indeed, the gap between average White and average Black wages has increased in real terms in the last three years. With the best will in the world, industry will not succeed in closing this gap if it is shackled by the (30 lateral immobility of labour imposed by restrictive legislation and/..

and by the vertical block caused by the very poor state of Black education and training. The position is exacerbated by job reservation in one form or another, caused by the attitude of some trade unions. There is widespread pay discrimination between Blacks and Whites doing the same kind of work, for example, doctors, teachers, nurses, policemen, etc. Whilst these difficulties exist in both the private and public sectors those in the public sector have unfortunately been widely publicised and have provided a whip for our overseas critics to beat us with. The existing pay difference for work of the same skill-content are indefensible and should receive immediate attention. The Black community has expressed indignation and anger over this position which is in the Chamber's opinion, a sensitiser for future unrest. The problems outlined above are the main reasons for the unacceptable degree of poverty among the bulk of the urban Black population. It is surely unnecessary to dwell on the socio-political dangers inherent in this situation but the Chamber must point out that it is virtually impossible to motivate workers who live in poverty and who see no hope of progressing to better jobs. The implications for increased productivity are serious. The poverty of the Black community has been worsened by unemployment and this is aggravated during periods of a stagnant or declining economy. The entirely different tax laws applicable to the Black population vis-a-vis those applicable to other racial groups are known to be a major cause of discontent.

MR. HOLLOWAY: Your Lordship, may I interrupt for a moment, only yesterday re-reading that I discovered an error in the third line of the paragraph that follows. There is reference to eliminating difficulties, the word "difficulties" should be "differences".

MR./..

MR. MALAN: If I may continue then. The entirely different tax laws applicable to the Black population vis-a-vis those applicable to other racial groups, are known to be a major cause of discontent. The Chamber is aware that a departmental committee is presently examining this legislation and we urge that the Committee give serious consideration to eliminating differences in tax levels between Blacks and other races as far as possible. This would not only remove a cause of discontent but also a situation which is used by South Africa's enemies overseas. 6. The Legal Position of the Urban Blacks. The (10 index to Butterworths Statutes of the Republic of South Africa lists 89 Acts of Parliament as dealing specifically with Blacks. In addition, there are numerous other Statutes which contain specific provisions relating to Blacks and there is a multiplicity of rules, regulations, by-laws, proclamations and directives dealing specifically with Blacks and emanating from Central Government Government Departments, Provincial Administrations and Local Authorities. 6.1. Discriminatory Legislation. When one considers the broad picture of legislation and administration in relation to Blacks in South Africa dis- (20 passionately one is immediately struck by the cardinal fact that, since the Whites arrived in South Africa, they have always drawn a dividing line between the Blacks and all other racial groups in South Africa. The varied reasons need not concern us here. The fact of the matter is that the Black is regarded differently, he is treated differently and legislated for differently from other racial groups. In other groups, there is discrimination between Blacks and others, but it is noteworthy that such discrimination is not always against the Black and is even in some instances distinctly in favour of the Black. (30 It has also to be borne in mind that some legislative and

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administrative measures which are now regarded as being discriminatory against the Blacks were originally intended to protect the Blacks. In fact so many laws and regulations relating to Blacks have been promulgated over the years that it is almost impossible for Blacks to know the law. An urgent revision and consolidation of such legislation is therefore necessary. In considering this matter, cognisance will have to be taken of the fact that such a very high percentage of urban Blacks has been arrested and sentenced for comparatively trivial offences that there is very little social stigma attached to (10 arrest or even to a period of imprisonment. We list in Annexure B the more obvious legislative revisions which discriminate against Blacks and which we believe contribute in no small measure to their feelings of discontent.

DR. YUTAR: Yes, I propose to hand that in also as an exhibit because it is detailed there and it speaks for itself.

MR. MALAN: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: Annexure B is it?

DR. YUTAR: It is Annexure B but I will be handing it in as an exhibit presently. It is all underlined and you give the (20 various Acts. Annexure B which I will hand in presently. All right. Would you continue please?

MR. MALAN: Thank you. We urgently recommend that these statutory provisions be reconsidered with a view to alleviating wherever possible the feeling of the Blacks that they are being discriminated against. We go on to 6.2. Influx Control. The Chamber is of the opinion that Influx Control is essential in the interest of the Blacks as well as of other sections of the population. However, the Chamber strongly recommends that the legal provisions and the practical administration of influx control be streamlined (30 and minimised to what is really necessary and that time wasting procedures/..

procedures and procedures which can cause friction and embarrassment be eliminated. At the same time, the Government has already accepted the principle that Blacks should be given a greater degree of freedom of movement in the areas which constitute an economic entity such as for example the present Bantu Affairs Administration Board areas. Nevertheless it has been found that in practice it is not at all easy for Blacks to transfer from one prescribed area to another even within a Bantu Affairs Administration Board area and transfer between for example the East and the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board areas is fraught with many difficulties and problems.

CHAIRMAN: I would imagine housing not being the least of them.

MR. MALAN: That is not the least of them. The Chamber accordingly recommends that the provisions of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945, the Bantu Labour Act No. 67 of 1964 and the Standard Bantu Township Regulations be properly co-ordinated, streamlined and simplified in order that Bantu may more readily be able to offer their services wherever they can most gainfully be employed. That word "Bantu" I think should be changed in the context to "Black".

MR. HOLLOWAY: If I may also make a comment before we leave the subject of influx control I would like to place accent on the very first sentence under influx control, the Chamber is of the opinion that influx control is essential in the interests of Blacks as well as of other sections of the population. That is a strongly held view of my Chamber and contrary views are coming out at present which we believe not to be in the best interest of the Blacks.

DR. YUTAR: Well, strangely enough you will remember the two witnesses before you gave similar evidence and then we had the Present Chairman of the Urban Bantu Council speaking in favour

of retention of influx control but suggesting certain modifications in its application and that is the viewpoint you have expressed here. Right, will you continue?

MR. MALAN: 6.3. Bureaucracy, Red-Tape and Unsympathetic Administration. Virtually the entire life of a Black in the cities is governed by legislation which has to be administered by officials at all levels. Under these circumstances it is absolutely imperative that administration must be experienced to be just, efficient, as little disruptive and time wasting as possible and above all, polite and sympathetic. Government (10 and other officials are there not only to regulate matters, but as public servants, they must realise that they are there to serve the public and to assist the public.

DR. YUTAR: Of course you appreciate that it is not only the White civil servants who are accused of this but in many instances more particularly the Black civil servant towards their own.

MR. MALAN: That is quite correct. Regrettably, officialdom of all kinds, both White and Black, particularly at the lower levels, frequently falls lamentably short of the ideal stated above and this creates enormous resentment which is compounded (20 when Blacks experience such treatment day after day wherever they come into contact with officials. The present legislative provisions are administered by a multiplicity of agencies, often at widely scattered points. This involves Blacks in a lot of travel, time wasting, frustration and loss of income. The Chamber recommends that urgent attention be given to all these matters. 6.4. Security, Law and Order. Government policies and the legislation which flows from Government policy have had a particularly unfortunate effect in that they have created the very conditions which were not intended, namely (30 an increasing number of illegal residents in the townships, an increasing/..

increasing number of can't works and won't works and an increasing number of bored youths who cannot attend school, cannot or will not work and hence turn readily to crime. There is no way in which accurate estimates can be made of the actual numbers involved but it is generally acknowledged that the numbers of criminals, tsotsis, vagrants and other persons on the fringe of becoming criminals is very substantial indeed in townships such as Soweto. At this stage may I just point out that Annexure B which has now been handed in as an exhibit, that that explains the points made here further. The size of (10 a township such as Soweto and the sheer numbers of inhabitants makes it extremely difficult for Administration Board officials and the South African Police to exercise adequate control to ensure that only those persons who are there who are legally permitted to be there and that the lawful residents are adequately protected. Progress has been made by the Government in establishing police stations inside major Bantu townships such as Soweto and some of these police stations are already being staffed almost entirely by Black police. The administration boards in many instances have their own police force in order (20 to supplement the work being done by the South African police, but there is considerable criticism of the efficiency of such administration board "police" who in any event are not properly equipped to maintain law and order. The Blacks themselves have at various times tried to obtain greater protection and security for themselves by establishing vigilante groups and kgotlas. The Chamber recommends that the State must give serious consideration to devising ways and means of assuring the protection of Blacks and the maintenance of law and order in the townships at all points and not merely at the places where large crowds congregate. (30

DR. YUTAR: Before I ask you a few supplementary questions,

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