

53. The demand for articles such as spades, knives, forks, spoons, nails, bolts, cans, plates, cups, buckets, kettles, pots, pans and other household ware, will undoubtedly increase as the Reserves develop and will thus create the conditions required for a local *light metal industry*. With good organisation these industries could be partially operated on the domestic industries principle. Foundries which arise readily wherever the demand for foundry products exists, will also develop in the Bantu Areas in the course of time.

d The Place of Home Industries in an Industrial Development Programme.

54. Although there is ample evidence to show that home industries are still being practised by the Bantu, it is quite clear that some of these have already died out, whilst others are in the process of disintegration. This tendency is chiefly due to three factors. Firstly, contact with European civilisation has introduced all kinds of substitute articles to the Bantu. Secondly, as a result of the new generation of Bantu having to make a living in European towns and villages and on European farms, the traditional methods of training by which knowledge was passed on from father to son and mother to daughter, have largely disappeared or are in the process of disappearing. Lastly, in many instances the shortage of raw materials (e.g. ivory) has been a contributory cause.

55. The Commission is convinced that active steps to promote home industries would have great value from the economic, social and educational viewpoints and would facilitate the process of general industrial development because one of the starting points would be familiar to the Bantu. Little capital would be required and a large part of the technical knowledge needed, is already possessed by the Bantu. Such development would also exercise important and positive influences in favour of maintaining and developing the identity and culture of the Bantu.

56. To conclude, the Commission is in no way convinced of the impossibility of finding markets for home industry products. The tourist traffic is promising and with efficient organisation, this and other markets further away from the Bantu Areas, could be developed into important outlets. Within the Bantu Areas a closer accommodation of production to consumers' demands, would also widen the market for such articles.

The Commission does not postulate that large-scale development is possible, but is convinced that selective development could be undertaken with success.

57. *How could the development of home industries be encouraged?* Firstly, there is general agreement that any development scheme should lay more emphasis on the so-called traditional home industries (e.g. pottery) than on those developed and built up as the result of contact with Europeans (e.g. spinning and weaving of wool). It is by far the easiest course to begin with and build upon that which is known, and this holds the additional possibility of stimulating national pride and preserving the culture forms of the Bantu.

58. In view of the half-hearted efforts made hitherto by the responsible authorities to establish and expand home industries in the Bantu Areas, the Commission considers that in its section for the encouragement of small firms, the proposed Development Organisation (see Chapter 48), should include a specific undertaking for developing this department of industrial activity. The head of this undertaking should be a person with full knowledge and a wide experience of this class of work and should possess the necessary business qualifications, to enable him to organise successfully the production and marketing aspects of home industries.

59. Elsewhere, the Commission has stated its opinion that it would be advisable to assist home industries through suitable training in the schools.

60. Finally, as a general guide, certain home industries may be indicated as deserving immediate encouragement; claywork and in particular pottery (in suitable localities in the Transkei, Northern and Western Areas, and in Zululand); weaving, including beadwork, fibre work, grasswork, leaf and reed work; woodwork and leather work.

VI. GOVERNMENT POLICY AND DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRY.

61. The Commission has given careful consideration to the rôle the Government should play in a policy of decentralisation of industry. It was concluded that, in a policy of decentralisation to promote industrialisation in the Bantu Areas, the aim should be not to force industrialists to move into the Reserves, but to attract them there voluntarily by providing facilities such as transport, power, water and urban development.

CHAPTER 35

IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

I. THE MOST IMPORTANT REQUISITES FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANTU AREAS.

1. In various places in this Report, reference has been made to the problems of capital formation in the Bantu Areas and the deficiencies of the available labour force there, as well as to the lack of entre-

preneurs among the Bantu. These and other problems will have to be overcome, therefore, if any degree of industrial development is going to take place in the Bantu Areas. In the following paragraphs, the task is to show a possible way of bridging these problems; and in the course of this discussion it will be assumed that the Development Corporation proposed in a later chapter, will exist.

A. LABOUR.

2. First of all it is necessary to ask what can be done in order to procure the labour necessary, as regards quantity and quality, for the orderly development of industry in the Bantu Areas. At the outset, it must be pointed out that the methods which were applied and are still being applied in the older industrial countries are not applicable *mutatis mutandis* in the Bantu Areas. In the older countries, the development took place over a great number of years. In the Bantu Areas, in view of the conditions sketched in Chapters 25 and 26 of the Report, development will have to take place at a much faster rate and thus it requires special and energetic measures to obtain the necessary labour force.

3. It must also be pointed out that this development will not necessarily accentuate the problems connected with the present shortage of trained personnel in the Union; it is only industrial development over and above what would in any case have occurred in the Union that will create additional problems in this connection, and this position can be met, *inter alia*, by training the Bantu. However, it is clear that the help of the European as artisan and technician will still be required for a considerable time.

4. The fundamental problem is to employ the available labour as productively as possible in industry. The Commission would regard this productivity as a function, *inter alia*, of the following:—

- (i) aptitude, personnel selection and vocational guidance;
- (ii) training of personnel;
- (iii) the creation of healthy working conditions and living quarters; and
- (iv) personnel management which aims at developing a spirit of co-operation and reciprocal confidence in the workers and the management.

Ad. (i).

5. In the Bantu Areas, this aspect will be of still greater importance than elsewhere, because we are dealing here with a population group which is relatively undeveloped and has little industrial background as well as a low general level of school education. In schools and private undertakings, therefore, attempts may with great advantage be made from the outset to test the individual abilities and aptitudes of the Bantu in a scientific manner in order to derive full benefit from them. The Commission also recommends that the staff of the National Institute for Personnel Research should be strengthened and that this body should create a special section for research in this particular sphere.

Ad. (ii).

6. In territories like the Bantu Areas where practically all workers are unskilled, proper training of workers for the variety of demands made by industry is of the utmost importance. Firstly, it is necessary to provide for a minimum of general education. Secondly, vocational training is essential and the Commission recommends that, as far as industry is concerned, this training should aim at developing general aptitude and

interest in the pupils (in contrast with the acquisition of specific skills) and at training persons for specific tasks, especially with respect to skilled work in industry. To attain this object, it will be necessary to erect technical colleges at convenient places in the Bantu Areas, the proposed Bantu universities will have to make provision for the training of technicians and professional officers, and the existing industrial schools serving Bantu Areas must be expanded and strengthened. Attention will also have to be paid to the training of supervisors and semi-professional officers, adult education in the sphere of vocational training, co-operation with business in order to determine the most suitable methods for such training, and for pre-employment training. Moreover, it is of great importance that in the factories themselves energetic action should be taken to train Bantu in the various industrial occupations. Consideration can also be given to a relaxation of the conditions of apprenticeship, subject to certain stipulations. In conclusion, the Commission recommends that efforts should be made to find suitable undertakings *outside* the Bantu Areas, which would be prepared, under certain conditions, to train Bantu for particular tasks, for example, as instructors and supervisors.

Ad. (iii)

7. It should be emphasised that industry, especially in under-developed territories such as the Bantu Areas still are, cannot simply assume that all is well as regards the health, nutrition, housing and general social welfare of its workers, but must constantly pay attention to these aspects on its own initiative in order to ensure that the general welfare of its workers is such that it acts as a stimulus for a productive labour force. The authorities also have an important part to play in this connection.

Ad. (iv).

8. Sound general personnel relations are necessary in any undertaking, but are of decisive importance in undertakings where labour with little or no industrial background and which is otherwise undeveloped, is employed. The customs and general habits of these people differ from those which are normally found in industrialised areas, and such a labour force is also a fairly easy target for agitators. The Commission, therefore, recommends for the earnest consideration of industrial undertakings that only persons with a thorough knowledge of the Bantu and their background, who are capable of enforcing discipline strictly but justly, and yet at all times can remain human in their conduct, should be placed in control of the personnel of firms in the Bantu Areas, and that Bantu should be employed in these sections to an increasing extent. One of the most important tasks of personnel control will be to combat high labour turnover and absenteeism and to plan and put into execution as far as possible, effective measures regarding selection of personnel, training problems, the development of a sense of responsibility in workers, etc.

9. As regards *remuneration for services rendered*, three aspects must be referred to. In the first place, the authorities will have to concern themselves with wage determination. Owing to the general background of the Bantu in the Bantu Areas, the mechanism of a free market might lead to exploitation, whilst under

existing conditions, a system of collective bargaining could be employed fairly easily for the purposes of agitators. The Commission recommends that the provisions of Section 8 of the Wage Act be so amended that the Wage Board may take other factors besides those enumerated in Section 8 into account, that the Wage Board be provisionally made responsible for the determination of wages in all labour categories in the Bantu Areas and that it be reinforced accordingly. Secondly, the Commission is of opinion that wage determination by the Wage Board for the Bantu Areas may properly include the principle of wage differentiation as between areas. Bearing in mind such aspects as the differences in cost of living between regions and population groups, the productivity of the Bantu and the additional costs connected with the training of Bantu, which are increased by high labour turnover, such differentiation seems to be justified. Thirdly, the Commission is convinced that, especially with an increase in the necessities of life of the Bantu, systems of wage incentives may prove a success in the Bantu Areas, but that such systems must be approved by the Wage Board before introduction in order to protect Bantu workers.

10. Generally speaking, the Commission is in favour of applying the *provisions of the Factory Act* to industries in the Bantu Areas, but is of opinion, in accordance with the Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Legislation, that Section 19 (1) (e) (which prohibits work by women between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.) should be amended to permit of women working till 10 p.m., provided satisfactory measures are taken for their protection.

11. In regard to *trade unions in the Bantu Areas*, the conclusion was arrived at that the Bantu in the Bantu Areas have not yet reached a stage where they can grasp the responsibilities and discipline which accompany trade-unionism or usefully apply these, and that legal recognition of trade unions in the Bantu Areas at this stage, might lead to all kinds of malpractices and tendencies towards agitation, with adverse effects on the development of these Areas and sound racial relations in the Union as a whole. The Commission recommends that the existing Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act No. 48 of 1953, should apply as far as possible to the Bantu Areas and that the formation of trade unions should not be permitted there at this stage. Taken along with the recommendation that the Wage Board should be responsible for wage determinations in the Bantu Areas, this recommendation means that Bantu workers will not be able to make use of collective bargaining, but that their interests will be protected by the Wage Board and that they will have channels through which to give expression to their grievances.

12. It is further recommended that the Labour Bureaux established in terms of the Native Labour Regulation Act, No. 15 of 1911 (as amended), should also undertake the proper canalisation of labour within the Bantu Areas.

13. In conclusion, the Commission is of opinion that all matters concerning labour (with the exception of the above-mentioned Labour Bureaux) in the Bantu Areas, should at the outset be dealt with by a special section within the Department of Labour, but that this section should maintain close contact with the Department of Native Affairs and the proposed Development Corporation.

B. BASIC SERVICES.

14. It is suggested that it be the responsibility of the Government to provide the necessary basic services, such as power and water and that the provision of these facilities must not await the establishment of industries, but that at least some of them should precede industrial development and that timely planning of these facilities should be undertaken.

C. CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS.

15. Factors such as the tempo of industrial development, the nature and size of the industries to be developed, and the provision of basic services, will be of decisive importance in determining the *amount of the capital* which will be required for the development of industries. The Commission is convinced that calculations aiming at the determination of the absolute magnitude of the required capital are futile, since they presuppose, *inter alia*, a sudden, rapid and almost revolutionary shift to industry. Moreover, such calculations are mostly based on conditions in more or less developed countries, conditions which do not necessarily pertain to under-developed areas. In addition, it is an impossible and also a dangerous task to try the planning of the entire industrial structure of the Bantu Areas; there are too many uncertainties involved, such as for instance, the tempo at which the Bantu will be able to adjust themselves to the demands of modern industry. The Commission prefers, therefore, to work on the basis of an initial capital which will be sufficient to stimulate industrial development in the Bantu Areas until such time as it can progress under its own power. Such a fund must be available for four purposes, namely loans to prospective industrialists, direct participation in the form of stocks and shares in firms, the establishment of concerns which can stimulate other activities or those which private initiative does not wish to undertake but which must be established for social and economic reasons, and the layout of "Trading Estates". Bearing in mind, among other things, the necessity for industrial development in the Bantu Areas, the Commission is of opinion that an amount of at least £25 million should be made available for this purpose over a period of five years, and that if, after this period has elapsed, larger amounts appear to be necessary, the size of these should be determined in the light of the circumstances then prevailing. This amount should be provided by the Government, irrespective of whether other sources of capital can be found or not. In a later chapter, the Commission turns its attention to the question of obtaining the required capital.

D. WANTED.—ENTREPRENEURS.

16. It is of the greatest importance for the eventual success of a programme of industrial development in the Bantu Areas, that everything should be done to assist the Bantu to undertake the establishment, management and development of industry in their own Areas—this arouses interest and the desire to progress. For a considerable time, however, the necessary talent for enterprise will not be found in the ranks of the

Bantu, and the Europeans and the Government will, therefore, also have to act as entrepreneurs. European entrepreneurs, however, must be subject, *inter alia*, to the following conditions:—

- (i) Bantu must be employed as far as possible; in those occupations in which Bantu cannot be engaged within a short time, provision must be made for training (in co-operation with the authorities where necessary) so that these posts can also be filled by Bantu as soon as possible;
- (ii) Bantu investors and the Development Corporation must have the first option of taking over the share interests of European entrepreneurs who wish to withdraw; and
- (iii) European entrepreneurs must aim at allowing the Bantu to participate progressively in the management of, as well as in investment in undertakings.

17. As has already become apparent, the Government will also have to act as an entrepreneur, through the medium of a Development Corporation, in order to supply driving power and leadership so that balanced development may be achieved.

E. FURTHER MEASURES FOR THE PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE BANTU AREAS.

18. Other measures also, independent of but supplementary to the aforementioned, can be taken to stimulate industrial development in the Bantu Areas. Firstly, the proposed Development Corporation can itself take certain steps. In order to encourage private enterprise to establish itself in the Bantu Areas, it will be an important part of this body's task to make information relating to opportunities, facilities, help which can be furnished etc., as widely available as possible. Having regard to the importance which the Commission attaches to the development of small concerns, especially in the initial stage and where Bantu entrepreneurs are concerned, it will be necessary for this body to create a special section for the promotion of small Bantu enterprises. This section, a Bureau for Small Enterprises, can also be charged with the function of systematically promoting co-operative action in industry. In this connection, co-operation has important advantages for members, for instance in regard to assistance in obtaining capital and credit, joint purchases of raw and auxiliary materials, pooling of ideas and experience, the improvement of productive technique and the solution of marketing problems. The movement presupposes organisation on a voluntary basis and it may consequently be expected that the interpretation of policy in terms of local needs will be simplified, the risk of regimentation will diminish and the possibilities of experimentation will be improved. The Commission is also convinced that so-called "Trading Estates" located at suitable places in the Bantu Areas can make a large contribution to economic development there, and thus recommends that the Development Corporation acting in conjunction with the authorities concerned, should pay favourable attention to developing such areas. It is clear without further explanations, that such trading estates, where factory buildings and housing facilities are ready for

occupation by enterprising industrialists and their workers, present important advantages. In conclusion, the Development Corporation should—

- (i) not fix its attention too rigidly on the most modern methods of production, since these methods often demand much capital and will not necessarily lower the cost per unit in a limited market;
- (ii) encourage and assist the Bantu to participate in undertakings in the Bantu Areas in order to arouse their interest and win their co-operation; and
- (iii) preserve close contact with all parties having a direct or indirect interest in the development of the Bantu Areas.

19. In the second place, the Union Government can also make contributions in other ways than those explained above. For various reasons, the Commission considers that direct subsidies should not be granted to individual enterprises situated in specific areas. Such a policy might, for instance, lead to all sorts of adverse repercussions in regard to those enterprises which are *not* subsidised. The Commission is also not inclined to recommend that the protective and rebate policy of the Government should be employed, *inter alia*, by the Board of Trade and Industries to promote the establishment of industries in the Bantu Areas. A policy of preferential treatment for enterprises in the Bantu Areas cannot be recommended, either. The licensing of new undertakings is frequently represented as a means of bringing about a better distribution of industries. The Commission is of opinion, however, that the application of such a policy might also give rise to all sorts of undesirable repercussions and is, therefore, unable to support it.

II. SOME THOUGHTS ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE BANTU AREAS.

20. With due regard to the objectives of development laid down in the preceding chapters, the position of the Bantu in the South African national economy, and the relative importance of the different production sectors in the Union, the Commission arrived at the following conclusions:—

- (i) in spite of the possibilities of rationalisation, industry in non-Bantu areas, will continue to have a complement of Bantu unskilled and semi-skilled workers for a long time still;
- (ii) for a large number of years, industrial development in the Bantu Areas, will create no additional problems for industry in the existing industrial complexes. When, however, a stage is reached where pertinent competition for labour arises between Bantu and non-Bantu areas, the process of adjustment will be so gradual that it ought not to present insurmountable problems;
- (iii) withdrawal of Bantu labour from the non-Bantu areas will in all probability lead to an increase in productivity, and thus to a better utilisation of the available labour power there. Occupational migration may also be anticipated;

- (ii) Through the proposed Development Corporation,
 - (a) where the Development Corporation provides Bantu entrepreneurs with help and guidance; and
 - (b) where the Development Corporation itself acts as entrepreneur.
- (iii) Through European entrepreneurs.

22. Throughout, the Commission has accepted as principle, particularly in Chapter 25, that in regard to development in their own Areas, the Bantu should receive every possible encouragement and absolute preference. The Commission is also aware of the fact, however, that owing to lack of a sufficient number of entrepreneurs among the Bantu, the tempo of development and the increase in the carrying capacity of these Areas which is aimed at, will not be realised through this channel alone, especially in the initial stages.

23. The proposed Development Corporation can contribute considerably to the stimulation and evolution of the main channel which the Commission prefers, namely development by the Bantu entrepreneur. For instance, in the European areas, this Corporation may find Bantu entrepreneurs who have already acquired knowledge and experience under existing conditions, to commence undertakings in the Bantu Areas with the financial assistance and guidance of the Corporation. Again, in the development of border areas where, as already indicated, there are better opportunities for the Bantu than in the European areas, similar action can be taken to launch and extend development through the medium of the Bantu themselves.

24. In the case of large undertakings, especially where the Corporation itself can act as entrepreneur, it will be obliged, at least in the beginning, to make use of European managerial guidance and technicians locally. Since in this case only a small number of Europeans is involved, and since these may be regarded and treated on the same basis as officials of the Department of Native Affairs, for instance, their presence in the Bantu Areas should present no problems, because they are there for a specific purpose and are directly or indirectly controlled by the Union Government.

25. With a view particularly to stimulating the tempo of growth, the Commission also considered the question of the introduction of European entrepreneurship in the process of development. This undoubtedly presents a large number of thorny problems. On the one hand, their presence might lead to the establishment of permanent "white spots" and that would conflict with the basic premises of the Commission as well as with the laws of the country, according to which the Bantu Areas are reserved for the exclusive use of Bantu.

26. Channels (i) and (ii) above, must be given preference in every instance and must be utilised to the greatest possible extent. The Commission feels, however, that in this way alone the desired tempo of development will probably not be attained. To achieve this aim, the third channel will have to be used. This, however, should only be resorted to in cases where the Development Council finds, after thorough investigation, that it is not possible to reach the objective through the first and second channels, and should

be subject to conditions which will ensure the realisation of the objectives of the Report. The Commission is aware of the problems that will arise in connection with the utilisation of this channel, but is of opinion that much can be done to counteract the undesired consequences. Firstly, the type of industries allowed can be carefully selected so that the number of Europeans is reduced to an absolute minimum. During the first few years of development, the number of Europeans in the Bantu Areas will be absolutely and relatively at its maximum, but, thereafter, their numbers will diminish at the same rate as the Bantu are introduced into the skilled jobs as well as into administrative and technical positions.

27. Where channel (iii) has to be employed, the Europeans concerned must be housed as soon as possible in existing "white spots" such as the towns in the Transkei. In cases where new industrial centres cannot be located near such existing "white spots", as for instance, at Sibasa, it will be necessary to establish temporary places of residence ("white locations"). It stands to reason that no rights of ownership will be granted to Europeans in these places. The Commission is opposed to the establishment of industries in the "white spots", and to any other European development there, in such a way that the "white spots" as such, will be maintained permanently.

II. MINORITY VIEW OF COMMISSIONERS YOUNG AND PRINSLOO.

28. On 29th June, 1955, during a meeting of the Commission at which the summary of the Report was discussed, two members, Messrs. Young and Prinsloo, requested, after further consideration of the contents of the Report by them, that the statement quoted hereunder be noted as their personal opinions. Although this was an exceptional request at that stage, the Chairman, nevertheless, agreed to make this concession to the members concerned.

29. "Members Young and Prinsloo wish to place on record the following views in regard to the relevant paragraphs of the Commission's Report relating to the establishment of industries in the Bantu Areas by Europeans entrepreneurs:—

While they appreciate the reasons which have actuated the Commission in coming to the conclusions which it has, and while they appreciate further that the Commission envisages that European entrepreneurs with their initiative and capital, should be allowed to establish industries in the Bantu Areas on a temporary and controlled basis with the aim of attaining, as soon as possible, the full development of the Bantu Areas for the Bantu, and the realisation of the ideal of separate development, they are, after further consideration, of opinion that despite the safeguards which are envisaged, the granting of concessions to Europeans to establish industries and to acquire other rights ancillary thereto would open the door to a state of affairs which would be tantamount to the creation of additional "white spots" in the Bantu Areas, and that during the course of time any such concessions would result in the concessionaries claiming rights and privileges, vested and otherwise, which in their opinion, would be contrary to the concepts of the separate development of the Bantu Areas and the principles of their reservation for the Bantu.

They are accordingly opposed to the establishment of industries or the acquisition of any rights ancillary thereto in the Bantu Areas by persons *other than*—

- (i) Bantu;
- (ii) bodies controlled by the State."

III. POSSIBLE REGIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN THE BANTU AREAS.

30. To facilitate the analysis of the possibilities of various parts of the Bantu Areas, for the location of industries, the Commission divided these areas into 20 regions as shown on Map 60. In the following paragraphs the principal factors applicable to each of the 20 regions as potential industrial regions will be discussed. Many of these factors have already been discussed in another context in previous chapters, and repetition will be avoided as far as possible. Earlier discussions of water resources, electricity facilities, coal deposits, and transport must be borne in mind, and some of the relevant maps such as Nos. 23, 24 and 28 will be used in this discussion.

31. The actual localities within these regions, are discussed in the next chapter in which the Commission indicates a number of places suitable for Bantu towns in some of which industries will play an important part.

A. THE TRANSKEI BLOCK.

32. The Transkei is not only the largest continuous block of Bantu land in the Union, but also offers the greatest possibilities for industrial development. Water is plentiful everywhere, especially in the five large rivers; practically the entire south-western half is a licensed supply area of Escom; the generation of hydro-electric power is possible in the Bashee, Tina and Tsitsa Rivers, and even low grade coal is present there. Road transport and even railway transport is in existence, and the Transkei presents a number of possibilities of procuring raw and auxiliary materials from its own soil. Apart from the possibilities of forestry development, there are also great development potentialities as far as tropical fruit and vegetables, cereals, dairy products, fibre crops, wool and even minerals are concerned. Furthermore, according to the Commission's estimates, 113,000 families will have to seek a livelihood in occupations other than the agricultural, and consequently sufficient labour will be available.

33. It thus appears as if this block can provide a few regions for industrial development, of which the best is the Umtata River area. At Umtata, the Umtata River has a minimum flow of 5 cusecs, and the water supply can be greatly increased by building a storage dam.

34. At Umtata, there is already a European population in existence which ought to disappear in the course of time, but in the meanwhile it can be used as a convenient starting point for the creation, with the aid of Europeans, of an important industrial area right in the middle of a Bantu Area. The Commission in fact regards this region as one of the most attractive future industrial regions in the whole of the Bantu Areas.

B. THE OLIFANTS, STEELPOORT AND BLYDE RIVER AREA.

35. This block is very extensive and contains a great variety of elements as appeared from the geographical

description. Various rivers such as the Blyde, Sabie, Crocodile, Olifants and Letaba Rivers offer plenty of water. A variety of auxiliary resources is found in the area, and a railway line, the Messina-Komatipoort line, runs through the block. Minerals are present in places and in general it appears as if parts of the south-eastern flank of this block, i.e. the Bosbokrand—Sabie region, present possibilities of industrial development. On the south-western flank or Nebo plateau, there also appear to be possibilities for the location of industries.

36. More than 34,000 families or over 200,000 persons will have to be housed in urban concentrations.

C. LETABA-SHINGWEDZI.

37. In this block, there is only one region where conditions are reasonably favourable for the establishment of industries, namely the Sibasa region. It is densely populated, and 24,800 families will have to find a livelihood outside the sphere of agriculture. Moreover, many auxiliary resources especially forestry products, tropical products and fibre crops are found south of the Soutpansberg, but better basic services such as transport and power will have to be provided.

D. OTHER BLOCKS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN SECTION.

38. The Commission has analysed conditions in each of these blocks, and discussed them in the Report, but did not discover any great possibilities of industrial development in those parts. The population factor calls for the establishment of a number of villages and towns, and light industries may be encouraged in those towns as far as possible.

E. THE TUGELA RIVER BLOCK.

39. The inner portions of the Tugela Valley have an abundance of water, but the topography and the inaccessibility of the area, render it unfavourable for industrial development. On the borders of the block, however, conditions are better and in some of the villages which it is proposed to establish there, it may be possible to bring about a measure of industrialisation in the course of years.

F. MAPUTALAND.

40. In the Maputaland block, there is nothing to justify industrial centres at the moment, and there is in particular, a lack of transport and power. Even the required population is not present. Nevertheless, this area includes about 300,000 acres which could be afforested, and in the wake of the logical development thereof, many factories might arise. The freshwater lakes can provide water, but the other services will have to be specially laid on.

G. UMZIMKULU-HARDING.

41. The Umzimkulu-Harding block is favourably situated as regards water, power and transport and it can also furnish many products to serve as raw materials. In addition, it has a dense population and the possibility of industrial development at a suitable locality alongside the railway, is not excluded.

42. The other blocks in the south-eastern area of the Union, and especially the Ciskei and Nongoma blocks, present reasonable possibilities, particularly for light industries. The density of population is high throughout, and many of the basic factors are present. In particular it should be possible to develop light industries in various places.

H. SUMMARY.

43. In four of the 20 Bantu Areas, circumstances appear sufficiently favourable for an immediate initiation of industrial development. They are the following: Firstly, the Transkei block where an industrial area can be developed on the Umtata River; secondly, the Letaba-Shingwedzi block where it can be developed in the vicinity of Sibasa; thirdly, in the Umzimkulu-Harding block, an industrial area can be developed at some suitable place near the railway; fourthly, the south-eastern sector of the Olifants, Steelpoort and Blyde River block presents the possibility of an industrial site at a suitable locality alongside the railway.

44. In the majority of other cases, the most favourable conditions are found on the borders of these areas, and a choice will continually have to be made as to whether industrial development should take place just inside or just outside the Bantu Areas. The basic factors favour industries just inside or just outside in equal measure, and the choice of the actual locality will be largely determined by the sort of development which is preferred.

IV. POSSIBLE REGIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN BORDER AREAS.

45. The Commission investigated various border areas where circumstances are favourable to development, and these are very briefly indicated below.

46. Owing to the scattered nature of the Bantu Areas in Natal, and also because development by Europeans has proceeded along definite lines there, as is indicated in Map 62, there is quite a number of possibilities of border area development in that province.

47. The most favourable economic circumstances for the development of a border area, are found round Durban where two large and densely populated Bantu Areas practically border on the city, and the industrial area on the south-west side of Durban lies within walking distance of the Umlazi location.

48. Unfortunately, however, the area with the greatest economic advantages for border development, is also the most prolific of the social and other disadvantages connected with that sort of development. Moreover, Durban is already one of the three largest industrial centres in the Union, and any further expansion of industries there, would not mean decentralisation but the exact opposite.

49. After Durban, Pietermaritzburg affords conditions most suited to development as a border area, since there also a Bantu Area borders on the city, while other conditions favouring such development already exist.

50. At Newcastle, where a certain degree of industrial development by Europeans has taken place, circumstances are relatively favourable to border area development. An unfavourable factor here, however, is the small size of the Bantu Area.

51. In the areas at the mouths of the Tugela and the Umkomaas, two large industries are being developed by Europeans, and there also, border regional development could be initiated.

52. Finally, the conditions obtaining especially at Empangeni, but also at Umfolozi and Port Shepstone, are very favourable to this sort of development, and it seems that it could be brought about with relative ease.

53. In the Transvaal, Pretoria is the largest town situated relatively near a Bantu Area, and if industrial expansion takes place in Pretoria North, favourable conditions for border development could be created. It can also be easily fitted into the location planning schemes of that city.

54. Rustenburg, bordering on the Pilanesberg block, and Potgietersrust, adjacent to another large Bantu Area, also present reasonably favourable circumstances.

55. Pietersburg, the largest town in the Northern Transvaal, has Bantu Areas on two sides of it, but unfortunately at rather great distances. At Tzaneen the Bantu Areas are nearer and consequently the conditions are also more favourable.

56. In the Lowveld of the Eastern Transvaal, a measure of industrial development could take place at Nelspruit, Sabie and Barberton, but there also, the distances from the Bantu are relatively great.

57. In the Cape Province, the best possibilities exist at East London, King William's Town and to a lesser extent at Mafeking. At East London, where development by Europeans has already assumed considerable proportions, the distances to the nearest Bantu Areas are also too great for ideal development as a border area. At King William's Town, the conditions are ideal, and the latest development there is already based on this principle.

58. In the case of the Transkei block, the Commission prefers not to suggest that European industries should be encouraged to move towards the borders of this Territory. This is pre-eminently a region for internal development.

59. In the Orange Free State, the only Bantu Areas are at Thaba Nchu and Witzieshoek. At neither of these two places can any important industrial expansion be foreseen. If, however, Basutoland is also taken into account, it is quite conceivable that industrial development on a border pattern could, in the future, take place along the Caledon.

60. Summing up, therefore, it may be stated that circumstances favouring the development of border areas exist at many places in the Union; and in the next chapter where localities suitable for the establishment of Bantu townships are indicated, it will repeatedly appear that a given Bantu town can also find its economic basis in European development in its vicinity.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

I. GENERAL.

A. THE PRESENT POSITION.

1. The present position is characterised by two features, viz. firstly, there is no urban population in the Bantu Areas, and secondly, the Bantu population of South Africa has actually experienced a measure of urbanisation.
2. The lack of urban development in the Bantu Areas has already been emphasised in previous chapters and it is not necessary to repeat what has been said there.
3. Such urbanisation as has actually occurred among the Bantu of South Africa, consists, in the first place, in the fact that a Bantu urban residential area or location has arisen near each European village or town. In these "locations" the Bantu have no proprietary rights (save for a few exceptions), they have very few administrative powers, and the locations themselves can by no means be regarded as Bantu villages or towns in the full sense of the term. Even the cause of their growth does not inhere in themselves, since they are dependent on the European towns.
4. In the second place, the Bantu, especially those living in the Bantu Areas, have undergone a measure of indirect urbanisation, through working in the European cities frequently over a long period of time. This has given the Bantu a certain knowledge of, and familiarity with urban conditions.
5. Although there are no Bantu towns, there are very good reasons why they should now be established without delay. The formation of towns is an inherent part of development and this is also true in the case of the Bantu Areas. Moreover, urban development is necessary for the proper organisation of agriculture. For instance, it has already become evident that about 300,000 families or more than 1½ million persons (see Map 61), will have to abandon Bantu agriculture, in order to give those who remain, the opportunity of making a living out of the land without resorting to periodic spells of work elsewhere. These people can only make their way to urban areas.
6. The Commission is also convinced that Bantu labour will be utilised far better if the labourers can be housed in proper urban areas near their place of work, and to a great extent this will do away with the necessity of importing Extra-Union Natives even for our rural industries.

B. NATURE OF THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT.

7. The Commission premises that the Bantu towns to be established should be towns in the full sense of the word. That is to say, the Bantu inhabitants must have full proprietary rights; the businesses, the

professions, the education, administration etc. must be completely in the hands of the Bantu, or gradually handed over to them. All offices, from street sweeper to mayor, must be open to them, and their interests must be protected against penetration by other population groups. In the Bantu towns, they should have precisely the same rights and privileges that the European has in his own towns.

8. The European may not own land in Bantu towns and should only be allowed there if his presence is necessary in the interests of the Bantu.

9. Furthermore, the villages and towns must be adapted to the special circumstances of the Bantu and must comply with practical requirements. The process of urbanisation must take place on evolutionary lines, but the tempo will have to be accelerated, especially at the outset, to make up leeway.

10. The Commission suggests that there should be three types of urban centres, namely, rural settlements, villages and towns or cities.

11. The rural settlements will properly form part of the agricultural planning, and are intended as a transitional stage between urban and rural life. Peasants or small farmers entirely dependent on agriculture will live in them, but there will also be a number of people who are not farmers but migrant labourers. They may be considered as numerous little sponges designed, in the first instance, to absorb those rural dwellers who are not destined to be farmers in the process of urbanisation. Tradition, tribal customs, family bonds, attachment to birth-places, graves of ancestors etc., make it necessary that a part of the population should first settle in the rural settlements before they become completely urbanised.

12. Several thousand of these rural settlements will probably come into existence in the Bantu Areas, and some of them may later develop into towns. Actual urbanisation, however, should take place through the establishment of a large number of Bantu villages at places where circumstances are favourable to growth; and some of these will develop into towns or even cities in due course.

C. THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF VILLAGES, TOWNS AND CITIES.

13. A village or a town is a dynamic institution. It originates, grows and can also perish, and like all living things it must have a foundation of forces of growth. The mere assemblage of a large number of people, and even the provision of residential facilities and certain basic services, do not necessarily mean that a village or town has been founded—it is merely a camp. An urban centre can only evolve when an economic foundation promoting growth has also been provided i.e. when permanent opportunities of

employment have been furnished, etc. Moreover, there are also primary and secondary bases, as described more fully in Chapter 37 of the Report. It is true, of course, that any urban concentration creates its own bases in the course of time, but it must in the end produce or offer something which satisfies needs.

14. The Commission, therefore, attaches particular importance to the fact that in establishing any Bantu village, careful attention should be paid to its economic foundation. If such a basis is not present or if it is a false foundation, the town will never grow or very little if it does, and then decline and disappear.

15. Various factors may serve as bases. Thus, for example, European development in the vicinity of the Bantu Areas might form the foundation for the establishment of a Bantu village. That, after all, is the basis on which all the "locations" near European towns are founded—take away the latter and the locations cease to exist. Migratory labour employed in remote places, can also serve as basis for a particular Bantu village, and many of the townships which the Commission recommends are of this nature.

16. Forestry, agriculture, mining, industries, administration, education and culture, and even recreation can serve as the originating factors of Bantu towns. There may thus be a variety of economic foundations, and in the last resort, their nature is not so very important so long as care is taken to see that actually there is a basis. For this reason, in every case where it indicates localities for future urban development, the Commission will draw attention to the economic foundation on which such development will have to be based.

D. PLANNING OF TOWNSHIPS AND CITIES.

17. It is necessary that every town should be properly planned from the start. If this is not done in the beginning, the undertaking runs the risk of being reduced to such a chaotic state that the unhealthy conditions which will arise as a result, can never be fully rectified. Unavoidable replanning and faulty adaptation, the result of overhasty unplanned projects, are extremely costly. If the business of planning these townships is tackled in a cheap amateurish way, the proverbial expression of "penny wise and pound foolish" will soon prove true.

18. On the other hand, the Commission realises that planning, particularly at this stage of Bantu development, must be simple, inexpensive and effective. It has, therefore, no objection to a village or even a large town consisting of huts, provided the basic plan is sound and suitable minimum standards are strictly applied.

19. The necessity of sound basic planning is best appreciated when the requirements are analysed step by step (which is done in the Report). Fundamentally, however, it may be reduced to the judicious selection of a suitable site and the draughting of a basic town plan by an expert. This is not a task that can simply be left to any official or even to the Engineering Branch of the Department of Native Affairs. It is a task which demands special attention, particularly because at the outset so much assistance will have to be given to the Bantu.

E. ADMINISTRATION.

20. In order to form some conception of the administrative requirements arising out of urban development, the Commission gave a brief exposition of the administrative wing in the Transvaal Provincial Administration. From this it appears that a large staff is dealing with urban affairs in the European parts of the Transvaal, and the conclusion to be drawn from these facts, is that a special section will have to be established in the Department of Native Affairs to which the establishment of villages will have to be entrusted. The Commission, therefore, recommends that a division be established which will be able not only to give the required guidance, but also to take the initiative in founding townships.

II. PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BANTU TOWNSHIPS (VILLAGES, TOWNSHIPS AND CITIES).

21. In the following paragraphs, a number of places where Bantu villages and towns could be established are approximately indicated for each area under the jurisdiction of a Chief Native Commissioner. These places are all shown on Map 62.

A. NATAL.

22. The most favourable factors for the establishment of Bantu townships in Natal, are found in Bantu Areas situated close to European development. Such development in Natal is mainly found along a couple of lines (see Map 62) which cross the province virtually in the form of a capital letter T. One arm stretches from Durban inland via the railway, road and power lines to Newcastle, and the second arm stretches all along the coast. These main lines of development are entirely situated in European areas, but run near Bantu Areas at various points. A possible new line of development which will connect North Zululana with the Eastern Transvaal, will probably also stand in the same relation to the Bantu Areas.

23. The following Bantu townships can all have their origin of growth in adjacent European sectors of development.

24. *Umlazi, Dalmeny and Salem.*—These three townships can all be established in densely populated Bantu Areas near Durban. The Commission is convinced that they will grow rapidly, and industries may even develop there, especially in Umlazi.

25. *Swartkop*, can be based on development at Pietermaritzburg; *Umkomanzi* ought to be linked on to the large new rayon factory on the Umkomaas River, and *Mandeni* to the new paper pulp factory on the Tugela. Favourable conditions also exist at Empangeni and near the Umfolozi sugar mills in Zululana for the establishment of at least two Bantu townships, namely *Olalaneni* and *Umfolozi*.

26. Around Ladysmith and Newcastle, circumstances favour the rise of Bantu townships, and the Commission, therefore, recommends the establishment of *Jakkalspan* and *Hobbsland*. The Dundee-Glencoe complex as well as Estcourt are situated relatively far from Bantu Areas, but even in these cases *Bloubaan* and *Loskop* are recommended.

27. Forestry activities in Natal, and especially the forestry development which the Commission proposes for that province, present the possibility of founding various Bantu townships on that basis. The townships of *Kosi Bay*, *Sibayi*, *Sordwana* and *Umpanganzi* are, therefore, suggested for Maputaland. Further south, the *Umfoloji delta*, *Umsingazi* and *Qupu* are also in the forest belt, and right in the south of Natal there is *Weza* situated in the Harding forests.

28. The villages to be based on agriculture, may virtually be compared with the ordinary district towns found everywhere in the non-Bantu areas of the Union. They are largely the result of the agricultural development of their environment. As the Bantu Areas develop agriculturally, this sort of township will also arise to an increasing extent. Although there is very little organised and planned agriculture in the Bantu Areas of Natal at the moment, it is, nevertheless, necessary to make a start with these townships, and the Commission, therefore, recommends a number of places for favourable consideration.

29. The development of the proposed sugar project in particular, makes the establishment of a number of towns necessary. In this group are included *Ifafa*, *Grootville*, *Nyezani* and *Makoz*. *Onverwacht* near the new sugar mills at Pongola, *Tugela Ferry*, *Isidumbeni*, *Makoz* and *Inanda* are all towns which in due course, can be supported by the general agricultural development of their surrounding areas.

30. As we have already seen in previous chapters, minerals are scarce in the Bantu Areas of Natal, and cannot give rise to the establishment of many townships. Notwithstanding this, it is possible that the exploitation of coal may lead to the rise of Bantu townships at *Somkele* and *Bloubank*, and exploitation of lime for the purpose of manufacturing cement, to the growth of *Marewood* near Port Shepstone.

31. Administration, education and cultural activities also provide the foundation for possible Bantu townships such as *Mahashini*, *Mahlabatini*, *Nqutu*, *Hlabisa*, etc. Some of these places are already established administrative centres which in course of time may be abolished as "white spots". The Commission suggests *Mahashini*, a place rich in Zulu culture, as a potentially important cultural and educational centre for the Zulus.

32. Even recreation may play a part in the origin and growth of Bantu towns in Natal in future, and various places might be developed in this way.

33. In summing up, it may be stated that the Commission recommends the establishment of Bantu townships at 34 places in Natal. Most of these townships will find their original cause of growth in adjacent European development, and for that reason they are located alongside the main lines of such development. There are, however, a variety of other factors which may also form the basis of true Bantu urban evolution in the course of time, and, in general, factors favour the establishment of Bantu townships in Natal. In some cases, the Commission even expects such rapid development that Bantu cities will arise relatively soon.

34. Conditions in the Transkei are totally different from those in Natal as a result of the fundamental fact that the Bantu Areas in Natal, consist of a large number of isolated units as compared with a solid block in the Transkei.

35. The principal basis on which the establishment of townships in Natal is founded, namely development in adjacent European areas, is almost completely lacking in the Transkei, or reveals itself in a totally different shape.

36. There is no Bantu urban population in the Transkei, although there is a considerable measure of concealed urbanisation owing to the fact that on an average, every healthy Bantu male spends 14 years of his working life in the urban areas of South Africa, and because, on the average, the families in the Territories depend for about $\frac{1}{4}$ of their subsistence on income directly earned in the cities.

37. In the second place, there are actually 26 "villages" in the Transkei, and they must be regarded as representing the "urban development" of the Territory up till now. These villages, however, are European townships. They were founded by Europeans, are exclusively administered by Europeans and virtually all the activities of the villages are in European hands.

38. Furthermore, every village is surrounded by a village commonage. Some of these are relatively large, as for example at Matatiele with almost 11,000 morgen, Umtata with 7,000 morgen, Bizana with 6,700 morgen etc. Strictly speaking, these villages with their townlands are not Bantu Areas, since legally they are not included in the Territories. In reality, they are "white islets" in a black sea.

39. These villages, in which 10,000 Europeans, 16,000 Bantu and 4,000 Coloured people live, fulfil a number of important functions usually associated with a town. Administration, commerce and the post office with its savings bank (the bank of the Bantu) are the three principal functions concentrated in the villages, and when a Bantu inhabitant of the Transkei goes to town, it is nearly always because he has business with one or other of the three institutions, viz. the office of the Native Commissioner or Magistrate, the shop or the post office.

40. There are, however, three other functions usually associated with a district town, which have not yet found their way there, in the case of the Transkei. These are education, religion and social functions. Schools, churches, organised entertainment and most other social functions of the Bantu, have remained in the rural areas.

41. Thus, the position is simply that in the Transkei as such, urbanisation has taken place to a certain extent, and the existing European villages already fulfil a number of functions usually expected of an urban centre, while other functions usually performed in urban areas, have remained in the rural areas.

42. Thus the 16,000 Bantu "town dwellers" of the Transkei—almost one-third of whom are found in Umtata—do not yet form a true urban core of the population, and also offer no firm basis for the further

extension of sound urban development in the Transkei. These villages are run on European lines, and the Bantu there, stand in virtually the same relationship to the European town dweller as is the case in the European towns of the Union.

43. When the problem of establishing townships in the Transkei is considered, the question which arises immediately is whether the Bantu townships must be developed out of the existing villages, or whether new towns should be founded.

44. The Commission is of opinion that the existing European villages in the Transkei should gradually be converted into Bantu towns in the full sense of the word. Firstly, a number of the normal urban functions are already bound up with them, and it ought to be a matter of policy deliberately to concentrate other urban functions such as administrative activities, commerce, education, church activities and professional services as well as industrial development, in them.

45. In the second place, the entire road system of the Transkei is constructed around the existing towns, and it would not be practicable to establish other towns in competition with them. This, however, by no means implies that new towns may not be established as well; on the contrary, the Commission recommends a number of new townships.

46. As regards the method according to which the existent European villages or "white spots" should be converted into Bantu townships, it seems that the best would be to let it take place in the way provided for under the Group Areas Act. The Commission, therefore, recommends that a Bantu Group Area should, in the first place, be provided for within the European village with its commonage. This would represent the first Bantu implantation in the "white spots". Simultaneously, the European portion can also be converted into a European Group Area, which may eventually be abolished when it is no longer necessary to retain the Europeans there, that is to say, when the Bantu are able to administer and run the entire town.

47. Since adjacent European development cannot be considered as a basis for Bantu townships in the Transkei, the general development of the region must serve as the principal foundation on which to build sound urban development. To begin with, distant European development may well serve as the first basis for starting Bantu townships through the medium of the migratory labour system, but this is not sufficient in itself.

1. Proposed Townships.

48. In the first place, the Commission recommends that all the existing 26 European villages should be gradually converted into Bantu towns. Umtata is by far the most important of these.

49. At present Umtata is the largest town in the Transkei, with more than 3,000 Europeans, over 5,000 Bantu and about 800 Coloured inhabitants. It is situated on the Umtata River which has a perennial flow of water, and it also forms the terminal point of a railway connected with the network of the Eastern

Province and the rest of the Union. Moreover, Umtata is situated in the middle of the Transkei on the national road between Durban and Cape Town. This town is thus very well located, and is not surpassed in this respect, by any other in the Territories.

Umtata is already the Administrative capital of the Transkei, being the seat of the Bunga and containing the office of the Chief Magistrate of the Territory. The Commission regards Umtata as the future capital of the largest Bantu block in South Africa.

50. Over and above the existing towns, the Commission also recommends a number of new Bantu townships, the most important of which are the following: *Malenge* and *Glen Garry* in the Umzimkulu District, *St. Marks*, *Tsitsa*, *Umtatamouth* and *Qolora*.

If the proposed forestry project is realised, one or more new townships can also be established in North Pondoland.

C. CISKEI.

51. In the Ciskei, conditions greatly resemble those in Natal, and once again it is the adjacent localities and lines of development in the European sector, which offer the best basis for the establishment of Bantu towns.

52. East London is the principal region of European development in the Ciskei, but there are no Bantu Areas in the immediate vicinity (see Map 62). Nevertheless, the Commission recommends that altogether about six Bantu townships be established and four of them, namely *Umgotsha*, *Zwelitsha*, *Mnxesha* and *Middledrift* are situated along the railway line. *Chalumna* and *Keiskammamouth* are situated on the coast, and might also develop partly as Bantu holiday resorts.

D. NORTHERN AREAS.

53. In the Northern Areas, circumstances differ from those of all the Bantu Areas discussed above. Here the Bantu Areas consist chiefly of five large blocks while there are far fewer small patches here than elsewhere, and these are of lesser importance. We thus have a pattern here which fits in somewhere between that of Natal with its numerous small areas, and the single large block which is the Transkei.

54. European development in the Transvaal is very strongly concentrated in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex. At the same time, this is also the economic centre of gravity of the entire Union, as appears clearly from the industrial and commercial maps (see Maps 26 and 27). Almost 3,000 different industries with a Bantu labour force of 285,000 workers are established in this complex.

55. Unlike Durban, this European complex lies relatively far from any Bantu Areas. The nearest Bantu Area is the Hammanskraal block, which at its nearest point lies about 15 miles from the centre of the city of Pretoria and about 10 miles from Pretoria North. Johannesburg is another 30 miles further, and away. Vereeniging and Vanderbylpark more than 100 miles

56. Urbanisation in Bantu Areas can thus hardly be based on this complex except partially in the case of Pretoria. The Bantu population of this largest development complex will, therefore, have to be concentrated chiefly in urban residential areas for Bantu, and it is well known that these latter are being planned on a regional basis at present.

57. In the first instance, therefore, urban development in the blocks of the Northern Areas will apparently be dependent on the inherent growth potential of these areas themselves. The Commission suggests 14 townships for the Northern Areas. Their location are shown on Map 62, and their relative advantages and disadvantages are further discussed in the Report.

E. WESTERN AREAS.

58. The Western Areas are the driest and poorest (except in the case of certain minerals) of all the Bantu Areas, and naturally, therefore, there will also be fewer possibilities of laying out Bantu townships. There is little chance of intensive development, and in most cases it is difficult to find a sound basis for the establishment of townships.

59. The principal European development at Krugersdorp and the West Rand, Klerksdorp and Kimberley lies far away from any Bantu Areas, so that no Bantu townships can be directly based on them. Smaller towns like Rustenburg and Mafeking, for instance, are situated alongside large Bantu Areas, it is true, but no large Bantu towns can be founded on the basis of their proximity, except possibly at Rustenburg.

Lines and localities of development in the European areas can, therefore, only serve as a basis for Bantu townships to a very slight extent.

60. Another peculiar characteristic of the Western Areas, is the way in which the Bantu population has become distributed according to a type of urban pattern. Whereas the population in the other Bantu Areas is more or less evenly spread, we find a strong tendency towards the formation of "statte" (Native villages) in the Western Areas. Places like Phokeng and Saulspoor in the Pilanesberg block; Linokana near Zeerust; Disaneng, Pitsani, Tshidilamolomo and Motsitlane in the Mafeking block, Taung and many other smaller villages virtually represent a sort of urban development even at present—in Chapter 12 they were called forerunners of true urban development.

61. In these "statte" or Native villages the huts stand close to each other and superficially they look like Bantu townships. Yet any form of urban administration or town planning is lacking. The houses are located without order or regularity, and there are no proper streets as in a town. All the inhabitants have the right to keep cattle which graze on the common fields, and temporary cattle stations far from the villages, are frequently maintained to cater for these animals. Wherever possible, lands are cultivated even far away from the villages, and for this purpose also temporary outposts are established. The inhabitants of this type of village are only partially dependent on cattle and a little cultivation. Their

main source of income is migratory labour which takes them far away to the European urban centres or to the European grain-growing areas during harvest time. Right on the outskirts of the town of Mafeking, for instance, there is a village of this type, called Malopo in this Report, where about 5,000 Bantu live together. The houses are even more closely packed than in the ordinary Bantu urban residential area; the "streets" are irregularly interwoven; there are no building regulations, water supply system or even elementary health measures in existence. Today, Malopo is little more than a urban Bantu residential area without town planning and organisation.

62. The question thus immediately arises whether in establishing towns in the Western Areas, these Native villages should be gradually converted into Bantu townships or whether completely new townships should be laid out.

63. The "stat" is purely a creation of the Bantu and especially of the Tswana. It is often found on a larger scale in Bechuanaland and elsewhere in Africa. Mochudi, for instance, is a good example of such a "stat" in Bechuanaland. Nevertheless, the Commission apprehends that these Native villages will not readily develop into Bantu townships or cities. They are products of the old Bantu way of life and cannot maintain their place in modern society unless they are gradually converted into planned urban areas. A place like Malopo cannot be allowed to continue its development in the present manner, and the only way of escape appears to be its gradual conversion into a proper Bantu township.

64. It, therefore, appears to the Commission that every Native village of this type should be dealt with on its own merits. In the first place, the further expansion of these villages should be carefully watched, so that conditions which cannot possibly be allowed do not develop there. In some cases where there are indications that a particular village will probably develop into an important Bantu township or even into a Bantu city, it would be sensible even at this stage to control the planning of the place in such a way that it can develop gradually into a orderly urban community in the full sense. This can be done by drawing up a ground plan for such a "stat", and seeing that future extensions of it take place in accordance with that plan. At the same time, one or other form of urban administration will have to be introduced.

65. In all, the establishment of townships in 13 localities in the Western Areas is recommended, as shown on Map 62. Six of these places are situated in the Pilanesberg block and, as appears from the Report, they have their foundations in various factors.

F. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

66. The main recommendations of the Commission as regards the establishment of villages and towns in the Bantu Areas may be summed up as follows:—

- (i) The Commission recommends that a purposeful, comprehensive and well-organised programme for the establishment of villages and towns in the Bantu Areas, should be speedily and energetically tackled as one of the first schemes in the great development programme for these Areas.

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