

AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS COMMITTEE  
(JOHANNESBURG AND DISTRICT)

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE  
WITWATERSRAND, MILNER PARK, AT 8.15 P.M. ON FRIDAY, MAY 30TH, 1941

1. PRESENT : Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones (in the chair), 16 members, 3 visitors and the Hon. Secretary, (Mrs. E. Hellmann)

2. APOLOGIES: Apologies were received from 6 members.

3. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES :

The minutes, having been circulated, were taken as read and WERE CONFIRMED.

4. FINANCE :

The Chairman announced that a cheque for £50 had been received from Commander Williamson Napier to cover the clerical expenses of the committee for one year. The Chairman expressed the committee's deep appreciation of Commander Williamson Napier's generosity and helpfulness.

5. ALEXANDRA HEALTH COMMITTEE DEADLOCK :

The Chairman reported that, owing to the illness of Councillor Baloyi, he had not been able to make arrangements for the sub-committee to meet the Alexandra Health Committee. He wished to report that Mr. Handel Thompson had offered, as a member of the Provincial Council, any assistance he could render in adjusting this matter.

6. NATIVE REVENUE ACCOUNT :

There was a lengthy discussion of the memorandum A.T.C. 5/41, "An examination of the financial policy of the Johannesburg City Council in regard to the Native Revenue Account", which had been circulated to members.

The following points which appear in the memorandum were stressed : Were it not for profits on the beer halls, the deficit on the Native Revenue Account 1939-1940 would have been £51,320. From 1914-1937 any deficit on the Native Revenue Account was made a charge against the General Rate Fund, but the establishment of the beer halls in 1938 synchronised with a change in financial policy, and since that time not only had no contribution been made to the Native Revenue Account from general rates, but in 1939 grants-in-aid (£4,083) and expenses for Indirect Administration (£3,451) were for the first time debited against the Native Revenue Account.

Only £430,472 out of the total of £1,570,843 borrowed for Native Housing had been borrowed at the sub-economic rate of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. The redemption period had been fixed at 30 years, after which time it was held that the houses would be valueless. But in view of the fact that large amounts were spent on maintenance of buildings, it was highly improbable that this would be the case. The question of lengthening the period of redemption should be raised.

The following additional observations were made:-

The charges for water and light totalling £10,775 (electricity £3,191, water £6,264, street lighting £1,320) are included in the sub-heading "miscellaneous" in the analysis of expenditure of the Native Revenue account, but are not specifically stated. The £10,783, approximately one half of the total expenses of the Public Health Department for medical services for Non-Europeans and Natives, which is borne by the Public Health Department, cannot be regarded as an ex gratia payment but as the fulfilment of the local authority's obligation to provide preventative health services.

Attention was repeatedly drawn to those respects in which amenities and services for Natives fell short of needs. Mr. Sheffield suggested that if these services were provided, and the Native population continued increasing rapidly, the Johannesburg ratepayers would be burdened with additional responsibilities. As many of these Natives came from reserves and country districts, should this not be a responsibility of the Union Government? If this Committee did not wish to make the provision of services dependant on kaffir beer profits, would it consider recommending the introduction of a special rate for Native housing, on the lines of the road rate? In reply, it was pointed out that the Native population of Johannesburg increased only as the labour needs of the city increased. This was confirmed by the statement reported by the Chairman to have been made to him that day by the Director of Native Labour, to the effect that the number of Native unemployed was at the normal figure. The Natives, through their labour, were making an important contribution to the city's progress and prosperity. The suggestion that a special rate to finance Native housing or other services for Natives was not accepted, the Committee holding that if necessary rates must be raised to allow the Municipality to meet its commitments for the welfare of the whole population.

Finally, the following two principles were unanimously adopted :-

1. That the Municipality should not differentiate between its responsibilities towards its European and Non-European population.
2. That the African Townships Committee deprecates the fact that with the introduction of Kaffir Beer Halls and the consequent receipt of large profits from that source the Municipality saw fit to relieve itself of all financial responsibility towards its Native population.

Professor Hoernlé expressed the opinion that the Committee must not rely on representations to the City Council. In the last resort changes can only be brought about by the demand of the public. The Chairman agreed that it was a responsibility of this Committee to make efforts to educate public opinion, but its first task would be to seek agreement with the Native Affairs Department of the Municipality upon the extent of the Municipality's responsibility for the financing of the housing and other services in the townships and upon the programme of developments therein.

After the Committee had accepted the above-mentioned two principles, it discussed the specific services which it considered the Municipality should provide. It was pointed out that a further two and a half million pounds sub-economic money had been allocated to Johannesburg payable over a period of years. The need for further housing was stressed. In

In regard to the question of freehold, it was agreed that the majority of the Native population would continue to rely on rented housing, but the Committee expressed its approval of introducing a freehold township and establishing it as near the city as possible.

Mr. P. R. B. Lewis stated that his findings (see A. T. C. 4/41) that the higher cost of the Johannesburg houses was amply justified by the quality of the houses had been borne out by a quantity surveyor.

After a lengthy discussion of the needs of the Native population in regard to housing, health services, recreational facilities, and other social services (during the course of which the need for establishing milk depots in the locations was stressed and a report by the M. O. H. on a milk bar recently established in the Germiston location was read),

IT WAS DECIDED

that the Housing sub-committee with the addition of the Chairman, the two Vice Chairmen, and Mr. Shaddick and Dr. Dexter Taylor, should prepare a statement on this question based on the Draft Programme of Activities (Misc. 15/41), circulated earlier. This deputation should seek an early interview with Mr. Ballenden, the Manager of the Department of Non-European and Native Affairs, and thereafter wait upon the Municipal Native Affairs Committee.

OWING TO THE LATENESS OF THE HOUR, OTHER MATTERS ON THE AGENDA WERE HELD OVER, AND THE MEETING TERMINATED AT 10-45 P.M.

4th June, 1941.  
NMC

AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS COMMITTEE.  
(JOHANNESBURG AND DISTRICT)

FINANCIAL POLICY AND PROGRAMME OF DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL NATIVE TOWNSHIPS.

The "African Townships Committee (Johannesburg and District)" is a voluntary organisation which was formed in January 1941, to provide means whereby a number of organisations (which have interested themselves in the welfare of the African population of Johannesburg and of areas outside, such as Alexandra Township) could combine to inform and arouse public opinion in Johannesburg in support of a policy and programme designed to provide the Native populations of these areas with those housing and other living conditions that are necessary and desirable for people living under urban conditions ; and thus to secure the support of public opinion for the efforts of the Johannesburg Non-European and Native Affairs Department in the same direction.

A list of the members of the Committee is attached hereto, and it will be realised that the members are nearly all persons with considerable knowledge of the conditions under which the Native people are living in Johannesburg and district.

The Committee has given attention to questions of policy as well as to the practical needs of the Native people in the Johannesburg Municipal Townships. The Native Revenue Account has been analysed, and the city's housing schemes in Orlando have been examined in detail and compared with the two most recent schemes - Port Elizabeth and Pretoria. The points raised in this memorandum are therefore based upon the personal knowledge and experience of the members of the Committee, and upon their close study of the city's Municipal accounts and of its housing schemes.

The Committee believes that the most important task before it is to secure agreement with the Johannesburg City Council on the fundamental principles which are to govern the city's responsibility for the welfare of the African section of the city's population ; and that the Committee's next task is to get agreement upon the nature and extent of the services which the Municipality is to make available to the Africans. This memorandum aims at securing agreement with the Municipality on these matters.

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The Committee is very much disturbed by the turn which the Council's policy has taken in respect of the city's financial responsibility for the Municipal Native Townships.

An examination of the Native Revenue Account since its inception reveals that until 1937-38 any deficit in the Native Revenue Account was made a charge against the General Rate Fund - at that time the Beer Halls were established, and since then there has been a definite change of policy, and the Council has adopted the practice of carrying forward deficits on the Native Revenue Account from one year to the next. Thus General Rates have now been relieved of a contribution to the Native Revenue Account. In addition grants-in-aid to Native Institutions which were formerly borne by the General Rate Fund are now debited to the Native Revenue Account. Furthermore, the Native Revenue Account is now called upon to contribute to Indirect Administration - an innovation introduced in 1939.

The city accepts financial responsibility for housing

and other services for European and Coloured poor. The Committee considers that the City should not escape financial responsibility for providing its Native population with those services which make a decent life possible under urban conditions. The Natives contribute to the revenue of the Municipality through the services they render in industry, commerce, domestic service and all the other activities of the city's life. Without their labour these activities would not be possible, and the city's rateable value and services would shrink into comparative insignificance. Moreover, the gap between the wages which Natives in general receive and what their labour would entitle them to get is in itself a subsidy which the Natives have over many years been making to the income and comfort of the community as a whole. The Native people of Johannesburg have, therefore, a clear claim upon the general revenue account of the Municipality.

The Committee asks the City Council to recognise its obligations to the Native residents of Johannesburg, by basing their financial policy on and determining their financial obligations by the needs of their Native population.

The Native Revenue Account as at present financed can only look to beer profits for an increase in revenue. In other words, additional amenities necessitate increased beer profits. This Committee is accordingly anxious to prevail upon the Municipality to revert to its previous policy of contributing to the Native Revenue Account, instead of expecting it to be self-balancing.

#### BEER PROFITS - THE DISPOSAL OF

The Committee is also concerned lest the substantial profits of the beer halls should prove so attractive, as "easy money" which can be used to relieve the city's financial responsibility for the Native Revenue Account, that the primary purpose of the beer halls may be forgotten. The Committee views with some apprehension the startling growth of the beer hall profits.

There is no doubt that the public of Johannesburg were persuaded to acquiesce in the establishment of the beer halls (and there was even then a strong minority strongly opposed), because they hoped that the halls would result in a diminution of drunkenness and the other evils of the illicit liquor traffic. As to the actual effects of the beer halls, the Committee is not at the moment in a position to express itself, and, in any case, this aspect will no doubt be examined by the Native Affairs Commission when it makes its enquiry later in the year.

But this Committee does hold strongly that the profits of the beer halls should be placed in a separate or subsidiary section or the Native Revenue Account, and should not be made available to balance the Native Revenue Account. The Governments of Southern and Northern Rhodesia control strictly the use to which beer profits are put. They do not permit them to be used to relieve either the Government or the Municipality concerned of their financial responsibilities (e.g. Education). The beer profits should be used to provide services or amenities that are not essentially Government or Municipal responsibility.

It appears to this Committee that one reason for the popularity of the Beer Halls is that Natives have been provided with Social Centres where they can assemble without any fear

of molestation. At present there are few other places where they can meet and be free from interference.

The experience of all countries shows that drinking becomes less important as a recreation for the people, in proportion as alternative leisure pursuits become available to them and as they acquire the education which enables them to enjoy those pursuits. It is largely because people are at a loose end that they resort to drinking and it appears, therefore, that one practical contribution to solving the drinking problem would be to make adequate provision for the social requirements of the Native People.

This view was emphasised by the unofficial commission on the Illicit Liquor traffic which was appointed jointly by the S. A. Temperance Alliance and the S. A. Institute of Race Relations.

### HOUSING

As mentioned earlier, the Committee has considered in some detail the city's Native housing schemes, more particularly at Orlando. Close comparisons have been made with the Pretoria scheme at Atteridgeville. The Committee is satisfied that there is no justification for any feeling that the present Orlando scheme has provided less for the money spent. But Pretoria and Johannesburg have adopted totally different policies. The Pretoria policy of completing each unit of housing, i.e. providing electric lighting and school buildings, installing sewerage and making roads at the time the houses are built, has given the African people great satisfaction.

The Committee, however, thinks that the needs of the townships in the various directions indicated should now be reviewed, and it would like to have an opportunity of discussing in some detail the present and future possibilities of improvements along the following lines :-

- (a) Accommodation for family life.
- (b) Provision of floors, ceilings, doors between rooms, plastered walls, stoves.
- (c) Individual Water Supply.
- (d) Individual Sanitary Service ( and, if possible, sewerage).
- (e) Individual Electric Lighting.
- (f) Fenced or Walled Gardens or Yards.
- (g) Asphalt and hard roads.
- (h) Freehold Tenure and "Own" Houses.

It would be helpful to the Committee to learn the City Council's programme in respect of the foregoing and other aspects of housing schemes.

The Committee has also given consideration to the question of redemption charges, and finds that in view of the amounts annually spent on maintenance, it cannot agree that at the end of thirty years the houses will be valueless. The present method of redemption appears to be placing an unnecessarily heavy burden on the present generation of tenants. The Committee suggests that, if possible, advantage be taken of the maximum period of repayment of loans borrowed under sub-economic housing schemes.

### SOCIAL SERVICES

The Committee would also like to learn what the Council's programme is in respect of the following social services:-

- (a) Market Facilities.
- (b) Public Baths (Shower and Swimming).
- (c) Milk Depots.
- (d) Resident Medical and Nursing Services. (e.g. Is it possible to employ African medical practitioners for resident service in the township?)
- (e) Hospital Arrangements (including Ambulance Service)
- (f) Establishment of Dispensaries.
- (g) Development of Medical and Dental Clinics.
- (h) Recreational and Cultural Facilities (with special reference to social centres, parks and children's playgrounds with suitable equipment.
- (i) School Facilities (Day and Night creches and nursery schools)

The Committee appreciates the efforts that the Municipal Non-European and Native Affairs Department has made under several of the above-mentioned heads ; but it would be helpful to the Committee if a programme extending over a period of years could be worked out. This would not only help the Committee in its efforts to educate public opinion, but it would also be invaluable in creating in the people of the townships hope for the future and greater confidence in the Council's efforts to give them the conditions which make for a decent family life and a self-respecting community.

-----oOo-----

3rd June, 1941.

NMC.

(19)

PRECIS OF A MEETING OF A SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS COMMITTEE WITH MR. G. BALLENDEN, MANAGER OF THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL NON-EUROPEAN AND NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, ON TUESDAY JUNE 3RD, AT 8.15 P.M. AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND.

PRESENT : Members of the Sub-Committee, Senator Rheinallt Jones, (in the Chair), Professor R. F. A. Hoernle, Miss M. Leeke, Mr. P. R. B. Lewis, Miss D. Maud, Rev. H. Nawa, Mr. H. A. Read, Mr. A. H. Raney, Mr. G. R. N. Shaddick, Dr. J. Dexter Taylor, and the Hon. Secretary (Mrs. E. Hellmann).

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Ballenden, and expressed the Committee's appreciation of his presence and his readiness to discuss together with them problems which concerned both his Department and the Committee. The Chairman stated that the Committee was anxious to co-operate with Mr. Ballenden's department, and to explore the possibilities of a common programme. Later, it was the intention of the Committee to approach the Native Affairs Committee of the City Council.

A lengthy discussion thereupon followed on the memorandum submitted by the African Townships Committee (A.T.C.6/41).

In regard to the opinion expressed by the Committee on Financial Responsibility (page 2), Mr. Ballenden agreed on general principles with the contentions of the Committee, but did not agree that the City Council had consciously tried to disembarass itself of financial responsibility towards its Native population. Largely it was a matter of accounting. Mr. Ballenden pointed out, inter alia : That under the provisions of the Urban Areas Act, beer profits must be put into the Native Revenue Account ; that the Government had suggested that charges for Indirect Administration be debited against the Native Revenue Account ; that on housing schemes, which come before the Central Housing Board, a loss of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent must be incurred. He suggested that the Committee should concentrate on an endeavour to bring the Council to agree that redemption charges should not have to be borne by the present generation of tenants, but should be a charge against General Rates. The property remains in the possession of the local authority, and accordingly the local authority should bear this burden of expenditure.

Mr. Ballenden stated that the houses were kept fully repaired, and that he did not consider that there was any need for provision of an item for "revision of renewals" (£5,912, 1939-1940), and this year he had authority to omit this item.

In answer to a suggestion that there might be a tendency on the part of the department to bolster up the demand for beer, Mr. Ballenden stated that consumption is increasing on its own momentum without any of the inducements to increased demand that could be offered.

Dr. Dexter Taylor asserted that the pressure on employers to increase Native wages - the lowness of which was the root cause of many of the problems that were under discussion at this meeting - was reduced by providing sub-economic housing and by ensuring a self-balancing Native Revenue Account. Beer Profits formed a subsidy to employers.

At this stage, Professor Hoernle summarised the proceedings of the meeting, saying that the committee visualised a healthy urban community provided with the fundamentals of decent living. These facilities it was the responsibility of the Municipality to provide. The costs for the provision of such facilities were considerable. A certain proportion could be recovered in the form of rents, which were fixed not in relation to the value of

the house, but in relation to wages, and from other charges. The income, however, would be less than the total cost to the Municipality, and in order to bridge this gap the Municipality would have to recognise its moral responsibility. This Committee wished white opinion to accept in principle that rates must cover this deficit.

Mr. Ballenden was prepared to agree with this submission up to a point, while pointing out that the community must be considered as a whole, and that only such services could be made available as were available to the whole community, Europeans, Asiatic, Coloured, as well as African.

It was therefore agreed that the principle relating to the Municipality's financial obligation should be amended to read :-

"This Committee asks the City Council to recognise its obligations to the Native Residents of Johannesburg, by basing their financial policy and determining their financial obligations by the needs of the Native population to the extent that they recognise these needs for other sections of the population"

A lengthy discussion on the disposal of beer profits took place. Dr. Dexter Taylor expressed apprehension that the same policy was developing in urban affairs as had already manifested itself on the part of the Union Government, namely of limiting expenditure on Native services to Native sources of revenue.

Mr. Ballenden stated that he had some time ago suggested that profits from beer should be invested and the interest only should be used. His Committee had agreed to this, but it had been turned down by the Treasury.

After various members had expressed their opinions on this aspect, pointing out that beer profits must be regarded as a fortuitous source of income, and should not be used to relieve the Municipality of expenditure on services it was obliged to provide, that beer profits could in any case not be regarded as a stable form of income, and that they must be treated differently from the profits derived from utilities,

IT WAS AGREED

that the committee should press for the separation of beer profits and also for the payment of redemption charges from general rates, and not from the native revenue account

Details of housing were thereafter discussed.

- (a) Mr. Ballenden stated that the principle of providing accommodation for family life had been accepted. The earlier, and possibly mistaken, policy, had been revised.
- (b) Cola floors were to be provided in the new houses. Ceilings, Mr. Ballenden said, were desirable but too expensive. At present, they were experimenting with a new type of roof made of concrete as used in Salisbury. The new houses all had doors between rooms.
- (c) The new houses would have an individual water supply, and when Orlando was sewered, every house would have its own water installation.
- (d) All the municipal townships were planned to have individual water-borne sewerage, and this had already been done at the Western Native Township.
- (e) Provision of individual electric lighting was a matter first

of expense, and secondly, of a shortage of requisite materials due to war conditions. Mr. Ballenden informed the Committee that the tenants of the Eastern Native Township had been offered the choice between electricity in their homes or a rent reduction of 2/6d. per month, and they had decided in favour of the latter alternative. Eventually, Mr. Ballenden stated, the houses would have to be lighted, and he stressed the fact that electric light means a cleaner home.

(f) Mr. Ballenden stated that all houses were fenced, but that while the present shortage of wire mesh continued, it would be necessary to have fences of wire strands only. These strands would serve as supports for the mesh when it became available again.

(g) Roads were being made as fast as possible, and £80,000 had been provided for roads in this year's estimates.

(h) Mr. Ballenden said that a freehold township was planned, but that it would be impossible to have it nearer town as it would necessitate having to buy out a large number of owners. Furthermore, the mineral rights of such areas could not be obtained.

Then followed a discussion of the social services essential or desirable :-

(a) Mr. Ballenden said that there was a market available to the whole community, and therefore Natives had no special claims for their own markets except at Orlando, where they were far from the centre of town. So far the market at Orlando had not been a success, but further efforts were planned. In reply to a question, Mr. Ballenden said that there was no market master at Orlando, but that an auctioneer on the staff of the Department conducted the sales.

(b) Mr. Ballenden said that he had authority to build six swimming baths, and would be able to do so as the demand arose, and when Natives were prepared to pay for their entrance as other sections of the community. He agreed that ablutionary facilities were a necessity, but this could hardly be claimed for swimming baths.

(c) Milk depots to be run by the Municipality would be established at Orlando as an experiment.

(d) Forty resident Native nurses were already serving the Municipal townships, and it would be quite impossible to have European resident nurses. As regards the question of resident medical practitioners, Mr. Ballenden did not believe that one resident doctor would appreciably ease the position. The location covers a very large area, and if the doctor were called out to one section, a case in another section might have to wait practically as long as it now takes to summon a doctor from town. Mr. Ballenden emphasised that the provision of medical facilities (curative) is not an obligation of the local authority.

(e) Mr. Ballenden said that he could not discuss hospitalisation, as this was purely a provincial responsibility. Land for a hospital had been set aside at Orlando. A free ambulance service was provided in the townships.

(f) Mr. Ballenden did not see how a pharmacy could be run in the townships, as Europeans were not permitted to trade there and no African dispensers were qualified. Furthermore, he doubted the need for such a service. His department planned to erect a number of buildings on the outskirts of Orlando, and amongst them a dispensary would be built. The Advisory Board was very antagonistic to this proposal, as it submitted that such openings must be reserved for Africans.

(g) Medical and dental clinics were already being conducted.

(f) With reference to cultural facilities, Mr. Ballenden said that ample grounds had been set aside for playgrounds in the municipal townships. The Municipality had already committed itself to the policy of providing libraries. The Council had in principle agreed to the erection of a Non-European Civic Centre, and £100,000 for this purpose had appeared on the capital estimates. He fully agreed that Parks were needed, and suggested that the most efficacious manner of achieving this would be by enlisting the support of the various Ratepayers' Associations. The Rosebank Ratepayers' Association had already asked for a park to meet the needs of Africans employed in the Northern suburbs. In reply to a question from a member, Mr. Ballenden said that playground equipment without playground attendants would be quite impracticable, as Native children were not educated to the orderly use of the appropriate equipment, and therefore the question of expense would have to be considered.

(1) The Municipality had generally followed the policy of setting aside sites in the municipal townships for schools and letting them to Missions. From July 1st it was planned to relieve the schools of sanitary fees. The Council had built a creche in the Western Native Township, and was subsidising those in Orlando and Pimville as well as two nursery schools. He had suggested that simultaneously with building houses in Western Orlando, schools should be built and placed at the disposal of the province free.

In reply to various questions, Mr. Ballenden made the following observations :- He doubted whether co-operative stores, would, at the present time, be successful. The co-operative at the Western Native Township was actually a limited liability society run for the benefit of the directors.

He did not consider Octavia Hill housing managers necessary, and the training they received did not fit them for the type of work required in the townships.

The Transvaal Association of Boys' Clubs, which was subsidised by the Municipality, was today running more Boys' Clubs successfully than ever before. Nominally, these clubs were run by the Association, although actually the department was doing so. An application for a grant from the Department of Social Welfare was at present under consideration.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Mr. Ballenden agreed to prepare a written statement on the services his department was providing, and their immediate plans, in order to assist and guide the Committee. The Chairman again expressed to Mr. Ballenden the Committee's appreciation of his courtesy and ready willingness to partake in the discussion.

THE MEETING TERMINATED AT 10.45 P.M.

-----oOo-----

11th June, 1941.  
NMG.

**Collection Number: AD1715**

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation*

*Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

©2013

**LEGAL NOTICES:**

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.