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demanded by progress and changing times can be applied with as little confusion as possible. It is constantly necessary to abandon old fashioned theories and practices in favour of ideas and trends born of modern experience and advancement. No aspect of South Africa's national life can be discussed without touching upon the native and his future. It is a matter of prime importance that the policy followed in urban native administration should harmonise with the policy of the country generally. Serving as it does as a buffer between the conflicting interests of different sections of the community, a municipal native administration department receives the first impact of criticism from those who are of the opinion that the pace is too rapid as well as those who feel that progress is too slow. In the face of these opposing ideals the native administration department must ensure that planning for the future and the interpretation thereof into positive action is undertaken fearlessly. It is the method of approach and the objective manner in which policy is translated into action that bears a great influence in the shaping of future policy.

THE INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATORS OF
NON-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (SOUTHERN AFRICA)

There has existed among various local authorities a fairly wide divergence in their approach to urban native administration. While fundamental differences on the application of basic principles were permitted to continue and the interpretation of policy was at variance, a unified national approach was not possible of attainment.

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It was primarily for this reason that the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs was brought into being, and its birth must rank among the foremost of recent developments in the urban administration of Native Affairs. Its formation did not come about suddenly, but as a result of evolution over a period of many years in the field of urban native administration. I feel therefore that a brief sketch of the background to its development would not be out of place.

At the turn of the century the concept of the administration of natives in urban areas was one which regarded them as a necessary nuisance whose residence merely required supervision to ensure that they did not become a menace to the health of the European inhabitants. In consequence, the common practice was to leave their affairs in the hands of junior officials of municipal health departments.

After the introduction of the Urban Areas Act in 1923, with its emphasis on control, local authorities found it necessary to appoint men with some knowledge of law, and thus dawned the era when police experience was regarded as the most important qualification for officials managing urban natives.

Since then public opinion has come to realise the dependence of the economy of the country on the Bantu and the consequent importance of ensuring that the conditions under which he lives are such as to enable him

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to be physically and mentally fit to do the work required of him. This has resulted in considerably increased attention being given to the needs of urban natives and a realisation of the immensity of the problems which their administration presents.

There emerged a new concept of local government regarding natives and of the responsibilities of officials charged with administering the affairs of the Bantu. In assessing the nature of these responsibilities, it is necessary to take cognisance of some of the more important factors which characterise the functions of a Municipal Non-European Affairs Department.

A Native Affairs Department, be it of central or local government, exists because the state of development of the Bantu generally is such that the administrative system applicable to more civilised peoples requires to be modified under the direction of persons whose training has qualified them for administering natives. For this important reason, with a few exceptions, all matters affecting natives are co-ordinated under the control of this one Department.

Because the great majority of natives are not yet educated to the standards of Western civilisation, they frequently do not understand and often oppose essential administrative measures. As many of the laws affecting them do not apply to Europeans, they consider these laws to be unjust and regard with hostility the officials who are required to administer them. Consequently a degree

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of tact, patience and an ability to handle any given delicate situation is required of native administration officials more so than of officials dealing with the European public, if the co-operation of the natives is to be secured. Because the Bantu are not represented on municipal councils, the head of the native administration department is responsible for establishing a balanced liaison between the natives and the council, taking into consideration the expressed viewpoints of the Bantu as well as realising the necessity to safeguard the interests of the municipality.

Thus, the native administration department is required to keep itself informed of the needs of the Bantu population even in those fields which may not fall directly under its control. Because of the characteristic of the native tribal system that all authority is concentrated in the person of the chief, even the more civilised natives tend to look to that department regarding all matters which affect them, including those which are not in fact its responsibility.

These points are not intended to be exhaustive but merely to indicate some of the more important factors which characterise the functions of Non-European Affairs Departments. The importance of these functions and the weight of the responsibility which they place upon the shoulders of heads of Non-European Affairs Departments have been widely recognised by the divorce of native administration from its position as a sub-department of the Town Clerk or Medical Officer of Health. It has been

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established as a separate department and, within recent years, elevated in most progressive centres to equal status with the other principal departments. Centres where the latter development is actually known to have taken place include all the cities and fair sized towns and villages of the Rhodesias. In the Union the cities and towns which have realised the importance of Non-European Affairs administration include Pretoria, Germiston, Bloemfontein, Benoni, Springs, Brakpan, Boksburg, Krugersdorp, Vereeniging, Vanderbijl Park, Alberton, Klerksdorp, Kroonstad and Welkom. Among leading centres which to my knowledge still relegate the Native Administration Department to a position of minor status can be enumerated Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley.

When the care of urban natives was in the hands of health officials, native administration as we know it today did not exist, and all that was required of these officers was a health qualification. In the next stage, when the emphasis shifted to control, a knowledge of criminal law was regarded as the essential — hence the number of personnel recruited from the police. In the third stage, when urban native administration departments acquired an independent status, the emphasis was placed on experience of administering natives. Such officials were regarded merely as the executors of policy and not as persons qualified to advise on the formulation of policy. That wider background which is acquired by academic training and regarded as essential for the latter function in addition to experience was lacking. The stage has now been reached where administrators of the future will require not only

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experience but a sound academic training. This provided yet another impetus to the formation of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs (Southern Africa) for the improvement of the professional and technical knowledge of officials connected with urban Non-European administration.

The Institute is divided into the following district committees:-

- (i) Transvaal and Swaziland;
- (ii) Orange Free State, Basutoland and the Cape Province north of the Orange River;
- (iii) Natal;
- (iv) Cape Province south of the Orange River and South West Africa; and
- (v) Central African Federation and Bechuanaland Protectorate.

The members of these five committees meet regularly to discuss problems in connection with Non-European Administration and refer resolutions to the Institute Council (Executive) consisting of two representatives from each committee and its four officers — namely the President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer. The first four officers elected by the members of the Institute were Messrs. A.S. Marais, W.J.P. Carr, F.W.C. Buitendag and J.E. Mathewson respectively. These four officers also became the first four successive Presidents of the Institute. The Institute Council meets on an average once per month to discuss matters referred to it by the District Committees, various municipal organisations and the Department of Native Affairs. Conferences of all those members able to attend are held annually in various centres of the Union and the

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Central African Federation, and interested organisations and local authorities are invited to send delegates.

After many years of preparation and detailed work the inaugural meeting to form the Institute officially was held in Johannesburg on 22nd April, 1952, and in its launching the Union wide support and recognition received from the State and well-known institutions was extremely heartening. I quote extensively in this regard from the proceedings of this first meeting:-

"MR. J.D. RHEINALLT-JONES (representing the S.A. Institute of Race Relations) said that he much appreciated the opportunity of taking part in the discussion. He had been deeply interested in the idea of such an Institute. For many years he had been in fairly close touch with urban Native Administrators both in the large and small areas. As far back as 1923, with the promulgation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, he was impressed with the urgent necessity of bringing together those concerned with Native Administration, in order that they might exchange knowledge and experience, and give guidance to the country from such pooled resources. From his contact with Municipalities and Administrators he felt there was great need for better appreciation of the responsibilities of administrators, both among Councils and the public. The functions of an administrator, being closely interwoven with human development and consequently with human rights, were extremely difficult to perform. It was most satisfactory that an Institute had now been formed on a permanent basis. In these difficult days when racial feeling among both Europeans and Non-Europeans was running high, the position of administrators was even more difficult. The administrator was deserving of every sympathy as he had to handle a very complex situation and try to

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win the co-operation of both the European and Non-European public. Without this co-operation progress would be impossible. There were forces at work endeavouring to foster non-co-operation among the Non-Europeans and these forces seemed to be gathering strength. In West Africa, Northern Rhodesia and elsewhere in Africa, he had come to realise how strong the racial and national conscience among the Native people in various parts of Africa was. This was the result of economic, social and political development and a basis of co-operation would have to be found. This basis could be found with good administration. Although he did not agree with many of the things contained in such measures as the Bantu Authorities Bill and the Group Areas Act, he was prepared to urge that every effort should be made to secure the machinery to enable the Non-European to play his part in administering his own affairs.

The scientific aspect of Non-European administration was also very important. There were very few administrations which were adequately equipped to provide the information and material which were necessary for sound judgment and the formation of policy. Of late various surveys had been undertaken by Municipalities and many hitherto unknown facts had come to light as a result of these. He hoped that every effort would be made to conduct research which was vitally important to good Non-European administration.

In conclusion he wished the Institute a long and successful life and congratulated the President upon his inaugural address.

MNR. A. WEICH van SABRA bring die gelukwense van sy organisasie oor. Die stigting van die Instituut word hartlik verwelkom. Die Nie-Blanke vraagstuk is die grootste vraagstuk in ons land en moet as die grootste taak derhalwe die swaarste weeg. Rasse

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verhoudings hang soveel af van die wyse waarop Administrateurs hulle van hul taak kwyt. Dit was vir hom teleurstellend om uit die Presidentsrede te verneem dat daar so baie Stadsrade was wat maar nou onlangs Nie-Blankesake Departemente gestig het. Stadsrade wat nie dieselfde erkenning aan Nie-Blankesake Departemente gee as aan hulle ander departemente nie, kan nie verwag dat hul beleid gesonde rasseverhoudings in die hand sal werk nie. Indien Nie-Blanke probleme van belang is, dan is dit hoog tyd dat plaaslike owerhede hoër status aan daardie manne gee wie verantwoordelik is vir beter rasse betrekkinge sodat 'n goeie gesindheid tussen blank en nie-blank kan heers. Hy hoop dat Raadslede hier teenwoordig die erns van die saak beseef en hulle Stadsrade sal beweeg om die nodige erkenning en status aan hulle Nie-Blanke administrateurs te verleen en toe te ken. Hy doen 'n beroep op die pers om die openbare menings in die verband op te voed. Hy vertrou dat die besprekings op die Kongres in die belang van die hele land sal wees.

MR. K.D. MORGAN, NATIVE COMMISSIONER OF JOHANNESBURG

said that he was speaking in the name of the Native Affairs Department and was also representing the Chief Native Commissioner of the Witwatersrand. He added that he could vouch for the fact that the Secretary for Native Affairs, and his predecessor, were at all times interested in the formation of such an Institute. Administrators realised that many of the Native problems had shifted from the rural areas to the urban areas, and although there remained many rural problems to be solved, the problems in the urban areas were great. In urban areas administrators had to deal with Natives in various stages of development and there was no precedent to guide administrators, who must be possessed of an immense amount of tact, sympathy, understanding and wisdom. The co-operation between Non-European Affairs Departments and Native Commissioners had always been of the best. He

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emphasised that the guidance received from administrators had been of inestimable value to Native Commissioners and consequently to the Department and the Secretary for Native Affairs. The fact that the Association of Administrators of Non-European Affairs of the Transvaal had been taken into the confidence of the Secretary for Native Affairs was demonstrated by the fact that all proposed Bills in connection with Native Affairs were referred to this Association for comment and the views of the Association were much valued by the Department.

MR. QUINTIN WHYTE, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS congratulated the President on his address which to his mind showed a new understanding of the responsibilities which confronted administrators. On behalf of the Institute of Race Relations he welcomed the formation of the Institute and assured them that they would receive from his organisation all the co-operation that was possible. In the past there had been good co-operation between Municipal officials and the Institute and he trusted that this would continue. He underlined the fact that the rural areas must not be forgotten, although the solution to race relations lay in the urban areas with their huge concentrations of Non-Europeans. A tremendous responsibility lay on administrators who had to interpret both European and Non-European laws. Administrators were increasingly the one European contact Non-Europeans had in South Africa and this in itself was a heavy responsibility. Administrators had to administer laws which the Non-European felt to be unjust although there were many Non-Europeans who realised the difficulties of an administrator and had considerable understanding of the position. He trusted that representatives of Councils would return to their home towns prepared to recommend whole-hearted support of the Institute, as the ultimate success of the Institute would lie in the support it received from local authorities.

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He then wished the Institute every success and promised all assistance that could at any time be rendered by his organisation.

COUNCILLOR SWAN OF SALISBURY said that although in Rhodesia they operated under different Statutory Law, Native Affairs in Southern Rhodesia had been closely associated with the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa. Although there were different political systems the problems were alike and it was essential that Rhodesian administrators should associate themselves with the formation of the Institute. Salisbury had recognised the importance of Native Administration and the Director of this Department had the same status as other Departments, such as the Town Clerk. Salisbury's main difficulty was the exceptionally rapid growth of the town, from 16,000 Europeans in 1939 to 40,000 at the present time, and with a Non-European population of well over 100,000. There was a consequent housing problem and he trusted that the Director of Native Administration of Salisbury would give the conference some idea of their efforts in this direction at a later stage. The question of the qualifications of administrators was most important. In Southern Rhodesia it was necessary that administrators should have experience of rural administration to enable them to direct Councils on matters of policy affecting Natives in locations. The problem in South Africa was different and experienced urban administrators were required. He wished the Institute a long life and every success.

PROF. OLIVIER, STELLENBOSCH: As enigste verteenwoordiger van ons Universiteit in die Fakulteit Bantoekunde, verwelkom ek die stigting van die Instituut. Die nadruk word op Stedelike Naturelle Administrasie gelê en die Universiteit van Stellenbosch het die noodsaaklikheid op hierdie gebied, waarvan die heil van ons bevolking afhang, reeds lankal besef. Die

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Universiteite kan trots voel op die produkte wat hul gelewer het en hy verseker die Kongres van die Universiteite se hartlikste samewerking en ondersteuning. Naturelle Administrasie vereis die deeglikste studie en navorsing. Die Universiteit se plig is om navorsingswerk op 'n wetenskaplike grondslag te doen en derhalwe behoort Universiteite van waardevolle diens te wees vir administrateurs en plaaslike owerhede. Die Universiteits-dosent en departement is bevoeg om te oorweeg watter relatiewe waarde aan verskillende aspekte geheg moet word. Sy Department besef die belangrikheid van Stedelike Naturelle Administrasie en het al daarop begin konsentreer. Verskeie senior studente van Stellenbosch woon hierdie Kongres by om die verrigtinge te volg, terwyl andere op navorsingswerk in verskillende stede besig is."

The main speakers at this inaugural conference were Advocate G. de Vos Hugo Q.C., Major F. Rodseth (then Under-Secretary for Native Affairs), Professor E. Batson, Cape Town, and Professor N.J. Olivier, Stellenbosch. The next conference was held in East London in July, 1953, and papers were delivered by such eminent speakers as Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. R.E. Turnbull, then Chief Secretary to the British High Commissioner, Dr. S. Biesheuvel, Director of the Institute for Personnel Research, C.S.I.R., and Dr. J.H. Moolman. The last conference was held in Umtali, Southern Rhodesia, in September, 1955, and was officially opened by Lord Malvern, the Prime Minister of the Central African Federation. The next conference will be opened by the Honourable the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, in Bleomfontein on the 18th September, 1956. The success of the Institute has exceeded all

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expectations. Except for those who wish to become members by affiliation, membership has been closed, and only administrators of Municipal Non-European Affairs Departments who pass the required examinations can qualify as associate members. The great interest since displayed in the Institute by every University in South Africa including the new University to be established at Salisbury, has been most gratifying, whilst most encouraging of all has been the close and friendly liaison between the Institute and State Departments.

Until a few years ago local authorities throughout the Union were well represented at the annual meetings of both the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs (S.A.B.R.A.). A recent tendency, and from the urban administrator's point of view, a rather regrettable one however, is for local authorities to become affiliated to one or other of these organisations. Although the views expounded by the two institutions may be diametrically opposed to each other, it is advantageous for the practical administrator to learn and study both points of view without necessarily agreeing with all expressed opinions. It broadens his outlook and where he does not contribute to certain doctrines advanced, he is strengthened in his belief that the procedure he adopts is the right one.

NATIVE ADVISORY BOARDS

That some alteration is necessary to the Advisory Board system is I think generally accepted. The Bantu, in

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their natural aspirations to participate more fully in the organisation of their own affairs, have vigorously condemned the present system for years past and the time is rapidly approaching for serious consideration to be given to adjustments which their evolutionary development demands.

Whilst agreement may exist that it is not only desirable but necessary to give the Bantu more responsibilities and to allow them to decide certain matters in their own interests, the problem would seem to be one of degree of responsibility for them which would be acceptable throughout the country.

The proposed Urban Bantu Authorities Bill has been hailed by administrators as a step in the right direction as far as the principle is concerned. The Bantu Authorities Act is already applicable in various parts of the Reserves, but there are essential differences between conditions in the Reserves and urban native townships. Apart from some surveillance by the Provincial Administration and the Central Government, the latter forms part of the responsibilities of Local Authorities and are situated in most instances in European areas. For many natives the urban townships are places of temporary sojourn, and whether temporary or permanent they belong to different tribes, speak different languages and conform to different customs. In many cases the natives themselves are of mixed tribal origin, who have no locally recognised Chiefs, and yet these urban dwellers have certain interests in common with their rural brethren. They have similar traditions,

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the same outlook, collectively the same languages and, above all they have (in the case of the urban dweller in an intensified form) the same sense of frustration at having a minimum of political scope. They are in fact placed in a position where they have no function but to sit back and criticise, with the important difference that there is little possibility of their being called upon either to shoulder the financial burden of the requests they make or to face the repercussions arising from the implementation of the policy they may enunciate.

It is therefore only reasonable to give the urban Bantu a greater share in the administration of their own towns. The only alternative would be direct representation on local authorities. The overwhelming majority of Europeans in this country is not willing to accept such representation and to urge it is merely to evoke opposition.

I believe that the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill will be introduced as soon as possible. This Bill has been fully discussed at various conferences and I therefore do not propose to deal with it in this paper except in principle. Even though the proposed legislation may be described as of an elastic rather than of a rigid nature because of the permissive clauses, account should be taken of the psychological reactions that can be expected when one local authority forges ahead with the experiment as opposed to a neighbouring local authority which is not prepared to give it a trial. No provision is made whereby such a Council could be "required" to toe the line.

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Whilst the Bill aims at a form of indirect rule and a measure of self-government for the urban Bantu we should bear in mind the objectives that it is eventually hoped to achieve, by determining the ultimate "measure" of self-government that should be conferred upon them.

Should the Urban Bantu Authority develop as an integral part of the local authority, or should it gradually become a completely autonomous body? The choice of these two alternatives must be made if chaos is not to result from the effect of a multitude of differing concepts in administering the Bantu. We shall have to ask ourselves whether our methods of approach will stand the test of time and the process of development and evolution among the Bantu people; whether our policies are of such a nature that in the face of ever changing conditions we shall be compelled to abandon them. If the Bantu Authority must always be subservient to a local authority a continuously increasing agitation could be expected for direct representation, whereas, if the principle of parallel development is adopted the Bantu Authority may yet become an acceptable and contented power in its own right answerable to higher authority. Realising that advancement cannot be repressed, our endeavours should be aimed at guiding and preparing the Bantu for whichever eventuality is selected, so that they will be in a position to finally attain their ambitions peacefully.

But what of the present?

When the Native Advisory Boards came into existence over thirty years ago, they were intended to be

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purely advisory, their function was consultative only, and no executive powers were conferred upon them. The legislators at the time undoubtedly intended Advisory Boards to be the forerunner of the granting of responsibilities which had to come, in the realisation that the evolution of a people cannot be halted. Until the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill becomes law, the present system will remain. Experience in my own administration has proved that an advisory board can be made a very effective instrument by organising it in a manner which imbues the members with the knowledge that their deliberations receive the full consideration of the authorities concerned.

May I, as an illustration, mention that in Benoni each Advisory Board is divided into four standing committees, namely, an Administration Committee, a Social Services Committee, a Transport and Licences Committee and a Development Committee. According to the standing orders laid down, each Advisory Board member must be elected to at least two standing committees and each committee elects its own chairman. The committees meet regularly under their elected chairmen and the resolutions adopted are submitted to the monthly session of the Advisory Board. The Administration Committee which includes all the Board members is the senior and policy making committee and deals with matters relating to finance, regulations, labour conditions and the administration of the Bantu in general. It also deals with domestic disputes. As the name implies the Social Services Committee handles all matters of a social nature including health, education, recreation and church matters, whilst the Transport and

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Licences Committee gives its attention to questions relating to licences, businesses and public transport such as buses, railway and taxi requirements. The Development Committee advises on all aspects of a "works" nature including, housing, road construction, water and electricity reticulation, parks and tree planting.

Following the pattern of a municipal council set-up, the native townships are divided into wards, each ward being represented by one advisory board member for a period of three years. One-third of the Board members retire each year but may offer themselves for re-election. In this method continuity is ensured. At the monthly session of the full Advisory Board, presided over by the Chairman of the Council's Non-European Affairs Committee, the reports of the various standing committees are formally disposed of. In the absence of the Chairman of the Board, the Chairman of the Administration Committee presides. Each Board meets in an attractive chamber and has at its disposal a full-time Secretary.

This arrangement has provided successfully avenues for consultation in practically every aspect of native administration. A grievance among the Bantu in the past has been that they are not consulted on matters affecting their interests. Admittedly the adoption of this principle in toto may prove inexpedient but, it is my sincere submission that constant consultation with all its imperfections, should always be maintained.

ETHNIC GROUPING

A rather interesting development in present day urban Native Administration is the instruction of the Minister of Native Affairs that the Bantu must be settled residentially according to their ethnic origin. This directive I believe will be embodied in the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill.

This matter has been thoroughly aired and widely discussed on a theoretical basis at various conferences including the annual Native Advisory Boards Congress. At the time of that Congress I strongly supported the application of ethnic grouping but was unable to substantiate arguments by practical experience in urban areas in the face of the many doctrines that had found expression throughout the country since the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill was first published in 1951. I informed the delegates in an address to the Advisory Boards Congress at Uitenhage in January, 1955, that Benoni had agreed to give the principles of ethnic grouping a fair trial in the planning and development of Daveyton, now commonly referred to as "the £7,000,000 first ethnic Bantu Township", because an examination of the principles led me to the opinion that they offered many advantages and that certain expressed misgivings appeared to emanate from fear rather than logical reasoning. Whilst I was convinced that the Benoni Town Council's decision to proceed along these lines was wise and would eventually prove its immense value to the Bantu, I assured them that if it did not work, I would be the first in my preparedness to admit its failure. In Daveyton over

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25,000 Bantu have already been settled in their ethnic groups, and, this far, I am happy to say there is no sign that I shall have to subscribe to an "admission of guilt".

I do not propose to debate the pros and cons of this issue today.. In the July issue of the "Bantu" is the full text of an address I delivered to a Rotary Club meeting on the subject but in order to stimulate thought I should like to touch upon a few points.

The Department of Native Affairs expects that, as far as possible, the Bantu should be grouped as follows:

- (a) Nguni,
- (b) Sotho and
- (c) Others

and provided there are sufficient numbers in each of the main groups, they in turn should be further divided into sub-groups. After a careful survey of the 8,000 families who were to move to Daveyton had been conducted, the main division was made and further sub-grouped, as follows:-

- (a) Nguni:
 - (i) Zulu
 - (ii) Xhosa
 - (iii) Swazi and Ndebele
- (b) Sotho:
 - (iv) Northern Sotho including Western Sotho from the Transvaal.
 - (v) Southern Sotho including Western Sotho from Bechuanaland.

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(c) Others:

- (vi) Tshonga
- (vii) Venda
- (viii) Lemba and Extra-Union
Natives.

A variety of objections has been raised against the principles of ethnic grouping. It has been said that dividing the Bantu people into tribal groups, or perhaps more correctly linguistic groups, will be the direct cause of tribal clashes or faction fighting; that the urban Bantu are detribalised and that ethnic grouping among them would be impracticable; some have maintained that the underlying principles of ethnic grouping are psychologically unsound, while others have chosen to look upon it as a retrogressive step; the system has been decried as being based on ulterior motives, and even branded as a move contrary to Christianity or Christian principles.

I do not propose to deal in detail with these various objections in this paper but I submit the opinion that these dangers have been over-accentuated. I shall however, mention a few visible advantages which have already been discerned from experience in Daveyton.

Since the removal to the township of over 20,000 squatters, an operation which commenced on 1st April, 1955, and was completed in under three months, no faction fighting has taken place nor are there any signs of tribal clashes. In an undertaking of such magnitude within such a short period mistakes in the ethnic allocation of sites are bound to occur; a Zulu might be

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allocated a site in the Xhosa area, or a Mopedi might find himself in an area for the Southern Sotho. In every instance the party concerned had immediately reported the error to the authorities and demanded he be moved to his own area. Eventually even those people who had agitated against ethnic grouping expressed the desire to be settled among their own kith and kin. This surely is proof enough that ethnic grouping, if not openly welcomed by the Bantu in general, is certainly not opposed by them.

Opportunities among the Bantu for social intercourse in recreation or worship are in no way diminished by the system and it is rather significant that the church organisations themselves in all instances expressed a preference for a site in a particular group although admittedly a degree of hesitancy was evident in some instances.

Each ethnic area elects its own member to the main Advisory Board. He presides over a ward committee the principal function of which is the settlement, according to the law and custom prevailing among the members of the group, of disputes within their area. Whilst there may exist a similarity in the laws and customs pertaining to the various tribes, they differ materially in detail, and, it is my submission that, when a body of men who sit in judgment is constituted of people fully acquainted with the law and custom peculiar to those concerned, sound findings and absolute justice can reasonably be expected. In this method is seen the forerunner of natives being given increased judicial responsibilities in respect of

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their own people in terms of the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill.

In the field of education, provision has been made in each of the ethnic group areas in Daveyton for adequate schooling facilities. The control of each school is in the hands of a school committee, the members of which are all residents of the ethnical area in which the school is situated. These committees are subject to the overriding authority of the Daveyton Bantu School Board on which each has representation. This set-up not only contributes towards endowing the Bantu with more responsibility in his own affairs but provides for education to be disseminated in the home language of the children, the advantages of which are obvious. Teaching is simplified and resultantly of a higher standard. It makes the task of the teacher easier and leads to the development of an intensified community spirit. The preservation among the Bantu of their national tradition, with all its powerful influences for the good, should be energetically encouraged, and it is difficult to imagine anything that can contribute more towards that end than mother tongue instruction to children in schools and the bringing together of people of the same background. In the natural culture of the Bantu nothing in tribal life was neglected. Bound up with their organisation was the complete pattern of daily family life. They had an instinct for discipline and order in both family and tribal circles and their way of living impressed upon them the necessity for strict and unselfish cohesion. A high standard of morality was insisted upon and the

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family influence created stability. It is incumbent upon Bantu society to play its part in calling a halt to any further disintegration of its culture, and taking into account the social bonds within each ethnic group it is hoped that the natural pattern of Bantu life will thus be re-established.

BANTU EDUCATION: BUILDING OF SCHOOLS

Since Bantu education has become the responsibility of the Government Department of Native Affairs, the erection of future school buildings may an integral part of Bantu housing schemes. In terms of a directive from the Secretary for Native Affairs such school buildings erected by the local authority must be made available gratis to his Department and services such as refuse removal, sanitation and water must be supplied free of charge. One school of ten classrooms is to be provided for every four hundred houses. For every three to four primary schools one high school is required. The loans must be on an economic basis and the increased expenditure resulting from capital and interest redemption together with maintenance costs and certain free services can be recovered by increasing the site rentals by an amount not exceeding two shillings per month. A separate sub-account is to be established for this purpose.

This matter was referred to a joint meeting of the Benoni Advisory Boards, and the following extracts from the comments of members of the Board who spoke in favour

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and against this scheme are reproduced in detail to provide an idea of public opinion among the Bantu themselves:

"MR. MAROLEN (Chairman of the Social Services Committee of the Daveyton Advisory Board) said there was a need for the erection of schools. Many children who had to be catered for were out of schools. He had been perturbed, whilst moving around in Daveyton to find a great number of children out of school. He felt that it was the duty of the Advisory Board to see that schools were erected to cater for the need of all school-going children. He pointed out that the urban areas were not in as fortunate a position as the rural areas where chiefs imposed levies for such projects. He said the idea to build schools should be welcomed in the urban area, as the provision of schools would help combat juvenile delinquency. He felt that the people in Daveyton — a new township — would be alarmed if rents were raised. He suggested that the extra 2/- should be referred to as a special levy and that it should not be included in the rental. People should be informed that it was their duty to build their own schools. Each family had to pay its share. He submitted that it would be better to accept the imposition of a levy than to refuse to contribute and have no schools at all.

MR. SINABA (Chairman of the Development Committee, Daveyton Advisory Board) said he was completely opposed to the 2/- increase. He emphasised that he would not even consider a compromise. He agreed that schools were wanted. The Daveyton community was a new one which had to face a lot of new things and which had to change to a new life — a life different from the one they had led in the Apex Emergency Camp. The only schools these people had at Apex were private schools. He felt that even if the residents were agreeable to this increase, the time was not ripe for such an increase. He urged

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that the authorities should be sympathetic. The people had not yet adjusted themselves to paying the high rents, for water and electricity besides the high transport charges. He felt that this was not the time to increase the rents. He went on to say that, if the matter was brought up at the right time, it would be viewed in a better light.

MR. RATALE (Chairman of the Transport and Licences Committee of the Daveyton Advisory Board) pointed out that it was time the Bantu people learnt to shoulder their own responsibilities. To him, this levy was not new, as from where he came — in the rural areas — the community contributed to enable them to build schools. There the people were proud of their schools, because they had built them themselves. If the same practice were adopted here, the people would be as proud of their schools and they would feel that they had a right over them. He did not think there would be any objection from the residents against this scheme. He likened the present situation to that of a young man who wished to get married and approached his father to assist him to pay lobola. The father told him he did not have the money. The son was then compelled to find the lobola for himself. In like manner, the Bantu people — whose father was the Government — wanted education and schools; but the Government could not provide the schools. The Bantu people, therefore, had to find the money to build the schools. If the schools were not built, the people themselves would suffer. He thought that the residents should pay the increase of 2/- for the erection of their schools.

MR. DAMANE (member of Wattville Advisory Board) said the main burden of objections was the inability of the people to pay. He agreed that schools were needed. The people were already overburdened with the high cost of living and other expenses. He felt that the education of all sections of the population

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should have been under the control of one Government Department. If the people paid the increased amount, they would do so under duress and at the sacrifice of something else.

MR. MNYATAZA (Member of the Daveyton Advisory Board) pictured the situation as a machine which was intact; but had no fuel to set it in motion. The Government had provided the machine, but could not provide the fuel. He felt that it was therefore, the responsibility of the people to whom the machine was given and who wished to set in motion, to provide the fuel. It was agreed by all, he said, that there was a need for more schools. He suggested that the way out was for the 2/- to be paid. The Boards had to find a way of approaching the people, as it was very essential to educate the children in order that they may differentiate between the good and the bad of this world.

MR. THAKEDI (Chairman of the Administration Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Wattville Advisory Board) in replying on behalf of Wattville Board members said that blood could not be got out of a stone. It did not matter how much was said; it was impossible to get money out of the people. He said the whole matter had to be forgotten. He thought that there were many other sources from which this money could be derived. He felt that the Town Council of Benoni, being the second richest to Johannesburg, could afford to build the schools. The poorest of the poor should not be asked to build their own schools. The message he had from the people to the Town Council and which was to be transmitted to the Government was that they simply could not afford to pay. Mr. Thakedi went on to say that the Bantu people contributed substantially to the national income by their cheap labour which had made the country prosperous. He agreed that the people

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had to have education for their children but that it should be free and compulsory.

MR. MADINGOANE (Chairman of the Administration Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Daveyton Board) then replied on behalf of his members. He said the problem was a real one. It was true that the Native community was poor; but they needed education. Delinquency was not wanted. He had addressed a public meeting at which he explained that the increase should not be taken as rent, but as a special levy for the building of schools. At that meeting, he understood that the people wished to pay the money, but not as rent. They had also said that they should collect the money themselves. Even with the missionaries contributions to build schools were collected from the congregations."

The Inspector of Bantu Education who attended this meeting pointed out that the Bantu Education vote for this year was £8,500,000 of which £2,000,000 was derived from direct Bantu taxation. If this money were to be used for the erection of school buildings other activities such as the appointment of additional teachers and the purchasing of books and equipment would of necessity have to be curtailed.

From the remarks of the members of the Advisory Boards, the following can be deduced:-

- (i) They all want schools;
- (ii) Some prefer that a special levy be imposed and that it should not be added to the site rentals;
- (iii) Others are totally opposed to any form of taxation and maintain that the people are too poor to afford to pay for education.

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At 2/- per month per site, 400 sites will yield an annual income of £480. To construct and maintain a building costing £4,800, the following break-up is arrived at:

	<u>Per annum</u>
(i) Loan charges on £4,800 repayable over 30 years in equal half-yearly instalments at an interest rate of $4\frac{3}{4}\%$.	£302
(ii) Sanitation	60
(iii) Refuse	8
(iv) Electricity	7
(v) Water	93
(vi) Maintenance	10
	<u>£480</u>

The Benoni Town Council in its wisdom has adopted the scheme of increasing rentals in order to provide schools. As a short term policy a total of twenty-two schools (fourteen primary and eight high schools) are to be built in Benoni at a cost of £105,600 during the ensuing two financial years. In this decision it foresees great strides forward in the eradication of juvenile delinquency, and hopes that the wish of every Bantu parent that education should be compulsory will in this way be possible of fulfilment.

URBAN NATIVE LABOUR

A formula in respect of ground area required for Native township purposes when new Industrial areas or European residential townships are planned has been laid down by the Department of Native Affairs. For each acre of land in an industrial area, three acres for

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native township purposes must be available, whilst in respect of residential and commercial areas the formula is based on the "plot for plot" system, that is, for every residential site, a site must be available in the native township.

This wise policy has had the effect of calling a halt to industrial development proceeding indiscriminately irrespective of whether sufficient land is available for the accommodation of the additional native employees who require housing as a result of such industrial expansion. There is a general feeling among local authorities, particularly along the Reef, that industries should be encouraged to employ a higher ratio of Europeans to Natives and that those industries employing large numbers of Natives should be established near the Reserves. Whether our country will be able to provide the necessary European labourers especially with the small number of immigrants coming to South Africa is questionable.

Whilst the first half of this century may become known as an era of luxury in the plentiful availability of domestic servants, I visualise that the next fifty years will witness a severe famine in this direction. Already the employment of male domestic servants is becoming the exception rather than the rule. The severe restriction on foreign natives and the policy of reducing the number of natives living in the European areas as well as the fact that a man will no longer be allowed to reside with his wife on the premises

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of the employer unless he too is employed there is accelerating this process. With the advent of mass education, I doubt whether it will be the ambition of any scholar, male or female, to aspire to the menial work of domestic service. It may be wise to anticipate now the ever-increasing dearth of native servants in private homes and for the not-so-wealthy householder to accustom himself to a substitution in the use of mechanical appliances.

In recent years Native Labour Bureaux have been established throughout the Union with a view to canalising and diverting labourers to centres and types of employment where they are most needed. Although the system has proved of great assistance to both the workseekers and employers, a serious shortage is still experienced in certain classes of employment where the work is not as congenial and the wages paid do not compare favourably with others.

The chronic shortage of European labour in conjunction with continuous industrial expansion throughout the country is demanding the employment of natives on an ever-increasing scale. Commerce and industry are finding no alternative but to entrust Bantu employees with work of a more responsible nature that calls for the exercise of a degree of skill and knowledge.

It has been averred that the inescapable needs of industry for a constant supply of labour is making it imperative that the available native labour be more

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dependable, better trained, more skilled and more fitted generally to the needs of modern industry. Whilst the great secondary industries of the Urban areas which contribute in a large measure to the national economy must not be permitted to falter in their wealth-earning capacities through lack of the necessary labour, the primary industry of mining and farming, so essential to the very existence of all who live in the country must likewise not be starved. It is imperative to equalise the distribution of labour throughout the country according to the needs and essential that it be available for such distribution.

Recent legislation, very important to the Bantu in Urban Areas, and which in itself illustrates a trend towards the establishing of self-sufficiency is worthy of mention. The Native Building Workers Act has provided the long awaited opportunity for the Bantu to become skilled building workers for employment in their own areas. For a number of years vocational training schools were turning out trained builders for whom little opportunity existed in which they could use their talents. With the amount of building activity in Bantu townships all over the country today bricklayers are in short supply. It is hoped that with the rate at which learners are being trained on the various building schemes, the shortage will soon be overcome.

LOCATIONS IN THE SKY

Act No. 16 of 1955 which amends the Natives

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(Urban Areas) Act has given rise to a spate of controversy throughout the country.

Prior to the amendment, a domestic servant actually employed as such and provided with sleeping quarters and satisfactory sanitary arrangements could not be compelled to reside in a Native township or hostel nor was a licence to accommodate him necessary. He is now exempt from the operation of a segregation proclamation only if,

- (i) he is actually employed in bona fide domestic service, and
 - (ii) he occupies accommodation approved by the urban local authority, and
 - (iii) such accommodation is provided by his employer, and
 - (iv) such accommodation is provided on the premises on which he is employed as a domestic servant, and
 - (v) such premises are occupied for residential purposes exclusively or primarily by the employer and members of his household, or
- such premises are of a class specified by the Minister by notice in the Gazette, or
- the urban local authority and the Minister or a person acting under his directions have authorised the provision of such accommodation on these premises.

In other words domestic servants in private households will not be affected in any way as long as they reside on their employers' premises. If they reside elsewhere they will be subject to licensing control.

The new Act further prohibits the residence outside a proclaimed Native Township of more than five natives in any one building irrespective of whether or

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not they are subject to licensing control, unless special permission to exceed this number has been granted.

Although each application will be considered on its merits, such permission will be granted only where there will be unequivocal implementation of the policy of restricting the residence of natives in non-native areas to the barest minimum. According to a directive recently received from the Secretary for Native Affairs permission to accommodate more than five natives in any one building will be granted only when the necessity for native staff to be readily available at all times for the efficient functioning of the undertaking can be proved.

The new restrictions apply in respect of any building whether it be a block of flats in a residential area or a compound in an industrial township.

It is rather significant that the Government, as in so many other cases, is not bound by the provisions of the new Act. Whilst I have little doubt that the various State departments will comply with the underlying policy, it is nevertheless wrong in principle that legislation should be passed which is binding on local government and other institutions and not on the Provincial Administration, Central Government and the South African Railways. It is difficult to understand why private organisations accommodating natives have to pay licence fees as well as labour bureau fees whilst State departments are relieved of this burden.

Complete residential segregation is the ultimate

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purpose of these measures and they have aroused particular indignation for the foremost reason that the convenience of European employers will be affected, but a glance at the eventual effects on the employees must temper any hurried condemnation of the intention behind the Act.

A little thought on the mode of living being forced upon Bantu servants housed in European residential areas will indicate the severe restrictions being imposed upon them. In the Bantu townships all the amenities conducive to a full and natural healthy life are provided; sportsfields, beer halls, cinemas and social centres are established for leisure time enjoyment and any suggestion that such facilities might be created in European residential areas meets with strong opposition.

Eventually even domestic servants will live in the Townships and be afforded the opportunity of a congenial life among their own kith and kin.

THE PLANNING, ECONOMICS AND DEVELOPMENT OF A LARGE BANTU TOWNSHIP WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DAVEYTON.

Unlike the past, the layout of native townships on modern town planning principles receives detailed attention. As is the case in practically all branches of human endeavour a well-organised community happily residing in a township which offers them all the necessities and some of the luxuries of life, is very rarely the result of "luck" nor does such a state emerge by chance from

/"something".....

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