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A 'CITY' WITHIN A  
CITY. P.R.B.LEWIS

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A city within a city - The location of facets.

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## INTRODUCTION:

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 Native Law and Administration. The lecturer, knowing my professional qualifications, set me the task of analysing Johannesburg's Native Revenue Account. This was my introduction to municipal administration. The interest then stimulated 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 vigour, their 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.

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 my address I became excited at the story there was to tell, and grateful that I had been given the opportunity to tell it. Excited because, on review, I suddenly realised I had been so close to the picture that my vision had become blurred by the endless everyday problems, and that I had not focused on the large canvas portraying the gigantic achievements since the grim period at the end of World War II. It is a long story and this evening I shall merely sketch some of the more important events. There is no room for complacency or smugness, for much more has to be done, and it will ever be so, but 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.

I chose as my title - A 'City' within a City - The Creation of Soweto. Johannesburg, the Mother City, is 94 square miles in area, and Soweto, the daughter, with its nearest border ten miles from the City, and the home of half a million Bantu people, is 26 square miles in extent, and derived its name from an abbreviation of what until 4th April, 1963, was referred to as the South Western Bantu Townships.

THE SIX PHASES:

The review can conveniently be divided into six phases, not of equal duration, which reflect changes of attitude, changes from inaction to action, changes at first hesitant and tardy, leading at last to the dramatic breakthrough.

The first phase covers the period 1886 to 1917, the second the next ten years, the third from 1928 to the outbreak of war. Phase IV is the war period to 1945, then the immediate post-war period until 1953, and then the present phase starting in 1953.

PHASE I - 1886 to 1917:

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. One must never lose sight of the fact that the first conception of the Johannesburg settlement was that of a temporary mining camp. When the Diggers' Committee was elected on the 8th November, 1886, and the Sanitary Board was formed in 1887 their powers were limited, as were the funds at their disposal, the provision of most of the profitable services having been granted to concessionaires by the Republican Government.

An early map of Johannesburg, dated 1898, shows a "Kafir Location" and a "Coolie Location" south and south-west of the present Braamfontein Station, at that time called Johannesburg Station, and a Native Location where the present Vrededorp and Pageview now stand. Large numbers of Natives 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 Native. The mines housed their Native employees, but in most instances the others had to fend for themselves.

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 brickfields on which a veritable shantytown had been built. Portion of this area was called Coolie Town, and in this complex of filth and squalor lived over 5,000 people of all races. The streets were twisted and narrow, the water was drawn from polluted wells, and lavatories were just holes dug in the ground. As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the area was expropriated so that it could be replanned. Streets such as Jeppe and Bree were 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 Councils acted that very night. All the inhabitants were cleared, and the whole slum was burnt to the ground. 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. Corrugated tin shelters were provided by the Council as temporary shelters, and these were to be occupied for some thirty years. 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 in Johannesburg. 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.

PHASE II - 1918 to 1927:

The high mortality rates of Natives in the 1918 'flu epidemic stimulated the Council to establish Western Native Township on a site which in earlier years had been a brickfield, and had later been levelled by the tipping of refuse. Between 1918 and 1921 two hundred and twenty-seven houses were built there. Meanwhile, Natives were living under most unsatisfactory conditions in places such as Newclare, Sophiatown, Prospect Township, the Malay Location and other parts of the

town, as there seems to have been no means of preventing the occupancy of property unless there was a restrictive clause in the Conditions of Title of the Township, and thus in the early days the Natives lived in various parts of the town. It was in 1923 that the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed by Parliament. One of the clauses, which had far reaching effects, fairly and squarely placed the responsibility on local authorities to provide housing for Natives living and employed within their area.

Between 1926 and 1928 Wemmer Barracks was built to house 2000 Native men. Western Native Township was extended between 1924 and 1927 by building a further thousand houses and a new location, Eastern Native Township, was established with four hundred houses. 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 R33,620:

PHASE III - 1927 to 1939:

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 total of ~~IX~~ 2,633 houses had been built. The Council then acquired 1,300 acres of land on the farm Klipspruit No: 8, some ten miles from Johannesburg, and a competition was held for the layout of a township, competitors being 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 Native Affairs Committee, Councillor Edwin Orlando Leake.

This step marked a new outlook and a new approach to the City's responsibilities. While it took many years to provide the facilities planned, it is noteworthy that this

planning took place during the period of depression in the early 1930's, and at a time when there were several hundred vacant houses at Western Native Township. By the outbreak of war in 1939 a total of 8,700 houses had been erected of which 5,800 were at Orlando.

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. The Murray Thornton Commission of 1935, which enquired into the Health and Native Affairs Departments, criticised the 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. 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. After the Murray Thornton Commission had reported, a thorough reorganisation of the Health Department took place on the lines of the Commission's recommendations, and improvements immediately ensued.

PHASE IV - 1939 to 19<sup>x</sup>47:

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

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 Bantu population increased by leaps and bounds, being estimated in 1946 at 395,231 of whom 211,322 were men, 100,000 women and 83,909 children. It is important to remember that there was no influx control of Bantu into the City at this

stage. This abnormal increase in the population meant that all available resources provided by the local authority were swamped out. Many tenants shared their limited accommodation with other families, but, even so, there was insufficient accommodation, and over a period of time eleven illegal and uncontrolled squatter camps sprang up. It was in this way that one of the most unsavoury episodes in Johannesburg's history began, and a situation developed where the health and safety of the whole City was threatened. Apart from the health hazards which these squatter camps created, the rule of law was openly flaunted. Men rose overnight to assume leadership and prey on the ignorance and latent violence of the Bantu who lived in these camps, and set up illegal courts where savage punishments were inflicted. Municipal and public land in Orlando, Pimville, Dube, Newclare and Alexandra was forcibly possessed and the most wretched shanties erected almost on top of one another. Fees were levied and kept by the organisers who became well-to-do in the process.

As a matter of urgency in 1944, 4,042 breeze block shelters were erected by the Council on an area of land near Orlando, and this became known as Shantytown. In 1946 the Moroka emergency camp was laid out with 11,000 sites of 20' x 20' which were allocated to families, and elementary services were provided. 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 their 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. The authorities were seriously embarrassed as there was no effective law to combat these movements. It was not until 1951 that the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act brought relief, and this dangerous and disturbing phase was finally brought to an end.

PHASE V - 1948 to 1953:

In 1948 it was estimated that approximately 50,000 Bantu families in and around Johannesburg were living under



appalling conditions and required housing. This seemed an impossible task, requiring much capital and overcoming the difficulty of building homes cheaply enough so that the tenants could afford to pay a rental based on the capital cost. Another problem was the provision of services which, in many cases, cost as much as the house.

Nevertheless, during the period 1945 to 1953, 8,292 houses were built at Orlando East and West, and at Jabavu. Various methods of construction were used by contractors who were becoming geared to tackle mass production methods of construction. The crushing financial burden was, however, bringing the housing schemes to a standstill. In 1951 the deficit on the Native Revenue Account was already R655,513: for the year, and each new scheme involved a further loss. By the end of 1953 the total number of houses built was 17,765, and hostel accommodation had been provided for 10,537 men.

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 administers the affairs of all three Non-European sections of the population of the City.

When the Council undertook sub-economic housing schemes at Orlando East and West and Jabavu, the National Housing Commission advanced 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 State and one part by the Council, and it was on this basis that the loans were granted. When subsequent claims for losses were submitted the National Housing Commission would not consider claims on the basis pertaining when the loans were granted, and in the Housing Act of 1957 a section was inserted which gave the Commission rights with retrospective effect and the Council had no other alternative than to accept R250,000 for its claim of R800,000.

In the early 1950's 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. They thought it was not 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 breakthrough:

Then followed legislation which had the effect of resolving the stalemate. 1951 saw the passing of the Bantu Building Workers Act. It now became possible to train Bantu workers in the building trades, to build houses for their own people in proclaimed Bantu townships. It was not only the cost of building houses that presented a problem, but also the cost of providing services such as roads, sanitation and water. Urgent representations had been made by local authorities to the State for financial assistance, and in 1953 the Bantu Services Levy Fund was established. Its revenue was derived from a monthly contribution which had to be paid by employers who did not house their employees. The proceeds of the Fund were to be paid to those local authorities in whose areas the funds were collected, to enable them to finance the major services such as sewage disposal works, reservoirs, major roads and electric reticulation. Thus the employers, who had attracted the Bantu to the cities, were to bear portion of the costs. At the same time another fund was established, the Bantu Transport Services Levy, to subsidise transport for workers. The Bantu Services Levy Fund has now been in existence for 13½ years, and up to December 1965 Johannesburg has collected R11,6 million, which financed all the major service developments.

Transport of workers to and from Soweto is of vital importance. To cater for this the South African Railways incurred heavy capital expenditure (since 1958 R13 million) electrifying the service and installing additional tracks. Rail fares are subsidised by the central Government and cost from R1.72 to R2.50 for a monthly worker's ticket. During peak hours (4 a.m., to 8 a.m., and 4 p.m., to 6 p.m) trains are overcrowded. Hitherto the Railways have opposed alternative mass transport methods. A solution must be found to this vexed situation, as with a normal growth of population, without influx from outside areas, it is anticipated that the number of passengers to be carried will double in the next twenty years, and so far the Railways have not made known any plan to cope with this problem.

Site and Service Scheme: 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, who laid down within fairly narrow limits the principles which had to be followed by local authorities in order to qualify for housing loans for Site and Service schemes.

Basically the scheme provided for the removal of people who were living cheek by jowl in the emergency 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, access roads built and refuse removal services provided. On such a site tenants were to erect a temporary shack at the back, leaving the front of the site available for the permanent home. When the permanent home was built the shack was to be demolished. This scheme met with scepticism, in some quarters with strong opposition, many people fearing that the shack would be a permanent feature. This scheme was then described as "Johannesburg's Shame" by one Parliamentarian opposed to the scheme.

In Johannesburg 35,000 such sites were surveyed and the necessary services provided. The shacks followed. It was a period of great activity, when neighbours and friends helped each other during off work periods and over weekends, and it was incredible to see houses emerging from all sorts of secondhand materials. This creative activity has a beneficial social effect. It is pleasing to report that now only sixty-one shacks remain, the tenants of which intend erecting houses of their own design rather than accepting the standard municipal house.

In 1954 Johannesburg created a separate Housing Division in the Council to undertake the building of houses for Bantu. At one stage it was intended that such work would fall under the City Engineer's Department, but it was decided to appoint Mr. A. J. Archibald, the previous City Engineer of Springs, as the first Director of Housing. The Council had some years previously established the Vocational Training Centre, and its trained carpenters, plumbers and bricklayers formed the nucleus of the staff for the new Housing Division.

In the year 1954, 1,421 houses were built, to be followed by 3,020 houses in 1955.

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, consequently the amount allocated to Johannesburg was insufficient to deal with the backlog. The Moroka emergency camp and Shantytown remained 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 14,000 homes were built enabling the final removal of the families from Moroka and all of those from Shantytown. In the year 1957 to June 1958, 11,074 houses were built. At the peak of activity in 1957/58, 2,742 people were employed in the Housing Division. 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.

From 1954 to 1965 the Housing Division built 45,174 houses, and, in addition, 76 schools, 3 hostels accommodating 14,428, 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:

Mr. Archibald resigned from the Council's service on the 3rd August, 1960, and his place was taken by his second in command, Mr. Colin Goodman, the present Director of the Housing Division.

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 proceeding, the City Engineer was engaged on the civil engineering aspects of development.

Civil Engineering Aspects:

A multiplicity of municipal services lie hidden beneath the ground, or are sited in some far off valley, services which ensure, at the turn of a tap or the drop of a switch, enjoyment of modern conveniences. 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.

The task of planning a new city of some half million people on a area of 26 square miles had to be urgently undertaken. 90,000 stands had to be surveyed necessitating the accurate placing of some 200,000 pegs, 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.

To speed up construction the existing maintenance section of the City Engineer's Department 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. At an early stage in the re-organisation of the branch of the City Engineer's Department operating in Soweto, it was realised that due to the shortage of skilled white artisans, it would be impossible to carry out the task in the time available. Training units were established and within a startlingly short time Bantu were trained in the various building trades, with particular emphasis on the skills required for civil engineering projects. Great credit is due to the Bantu for their part in the civil engineering programme achievements. To meet the demand for an increased water supply of 25,000,000 gallons a day, two additional 10 million gallon service reservoirs and two water towers of 500,000 gallons were constructed, and 565 miles of water mains laid. In anticipation of the eventual installation of waterborne sewerage, a new modern

disposal works has been built on the farm Oliphantsvlei some six miles from Soweto. It has at present a capacity of 10 million gallons per day, with an ultimate capacity of 25 million gallons. 478 miles of sewer have been laid, and hereagain Bantu technicians have played a large part.

Of the 600 miles of streets in the complex, 207 miles have been macadamised. 36 miles of stormwater drains have been built and cleansing services are provided to the 70,500 sites in Soweto. Street lighting on bus routes and every second street in the townships has been provided and financed from the Bantu Services Levy Fund. In addition, the Council has agreed to finance from its own resources a ten-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: 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 are given reflecting the expenditure on engineering services in the Bantu townships :

Bridges	R122,298
Lighting	R2,616,825
Railway Sidings	R9,721
Stormwater & Sewerage	R8,250,339
Water Reticulations	R3,780,385
Roads	R3,404,759
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	R18,174,327
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Government Control: In South Africa where there are three tiers of Government, Central, Provincial and Municipal, it is inevitable that there should be clashes from time to time, especially when different political parties are in control of the various tiers. There could be no more difficult sphere of activity than that of creating an acceptable Native policy, interpreting that policy and, lastly, administering that policy. It is not surprising, therefore, that from time to time there were marked differences of opinion between the Department of Native Affairs and the City Council as to what should and should not be done and how it should be done.

In 1958 Dr. Verwoerd appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. F. E. Mentz, the newly appointed Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, 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 a huge shaggy dog on a white background with black spots appeared in the papers. Feelings were tense. Inspectors were stationed in the municipal offices, and investigations were made regarding the Council's administration of the pass laws. When the first meeting took place between Council representatives and the Committee, the Chairman, before proceeding with the agenda, demanded certain assurances from the City Council. The first of these was that the Council recognise that in terms of the Act of Union legislation regarding Native affairs was reserved to Parliament. Other demands followed.

The Councillors present had no prior 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. These were times of great tension and anxiety, but it is pleasing to report that over the years the relationship has improved. X Under the chairmanship of the Hon. M.C. Botha (who succeeded Mr. Mentz as Deputy Minister) this Committee developed into a constructive body where many difficult problems have been discussed across the table and resolved.

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 difficulties between the Council and the Government, which arose in part from the dispute regarding the removal of the slum dwellers of the Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare (the so-called western areas) where some Bantu owned properties with freehold title. The Council was opposed to depriving the Natives of freehold rights: the Government was adamant that it was not prepared to grant freehold rights. There is no doubt that the housing conditions in the western areas 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 the western areas, the intention being that on completion the cost of such scheme would be recovered from the Council, and the administration handed over to it. The functions of the Resettlement Board have been extended from time to time. Not only has it undertaken the removal of the bulk of the Natives resident in Sophiatown, but it has also built houses for Natives working in Johannesburg, and for tenants at Alexandra. To 30th June, 1966, 23,695 houses have been built by the Board. The Council has assisted by undertaking all the civil engineering functions, and has also made available to the Board a large area of ground in the Diepkloof area. This ground the Council needed for its own schemes, but felt constrained to relinquish it to assist in the easing of the overcrowded and unsatisfactory conditions in Alexandra.

A recent enquiry as to the Government's proposals regarding the implementation of the original intention that Johannesburg should take over the responsibility for the area now under the jurisdiction of the Board elicited a reply indicating that the time was not yet.

The last remaining major slum in which Bantu are living 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. For years there was uncertainty as to the fate of Pimville as a determination was made in 1953 that this was to be a white area. The Council's protests at this decision were heeded and in 1960 permission was granted to proceed with the rehousing of the inhabitants in the adjacent areas. 1000 houses have so far been built and it is only the limitation of housing funds that is holding up the elimination of this slum.

Kaffir Beer: The consumption of liquor by the elders of the clan has been part of the tradition of most Bantu tribes. In 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 a variety of ingredients, many harmful and excessively potent, and sold in hole in the corner 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 is limited to 3% by weight. It was not until 1937 that Johannesburg decided to exercise its right.

Beer Halls in the Urban Area: When the City Council accepted monopoly rights for the manufacture and sale of Kaffir 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 Wielligh 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 did not stop growing until every available inch of land on the site was taken up by the existing brewery, which however, has now reached the absolute limit of its capacity, and is being replaced by the new brewery now under construction at Langlaagte at a cost of R3,500,000, with a production capacity of 150,000 gallons per day. Since the beer halls were established in 1937 the revenue has amounted to R40,335,781: and the profits to R18,718,322, the sales and profits for the year 1964/65 being R5,204,223 and ~~R2,223,296~~ R2,223,296 respectively. It is difficult to visualise how the development of housing and other services could have been provided without these profits. 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 Kaffir beer, and the extent to which the Bantu are using their earnings on liquor. The profits can only be used for stated purposes for the benefit of the Bantu people.

European Liquor: The sale of European liquor by the Council in Soweto amounted to -

	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Profits</u>
1962/63 (Part year)	1,010,286	127,995
1963/64	1,159,944	121,074
1964/1965	1,894,775	203,712

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

Financing of the development in Soweto: The overall capital expenditure to the end of June 1965 on the developments in Soweto amounted to R53,488,569: The money to finance this expenditure came from the following sources:

Government Housing Loans  
Loans from Bantu Services Levy Fund  
Loans from Mining Houses and Soldiers Housing  
Organisations  
Amounts advanced by the Council's Consolidated  
Loans Fund and the Capital Development Fund, and  
from  
Grants from the Bantu Services Levy Fund.

Deficits on Bantu Revenue Account: While in the early days the income from locations exceeded expenditure, that ceased to be the position over sixty years ago.

And while for many years the deficits were moderate, the contribution from Rates Fund is now substantial. During the last twelve years the deficits have varied from a 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 so as to make the Bantu Revenue Account self-balancing, on the principle that the services provided should be limited to those for which the Bqntu can pay. This is, in fact, the policy of the Resettlement Board.

Medical Services: Although the Johannesburg City Council was fully aware of the responsibility of the Provincial Administration to provide curative services, as these were only available at the Non-European Hospital at Hospital Hill, the Council decided in 1927 to provide a curative service at Pimville, both in view of the dire need and the distance of that township from the city. These services were conducted by the Native Affairs Department which employed a part-time medical officer. Subsequently they were extended to Eastern and Western Native Townships. A clinic was opened in Orlando Township in 1932 and a small cottage hospital, donated by Mrs. D. F. Corlett, was built at Orlando in 1933. It then provided accommodation for eleven patients. Parallel with these curative services provided by the Council, the Health Department developed Child Welfare Clinics and in 1935 also subsidised a district midwifery service. As the population of the townships increased more facilities were provided, but it became apparent that complete reorganisation of the services with a full-time medical and other staff was necessary. In January, 1939, these services were transferred to the Medical Officer of Health.

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At the end of the war the squatters camps at Shantytown and later at Tobruk created intolerable environmental conditions. Unmade streets were fringed with mushrooming shelters of the crudest and most ineffectual sort - tin, sacking, cardboard - served by hastily erected communal latrine and ablution blocks which poured water into a quagmire approach. In 1947 a clinic, which operated under incredibly difficult conditions in a marquee tent, was established in Moroka to cater for the Moroka emergency camp. Today Soweto is served by six general clinics offering curative and midwifery services, and six family health clinics. In 1947 the Provincial Administration purchased the Baragwanath Hospital from the British Government and in May 1948 the move from the overcrowded Non-European Hospital in Hospital Hill took place. This Council's clinics and other services are closely linked with this world famed institution which now has over 2000 beds.

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In the field of immunisation there is a completely different picture from the immediate post-war era when approximately 1000 immunisations were performed a year. Today considerable emphasis is placed on this aspect of public health. In 1963 large scale campaigns were conducted for immunisation against diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, smallpox and tuberculosis. In 14 days over 105,000 immunisations were administered and a further 162,000 over 18 days later in that year. Present annual immunisations number well over half a million procedures. It is expected that B.C.G. immunisation against tuberculosis will prove invaluable in the control of tuberculosis.

The staff employed solely on Bantu health services numbers 500 at present, and includes posts of Assistant Medical Officer of Health, six Family Health Medical Officers, three Tuberculosis Medical Officers. These posts were created in the post-war period which has also seen a general increase in the numbers of doctors, health visitors, nurses and clerks.

In the maternal health service the number of deliveries has quadrupled and ante-natal clinics which were formally conducted weekly at two clinics are now conducted daily at almost all of the six clinics. Where, in the post-war period, 311 of every 1,000 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 calculated that some 40 new born per 1,000 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. No more dramatic advance has been made than that in the modern therapy for tuberculosis. X

Bantu nurses were first employed in the City Health Department in 1937. It is pleasing to report that large numbers are now filling more and more posts, 25 Health visitors have replaced the European health visitors and there is no doubt that in the future Bantu nurses will be brought into positions of still greater responsibility.

Today more attention can be given to preventive aspects of health. With modern immunisation techniques the prevention

of infectious diseases is becoming more and more routine.

In any community, but I think more particularly so in a Bantu community, meeting places to discuss local and national affairs are essential. To meet this need the Council has erected many halls in Soweto, and these are used by the men for their discussions, the women for their classes and various activities, and the children for physical training and cultural activities. The Council's Recreation and Community services branch also looks after families suffering from tuberculosis, the rehabilitation and youth services, sheltered employment workshops, recreational and cultural services and horticultural work. Fifty creches have been established for the care of children of working mothers, and the Department was responsible for introducing all types of sporting facilities. Grants-in-Aid are annually made available to properly registered welfare organisations, and to other deserving institutions which fall outside the scope of the National Welfare Act, and these grants-in-aid have risen from R50,220: in 1956 to R137,348 in 1965, not taking into account the annual grant of approximately R15,000: for educational bursaries.

Education comes under the control of the Department of Bantu Education, but the Council is responsible for the provision of buildings for lower primary schools, and 72 such schools have been built, containing 595 classrooms, each at an average cost of R12,000 per school of ten classrooms. The majority of parents in Soweto make a direct contribution to the capital cost of the schools, as an amount of 18 cents is included in the monthly house rental, and of the sum of R569,321 collected to 30th June, 1965, R499,055 has been spent, leaving a balance at 30th June, 1965, of R70,266.

Vocational Training Centre: 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 skill 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 R8: 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.

Management of the Non-European Affairs Department:

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. The officer so appointed can not assume duty until he has been personally approved and licenced by the Minister, nor can he be removed from his office or have his emoluments reduced without the prior approval of the Minister. In the early days the Council's Department of Native Affairs, as it was then called, was managed by an officer appointed in terms of this section, 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 Chief Clerk 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, five Assistant Managers and 447 European and 3,124 Bantu personnel.

Location Superintendent: There is no more important person in the administration than the Location Superintendent who is in daily touch with the residents in the area under his jurisdiction. His job is a combination of many for he is a peace officer, welfare officer, rent collector, marriage guidance counsellor and adjudicator in tribal squabbles; he is a returning officer and chairman of the Advisory Voard whose members look to him as arbitrator in disputes, a statistician on whose figures the provision of medical and other services depends. Added to all this he had at his fingertips all the legislation and regulations to ensure ~~nt~~ that law-abiding citizens enjoy the right to live and work in Johannesburg, and the criminal is brought to book through the various channels of justice, and he is the liaison officer with all the other Departments of the

Council in respect of the conditions under which the Bantu live in an urban community. To assist the European administrators and act as a close link with the Bantu people, is a team of 560 Bantu graded staff whose salaries range from R45: to R134: per month. As responsibility grows with experience, increasingly more complicated decisions are being left to these men. 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 high calibre.

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 of them in a large and dynamic industrial and commercial complex, and foster good race relations between the Bantu, Coloured, Asiatic and European communities making up the cosmopolitan population of Johannesburg.

Advisory Boards: From the time of the first passing of the Urban Areas Act in 1923, provision was made in the law for the establishment of Native Advisory Boards by local authorities to assist in the administration of their Bantu townships.

These Boards were given certain limited statutory powers, perhaps the most important of which in the early days was the requirement that the local authority was compelled to consult the Advisory Board before any regulation affecting the Bantu township could be made, amended or withdrawn. Johannesburg has always treated the Advisory Board 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 it. 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 ten Advisory Boards functioning in Johannesburg, which 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 ten 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 senior municipal officials attend the meetings when issues affecting their departments are on the agenda.

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 79 of 1961. These Councils when established can be granted quite far reaching statutory powers, including the levying of a rate in the Bantu area under their 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 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 Urban Bantu Councils 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 proposed system.

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 lack of real power, is nothing more than a grievance committee. 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.

The People of Soweto: My review has so far dealt with the living conditions, with housing, with medical services, with administration and many other aspects of Soweto. I would now like to say something about the people who live in Soweto, for the purpose of all this development was to make a home for them, for those who had left the rural areas to work in the city.



They were a pastoral people whose agricultural methods were primitive, who now found themselves restricted in the land available to them, and especially in times of drought found it difficult to provide for their families. So they came to the cities to work, to earn the cash which would provide them with the food they needed and many other goods that they now found displayed in the cities.

At first it was the men who came and worked for short spells, returning home to join their families and only coming back to the city when funds had given out. It was indeed a very different way of life from that in their homelands, and they were not equipped, with their tribal beliefs and training, for the new life in the towns and cities. Instead of the sun being their timepiece, they had to work to the inelastic and unsympathetic clock of the white man, ~~wherever~~ and instead of working within the circle of the clan, where everyone knew everyone else, they were among strangers who did not care or worry about them. They heard unfamiliar tongues they did not understand.

Everything about life in the city was different. There were no kinsmen with whom they could consult, they had to make decisions on their own, their food was different, their dress

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