

1st Draft

A CITY WITHIN A CITY -- THE CREATION OF SOWETO.

by Councillor Francis R.B. Lewis C.A.(SA)

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1st Draft

Introduction:

1. It was as a student at this University that I received the tuition which enabled me to obtain my professional qualification a third of a century ago. A few years later I again enrolled at this University to study (for a diploma in what was then called) "Native Law and Administration". The Lecturer, knowing of my professional qualifications, set me as a tutorial the task of analysing Johannesburg's Native Revenue Account. This was my introduction to Municipal Administration, and the interest created at that time in both Race Relations and Municipal Affairs has been an absorbing interest ever since. It was my privilege at that time to work with such truly great persons as Professor and Mrs. Alfred Hoernle, Mr. Rheinallt Jones and others associated with this University. Their

all the transactions relating to the Native Revenue Account

Meis

breadth of vision, their analytical minds and their courage in propounding what they believed to be right have been a source of great inspiration to me.

These were the people who inspired me

It was in the University that the South African Council of Native Affairs first mentioned

creation of the South African Council of Native Affairs

2. When I was invited to deliver this lecture it was suggested that I review the Johannesburg City Council's administration of Bantu Affairs - no easy task I can assure you. I was apprehensive at first, but once I started on

Franz Para

my address

the work I became excited at the story there was to tell, and grateful that I had been given the opportunity of telling it. Excited, because, on review, I suddenly realised I had been so close to the picture, that my vision had become blurred with the endless everyday problems, that I had not focused on the large canvas of the gigantic achievements since the grim period at the end of World War II. There is no room for complacency or smugness, for much more has to be done - and it will ever be so -- Yet it gives one courage to go on, even though one is ever conscious that an incident, in itself insignificant, could incite reactions which would destroy years of patient endeavour.

Title:

3. I chose as my title - A 'City' within a City - The Creation of Soweto. Johannesburg, the Mother City, is 94

7/...

square miles in area, and Soweto, ^{the daughter} with its nearest border ten miles from the City and the home of 500,000 Bantu people, is 26 square miles in extent, and derived its name from an abbreviation of what until 4. 4. 1963 was referred to as the South Western Bantu Townships.

Phases: One to Six

4. ^{The} Our review can conveniently be divided into six phases, not of equal duration, ^{reflect} but phases which ^{changes in attitude} portray changes of attitude, ^{changes from inaction to action} changes from inaction to action, ^{lead} changes at first hesitant and tardy, ^{to} and at last the dramatic breakthrough. ^{when}

Phase I

5. During the first phase from the proclamation of the Goldfields in 1886 to 1917 there appears to have been little or no endeavour on the part of the ^C Civic ^A Authorities to accept responsibility for the welfare of the Bantu population.

Phase II

6. The high mortality rates of the Bantu during the 'flu epidemic in 1918 aroused the civic conscience, and the first housing scheme was started at Western Native Township. ^{of Soweto in 1927} At that time "Native Locations" were part of the duties of the Parks Department.

Phase III

7. ~~Phase II ended in 1927~~ when Phase III commenced ⁱⁿ with the appointment of Mr. Graham Ballenden as Manager of the newly created Native Affairs Department. It was during this phase that the start was made on building ^{of} what was to become Soweto. 1927

Phase IV

8. World War II in 1939 heralded phase 4 when the Bantu converged on the cities in their thousands to undertake the tasks demanded by the expansion of ^{commerce} industry, ^{as a result of the war effort} This period marked the creation of the squatter camps and shantytowns. Materials and manpower were concentrated on the War effort, and housing had to take second place.

9. At the cessation of hostilities we have phase 5 when attempts were made to catch up on the backlog of housing,

but the sheer immensity of the task, the hesitancy to place further burdens on the Ratepayers, and ^{the change} after 1948, the change of attitude of the Government regarding the sharing of losses on housing schemes, and the doubts in some minds regarding the permanency of the Urban Bantu population meant that no more than an alleviation of the difficulties was ^{accomplished} achieved.

10 Phase 6 ^{from 1954} is the period of the breakthrough when the seemingly impossible was achieved. This marked the disappearance of the shantytowns and the acceptance by the Local Authority and employers of their responsibilities. Throughout South Africa the provision of housing ^{from the State & local authorities} now received attention such as had never ~~been~~ done before.

Phase I.

11. In his book written in 1938 entitled CITY GOVERNMENT - THE JOHANNESBURG EXPERIMENT, John Maud, as he then was, gives an insight into conditions in the early days. I have drawn extensively from that book for incidents and events which give a glimpse of the living conditions of the Bantu people at that time.

12. ^{one} ~~He~~ must never lose sight of the fact, that the first conception of the Johannesburg settlement was that of a temporary mining camp, and remember that when the Sanitary Board was formed in 1887 its powers were limited, as were the funds at its disposal, as the provision of most of the profitable services had been granted to concessionaires ^{by the} ~~authorities~~ ^{in the Orange Free State government}.

13. An early map of Johannesburg, dated 1890, shows a "Kaffir Location" and a "Coolie Location" south and southwest of the present Braamfontein Station. At that time it was called Johannesburg Station. Later maps ~~also indicate~~ Locations in this area. Large numbers of Bantu had been attracted to work on the gold mines, and of the total population of 102,000 in 1896, approximately half were whites and half Non-European, mostly Bantu. The mines housed their Bantu employees, but the others had largely to fend for themselves.

14. The report of the Johannesburg Insanitary Area Improvement Scheme Commission, published in 1903, gives a vivid picture of the conditions in the area now called Newtown. The City Gas Works were at the corner of West and President Streets, and to the North were old brick-fields on which a veritable shantytown has been built. Portion of this area was called Coolie Town, and in this complex of filth and squalor lived over 5500 people of all races. As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the area was expropriated, so that it could be re-planned and streets such as Jeppe and Bree made through-streets, and provision was made for a Market site. But there was no place to which the wretched inhabitants could move. Then, as now, the opposition of the white electorate, adjacent to the areas to which it was proposed to move the Natives was so strong that plans had to be shelved. In 1904 there occurred in this area something even stronger than the opposition of the white electorate - an outbreak of bubonic plague. The officials of the Council acted that very night. All the inhabitants were cleared, and the whole slum was burnt to the ground.

Sweet water brought in from the mountains, water was drawn from polluted wells & lavatories were put in the ground.

15. The Council agreed that accommodation must be found for the refugees, even if only temporarily. For the Natives and Indians this was provided on Municipal land adjoining the sewage disposal works at Klipspruit, twelve miles from the centre of town. Neither the remoteness from Johannesburg nor the closeness of the sewage farm endeared the Location to its inhabitants. One Commission after another drew attention to the bad conditions under which the natives lived. The Native Affairs Commission of 1903/5 strongly criticised the existing state of affairs, as did the Indigency Commission of 1908, and the Municipal Commission of 1909 urged provision of proper sites for natives and other non-Europeans.

Committed in Stellenbosch was built as temporary, but those were to be dumped in the sea.

30 40

16. In 1917 the Council hired the disused mine compound of the Salisbury Jubilee mine. This was for use as a hostel for a few hundred Native men, and later became the Mai Mai Bazaar. In 1917 the Council requested the Government to grant it the

by the name.

right to sell Kaffir Beer, but this the Government refused to do until the Council provided more adequate Municipal Locations.

Phase II.

17. The ~~statistics of~~ high mortality rates^{of} of Natives in the 1918 'flu epidemic stimulated the Council to take some action by establishing Western Native Township on a site which in earlier years had been a ~~sewage disposal~~^{bank} works, and between 1918 and 1921 300 houses were built at Western. Meanwhile, Natives were living under most unsatisfactory conditions in places such as Newclare, Sophiatown, Prospect Township, and Malay Location and other parts of the town, (as under Gold Law there seems to have been no reason why a white standholder on proclaimed ground could not let his stand to a non-white^{of cell} and so, except in the townships where restrictive clauses were written into the conditions of sale, non-whites could in the early days live in various parts of town.) *Stet*

18. A report from the Medical Officer of Health in 1923 reads: "Slum Property. No material betterment herein was practicable during 1922/3. As reported to the Health Committee (30 June 1919) there have long been a large number of premises scheduled as unfit for human habitation; but the crowded population of these places consisted almost exclusively of Natives and Coloured persons for whom no accommodation elsewhere was available, and therefore the Medical Officer of Health was not prepared to certify them for closure unless definitely instructed to do so by the Committee."

19. It was in 1923 that the Native (Urban Areas) Act was passed. One of the clauses, which had far reaching effects, was that, which fairly and squarely placed the responsibility on Local Authorities to provide housing for Natives living within their area. *Employed*

20. In 1924 the Wemmer Barracks was built to house ~~1000~~²⁰⁰⁰ Native men. Western Native Township was extended by building a further 800 houses and a new location, Eastern Native

Township was established with 400 houses. By 1927 accommodation provided by the Council was for 15,000 people. At that time the estimated Native population was 96,000 (excluding those employed and housed by the mines).

21. Until 1927 the administration of Native Affairs was the responsibility of the Parks and Estates Committee, and it is interesting to note that the nett expenditure on Parks, Estates and Cemeteries for the year was R249,960: while that on Locations was R33,268. *33 620* *checked* *retakes*

Phase III

22. In 1927 Mr. Graham Ballenden was appointed the first Manager of Native Affairs, and in 1928 he persuaded the Council to appoint a Committee on Native Affairs. Large extensions to Western Native Township and Eastern Native Township were put in hand, and by 1930 a further 850 houses had been built; making a total of *2323* at Western, and *616* ~~486~~ at Eastern. New powers were conferred on Local Authorities in terms of an amendment to the Urban Areas Act passed in 1930. The Council then acquired 1300 acres of land on the farm Klipspruit No: 8, some ten miles from Johannesburg. A competition was held for the layout of the Township. Competitors were asked to submit plans for its layout, designed to accommodate 80,000 Natives. Provision was to be made for administrative offices, a public hall, a cottage hospital with dispensary and clinic, a central police station, a central Post Office and three district offices, a fire station, ten sites for schools, ten sites for religious purposes, shopping centre, a market and a community store. The Township was to be called Orlando after the then serving Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, Councillor Edwin Orlando Leake.

23. This step marked a new thinking, and a new approach to the City's responsibilities. While it took many years to provide the facilities planned for, it is noteworthy that this planning was during the period of depression in the early 1930's. By 1935, 3000 houses had been built to house some 18,000 people. By the outbreak of war in 1939 a total of 5800 houses had been erected at Orlando. The

houses were built by white artisans, and the cost of the three-roomed houses varied between R504: to R1000: and the four-roomed houses cost from R704: to R1328:

*checked
checked*

24. In John Maud's book he states that unfortunately in the ten years after 1927 the work of the Public Health Department did not develop as rapidly or effectively as that of the new Native Affairs Department.

25. The Murray Thornton Commission of 1935 which enquired into the Public Health and Native Affairs Departments criticised the Public Health Department for its failure to prevent or cure the fearful squalor which prevailed in such areas as Prospect Township, the Malay Location, Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare. It reported that the Medical Officer of Health must have been aware of the insanitary conditions prevailing, and the lack of water supplies. There was no municipal water in Newclare until 1933, people being dependent on suspect water from wells. In 1935 the Council had installed 27 taps in Sophiatown where people queued for water and bought it by the bucket. These areas were not connected to the sewage system, and were dependent on collection of sanitary pails three times per week.

26. So while the City was endeavouring to make a new start in Orlando it was only rehousing a small portion of the Native population, who were living in most unsatisfactory conditions in many quarters of the City. There is no doubt that some owners of properties exploited their tenants. High rents were charged and families lived in one room. Some properties on a 50 x 100 stand accommodated as many as 300 people in sixty back to back rooms in Sophiatown, and R4: per room was the normal rental charged in this area. There was an extreme case in Prospect Township where 121 rooms were crowded on to one stand, with one water tap and two lavatories.

27. However, after the Murray Thornton Commission a thorough reorganisation of the Health Department took place on the lines of the Commission's Report, and improvements

immediately ensued. It is a constant problem of the Medical Officer of Health's Department to insist on the maintenance of standards of housing until there is alternative accommodation to which slum dwellers can be moved. It is a very real problem to this day.

28. A fact not known to many people regarding the period 1903 to 1935 is the range of municipal valuations of land. At the end of the Anglo-Boer War, Johannesburg had a temporary boom and the municipal value of land was R60,000,000: in 1906 (R40,000,000: in 1897). By 1909 it had dropped to R42,000,000: by 1910 to R28,000,000: and it was not until 1935 that the value had crept back to R55,000,000: This notwithstanding quadrupling of the European population during the period, and the creation of a number of additional townships. Thus the assessment rate income of ^{R 1,050,624} ~~£525,312~~ for the year ^{1905/11} ~~1907~~ had dropped to ^{R 565,276} ~~£287,638~~: in 1910 ^{R 1,000,000} ~~and~~ was in the range of ^{R 1,200,000} ~~£500,000~~: to ~~£600,000~~: during the fifteen years 1920 - 1935. The total contribution to rates by the trading departments for the ~~30~~ ³⁶ year period 1905 to 1935 was ^{R 8,064,532} ~~£4,032,266~~: or an average of ^{R 260,146} ~~£134,498~~: per year. ~~Check~~

The whole expenditure on capital from ~~1905~~ ¹⁹⁰¹ to 1936 was ^{R 35,258,350} ~~£17,629,175~~: and today our capital budget for one year alone is R42.5 million, and our revenue from rates R13.37 million and our nett profit from trading departments R1.5 million.

1939
 29. So while we may be critical of conditions we must keep our perspective, and realise the limited resources available to tackle the many and varied calls on the City's purse. ^{By 1939} ~~At that time~~ the Bantu population was 244,000 of whom 179,000 were males and 65,000 females. Date

Phase IV

30. Then in 1939 came World War II, when South Africa's manpower and materials were concentrated on the War effort.

31. You will remember that in the early part of my address I told you that it was in 1927, ^{at that time} when the Bantu population of Johannesburg was 96,000, ~~that~~ the Council appointed Mr. G. Ballenden as its first Manager of Native

Affairs.

32. It was during these critical years, when there was large scale industrial development, and the Bantu population was increasing rapidly, that Mr. Ballenden retired and Mr. L. Venables succeeded him as Manager on the 5th December, 1944.

33. The five years of the War changed almost every aspect of Bantu life in Johannesburg. There was a tremendous growth in the number of factories and industries directly associated with the war effort, resulting in an insatiable demand for Bantu labour, ~~The war called for to undertake work which had to be done~~ ^{by co. labor} The Bantu population increased by leaps and bounds, and in 1946 it was estimated that the Bantu population was 395,231 of whom 211,322 were men, 100,000 women and 83,909 children.

34. This abnormal increase in the population meant that all available resources normally provided by the local authority were swamped out. ~~Ultimately sheer pressure of numbers forced the people out,~~ ^{of available accommodation} Owners of houses revolted against their sub-tenants and these literally burst out of the available accommodation, and over a period of time formed eleven illegal and uncontrolled squatter camps.

35. It is important to remember that there was no influx control of Bantu into the City at this stage. ^{leave}

36. It was in this way that one of the most unsavoury episodes in Johannesburg's history began. A situation developed where the health and safety of the whole City was threatened.

37. Apart from the health hazards which these squatter camps created, men rose overnight to take leadership and prey on the ignorance and latent violence of the Bantu, who lived in these camps. Rule of law was openly flaunted, and by illegal courts ^{instituted} where savage punishments were inflicted. Municipal and public land in Orlando, Pimville, Dube, Newclare and Alexandra was forcibly taken possession of and the most wretched shanties erected almost on top of one

provided mainly

the self elected leaders

another. Fees were levied & kept by the organizers who became well to do - the process.

38. ^{In 1944} As a matter of urgency 4042 freeze block shelters were erected in Shantytown in 1944, and at the Moroka emergency camp 11,000 sites of 20' x 20' were allocated to families. ^{These shelters in general were provided.} It was estimated that approximately 50,000 families in and around Johannesburg were living in appalling conditions and required houses at this stage. 1946

39. The authorities were seriously embarrassed as there was no effective law to combat these movements. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1951 (Act 52/1951) brought relief, however, and this dangerous phase was finally brought to an end, but before that was achieved, much trouble was experienced.

40. When the largest squatter camp was cleared in 1947 there were no less than 60,000 Bantu living there, who had to be resettled at Moroka. Before this final settlement the leaders did all they could to hinder the authorities because they had now lost their illegal revenue, and therefore continued to make trouble. In August 1947 they sparked off an attack on some municipally built shops, and the latent tensions burst out resulting in a serious riot during which three European policemen were murdered.

Phase V ^{ICP work 1945-1953}

41. How could one tackle a task of this magnitude? Where was the money to be found? What rental could tenants pay? Could one build a house within the tenant's capacity to pay? Where were the builders? How could one meet the cost of services, which often exceeded the cost of the house. In 1951 the deficit on the Native Revenue Account was already R655,513: for the year, and each new scheme involved a further loss.

42. Nevertheless during the period ¹⁹⁴⁵ 1947 to ¹⁹⁵³ 1951, ¹²²⁰² 5233 houses were built at Orlando East and West, and at Jabavu. Various methods of construction were used by contractors

penal

who were becoming geared up to tackle mass production methods of construction. The crushing burden was however bringing the housing schemes to a standstill.

see Para 41

43. By the end of 1953 the total of houses built was ~~17,814~~ ^{21,979} and hostel accommodation had been provided for ~~14,120~~ ^{10,537} men. *(see City News)*

Vocational Training Centre.

44. Immediately after the war, the Council was confronted with the problem of juvenile delinquency on a large scale, and among other measures it started the Vocational Training Centre in Soweto, to provide some form of skilled basic training, firstly, to keep these boys off the streets, and, secondly, to provide them with a qualification which would ensure better employment. The school started in a very small way with approximately forty pupils, and the first buildings were erected by these youngsters under the tutelage of an experienced European teacher. It has grown over the years to the present institution where proper academic and technical training is given in Building Construction, Bricklaying, Plumbing and Drain Laying and Electrical Wiring. Previously instruction was also given in tailoring and motor mechanics, but these courses were abandoned some years ago. The present enrolment of the school is approximately 180 boys who pay an annual fee of R10; and who undergo a four year intensive course of training. On graduation they receive certificates which are recognised by the appropriate State Departments, and they are immediately absorbed in the Council's building and technical teams working in Soweto. The school has been an outstanding success, and is always favourably commented on by visitors to Soweto.

R12-X

Township Administration

45. On the 1st May, 1952, the present Manager, Mr. W.J.P. Carr, succeeded Mr. Venables as Manager of what has now become the Department of Non-European Affairs, since it was concerned with the affairs of all Non-European sections of the population of the City.

46. Bantu Affairs was, however, its main concern at the time and the work of the Department, its growth and its many ramifications must be seen against the background of

of the immense housing and other socio-economic problems which had arisen as a result of the rapid increase in the Bantu population during the war and post-war years, and the legislation affecting the Bantu which had been placed on the Statute Books during the years from 1948 onwards: Legislation which affected every Bantu in the Urban area. His right to be there. His right to live there. His right to work there. His right to have his wife with him and raise a family there. His right to move from one urban area to another, and a host of other matters affecting his day to day life in the City.

47. Apart from its other responsibilities, the administration of this and other legislation to which I will refer from time to time is the responsibility of the Department of Non-European Affairs, which today has reached the stage where it requires an organization consisting of a Manager, a Deputy Manager, five Assistant Managers and a European staff of nearly 500, together with Bantu personnel numbering also some ³⁰⁰⁰ 500, functioning as graded clerks, social workers, Beerhall Supervisors and Horticultural Assistants to administer the affairs and take care of the social welfare, recreational and other domestic needs of a Bantu population exceeding ^{700,000} 600,000. ^{repopulation}

48. The most pressing problem at the time, however, was the provision of housing for the Bantu population.

49. ^{At the time} the Council undertook the sub-economic housing schemes at Orlando East and West and Jabavu, the National Housing Commission advanced the funds under a scheme whereby the interest charged was 3½%, on the understanding that losses incurred on such schemes should, within defined limits, be borne in the ratio of three parts by the Government and one part by the Council. ^{When the loans} ^{for the Orlando East and West and Jabavu schemes were given,} ^{it was on the basis that within defined limits the losses would be shared three parts by the Government and one part by the Council.} ^{The Council first submitted a claim for losses in 1950. Up to 30th June, 1953, the losses on the} ^{few days} ^{it was on this basis that the loans were given}

schemes amounted to R2,158,346, and of this sum it was calculated, on the Council's understanding of the formula, that R1,004,640 was recoverable from the ^{State} Government, but only R469,454 was recovered at that time.

50. In 1951 the old $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ formula was cancelled. In that year local authorities, in submitting claims for losses on the National Housing formula, were required to certify that tenants' incomes did not exceed R50: on loans prior to 1.10.46, and R60: thereafter. In 1952 differential incomes were laid down, and were fixed at R30 for Bantu. Local authorities were advised that a fully economic rate of interest would have to be paid on a pro rata share of the loans in respect of tenants with incomes in excess of those limits, and that the increased cost could be recovered by way of increased rentals. Legal opinion given to this Council doubted the Commission's power to do this. In 1954 the National Housing Commission agreed that in determining the sub-economic rentals they should be increased by 30c for every R1.00 of the income over R30: In 1954 the Council, because of its unhappy experience under the National Housing formula, agreed to convert the $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ loans to $\frac{7}{8}\%$ loans, thereby cancelling the sharing of losses on the schemes, but insuring the benefit of the lower rate of interest.

51. In 1957 the Council's claim for over R800,000 under the old $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ scheme was finally settled for R250,000: the R250,000 was paid into the Capital Development Fund, and earmarked for street lighting in the Bantu Townships. As in the Housing Act 1957 provision was made in Section 78(3) for legalising actions of the National Housing and Planning Commission which were not authorised at the time they were done, this Council's legal rights disappeared.

In the early 1950's.
52. During the years there was hesitancy on the part of certain elements at the City Hall to incur expenditure which would result in burdens on the ratepayers to meet losses on housing schemes. Was it necessary to provide housing for people who might leave the City before the repayment of the thirty-year loans? Pressure groups

were formed - bodies such as the churches and Chamber of Commerce and the Institute of Race Relations urged the Government and the Council to face up to the plight of the throngs of people living under appalling conditions.

Phase VI 1953 onwards.

- The book by

53. Then followed legislation which had the effect of resolving the stalemate. 1951 saw the passing of the Bantu Workers Act. It now became possible to train Bantu workers in the building trade to work in the provision of houses for their own people, ^{in the provision of houses for} and thus reduce the cost of building.

*See 1953
page.*

Bantu Services Levy Fund.

54. In the provision of the actual services the Council was indeed fortunate in having moneys provided by the Bantu Services Levy Fund. This Fund, established by the State in 1953, following on suggestions by a number of the larger local authorities, was virtually a levy-tax on all employers of Bantu labour, who did not house their employees. It was in the form of a monthly contribution to the Fund, and ^{the uses of} was limited to "certain services for the health, safety and transport of their Bantu employees".

the fund.

55. It was in fact a form of elementary justice in recognising that major services such as sewage disposal works, reservoirs, major roads, ^{& claimants' buildings} etc., rendered necessary by the establishment of a separate complex some distance away from the parent city, would not be a charge and a burden to the inhabitants and that the transport to the city would be partly subsidised.

Bantu

Johannes

56. This Fund has now been in existence for 13½ years, and R11,6 million has been spent up to December 1965, and has financed all the major service developments.

57. The passing of this Act brought vocal protests from employers who wanted assurances that such a levy would be temporary and cease once the emergency has passed. It was regarded as a discriminatory tax. Representatives of employers serve on the Committees administering these funds, and keep a watchful eye lest attempts should be made to use

the funds for other than their stated purpose.

Site and Service Scheme.

58. In 1953 what was called the Site and Service scheme became State policy. The concept of the Site and Service method of dealing urgently with the mass of Bantu slum dwellers needing rehousing was that of the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, and he laid down within fairly narrow limits the principles which had to be followed by Local Authorities in applying the Site and Service schemes in order to qualify for Government loans and grants.

59. The idea behind this scheme was to move the people who were living cheek by jowl in the squatter camps on to sites 40' x 70'. On these sites essential services such as sanitation would be provided, stand water pipes made available every 500 yards, and access roads built and refuse removal services provided. On such a site a shack could be built on the back of the ^{stand} site so that, when a permanent house could be built it would be on the front of the stand and not interfere with the shack. On construction of the main house the shack was to be demolished. This scheme was met with scepticism, in some quarters with strong opposition, many people fearing that the shack would be a permanent feature, not believing that houses would be built to replace the shacks. This scheme was then described as "Johannesburg's Shame" by one Parliamentarian opposed to the scheme.

61 Shacks left

60. In Johannesburg ³⁵⁰⁰⁰ such sites were surveyed and the services provided. The shacks followed and it was a period of great activity. Neighbours and friends helped each other during off work periods, and over weekends, and it was incredible how houses were made from all sorts of secondhand materials. This creative activity had a beneficial social effect.

Creation of Housing Divisions:

61. In 1954 Johannesburg created a separate Housing

Division in the Council - to tackle the building of houses for Bantu. At onestage it was intended that such work would fall under the City Engineer's Department, but for this work Mr. ~~Archibald~~ ^{Archibald} Archibald, the previous City Engineer of Springs, was appointed. He had shown great drive and ingenuity in developing Bantu housing in Springs. He was an individualist and tackled his assignment with enthusiasm and vigour. He abhorred red tape - in fact tape of any kind, and set out to achieve records. This he did. The Council had some years previously established the Vocational Training Centre. ^{q detrac} ~~At this centre training was given to carpenters, plumbers and bricklayers and these trained men formed the nucleus of the staff from which a teams of workers were organised.~~ ^{for the New House -} At the peak of activity in 1957/58 people were employed in the Housing Division.

Initials

62. In the year 1954 1421 houses were built, to be followed by 3020 houses in 1955.

63. The Council was dependent on Government housing loans to finance housing schemes. The Government had naturally to apportion the funds available amongst all the local authorities applying for loans, and the amount allocated to Johannesburg did not allow an impression to be made on the backlog, and the Moroka Emergency Camp and Shantytown were still festering sores, and places of crime. In 1956 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer was invited to visit Moroka by the then Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, and was so aghast at what he saw that he arranged with his colleagues in the Mining Industry to loan the City R6 million repayable over thirty years, interest being charged at 4-7/8%. This was the injection that was needed, and with the proceeds of this loan ¹⁴⁰⁰⁰ ~~12,000~~ homes were built enabling the complete removal of the families from Moroka and Shantytown. In the year June 1957 to June 1958 11,074 houses were built. Part of the R6: million loan was earmarked to build hostels for men working in office buildings and flats who were to be moved under the 'Locations in the Sky' legislation.

Mining Industry Loan

64. From 1954 to 1965 the Housing Division built 45,174 houses, and in addition built 76 schools, 3 hostels with 14,428 beds, 7 administrative blocks, 5 communal halls, a Public Library, 9 T.B. Centres, 4 Clinics, 3 Beer Halls, 7 Beer Gardens, a Bank and many other minor works, at a total expenditure of R22,213,867.

65. Mr. Archibald ^{resigned} left the Council's service in 19..... and his place was taken by his second in command, Mr. Colin Goodman, the present Director of the Housing Division.

66. Not the least important achievement of the housing division was the training of the building teams and making skilled workers of erstwhile labourers. Another achievement was the reduction in the cost of housing.

67. The first houses erected by the Council were in the Western Bantu Township in 1919, (when 2192 houses were built), ^{Check} The two-roomed house cost R240: and the three-roomed R280: and the four-roomed R340: The next scheme was at Eastern Bantu Township where the two-roomed houses cost R230: and the three-roomed houses R270: In 1932-1935 the Council started the Orlando East Scheme where the two-roomed houses of 397 sq. ft. cost R190: and the three-roomed house varied from R504: to R1000: and the four-roomed house from R708: to R1328. The 125 houses built in Pimville in 1944-1945 cost R988: for the three-roomed, and R1198: for the four-roomed. When these costs are considered, and the fact that since that date costs of materials have been continuously rising, it is nothing short of a miracle that the houses built ^{in the early days} ~~since the establishment~~ of the Council's Housing Division, with the use of Bantu labour, ~~have~~ cost between R320: to R370: for a 527 sq. ft. house.

68. Owing to the difference in sizes of the houses a truer comparison is to state costs in prices per square foot. In 1930 the price varied from 42½ cents to 52½ cents, in 1938 this had increased to 92½ cents, and in 1944 the houses at Orlando West cost R1.04 to R1.14. In 1946 the price had increased to R1.22½ and the Jabavu houses built in 1947 cost

Rl.02. Then came the establishment of the City's own Housing Division, and the training of Bantu building workers. At a time when costs were increasing in comparison with the time stated above, the costs were decreased to from 61c to 67½c per sq. ft. (There was a striving to decrease costs, and while this was a worthy objective, it may in the long run prove to have been false economy, as if the houses are to be occupied for the life of the loans additional maintenance costs may more than absorb the original savings.) The materials used at all times were not the same, nor were the standards of construction, as due to the conditions laid down by the Housing Commission the Council had little discretion regarding the design, and had to build within pre-determined maximum costs.

69. In considering the recent achievements in housing, consideration must not only be given to the number of houses that have been erected, but also to the cost at which they have been built, and ~~the transformation in the lives of the labourers who have become trained artisans in the process.~~ While all this work by the Housing Division was going on, the City Engineer was equally busy on the civil engineering aspects of development.

Provision of Services by the City Engineer's Department.

70. To the interested visitor to Soweto the sight of endless vistas of houses covering valley after valley, and a contented and healthy populace spells real achievement, and rightly so. Few, apart from the technical specialists, give a thought to the balanced symmetry of the various layouts, the way roads gracefully climb massive escarpments and curve just in time to prevent monotony of perspective, or to the subtle feeling of planned order engendered by the skilful talents of the experienced town planner and engineer.

71. Equally neglected in the visitors appraisal of the project are the multiplicity of municipal services hidden beneath the ground, or sited in some far off valley. Services which ensure, at the turn of a tap or the drop of a switch, ~~all modern~~ conveniences enjoyed only ~~until~~ recently by the ~~most advanced~~ ^{was} of the western civilisations. ^{Communities}

Town Planning.

72. With the green light for a crash programme of development in the South Western Bantu Townships given by the State, it was quickly realised that no work on housing could actually start until the townships had been designed, pegged and some form of water supply and sanitation provided.

73. The task of planning a new city of some ⁶⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ half million ✓ people on an area of 26 square miles had to be urgently undertaken, perforce piecemeal, with all the attendant difficulties of making the various pieces in the puzzle fit into one complex conurbation having its own character and entity.

74. Using hindsight it is now clear that with the constant drive for economy, and possibly obeying in some measure too docilely the dictates of the State, too much attention was given to this factor. The criticism of the lack of vertical relief is very pertinent, and highlights how vital it is that funds be provided in future schemes for additional moneys to cover the increased costs of multi-storey development, and that these costs be possibly classed as "amenities" and not be reflected in the rentals.

Township Surveys.

75. To give some idea of the magnitude of the survey control assignment, without being technically tedious, it was necessary in the laying out of approximately 90,000 stands to carefully place some 200,000 pegs with each peg having to be carefully surveyed in and recorded on scaled plans. It is worthy of note that, in order to save on land surveyors, even then in short supply, teams of Bantu technicians were trained with a large measure of success to place the intermediate stand pegs and thus speed up the layout of the townships.

Branch Reorganisation.

76. Recognising the urgency of the problem, and in order to speed up the construction of all the essential services,

the existing maintenance section of the City Engineer's Department, which had been operating in the older townships since 1930, was re-organised into a virtually self-contained major branch under the control of a Senior Civil Engineer. This branch in meeting the demand at the peak of its activities virtually laid more water mains and sewers than their counterparts in the metropolitan area, and also constructed more roads per annum.

Technical Training of Bantu.

77. At an early stage in the re-organisation of the branch of the City Engineer's Department operating in Soweto, it was quickly realised that the task would be impossible to carry out in the time available due to the shortage of skilled White artisans, and a new approach was essential.

78. Using skilled staff of "chargehand" quality, training units were established to train Bantu in the various building trades with particular attention to civil engineering projects, which demand a high degree of quality of workmanship and accuracy.

79. Within a startlingly short time it was possible for these newly trained building workers, under close White supervision, to carry out all the essential tasks in the field of water supply, sewer reticulation, stormwater control and road construction.

80. The speed at which all requirements were met in the accelerated housing programme in Soweto is in a large measure due to these Bantu who not only quickly assimilated the required skills needed, but were capable of an output which made this concept practicable.

Water Supply.

81. In the installation of a water supply, the Council was fortunate in having in the vicinity a comparatively large service reservoir, which had been constructed for a proposed industrial complex adjoining the Orlando Power Station. This reservoir worked to over-capacity, plus a few temporary

connections from the Rand Water Board mains traversing the new townships, served for some time as the only source of supply and bridged a very awkward phase in the provision of water.

82. With the improvement in the country's financial position, funds for housing and "augmented" services became more readily available. The resulting increased demand for water forced the Rand Water Board to increase sharply its supply mains to the West Rand, and to build additional storage reservoirs on the Witwatersrand.

83. To meet the designed peak draw-off of some 25 million gallons per day, and to provide the necessary storage, two additional 10 million gallon service reservoirs and two water towers of 500,000 gallons capacity were constructed.

84. All in all some 565 miles of water mains have been laid, a figure which bears easy comparison with some of the major cities of the Republic.

Sewer Reticulation:

85. Foreseeing the eventual installation of waterborne sewerage to the whole complex, an early start was made departmentally on the construction of a completely new modern sewage disposal works on the farm Olifantsvlei. These works shielded by trees are situated some 6 miles from Soweto, and were designed for an initial capacity of 10 million gallons per day, at a cost to the levy fund of R1 million. These works will have an ultimate capacity of 25 million gallons per day and will serve all sections of the community.

86. Coupled with the construction of the disposal works was the urgent task of building the main outfall sewers. These outfalls were also major civil engineering projects. The largest is 6' - 0" high by 4' - 3" wide and included major tunnelling work, and also a large bridge across the Klipspruit valley.

87. The installation of a major sewer reticulation involves

a vast amount of careful planning and surveying. Altogether 478 miles of sewer have been laid to date, and it is estimated that some 50,000 level recordings and calculations for reduced levels were done for this task alone. In this connection too, the Bantu technicians played a large part in ensuring the early completion of the working drawings.

Road Construction:

88. Funds for the construction of the roads have perforce in the past been unavoidably restricted. There are about 600 miles of streets in the complex. Levy funds were used for the building of the main bus routes and access highways. With increasing profits from the sale of Bantu Beer it is now possible to build an increasing mileage of roads each year, using funds from this source. To date some 207 miles have been constructed, and ~~it is hoped to complete the remainder within the next 15 years.~~

Stormwater Control:

89. Sited as Soweto is on the southern slopes of the Witwatersrand, stormwater control is a major problem particularly in respect of the damage done on steep hillsides to unmade roads.

90. With the completion of the major tasks financed by the Bantu Services Levy Fund, increasing use has been made recently of these funds for the construction of major stormwater projects, and a total of 36 miles of stormwater drains have already been constructed using funds from various sources. In all of these civil engineering tasks full use of Bantu building workers has been made and the standard of workmanship is already of a high order.

Cleansing Services:

91. The cleansing services are also undertaken by the City Engineer's Department in Soweto and represent a Major activity of the branch operating in the area.

92. With the construction of the main bus routes, and a

fairly high percentage of the township roads it was possible in 1963 to mechanise this activity with a marked saving in running costs. Approximately 70,500 sites are now serviced at a cost comparable to any other similar complex in the Republic.

93. As an item of interest it is well worth recalling that when the refuse and nightsoil was carried out using animal drawn vehicles, 800 oxen were employed and some 200 Bantu drivers. There are at present 50 mechanised units now *Shaw* doing a sharply increased volume of work, and with a corresponding decrease in personnel.

Electrical Installations:

94. In order to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, street lighting on bus routes and every second street in the townships has been provided and financed from the levy fund. In addition, the Council has agreed to finance from its own resources a 10 year plan for the installation of electricity in all the houses in Soweto. This work is controlled by the Electricity Department.

Financial details of Services.

95. As a measure of the magnitude of the task undertaken in providing decent homes and modern amenities for the Bantu population of Johannesburg, the following financial details reflect the expenditure on services in the Bantu townships :

Bridges	:	R122,298
Lighting	:	R2,616,825
Railway Sidings	:	R9,721
Stormwater and Sewerage:		R8,250,339
Water Reticulations	:	R3,780,385
Roads	:	<u>R3,404,759</u>
		<u><u>R18,174,327</u></u>

96. In 1958 Dr. Verwoerd appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee, under the then Deputy Minister of Native Affairs (Mr. Mentz). The role of this Committee was to ensure that Government policy was carried out in Johannesburg. This Committee was labelled "The Watchdog Committee" by one of the local newspapers, and cartoons of huge shaggy dogs with a white background and black spots appeared in the papers. Feelings were tense. Inspectors were stationed in the Municipal offices, and investigations made regarding the Council's administration of the ~~Pass Laws~~. ^{Pass Laws} When the first meeting took place between Council Representatives and the Committee, before the Agenda was considered, the Chairman required certain assurances from the City Council. The first of these was that the Council must recognise that in terms of the Act of Union legislation regarding Native Affairs was reserved to Parliament. Other demands followed.

97. The Councillors present had no notice of the demands and stated that they would have to consult their colleagues. Eventually, the assurances required were met in modified form, the principal one being that the Council agreed to carry out Native policy in so far as it was enshrined in law. ^{recognising that in terms of the Act of Union} ~~law that legislation regarding native affairs was the prerogative of Parliament~~ ^{Constitution}

98. These were times of tension and left an indelible impression on the Council's delegates.

99. Under the Chairmanship of the Hon. M. C. Botha (who succeeded Mr. Mentz as Deputy Minister) this Committee has changed to a constructive Committee where many difficult problems have been discussed across the table and resolved.

100. In addition to the rehousing by the City Council mention must be made of the work undertaken by the Resettlement Board. Earlier reference has been made to the friction between the Council and the Government. This was partly due to the dispute regarding the removal of the slum dwellers of Sophiatown. Most of these were tenants and this was an area where ^{some} Bantu held freehold title. The Council was opposed to depriving the ^{some} Natives of freehold rights, and the Government was adamant that the Natives must be moved from Sophiatown.

and equally adamant that they were not prepared to grant freehold rights. There is no doubt that the housing conditions in Sophiatown were such that action was necessary. The Medical Officer of Health was unable to enforce compliance with minimum standards, as alternative housing was not available. To overcome this impasse legislation was enacted creating the Resettlement Board whose primary function was to rehouse the dwellers of Sophiatown, the idea being that on completion the cost of such scheme would be recovered from the Council, and the administration handed over. The function of the Resettlement Board has been extended from time to time. Not only have they undertaken the removal of the bulk of the Natives resident in Sophiatown, but have also built houses for Natives working in Johannesburg, but tenants at Alexandra too. To date ^{42302/2/106} ~~23695~~ houses have been built by the Board. The Council has assisted the Board by undertaking all the civil engineering functions, and also made available to the Board a large area of ground in the Diepkloof area. This was ground the Council needed for its own schemes, but felt constrained to relinquish to assist in the easing of the overcrowded and unsatisfactory conditions in Alexandra.

101. A recent enquiry regarding the Government's ^{Plans} intentions regarding the implementation of the original intentions that Johannesburg should take over the responsibility for the area now under the jurisdiction of the Board elicited a reply reflecting that the time was not yet.

102. The last remaining major slum is the area first established as a Location - Klipspruit - now housing some 7000 families. In 1934 this area was named Pimville after Mr. Howard Pim who had done so ^{a great deal} much for the Bantu people. An ^{FE} investigation conducted under the Chairmanship of ^{Chairman of N.P.C.} Mr. Mentz to determine the area to be regarded as the limit for Bantu occupation, ^{decided} determined that Pimville was to be a ^{group} white area. It would appear that the influence of the white dairy farmers who grazed their cattle on the pastures of Pimville was a factor in this ^{decision} decision. This was in 1953

This decision was made by the white group.

called Mentz line 27/11

Included

and after that date the Council was debarred from incurring further capital expenditure in the Pimville area. The Council resisted this decision regarding Pimville, as it has been occupied by Natives for nearly sixty years. It is pleasing to record that after a visit of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Mr. de Wet Nel) in December 1960, this decision was reversed, permitting the re-housing of the people in Pimville on the acres of ground in the vicinity. The first 1000 houses have been built. Compensation for the shacks and homes to be vacated has been satisfactorily settled. Unfortunately, ~~the limitation on housing loans is slowing up the move.~~ This is unfortunate as ~~the co-operation of the inhabitants to the move has been obtained,~~ and instead of the resistance to ~~the move~~ there is now an eagerness to take up the new quarters.

that the area should be white group area.

Dr.

X No.

The Provision of liquor.

Kaffir Beer

103. No picture of the administration of Native Affairs in Johannesburg would be complete without reference to Kaffir Beer.

104. The consumption of liquor by the elders of the clan has been part of the tradition of most Bantu tribes. On coming to the cities the traditional brews were not obtainable, nor were the traditional restraints in force. The law prohibited the consumption of the white man's liquor. Illicit brews, concocted from various brewing ingredients, and sold in hole in the corner Shebeens, became a feature of slum quarters. That the liquor concocted had a kick ^{was potent} was beyond doubt. Liquor raids by the Police became commonplace, but the Shebeens thrived nevertheless and fines were regarded as part of the running expenses. In terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1923, Local Authorities were granted a monopoly to brew and sell beer within their area of jurisdiction.— The alcoholic content of Kaffir Beer ^{was} limited to 3% by weight. It was not until 1937 that Johannesburg decided to exercise its right. There was much opposition at the time. The arguments in favour were based on the fact that it was a traditional drink, that it had food value, that something must be done to counteract the

the illicit brews which undoubtedly had harmful effects. The profit motive was also not forgotten, as with the introduction of the sale of Kaffir Beer the Council intended to carry forward the deficit on the Native Revenue Account which had previously been debited to the Rates Fund. This was not permitted by the Minister of Native Affairs who refused to pass the estimates of the Native Revenue Account unless the deficit was met by the Rates Fund.

Beer Halls in the Urban Area:

105. When the City Council accepted monopoly rights for the manufacture and sale of Bantu Beer in 1937, a start was made in the brewing of beer on a small portion of ground owned by the Department at the corner of Von Weilligh Street Extension and Village Road. For the first couple of months beer was brewed by hand after the ingredients had been cooked over open fires in 44 gallon drums, and two Bantu women were engaged to ensure the authenticity of the product. A very simple wood and iron building was erected later on, and this has never stopped growing until every available inch of land on the site has now been taken up with the existing brewery, which however, has reached the absolute limit of its capacity. *This is to be* and is being replaced by the new brewery now under construction at Langlaagte at a cost of R3,500,000, and with a production capacity of 150,000 gallons per day, and a possible further enlargement to ensure a production of a maximum of 200,000 gallons per day has been provided for. A beer garden was opened on another small portion of ground adjoining the brewery, and that continued to function until it was *of Native Affairs* arbitrarily closed by order of the Minister in June 1959.

106. In the early years beer halls had also been established on old mining premises at the Meyer and Charlton, and at the Mai-Mai site at the corner of Durban Street and Green Street, City & Suburban. This name, Mai-Mai, was originally applied to the old hostel established on the site of the Salisbury and Jubilee gold mining land which was subsequently used for the brewery described above, and it acquired its name from a habit of the first Compound Manager employed at

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the Salisbury Mine, who, being a tender-hearted man, used to express his distress at Native workers injured underground by the continual use of the expression "My, my". This appealed to the Bantu workers who used the term to describe the area in which they were working.

107. The Meyer and Charlton beer hall ceased to operate in the early forties because of the removal of the bulk of its patrons from the old slum area at Prospect Township, but the remaining ones continued to function until the Central Beerhall adjoining the brewery was closed in June 1959.

108. Small beerhalls catering for the local inmates still continue to function within the confines of the Wemmer, Wolhuter and Denver Hostels. After the closing of the Central Beerhall, Ministerial approval was obtained for the opening of two beer gardens for the Bantu employed in the industrial areas at Ffennell Road and Westgate, Selby Township. These latter two, however, were only permitted to function during the restricted hours of noon to 2 p.m., and 6.30 to 8.30 p.m., at Ffennell Road and noon to 2 p.m., at Westgate.

109. A short-lived attempt was made to establish a beer garden on ground owned by the Department south of Denver Station, but because of the objections of residents living in Malvern this was closed almost immediately. Although the Central Beer Garden had been a controversial issue for years because of the very large number of customers it attracted daily (something of the order of 20,000 Bantu men used to frequent the premises every day) its final closing was due to an unfortunate partial misunderstanding. Two Europeans returning from the Turffontein Race Course one Saturday afternoon stalled the very old motor car they were riding in near the Mai-Mai Beer Garden in City & Suburban, just at the time when the patrons were pouring out after closing time. The Europeans ordered the passing crowd to push their car to get it re-started, but the Bantu objected to the terms in which they were addressed, and an argument

This was a very large beer garden

started culminating in blows being exchanged, and finally the one European was so seriously assaulted that he died, but the other managed to run away. Although this incident took place nearly a mile from the Central Beer Garden there was confusion in the public mind in regard to the use of the descriptive title Mai-Mai Beer Garden, and the press often attached this title incorrectly to the Central Beer Garden. In all events, the murder was prominently featured in the newspapers under the heading of "European murdered at Mai-Mai Beer Garden" and it was as a result of this that the Ministerial order for the immediate closing of the beer garden was issued.

110. The opening of the new premises at Ffennell Road and Westgate, to coincide with the closing of the Central Beer Garden, was a difficult operation in as much that the Council was given twelve days by the Department of Bantu Administration to obtain the site, erect the necessary premises and start operating. In both cases the deadline was met, literally with five minutes to spare, after continuous all-out work by the staff.

111. Since the Beer Halls were established in 1937 the revenue has amounted to R40,335,781 and the profits R18,718,322. The sales and profits for the year 64/65 being R5,204,223 and R2,223,296 respectively. It is hard to visualise how the development of housing and other services could have been provided without these profits. Yet this source of income could fluctuate. For instance, there might be a boycott of the beerhalls, and more important still, there are moral issues involved. Many people, while realising the evil effects of illicit liquors, are still uneasy about the extent to which the financing of the Bantu Revenue Account is dependent on sales of Bantu Beer, and the extent to which the Bantu are using their earnings on liquor.

112. Two-thirds of the profits derived from the sale of Bantu Beer may be used (a) to make up the losses on housing schemes, (b) to make up any amount required to offset the loss to the Bantu Revenue Account resulting from the

reduction of rentals in force at any location, Bantu village or hostel, (c) the capital expenditure on housing schemes or works or services in connection with a location, Bantu village or hostel, and interest and redemption charges and maintenance costs in connection with any location, Bantu village or hostel. One-third of the profits may be spent on any service, expenditure or grant which may be certified in writing by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development as being calculated to improve the social or recreational amenities for Bantu residents within the areas of the urban local authority, or otherwise to promote the social welfare of such residents.

Allocation of Bantu Beer and Liquor Profits:

	<u>Year Ended</u> <u>30.6.65</u>
<u>One-Third Profit:</u>	
Urban Recreation	-
Urban Social Welfare	-
Bursaries	2,783
Grants-in-Aid	108,231
Vocational Training Centre	46,168
Medical Services Urban	122,995
Medical Services Township	<u>474,503</u>
	<u>754,680</u>
 <u>Two-Thirds Profit:</u>	
Losses on Sub-economic Housing Scheme:	
Contributions to Capital Outlay	180,000
Eastern Bantu Township	70,597
Jabavu	160,218
Orlando East	262,095
Orlando West	149,421
Pimville	195,464
Tour of Homelands	8,662
Medical Services, Recreation, Social Welfare, etc.	62,232
Unallocated Profit	<u>420,669</u>
	<u>1,509,358</u>
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u><u>R2,264,038</u></u>

113. The sale of European liquor by the Council (which holds the monopoly to sell European liquor in Soweto) amount to

	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Profits</u>
1962/63 (Part Year)	1,010,286	127,995
1963/1964	1,159,944	121,074
1964/1965	1,894,775	203,712

20% of the profits are retained by the Council and 80% paid to the Bantu Administration Department.

114. The fact that so large a sum is spent by the Bantu on liquor is disquieting. It is, however, well recognised that prior to 1962 large sums were spent illicitly on European liquor and brews of all kinds. What the sums thus spent amounted to will never be known. One positive improvement as a result of releasing European liquor to the Bantu has been the improvement in the relationship between the Bantu and the Police, as the unending raids for the detection of liquor are no longer necessary, and it is now no crime to have unconsumed liquor on one's premises.

The Financing of Soweto:

115. Some idea of the attitudes in phases one to six can be gathered from the Capital expenditure incurred by the end of the respective periods

		<u>Total Capital Expenditure</u>
End of Phase I	30.6.1918	105,929
	II 30.6.1927	797,684
	III 30.6.1939	2,994,960
	IV 30.6.1945	4,741,496
	V 30.6.1953	12,637,415
	VI 30.6.1965	53,488,569

In the two years before ¹⁹⁶⁵ 30.6.1957 and 30.6.1959, R13,415,644 was spent on Capital works - an amount exceeding the total expenditure up to the end of 1953.

Source of Funds:

116. Where did the money come from to finance this expenditure? As at 30.6.1965....

Handwritten note: The Capital exp. at 30/6/65 was 53,488,569

Handwritten note: After Para 10

Government Loans amounted to	22,794,261
Loans from Bantu Services Levy Fund	1,691,252
Loans from outside bodies (Mining Houses and Soldiers Housing Organisations)	6,096,764
Advance from Council's Consolidated Loans Fund	4,308,602
Advance from Council's Capital Development Fund	423,060
	<hr/>
	35,313,939
<u>Less:</u> Temporary advance to Rate Fund	656,048
	<hr/>
	34,657,891
Accumulated Surplus	18,830,678
	<hr/>
	<u>R53,488,569</u>

Of the money borrowed from the Government:-

R 8,281,261 was lent at $\frac{7}{8}\%$ interest on the basis of National Housing Commission formulas	
R 114,732 was lent at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest	
R 2,445 was lent at 4% interest	
R 1,563,659 was lent at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest	
R 2,135,320 was lent at $4\frac{3}{4}\%$ interest	
R 9,947,425 was lent at $4-7/8\%$ interest	
R 212,122 was lent at 5% interest	
R 1,678,884 was lent at $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest	
R 1,797,478 was lent at 6% interest	
<hr/>	
<u>R25,733,326</u>	R25,733,326 of which R22,794,261 is still outstanding.

117. The loan from the Bantu Services Levy Fund bears interest at $1/8\%$. The loan from the Mining Houses is at $4-7/8\%$ and from the Soldiers Housing Organisations at $1\frac{1}{4}\%$. The rate charged by the Consolidated Loans Fund and the Capital Development Fund varies from year to year depending upon the average paid by the Council during the year, and in 1964/65 was at the rate of 4.353%. Of the funds provided by the Government since 1952 :-

R2,305,930	is	at	$\frac{7}{8}\%$
R1,564,112	is	at	$4\frac{1}{2}\%$
R3,106,534	is	at	$4\frac{3}{4}\%$
R9,918,577	is	at	$4-7/8\%$
R 214,504	is	at	5%
R1,761,211	is	at	$5\frac{1}{2}\%$
R1,733,231	is	at	6%.

20,604,099

Surplus:

118. Municipal accounting is different from commercial accounting, and the amount shown as the surplus in the Capital Account represents the excess of the original cost of the assets over the loans outstanding and in the case of Johannesburg, mainly consists of loans redeemed and grants from the Bantu Services Levy Fund. In the books of the Council assets are maintained at their original cost, and are not depreciated, and they are only written off against the surplus when they are disposed of. The surplus therefore represents the difference between the ~~historic~~ *original* cost of the assets and the outstanding part of the loans which were raised to finance them.

119. Of the surplus of R18,830,677 the amount represented by grants from the Bantu Services Levy Fund is R9,940,085 leaving a balance of R8,890,592 representing the amount of loans redeemed.

Deficits on Bantu Revenue Account:

120. While in the early days the income from Locations exceeded expenditure, that ceased to be the position over sixty years ago, except for the years 1939 and 1940 when there were small surpluses. And while for many years the deficits were moderate, the contribution is now substantial as the attached table reflects. During the last twelve years the deficits have varied from quarter of a million Rands to as much as R913,481: in 1963, and have totalled R7,064,666 in the last thirteen years. The deficits on the Bantu Revenue Account have been a cause of constant debate in the Council Chamber, and in the last two Budget debates the rejection of the budget has been moved unless the estimates were framed on a basis of balancing the Native Revenue Account on the principle that the services provided should be limited to those for which the Bantu could afford to pay. This is in fact the policy of the Resettlement Board. The *Concomitant* opinion is that until Bantu wages for the majority are truly economic a measure of subsidisation will remain essential.

Furthermore it is a principle of modern foot that the proper sector of the community should be helped

Medical Services:

121. At the end of the war conditions arose in the Bantu areas which created problems far different from those appertaining today. The squatters camps at ~~Shantytown~~ and later the ~~Tobruk squatters (who were moved to the Jabavu site and service scheme)~~ ^{gave rise to} presented intolerable environmental hygiene conditions. Unmade streets were fringed with mushrooming shelters of the crudest and most ineffectual sort - tin, sacking, cardboard - and served by hastily erected communal latrine and ablution blocks which poured water into a quagmire approach. Through all this, health inspectors struggled and battled against illegal traders in foodstuffs and milk from unpermitted sources.

122. Two large marquee tents were erected at the site and service area to serve as a clinic, and were surrounded by other tents in which the district midwives slept in the periods between duty calls. Record keeping became farcical, with gusts of wind carrying away every document in sight and on occasion staff returned in the morning to find that guy-ropes had been chewed through by donkeys and the "clinic" partially collapsed.

123. In the area which was to become Soweto two other clinics were conducted, one at Pimville and one at Orlando. These two clinics offered curative, midwifery, tuberculosis and child health services. Today the area is served by 6 general, 6 tuberculosis and 6 family health clinics. It is interesting that with a population of 190,000 just after the war, the number of clinic attendances were approximately double this figure, while today the ratio is retained and a population of half a million register just over one million clinic attendances annually. However, the distribution of the cases attending clinics has shifted away from general daily sick attendances to child health and tuberculosis clinic attendances indicating a shift in emphasis of staff and patients towards the public health services rather than curative.

124. In the field of immunisation a completely different picture from the immediate post-war era presents. The

see para 33

proportion of attendances for immunisation against diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, smallpox and tuberculosis have not been included in the figure previously quoted. In the years following the war only approximately 1,000 immunisations per year were performed, whilst now considerable emphasis is placed on this valuable aspect of public health and in 1963 large campaigns were conducted where within 14 days over 105,000 immunisations were administered while later in that year in 18 days, a further 162,000 immunisations were performed. Over and above these intensive campaigns the present annual immunisations number well over a half-million procedures. During the period under review poliomyelitis vaccine, first in an injectable form and later in the oral form became available and contributed greatly to the reduction in the number of cases reflected in the epidemic upsurge of this disease in the early 1950s. B.C.G. immunisation against tuberculosis has recently been made sufficiently safe to be freely used, and although the results of this immunisation cannot yet be assessed it is anticipated that the use of this vaccine will prove invaluable in the control of tuberculosis.

125. The staff solely employed on Bantu health services have more than doubled to number 500 at present, and include posts of Assistant Medical Officer of Health, 6 Family Health Medical Officers, 3 Tuberculosis Medical Officers which were created in the post-war period which has also seen a general increase in the numbers of doctors, health visitors, nurses and clerks.

126. In the maternal health service the number of deliveries have quadrupled and ante-natal clinics which were conducted weekly at 2 clinics are now conducted daily at almost all of the 6 clinics.

127. Where, in the post-war period, 311 of every 1000 Bantu babies born died within the first year of life, this figure was considered to be the acme of achievement in that it was the lowest in the history of Johannesburg. It is now cal-

culated that some 40 new born per 1000 die within the first year of life. This dramatic improvement can be ascribed not only to the improvement in living conditions, but also to the intensity of home visiting by health visitors and the efficacy and availability of the child health advisory services.

128. The advances in medical knowledge applied to public health during this period have nowhere been more dramatic than in the therapy of tuberculosis. The emphasis on the problem of tuberculosis has shifted from the hopelessness of the pre-war concept of rest in hospital and cod liver oil, to one of specific treatment with an armamentarium of useful medicines coupled with the need for the early detection of the disease and rapid rehabilitation. Tremendous strides have also been made in the social services available to tuberculous and in the treatment facilities at hospitals and settlements.

129. This period has also seen a change in the use made of Bantu Nurses. In 1937 the first Bantu trained Nurse was appointed to the staff of the City Health Department and shortly after the war for the first time three Bantu trained health visitors were appointed. At this time the European health visitors were engaged in district work while some Bantu nurses were employed on unskilled work such as interpreting for the doctors. Slowly Bantu nurses have been given more and more responsibility in providing a service for their own people and at the same time the opportunities for acquiring post-qualification experience and training. Today lay interpreters have freed nurses for more responsible duties consistent with their training. Twenty-five Bantu health visitors are employed in the service, and six Bantu nurses hold other senior positions with European health visitors now holding administrative and supervisory positions. The future will undoubtedly bring the Bantu nurses into positions of still greater responsibility.

130. Today the problems in the Bantu areas are becoming more and more the same as those faced in the European areas. As time progresses the preventive aspects of health in terms of preventing unnecessary child and maternal deaths, prevent-

ing of outbreaks of infectious disease, will become still more a matter of routine and greater emphasis will be able to be given to the promotive aspects of health in the building up of a sound, healthy population in a healthy physical, social and psychological environment.

Halls: *Community Services*

131. In any community, but I think it can be said even more so in a Bantu community, meeting places to discuss local affairs, or take ^{trivial} great political decisions, are essential. The large tree in the veld provided these meeting places in the tribal areas, and before the Council was able to build halls, the Bantu who wanted to talk about their new environment and the politics of their homeland gathered on the koppies and the open spaces of Soweto. There is a constant clamour for meeting places and 15 halls have now been built up to a cost of R50,000 each. Here the men meet to discuss their differences and the changing political patterns of their society. The women for sewing classes, social gatherings, cooking demonstrations and the running of their special interests such as creches, youth clubs and fund raising. Society weddings, dances and beauty contests are very much a part of urban Bantu life in Soweto.

132. The youth attend body building classes and play badminton, boxing and other games, and the younger children are engaged in group activities after school.

133. In addition to the 15 large halls there are 23 smaller ones. The need for more of these amenities is self evident and the only limiting factor is capital and the ability of the Bantu to pay for the amenities he needs.

134. Symphony concerts and theatre productions have been successfully staged in the bigger halls, but the Council has embarked upon an ambitious R400,000: - ¹⁵⁰⁰ ~~2000~~ seat theatre on the new Civic Centre in Soweto which will provide a very much larger meeting place for the future, and which will be the finest Non-European theatre in the country.

Social Welfare Services:

135. Social services started in a very small way in the Department in the early 1930's, when there were relatively few houses available for Bantu. These services were carried out initially by a European female member of the staff. During the war years, ~~due to shortages of materials, no houses were built and~~ there was very little expansion of social services. These services were confined largely to the distribution of foodstuffs in short supply, but included club-work and housecrafts on a small scale. Physical recreation was confined to tribal dancing and football at this stage.

136. The Johannesburg City Council wisely realised that where large numbers of people were being housed in circumstances very different from the conditions to which they were previously accustomed, it was necessary to provide for their welfare, for without the social development of the community, the most modern housing conditions can easily deteriorate into slums. The City Council, therefore, expanded the Recreation and Community Services Branch of the Non-European Affairs Department and initiated a programme of development entailing a large increase in staff and services. Today the Recreation and Community Services Branch has over 700 members of staff, and costs the City Council approximately R1,000,000 per annum. It provides the following facilities:

Family Welfare Services with a special sub-section dealing with families of tuberculosics;

Rehabilitation and Youth services, covering clubwork on a large scale;

Sheltered Employment;

Recreation Services;

Cultural Services; and

Horticultural Services to improve the aesthetic appearance of Soweto.

The development of (a) Creches and (b) Sporting Activities.

137. (a) Creches: The large industrial expansion in Johannesburg and resultant demand for Bantu labour, coupled with the rising cost of living, drew large numbers of Bantu women into

employment. To assist them, the Council encouraged and helped with the development of creches. The first creche was established at Western Native Township in 1937. Together the City Council and private enterprise have increased the number of Bantu creches to their present total of 50. Their value cannot be over-emphasised. Young children who would otherwise be left to wander aimlessly in the streets are housed and fed during the day and taught the principles of hygiene, health and social living. These children are the citizens of tomorrow, and the sense of responsibility and orderliness established now in creches will have a direct influence on community development in future.

(b) Sporting Activities: An excellent example of the extent to which development in the Department has taken place, is shown in the sporting sphere. From a very small beginning with one sports organiser, the Recreation Section has grown to its present size. It now controls three major stadiums, 86 sportsfields, tennis courts, swimming-pools, playgrounds. etc. Every code of sport found in the European areas is also provided for in Soweto. ~~These facilities compare favourably with those in the main cities of the world.~~

These facilities have not only enabled the residents to be usefully occupied in their spare time, but have also proved to be good policy in terms of tension. During the 1960 National Emergency, Johannesburg was relatively quiet and this has been attributed to the fact that the Council provided the community with normal healthy outlets for their energies.

Grants-in-Aid:

138. The Council is aware of the needs of the Bantu in the whole field of social development and has continually given encouragement and support to private initiative to establish private welfare organisations run by Bantu in their own community. Grant^s-in-Aid are annually made available to properly registered welfare organisations, and also to other deserving institutions who fall outside the scope of the National Welfare Act, but who perform a worthwhile service in allied fields.

As an example of the progress made in this field, whereas in the financial year 1956/57, 15 creches received grants-in-aid to the value of R8200: in the financial year 1966/67 approval has been given to subsidising 34 creches to the extent of R28,547: The total amount distributed by the Council in grants-in-aid (~~excluding those mentioned above to creches~~) has risen from R53,052: in 1956 to ~~R105,000~~ ^{R137,349}. These figures do not include the amount of approximately R15,000: per annum granted by the Council annually to individuals by way of bursaries to further their education at school and at universities.

Education:

139. Education in any society is the backbone of its strength and in Soweto the Department of Bantu Education caters for schooling of children up to matriculation. School attendance is not compulsory, but the demand of the people for education appears to be insatiable, and only funds are the limiting factor in the provision of schools, teachers and equipment.

140. 76,000 children attend school which is approximately 70% of the children of school going age^e. Economics of the Bantu family and lack of facilities would appear to be the deciding factor.

141. There are 120 schools in Soweto of which five cater for Standard VII to matriculation.

142. The Bantu Education system, although not the responsibility of local authorities, is studied closely by the Council in an endeavour to ensure that children are provided with all the amenities which make up successful community living. More and more school buildings is undoubtedly a cry of the future if Bantu children are not to waste their time loafing around the streets or taking work for which they are not fitted, but a long-term plan is needed which is inseparably bound up with the ability of the Bantu to earn a wage which will enable him to pay for the amenities he needs.

143. The responsibility for the provision of school buildings

is divided between the Council for lower primary schools (i.e. up to Std.II) and the Bantu Education Department for higher primary and secondary schools. 72 lower primary schools have been built by the Council, containing 595 classrooms in the last ten years, each at an average cost of R12,000 per school of 10 classrooms. This includes ancillary buildings such as offices, storerooms and toilets. This ceiling of R1200 per classroom was reasonable until recently, but the steep rise in the cost of materials and labour now makes it difficult to achieve. *build for this figure.*

144. The majority of parents in Soweto make a direct contribution to the capital cost of building these schools as an amount of 18c is included in the monthly house rental.

145. Only in the older schemes i.e. prior to 1955, where in the majority of cases school buildings had already been provided, is no 18c levy made.

146. Since school levy was instituted in 1956, R569,321: has been collected to 30th June, 1965. R499,055: has been spent leaving a balance as at 30th June, 1965, of R70,266:

V.T.C.

Location Superintendent: *(paraphrase)*

147. Perhaps the old conception of the Location Superintendent as the father of the flock has lost some of its appeal with the passing of time, and the modern approach to administration, but there is no doubt in my mind that such a man does in fact, even in today's hustle and bustle of urban society, accept responsibility for, and endeavour to look after, the needs of the people, who live in his township from the time he makes out their birth certificates until he signs their burial orders.

148. During this life span conflicting, sometimes frustrating, but at all time unusual, legislation and regulations are at the Superintendent's fingertips in his endeavour to ensure that the law abiding citizen continues to enjoy his right to live and work in Johannesburg, and the criminal is brought to book through the various channels of justice.

149. The Superintendent is a peace officer with powers of arrest, and is a welfare officer with his own powers of persuasion. He is a rent collector, but he is also a "court of appeal". He is a building inspector with advice, and he is also a man armed with power to demolish unauthorised structures. With the sweep of his pen he can allow a man to stay in his Township, or he can damn him by lack of consideration to a life of penury and statelessness.

150. He has a warm blanket and a food parcel in one hand, and a stick of fatherly chastisement in the other. He is a marriage guidance counsellor and an adjudicator in tribal squabbles. He is a returning officer and the Chairman of the Bantu Advisory Board, whose members look to him as arbitrator in disputes which affect the people they represent. He must allocate trading sites and argue the pros and cons of the commodities which should or should not be sold for the benefit of the community. He is a statistician on whose figures the provision of medical and other services depends.

Finally, he is a liaison officer with all the other Departments of the Council in respect of the conditions under which the Bantu people live in an urban community.

152. To assist him in all this and to act as a close link between the European administrator and the Bantu people, is a team of 560 Bantu graded staff whose monthly salaries range from R45: to R134: As well as being the eyes and ears of the Superintendent the smooth working of an office machinery geared to modern standards depends on their efficiency.

153. Top administrative posts in the tribal areas are available to Bantu personnel and the duties of Bantu clerks in Soweto provide a good training ground for men of top calibre. Responsibility grows with experience and increasingly more complicated decisions are being left to these men.

Advisory Boards:

154. From the time of the first passing of the Urban Areas Act (Act No: 21) in 1923, provision was made in the Law for

Training provided in Soweto equip men for top jobs in Tribal

the establishment of Native Advisory Boards by local authorities to assist in the administration of their Bantu Townships.

155. These Boards were given certain limited statutory powers, perhaps the most important of which in the early days was the requirement that local authorities were compelled to consult the Advisory Board before any regulation affecting the Bantu Township could be made, amended or withdrawn.

156. Johannesburg has always treated the Advisory system seriously and has done all in its power to make these Boards fully functioning adjuncts of its administration by affording proper recognition and payment to the members, and by treating the principle of consultation seriously and not merely paying lip service to the principle. In addition, it has devoted considerable time and trouble to the training of Board members in the principles of Local Government with particular reference to correct budgeting and preparation of financial estimates of income and expenditure. There are eleven Advisory Boards functioning in Johannesburg each in respect of the different Bantu Areas comprising Soweto, and these meet monthly in their own Townships under the Chairmanship of the local European Township Superintendent when purely parochial matters are discussed. Once a month all eleven Boards meet as a single Joint Board under the Chairmanship of the Manager, and at these meetings any matter affecting the Bantu population of Johannesburg is free to be discussed as well as policy matters, new legislation, amendment to existing Laws and Regulations, etc. etc. The meetings are well attended, are extremely lively and a very high standard of debate has developed over the years. Usually the meetings are attended by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner as well as the officer commanding South African Police. Other Municipal officials such as the Medical Officer of Health, C.T., COFD., CE., CLO., are invited to attend meetings when issues affecting their Departments are on the Agenda.

Representatives of Dept

157. The Government's policy is now to ensure a closer link

between Urban Administration and the Bantu Homelands and with a view to this provision was made in the Law for the establishment of Urban Bantu Councils in terms of Act No: 79 of 1961.

158. These Councils when established can be vested with quite far reaching statutory powers, including the levying of a rate on the Non-Europeans of the Bantu Area under its jurisdiction, the establishment and control of community guards doing certain aspects of police work, as well as responsibility for Influx Control, exclusion of unauthorised persons and even the performance of certain technical functions for which purpose they are empowered to employ suitably qualified personnel. Johannesburg is anxious to try out this new system, but difficulties have been experienced in the drafting of suitable regulations to cover local conditions, and thus far it has not been possible to establish such a council. There are only two of these U.B.C's functioning in different parts of the country, but both operate on a very small scale and cannot really be regarded as an indication of the success, or otherwise, of the proposal.

159. The present Advisory Boards as constituted in Johannesburg consist of four elected and two nominated members for each of the ¹⁰eleven Boards. Elections are held in December of each year, and are contested on a party basis and are ~~hotly contested~~ ^{by the candidates}. Considerable eagerness is shown by candidates seeking election, as the post carries considerable prestige as well as certain definite administrative advantages in that the member is recognised and permitted by the Department to make representations on behalf of his constituents in regard to such matters as Influx Control, occupation of houses, and the issuing of documents of identification, permits for employment, etc.

160. Comment is sometimes made in other towns that the Advisory Board System is a failure in that it only attracts

agitators to its ranks, and because of its absence of real power, is nothing more than a grievance committee, but in answer to this, Johannesburg has found that the success of the Boards is in direct ratio to the degree of recognition afforded to members by the Council and the earnestness with which its deliberations and recommendations are treated.

Management of the Non-European Affairs Department.

161. Another important injunction placed on local authorities by the first Urban Areas Act in 1923 was the requirement to appoint an officer to manage its Department of Native Affairs, and the officer so appointed could not assume duty until he had been personally approved and licenced by the Minister nor could he be removed from his office or have his emoluments reduced without the prior approval of the Minister.

162. In the early days the Department of Native Affairs, as it was then called, of the Council, was managed by an officer appointed in terms of this section and he was assisted by two other officers who also required the prior approval of the Minister to function as Location Superintendents. These three men together with the ^{noted} C.C. and one typist comprised the Department at its inception. From that time it has grown to the position where the present staff consists of a Manager, Deputy Manager, ^{two} six Assistant Managers and 447 Europeans and 3124 Bantu personnel. The Department is divided into a number of main divisions, namely, the Head Office Administration, the Townships Administration Branch, Urban Areas Branch, Coloured and Asiatic Branch, Liquor Branch, Employment, Influx Control and Registration, Welfare, Recreation and Community Services. The Department is to a very large extent a self-contained organisation, and although it has been found expedient for the City Engineer, Treasury and Health Departments to establish separate branches of their Departments solely concerned with the Bantu areas, the Non-European Affairs Department remains the co-ordinating agency responsible for overall direction, policy, and framing of financial estimates. It operates its own parks, recreation and nursery

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branch, and constructs and maintains its own playing fields as well as being responsible for vast beautification schemes involving the planting of thousands of trees and the construction of large public gardens every year. The Department operates through the channel of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council to which the Manager submits a monthly written report, and this Committee, in addition to the meeting described, is also required by the Council to hold periodic meetings with the Joint Bantu Advisory Boards. The decisions of the Non-European Affairs Committee on the Manager's recommendations are referred for final approval to the Management Committee and the City Council respectively, except for such items in respect of which the Committee has delegated authority.

163. Management of Non-European Affairs in a large urban centre is an extremely complex matter requiring profound experience, wisdom and a genuine desire to understand and improve the lot of the Urban Bantu.

164. The Department is in daily consultation with the State Department of Bantu Administration and Development on a host of administrative, financial and legal issues, as well as with other State Departments involved one way or another with the Government of the Bantu.

165. The main objective of the management of the Department can perhaps be expressed as a desire to ensure a contented, well housed, prosperous, fully employed, healthy and happy Bantu community able to provide the services required as workers in a large and dynamic industrial and commercial complex, and the fostering of good race relations between the Bantu, Coloured, Asiatic and European communities making up the cosmopolitan population of Johannesburg.

166. I have said much about the physical and material achievements. But the People. Who are the people who live in Soweto - where did they come from - why did they come?

167. Who are the people? Where did they come from?

The Xosa from the Transkei - the Basuto from Basutoland - the Shangaan from Portuguese East Africa - the Zulu from Zululand - the Bapedi from Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal - the Tswana from the Western Transvaal - the Blantyres from Nyasaland - the Bachuana from Bechuanaland - the Mashona and Mandabele from Rhodesia. There were also Swazi, Fingo, Pondo, Makwena, Barolong, Bakgatla, Venda and Griqua. Johannesburg was the magnet for people from all over Southern Africa.

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168. They came to the cities to work, for in their homes in the rural areas the land available was limited, and the agricultural methods primitive, and they had no means to support their families when crops failed. They needed cash to pay taxes, their wants increased and the bright lights of the cities lured them to come to E-Goli - the City of Gold - to seek the cash they needed. With the industrial expansion in the cities their labour was required to enable the factories and industry to function. The services provided in the towns, the educational and medical facilities available and the general better living conditions drew the people to the cities from the rural areas.

169. At one time, it was just the men who came. In 1900, of the 60,000 Africans the ratio of males to females was 12-1; by 1927, with a population of 136,000 the ratio was 6-1; at the outbreak of war the ratio was 3-1 and now it is equal.

170. At first the men worked for short spells, returning home to join their families, returning to the cities again when their funds gave out. What a different pattern it is today! Now that the women have moved to town the vast majority are permanent urban dwellers.

171. How different they found the city from their rural areas! How strange they felt in their new surroundings! How ill-equipped their tribal beliefs and training had made them for their new life. Instead of the sun being

their time-piece they now had to work to the inelastic and unsympathetic clock of the white man. Instead of working in the circle of their clan, where everyone was known to them and to each other, they were now among strangers, strangers to them and strangers to one another. They heard unfamiliar tongues they could not understand. Because they could not understand they were thought to be stupid - some called them momparas and worse. Whereas at home they had a sense of kinship and could consult their kinsmen, they were now on their own and had to make decisions for themselves. Their food was different as were their mealtimes, the white man's medicine was different. Instead of a barter economy ready cash was necessary. Instead of leisurely walks along country paths 170,000 persons each day rise early to throng the crowded trains carrying them to work, only to repeat the same tortured travel in the late afternoon. No longer were cattle the symbol of wealth. In the city material assets and a flashy car were one's aim. Whereas in the clan initiative was not encouraged and could lead to jealousy, now they were judged on their own merits and were encouraged to develop individuality. At home there was respect for one's elders. The daily battle to secure a place on the crowded trains destroyed any attitude other than looking after oneself. In the city one was on one's own, and free from restraints of the tribe, but at the same time one had not the security of the help of your kinsmen. The ancestral spirits seemed far away; some people in the towns even cast doubt on their very existence. It is difficult enough for a rural dweller of any race to adjust himself to the hurry and bustle of the city. For the African he also had to adjust to a totally different way of life.

172. What an upheaval - what an adjustment to make. The migratory worker away from his kith and kin, away from his womenfolk could not be expected to observe the tribal sanctions and restraints - for a man is a man and needed his desires fulfilled and so began the process which has caused a most heart-rending upheaval in the structure of African society, particularly in family life, from which

I doubt if they will ever recover. While large numbers are living normal family lives there are still 85,000 men and 55,000 women living under single conditions in hostels, compounds, flats or on their employer's private property. There is no means of estimating how many of these men and women are in fact single and how many are involuntarily parted from their spouses.

173. In the early days of contact between white and black many well-meaning people looking through the eyes of one civilization and not knowing the customs and traditions of the other, condemned polygamy, and other marriage customs, and the lobolo system, interpreting that system as the purchase of the wife by the bridegroom - how wrong they were.

174. In days gone by, while customs varied from tribe to tribe pre-marital pregnancies would have had serious consequences for both parties. In the towns no such sanctions existed, and illegitimate children became accepted without many eyebrows being so much as raised. The transfer of cattle by the kinsmen of the bridegroom to the kinsmen of the bride was a symbol of the alliance of the clans and many consequences flowed from these transactions. For one, if the husband died his clan would care for his wife and children. There were no uncared for widows or orphans.

175. How different in the towns. One was away from the close-knit community where everyone knew your actions. One was among strangers who did not care, thus causing a breakdown in tribal sanctions.

176. In the cities the lobolo system lost its old meaning for there were no cattle. Yet it persists in circumstances which destroy its original purpose. It is often the earning capacity of the bride which determines the lobolo demanded. In days gone by it was the parents and the clan who assisted with the payment of lobolo, now it is the groom who has to find it. If the amount demanded is too high the man and maid often live together until lobolo can be found.

177. In Bantu society in rural areas polygamy was the accepted norm. The women tilled the fields and were responsible for providing the meals. In the cities there were no fields to till, and the only means of providing the food was to go out and work for cash. Then who looked after the children while one was at work in the city. No wonder many of the youngsters have grown up without discipline or the desire to have regular employment, seeking rather to live by their wits. The role of the women in the tribe was well defined, and was not on a similar plane to the women in Western societies. What change has this needed on coming to the city. Today in Soweto the women play an ever increasingly important role in the structure of a stable society. Read books such as "A Black Woman in Search of God" to appreciate the stabilising force of the Manyano women. It is often the women who are the stimulating force in educating the children. In many households the women scimp and scrape to find the funds to enable the children to acquire the knowledge they themselves never had. And what problems this often creates where the children may scorn the parents because of their illiteracy.

178. One of the ever-present problems is that of making ends meet. Poverty in the rural areas was one thing, because in the rural areas one shared what there was to share. In the city where cash was required to meet the month's rental - for with only one landlord one could find oneself on the street with nowhere else to go if your rent was in arrear - where foods, and clothing, had to be bought at ever increasing prices - poverty is a nightmare especially if one is old, or out of work, or ill or if one's husband has deserted you and left you with a crop of children to care for. These days of full employment and more adequate wages have helped enormously in relieving the hardships of a large portion of the Soweto population, but it is an ever increasing struggle, especially if the men spend their wages on clothes, or gambling, or at the Municipal beerhalls, or on their girl friends without accepting their responsibilities for the family they helped to create.

179. I have endeavoured to put to you this melting pot into which people of varying tribal backgrounds, various stages of

of education, varying stages of civilization have been thrown. What are the results and what brew has been produced from the melting pot?

180. If one visits Soweto one is impressed with the manner in which the houses are kept, the gardens that have been built and how neat the homes are inside.

181. I can only marvel at the resilience, at the good humour, the philosophical attitude and the good sense of the people in what has happened.

182. Who could have visualised some 30 years ago - 20 years ago - even 10 years ago - the skills that would be acquired by these country people; who could have envisaged that there would be African matrons at Baragwanath Hospital, and a Hospital staffed with African nurses, who could have believed that Municipal treasury officials would be Africans, that the builders of houses, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the electrical wiremen, the plumbers and drainlayers would be black, and that there would be building contractors, that they would be driving bulldozers, that they would acquire the skills for industry, that there would be artists trained in the city's art centre in Polly Street capable of exhibiting works of art in London, Paris and New York. Who would have believed, not 10 years ago, but 3 years ago, that the release of European liquor to the Africans would not result in an orgy of drunkenness and terror. The release of European liquor to the Africans has improved the relationship with the Police, who have no longer to raid their homes at all times to search for unconsumed liquor. Unacceptable and unenforced laws breed disrespect for the law. The complicated pass laws and influx control regulations impinge on the desired freedom of movement of most families in one way or another. In the minds of the Africans the Police are identified with the laws and the niceties of the differences between the makers of the law and those who have to carry them out are not recognised.

183. That all is not well we know. You cannot have a social upheaval such as we have had without somebody being hurt and

and it will take time and patience and understanding to heal the bruises caused by the destruction of a social order before another is put in its place.

184. The beliefs of the African, the concepts of kinship, the belief in ancestral spirits, the belief in signs, in omens good and bad, the belief that one can be bewitched, that one can bewitch one's enemy, the beliefs in the witch-doctor's occult powers, in his medicines - these and many others are deeprooted and will be a part of African thinking for generations to come.

185. What have we tried to put in their place. Often the Africans first contact with white civilization was with the missionaries. What dedicated men and women they were. To what extent have those sacrifices and dedication influenced African life and morality today. A large portion of the educated Africans received their schooling at Missions and Church affiliated institutions such as Lovedale, Fort Hare, Kilnerton, Adams College and Roma. While the churches have many hundreds of thousands of members and adherents Christianity is by many regarded as the white man's religion and therefore suspect. Was the behaviour of the white man towards them, and the laws of the white man such as to create a desire to know the white man's God?

186. Over 800 separatist churches have sprung up through South Africa. These vary in degree from having beliefs, and a faith bearing resemblance to Christianity to those which are pagan. It is regrettable to say that the Christian church is finding it hard to penetrate the core of the masses and amongst the more sophisticated church affiliation is often for purposes of social status rather than for inherent beliefs backed by a standard of conduct.

187. A hopeful sign in a society where strata of social status are emerging is that not only in South Africa, but in Africa sophistication is allied with the extent to which western civilization has been attained. We recently suggested that we have an exhibition in Soweto at which tribal huts and

impedimenta be displayed and tribal costumes worn. The Advisory Boards would have none of it - they did not want to be reminded of their past.

188. In Soweto today various strata of society are emerging. These strata are influenced by the extent of education and the absorption of western civilization. Possession of material goods are a symbol of success and status. The better educated - professional persons, the teachers, shopkeepers, nurses, senior officials in Administration, entertainers - tend to form the uppercrust of society. One's income and skills are a factor and then there are the labourers and the newcomers to town. There are church associations, choral societies, football clubs, school associations, chambers of commerce, advisory boards and many other organisations cutting right across ethnic grouping, and these activities determine one's associates and place in the new society. Unfortunately, there are also the city slickers and spivs, the people who want to make money the easy way not caring who they rape or rob or how they maim. I often feel that today the greatest need in Soweto is to find some way of providing the law-abiding citizen with protection from the molestation of his fellows.

189. The urban dweller of today has travelled a long way on the path of material progress. His standard of living, his abilities, his outlook and that of his city bred children is vastly different from that of yesteryear.

190. Was I right in my introduction in saying I had an exciting story to tell? A story of indifference, degradation, of appalling slums, of high mortality rates, of neglect, and then a story of achievement on a massive scale, a story of the acceptance of responsibility by the Mother City for the well-being of the Bantu people of Soweto. A story of material development, but also a human story where people have been forced within a short space of time to make adaptations, to change age-old concepts and customs, to change patterns of living and of working. Material progress has resulted and will continue. Further adaptations will be necessary, and the granting of further responsibilities and participation

in administration must follow. Means must be found to develop leadership amongst the Urban Bantu, and outlets for their reasonable aspirations. The Bantu who wishes to work with the European often finds it hard to get the support of his compatriots. The potential leader of the masses finds it hard to obtain a following without advocating policies and actions which challenge what is called "traditional South African policy". How then are we to fulfil the aspirations of the Urban Bantu people and their would-be leaders? In my opinion the Johannesburg City Council, operating as it must within the compass of present legislation, must develop the Advisory Boards and Urban Councils as the outlets for leadership and responsibility. The Urban Councils must be given administrative authority within the capabilities of its members. It must be more than advisory.

191. What has been acceptable in housing standards to date will be rejected in years to come. As land within reasonable limits of the City is used up, buildings of the future will need to be multistorey. This will require further adaptation to changes in living patterns. The younger generations will acquire skills not possessed by their parents and new outlets of employment will have to be found.

192. My colleagues on the Council and the Council officials have had a sense of purpose and mission without which the material provision alone would not have enabled so vast a congregation of country folk of differing tribes and tongues to adapt themselves to urban conditions. My colleagues and the officials, while aware of what has been done, are equally aware that complacency has no place in this age of change. They are aware, too, of the restless ambitions of the Bantu for a better participation in what South Africa has to offer. If the present relationship between the Council and the people can be maintained, I am confident that great progress will be assured.

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