

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS (INGELYF)
P.O. Box 97 JOHANNESBURG Posbus 97
2000.

SOWETO : THE BACKGROUND

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. The Institute of Race Relations considers that there is general agreement on the immediate cause of the disturbances that commenced in Soweto on Wednesday, 16 June: namely, strong objection to the authoritarian imposition of the 50-50 ruling that English and Afrikaans must be used as the media of instruction from Std. 5 onwards. It deals in the document RR. 118/76 with the history of this dispute, the failure of the authorities concerned to realise the gravity of the antagonism to this ruling and timeously to accord the matter the serious attention it merited.

- 1.2. But, the Institute submits, one issue, no matter how grave, is unlikely to lead to an involvement on the scale witnessed in Soweto and elsewhere unless there is widespread dissatisfaction within the community as a whole. Even if, as appears to be the case, the initial pupils' demonstrations were not supported by the Soweto leadership nor by the majority of the people of Soweto, there is no evidence that any section of the community actively tried to discourage the course of events. Indeed, both the legitimacy of the pupils' cause and the obvious impotence of the Soweto leadership to influence remedial action on the part of the authorities, were such that active endeavour to prevent the school pupils from taking the action they did take would have been regarded as betrayal of the interests of the African people.

2. URBAN AFRICANS IN THE "WHITE" AREA

2.1. There is a long history, stretching over many years, of the deepfelt dissatisfaction of urban Africans. It is evidenced in the debates in Parliament, in the addresses, representations and submissions of the leaders of urban African communities and, latterly, of certain of the homeland leaders, and in the publications of social scientists. The basic cause of the major grievances of urban Africans is the refusal to accord Africans the status of permanent residents, together with the associated rights, in the urban areas of what is called "white" South Africa and consequently to recognise Africans as an integral part of the total urban community. The survey "Quotso" conducted in Soweto by Quadrant International S.A. in 1973 states that "three-quarters of Sowetons consider Soweto their home until they die, and two-thirds most definitely refuse to look at a homeland as a home".

2.2. The arithmetical facts need to be borne in mind. The 1970 census showed the following population numbers and distribution:

	<u>White Areas</u>	<u>Bantu Homelands</u>	<u>Total</u>
Whites	3 730 951	20 377	3 751 328
Coloured	2 005 325	13 128	2 018 453
Asians	616 995	3 441	620 436
Africans	8 060 773	6 997 179	15 057 952
	<u>14 414 044</u>	<u>7 034 125</u>	<u>21 448 169</u>

It is stressed that Africans in the "white" area numbered 8 million as against 7 million in the homelands. According to the estimates of the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa, the num-

ber of Africans at the end of 1974 was 17 761 000. Of these, nine million were in the "white" area. The number of registered African workers (excluding agriculture, mining and quarrying, all foreign African workers and the unknown but appreciable number of African workers employed without the requisite registration) as at 30 June 1975 was 2 854 552. (Hansard 8, col. 620, 1976.) It is probable that the overwhelming majority of these close on three million African workers are in the towns. How many are migrant workers is not known. Even the least conservative estimates do not calculate that migrants outnumber permanent workers, which would mean that some 1½ million African workers are in the towns with nowhere else to live, as dependent on their urban domicile and employment as the economy in the "white" area is dependent on them for their continuing work. The urban African population in the "white" area in 1970 was 4 407 045 (with an additional 582 356 in towns in the homelands, most of them bordering on towns in the "white" area), and the white urban population was 3 258 000. The people of Soweto are part of this urban African population which is explicitly denied equality of status and rights with other sections of the urban population. It is a community set apart by a network of discriminatory laws and regulations.

3. PASS LAWS AND INFLUX CONTROL

- 3.1. Amongst the laws which cause the greatest friction are the pass laws and the operation of influx control. Not only do they apply exclusively to Africans, but it appears beyond doubt that their administration is harsh and inhumane to an extreme. The fact that the police, white and black, spend much of their time administering the pass laws in the form of pass raids and on-the-spot investigations in the homes of the

people, often demanding entrance in the pre-dawn hours, has the effect of making the police an agency to be feared and mistrusted and not an agency to whom Africans can turn for protection - a protection that is sorely required under present conditions of lawlessness and widespread crime. The Institute, in response to an invitation by the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr. T.N.H. Janson, to all those concerned to make positive proposals to amend the system of influx control, made a number of proposals in RR. 135/73. Later, after receiving a request from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development to make full recommendations on ten specific matters, the Institute prepared RR. 180/74. Both documents are appended for the information of the Commission. To date no relief from oppressive legislation has been enacted by the Government.

- 3.2. The Institute draws attention to the fact that even if an African qualifies in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) to remain in an urban area, he may become disqualified if he is unemployed for thirty days continuously or cannot find accommodation for himself and his family. If a local authority finds the presence of a particular African detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order, that African can be required to leave the town. An African may forfeit his rights of residence in a town if he is convicted on a sentence carrying six months imprisonment or a fine of R100. These provisions abundantly demonstrate that no African has an inherent right - as have other racial groups in South Africa - to be in a town outside the homelands. They document the rightlessness of the African townsman - a rightlessness of which Africans are keenly and resentfully aware and a rightlessness that makes for an abiding sense of insecurity.

- 3.3. The detrimental effect these laws have on family cohesion is one of their most serious aspects. The inability of a worker without Section 10 qualifications to have his wife and children join him in town already places a severe strain on the adults involved. But even if a worker is duly qualified, permission for his wife to join him is dependent on her having entered the area lawfully and accommodation being available. These provisions were interpreted by local authorities to mean that only if a woman was herself qualified to live in a town could she join her husband. In February 1972, Dr. Koornhof, the then Deputy Minister, said that homeland wives would be allowed to join their residentially qualified husbands provided suitable accommodation was available. But repeated enquiries indicated that this reported concession was not being made in practice. The requirements of the law itself, demanding a series of frequently unavailable documents or, if available, documents incorrectly completed, for wife and children, together with an acute housing shortage which has increased over many years, cause immense disruption of family life.
- 3.4. Difficult as is the position of men, African women in the towns are beset by even greater difficulties. In 1967 a directive to local authorities laid down that no woman, whether widowed or not, was to be placed on a waiting list for housing on a family basis. Under certain conditions widows and divorced women, provided they had Section 10(1)(a) or (b) qualifications and fulfilled certain other conditions could continue to occupy a house that had been registered in the husband's name. But official policy was directed to having such women resettle in the homelands.

4. HOUSING AND HOME OWNERSHIP

- 4.1. The failure to meet the housing requirements of the people of Soweto has caused over-crowding of serious proportions, with its concomitant human effects, and the creation of slum conditions in many parts of the township. There is an annual requirement of some 2 000 houses to provide for the newly-marrieds in Soweto. In 1976 there was a housing backlog of 22 131 families on the waiting list for houses. Yet, according to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the number of new houses provided in Soweto in the year 1974 - 1975 was 798. (Hansard 1976, No. 8, Col. 482.)
- 4.2. Not only was there a failure to meet the housing requirements of the legal residents, but a directive issued early in 1968 brought to an abrupt halt one of the most promising developments in Soweto: namely, the right to home ownership, including the right to erect trading premises. True, existing home owners were not "to be disturbed in their ownership" pending further notice. But no new houses were to be built under the 30 years leasehold scheme introduced earlier, nor were Africans to be permitted, as hitherto, to buy houses from the local authority. Traders could hereafter only hire premises from the local authority. An African could not bequeath his home to an heir if he died, or if he had for any reason to sell his home, the house could be acquired only by the local authority. The Institute is not aware of any motivation for this measure, which at one and the same time dealt a crushing blow to the aspirations of potential home owners and destroyed one of the few forces making for family thrift and family stability. It seems clear that the only reason for this mistaken policy was the ideological obsession which denies the African in the

towns any role but that of the temporary migrant and any attribute that does not accord absolutely with such a temporary presence.

- 4.3. There are many Africans in Soweto who have never forgotten nor forgiven the mass removals of the mid-fifties when, together with their homes in Sophiatown, they lost their right to freehold ownership of land. They do not pass the white suburb named Triomf, which now stands where Sophiatown once stood, without bitterly recalling their own loss. The same process is now being enforced in Alexandra Township, where the last freehold rights of Africans in this whole area are being extinguished. The Institute considers that few of the many discriminatory restrictions to which Africans are subject cause the depth of resentment that this denial of freehold evokes. It particularly affects the growing middle class, the people who have hitherto in general regarded the South African middle class as its reference group and who have acted as the pattern setters for the Soweto community. "Dubenheimers" is the name given to the residents of Dube, the only suburb in Soweto which has developed - till the 1968 interference - wholly on a home ownership basis. The name conveys the idea of status. But in Dube the security and anchorage of land and home available to the white, the Coloureds and the Asian middle classes is denied.

- 4.4. Trading rights are reserved to Africans in African townships. The quid pro quo is that Africans are not permitted to trade elsewhere in the commercial and industrial areas of Johannesburg where the vast majority of working Africans congregate and require both trading and service facilities. Moreover, the rights of African traders are severely circumscribed. A directive issued to local authorities in 1963 laid

down, inter alia, that traders should deal only in "daily domestic essentials", that a trader could only have one business, and that there were to be no companies or partnerships. In 1969 a circular minute to local authorities requested them "to ensure that non-Europeans who render professional services are not granted consulting room and office accommodation in Bantu residential areas. The Bantu should be persuaded to offer their services in the Bantu homelands... Professional services in urban Bantu residential areas should be rendered by Whites ... Bantu who are at present legally exercising such rights may be permitted to continue to do so but should, by way of persuasion, be activated to establish themselves amongst their own people in the homelands."

5. COMPULSORY HOMELAND CITIZENSHIP

- 5.1. Last year, in 1975, the Minister announced that from a date to be announced later the home ownership scheme would be restored. Qualified Africans would be able to buy homes from the Administration Boards. They would again be able to bequeath or sell houses they already owned to qualified Africans. They would be able to build their own homes on 30 years leasehold land, a leasehold which, upon expiry, might be extended for a further 30 years. Traders would again be allowed to own and erect their own business premises, they would be able to have more than one type of business on such premises, they would be able to trade in an increased range of commodities, they would be able to establish partnerships. The restrictions on medical practitioners and other professional people were also to be lifted and if they qualified to be in the town they would be able to build or purchase their own

premises. But to all these restored or newly introduced rights a totally new condition is now attached. To exercise any of these rights the African concerned must produce a certificate of homeland citizenship or to have made application for homeland citizenship. To buy a house, to obtain a trader's licence, to practise his profession, a duly qualified urban African must be the citizen of a homeland. Government Gazette No. 5108 of 7 May 1976, sets out that "no site in the Bantu residential areas shall qualify for trading, business or professional purposes except: (a) in the case of a person in possession of a citizenship certificate; (b) in the case of a partnership if all the partners are in possession of citizenship certificates; and (c) in the case of a company if all the shareholders are in possession of citizenship certificates".

- 5.2. The Institute believes that if the government had deliberately sought a means to alienate and antagonise the most educated and economically advanced section of the urban African population, it could not have succeeded better. This new and utterly unacceptable condition forcing Africans to forfeit their South African citizenship is the naked equivalent of the total rejection of those Africans most committed to permanent urban settlement. The self-evident contradictions in government policy are inexplicable on any rational basis. In order to qualify for certain rights - home ownership, a trader's licence, permission to practise as a doctor, lawyer or other professionally qualified person - an African must have been born in an urban area, have worked there for one employer for ten years or have been legally resident there for 15 years and have continued to remain uninterruptedly in that particular town. He then qualifies for certain specified rights. But he can-

not exercise these rights unless he forthwith abandons the citizenship of the country and the area in which he lives and works. In 1948, the National Party stated in its election programme that "the process of detribalisation should be arrested". In 1976 Africans are being subjected to yet another exercise in this government-designed policy of retribalisation. It is an invitation to Africans in the Republic to strengthen the forces of a divisive tribalism that is elsewhere in Africa being combated as an ever-present danger to the stability of the state.

5.3. The Institute cannot emphasise too strongly that the denial of the rightfulness of the urban African presence is one of the settled African townsman's most bitter grievances. It is a personal affront to the individual who has a loyalty to South Africa: it is an insult to a group which has until now given repeated evidence of its desire to identify with the South African totality. It may not be amiss to remind the Commission of the facts that Africans have fought for South Africa in two major wars and that the Republic is today, at a time of looming peril for this country, looking to Africans to play a larger role in the defence of South Africa: that Africans have deliberately chosen to accept the official languages of this country: that they have demonstrated their willingness to adapt to what is called "western civilization", in other words the complex of institutions on which a modern industrialised country is based.

5.4. The Africans of Soweto did not want and did not willingly accept the imposition of ethnic grouping introduced by the government in the fifties. If this policy had been no more than a desire to make it possible for Africans of a specific ethnic group

to live together in one area - as indeed some Africans do so desire - such ethnic areas could have been established with the choice left to the individual to opt for an ethnic or a mixed area. No such choice was allowed. The policy of retribalisation was imposed. The people of Soweto were not asked whether they wanted the electoral rolls to be changed from the geographic basis on which the members of the former Advisory Boards were elected to the ethnic basis on which the present Urban Bantu Council is elected. The Institute believes that this unwanted change further discredited an already discredited, because utterly powerless, institution.

- 5.5. The Institute considers it necessary to lay this particular emphasis on the new citizenship dispensation contained in the township provisions and in the Status of the Transkei Act of 1976 not because it is the only factor contributing to the increasing alienation of urban Africans but because it is now alienating that considerable section of moderate Africans in Soweto who had believed that there were grounds for future hope in the public undertaking given by the Prime Minister and the South African Ambassador to the United Nations that South Africa intended moving away from discrimination. This latest innovation of government policy seriously eroded this hope. It is at the same time providing new recruits for an exclusivist Black Power movement. It is likely that South Africa is about to harvest the bitter fruits of the constantly repeated doctrine of the National Party that the maintenance of a "separate own identity" is the greatest good to which any people can aspire. The Institute submits that the people of Soweto and elsewhere did not aspire to develop a "separate own identity" but aspired to share a South African identity. The Institute is profoundly convinced that, no matter how many home-

lands become independent, the future safety and progress of the 84% of South Africa constituting the "white" area - an area the Institute itself calls the common area - depends on preserving this South African identity. The Institute directs itself towards the Commission with the earnest plea that it bring to official attention the imperative need to revoke this pernicious citizenship ruling.

6. INADEQUACY OF EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER FACILITIES

6.1. The administration of urban Africans has been shaped in accordance with official policy. This means not only that there has been a pattern of separation in all but the economic sphere, where the labour of Africans is required, but that the facilities and amenities provided in the African townships have been unequal, inferior and inadequate. The Institute is aware of the difficulties, financial and other, of providing for the needs of a rapidly expanding urban population, particularly when that population is, as are urban Africans, economically disadvantaged. But the extent of the inadequacy of provision cannot be justified on economic or any other grounds. "We are primary in the White area, while the Bantu are secondary," the Minister stated in the 1976 session of parliament (Hansard 17, Col. 5639). This "secondary" position of urban Africans is reflected in every aspect of their lives. In housing - reference to which in Soweto is made in section 4 - in schooling, in transport, in recreational, sporting and social welfare facilities. In all these fields the provision of facilities has been marked by delay and by inadequacy. Government policy imposes insuperable barriers by laying down that certain facilities can be provided only in the homelands. The Soweto

Home for the Aged, to give one such relevant instance, was not permitted to continue in being in Soweto. The residents of Soweto consequently have no option but to have an aged parent sent to a settlement for the aged in a homeland or to accommodate this parent in an already over-crowded four-roomed house. They believe, and the Institute considers this fully justified, that there should be homes for the aged in those areas where the people concerned have lived and worked all their lives and that the aged should have, as have those in other population groups, the comfort of the proximity of their children and grandchildren.

- 6.2. A degree of reassurance is to be found in the increase in the number of schools in Soweto from 127 in 1970 to 267 in 1975, with an increase in enrolment from 99 126 to 168 618, particularly as the proportional increase in post-primary schools far outstripped that of primary schools and went some way to meeting one of the most crippling shortages of the late sixties and early seventies. (Post-primary schools increased from 9 to 38, with enrolment increasing from 8 182 to 25 598.) The Institute is appreciatively aware of the important role that the TEACH fund (now approaching the R1½ million mark) played in paying for the erection of new schools, for which the Department of Bantu Education provided the teaching staff, and in promoting public awareness of the need. But, as is the case in so many aspects of human endeavour, comparisons which rate hopefully when made with an unsatisfactory past situation, must be judged within the perspective of what could at present rate as acceptable. And from this point of view, it must be stressed that the school situation in Soweto is far from acceptable. It has not yet been found possible to introduce any form of compulsory

education, a system the beginnings of which at the very least could legitimately be expected to operate in a township serving South Africa's most highly industrialised area. Most of the sub-standards are conducted on a double session basis, which means that the child has $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours schooling per day. The majority of teachers lack teaching qualifications above the primary level. There is still inadequate accommodation and equipment. Free text books are still far from being available to all school children.

- 6.3. Despite the increase in the number of children at secondary schools noted in paragraph 6.2., they constitute only 15,2% of the total school enrolment. This means that the majority of children leave school before they are of working age, whether the reason be the inability of the schools to offer them a place, the poverty of a family unable to pay for the books and school uniform a school child requires, or the lack of holding power of the school resulting in the child leaving school in defiance of the parents. A large contingent of idle, often purposeless, children and young adolescents with the streets as their daily environment constitutes a situation in which problems of social maladjustment are bound to proliferate. That generation gap between parents and children, which has become a noticeable feature of many communities in the rapidly changing world of today, is accentuated in many Soweto families by a number of factors. Difficulties arise because parents have a set of expectations deriving from a rural and traditional background which are neither understood nor accepted by their urban children. Parents forfeit the respect of their children because current wage rates frequently prevent them from meeting the material requirements of their children. They forfeit respect if they are illiterate and clearly less versed in urban

ways than their urban-reared and sophisticated children. But, above all, they forfeit respect and authority because in a white dominated society they themselves are so clearly lacking in individual dignity. Young male students were especially radical in their views, despising the older generation for accepting the master-servant relationship of white and black, says the Quotso report. Parents forfeit respect when they try to train a child to conform to the law when the racially discriminatory nature of much of this self-same law is a plain and evident fact to the child. The pass laws and influx control measures are buttressed by criminal sanctions, but their transgression is not regarded as a "crime" by the African to whom they apply. While not pursuing this matter in depth, the Institute considers it is necessary to indicate the social dangers of a situation where parents do not have the supportive influences of a sound educational system and where the flagrant injustices of certain forms of authority imposed by the State are conducive to the rejection of all authority. The people of Soweto themselves are the main victims of the lawlessness which is evident among certain of the youthful groups of tsotsis and adult criminal gangs. It is the people of Soweto who have for many years suffered the depredations of these criminal elements on the overcrowded trains and in the unlit streets at night. The Institute welcomes recent efforts by the Railways to reduce the present gross overcrowding on the trains by the introduction of new and redesigned coaches, and the decision of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), made public in July of this year, to resume work on the electrification scheme in Soweto commenced by the Johannesburg City Council.

7. POVERTY

7.1. Although the position of a considerable number of Soweto families has improved by reason of the increase in African wage rates, particularly in the past three years, and the greater range of occupational opportunities opening to Africans, poverty remains the over-riding problem of Soweto. The results of a household income survey of 258 African households in Johannesburg, 95% of them in Soweto, conducted by Markinor African Syndicate in March 1976 were as follows:

<u>Monthly Income</u>	<u>Percentage of Households</u>
Up to R70	4,1)
R 71 - 90	7,5)
91 - 110	17,4) 43,3
111 - 130	14,3)
131 - 150	15,0
151 - 170	10,5
171 - 200	11,5
201 - 250	6,0)
251 - 300	7,9) 19,6
301 plus	5,7)

The Household Subsistence Level (HSL) calculated by Professor J.F. Potgieter of the Planning Research Institute of the University of Port Elizabeth for a hypothetical family of six in Johannesburg (one adult male, one adult female and four children) in April 1976 was R129,53 per month. Professor Potgieter emphasises that this HSL, which includes only food, clothing, fuel, light, cleansing, transport for the wage-earner and rent, is a "crude and wholly theoretical measure ... not a norm but a mere guide line". It is frequently accepted that a Minimum Effective Level sufficient to cover actual requirements, including tax, household equipment, personal expendi-

ture, education and other items, would be 50% higher than the HSL, namely R194,29 per month. According to the Markinor results, 43% of the sample households had incomes below the HSL, and almost one fifth had incomes above the Effective Level. This is an improvement over the position nearly ten years ago when in 1967 Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department research section gave 68% as the proportion of families with incomes below its estimate of minimum, but not Effective Level, living costs. However, it must be borne in mind that family size (found to be 6,7 persons including 3,8 adults by the 1973 Quotso survey) increases as household income rises. The present spiralling cost of living, especially the recent rise in the cost of essentials such as mealie meal and coal, particularly affects a community such as that in Soweto, where over two-fifths of the population is already struggling below the bread line to make ends meet. It is clear that there is a wide range of living standards in Soweto but that economic deprivation characterises a large section of the human environment.

8. THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

- 8.1. The Institute is aware that in respect of its African population the local authority is in fact no more than the agent of the central government, which determines policy and exercises close supervision over administration. The role of the local authority is accordingly largely pre-determined and the scope for initiative is limited. It nevertheless appears that when the Johannesburg City Council administered Soweto through its Non-European Affairs Department, it evoked a greater degree of confidence from the Africans of Soweto than does the present

WRAB, despite the fact that the majority of the officials are the same. It was certainly evident before 1973 (when WRAB assumed control) that the people of Meadowlands and Diepkloof - areas adjoining Soweto but until then under the administration of the Bantu Resettlement Board - lacked certain services, particularly those appertaining to welfare, available to the people of Soweto and that they regarded the administration of Soweto proper as being the more understanding. An example of what can only be interpreted as an exercise in arbitrary interference was the imposition of bans by the cultural section of WRAB on various plays to be performed in Soweto (amongst others, Gibson Kente's "Too Late" in June 1975). A member of this section was reported to have said, "I know what is good and what is bad for the people of Soweto". The arrogant paternalism implied caused deep resentment.

- 8.2. One of the significant differences between the Johannesburg City Council and WRAB is that the Council subsidised the Bantu Revenue Account - in the last year of its administration by close on R2 million. When the system of Bantu Administration Boards was introduced in 1971, the Explanatory Memorandum accompanying the Bill (subsequently Act No. 45 of 1971) expressly stated that "it shall not be necessary to approach the Treasury for funds". WRAB has accordingly to be financially independent, which means that, apart from revenue deriving from service levies paid by the employers of African workers, the largely economically under-privileged section of the community living in Soweto has no source of revenue other than that it provides itself. This, the Institute submits, does not accord with the principles of financial provision normally regarded as acceptable usage today.

8.3. A further possible reason for the preference by at least a section of the Soweto African leadership for the former Council administration is the difference in attitudes to government policy shown in the public statements of city councillors and of members of WRAB. While a number of influential city councillors called for changes in government policy which would recognise the permanence of Africans in the towns and accord them the rights appropriate to this status, the statements of prominent members of WRAB reflected their identification with present official policy. The offices and building of WRAB were consistent targets during the recent disturbances. They represented the visible symbols of an exclusively white administration which the residents of Soweto perceived as the agent causing much of their dissatisfaction and insecurity.

9. DECISION-MAKING AND THE NEED FOR CHANGE

9.1. The lack of any voice in the decisions which affect them is one of the major grievances of the people of Soweto and must be recognised as one of the contributory causes to the general state of disaffection prevailing in Soweto. They are aware of the impotence of the Urban Bantu Council and the fact that its only function is to serve as an advisory body, and, moreover, that its advice is frequently ignored. The disregard in which the Urban Bantu Council is held is reflected in the low polls, 18% and 16% respectively of the electoral rolls, at the last two Council elections, in the inability of the Council both to attract to its service many of the educated and experienced Africans in Soweto best equipped to render service and in its failure to maintain the interests of its existing members, with the result that even a quorum is lacking

at some of its committee meetings. The job of an urban Bantu councillor has little to commend it. It has no real import and, far from commanding the respect of the community as a whole, it is treated with derision by many of the educated elite and Black Consciousness exponents whose views are gaining wider currency especially among the younger generation. "Inadequate political rights" was the main grievance of the Std. 9 and 10 subjects of the attitude survey carried out by Dr. M.L. Edelstein, the results of which were published in What Do Young Africans Think?

9.2. The Institute has noted with interest and appreciation that after the disturbances a series of meetings was arranged between the Minister, the members of WRAB and high-ranking officials of both the Department and the Board and Soweto Urban Bantu councillors together with other members of the Soweto leadership. It has also noted encouraging intimations from official sources to the effect that the Urban Bantu Council is to exercise certain executive functions. It expresses the hope that communication and consultation at meaningful levels will be continued once the immediate cause for their inception has fallen away. But the Institute feels constrained to stress that communication and consultation will be fruitless unless there is a disposition on the part of legislator and administrator alike to embark on a process of change designed to meet the needs and desires of urban Africans.

9.3. If the government does not accept the permanency of urban Africans, fails to grant legal relief from the discriminatory pass laws, and continues to force millions to become foreigners in the places where they live and work, in order to enjoy the most elementary human rights, then it is virtually certain that South Africa is entering a long period of further and increasing civil unrest.

Collection Number: A1132

Collection Name: Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Location: Johannesburg

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