

UNITED PARTY URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE.

Division of Information and
Research,
P.O. Box 3835,
JOHANNESBURG.
March 1972.

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UNITED PARTY URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE.

REQUEST TO DIVISION OF INFORMATION:

"To send all possible information on latest Party policy on urban Bantu with all possible details."

(Telex - 7.3.1972.)

REPLY:

We have available in readily accessible form

(a) the "Handbook of Race Relations" as revised in December 1971.

(In "Onward" for that month).

Urban Bantu are dealt with briefly on Page 7, and as Bantu moving in a multi-racial milieu, i.e. outside the reserves, also on other pages, particularly Page 6, under "Immediate Reform and Action". Here the Party's attitude to discriminatory legislation is discussed, and para (3) in this section introduces the new idea that though separate amenities will be maintained, there will also be "areas of choice", i.e. freedom to mix racially, where this is desired.

Sir De Villiers in a Sunday Times statement - 5.9.1971

• said:

"We believe in those race policies that will protect the dignity of the individual and make provision for desired separation and personal choice in the matter of social relations."

(b) a copy of the original "Handbook".

(c) a copy of the 1954 "Native Policy of the United Party" of which we have only one copy in Afrikaans available. It is an excellent booklet and useful for its attention to detail. It is essential that this Booklet should be considered by the Committee.

(d) / . . .

(d) a copy of "The Answer".

(e) a copy of "United Party on Current Topics".

(f) we refer you to Sir De Villiers Graaff's No-Confidence Speeches (opening and reply) in which he dealt with problems of urban Bantu and United Party policy in that regard.

It is suggested that the Party's attitude to certain specific matters, i.a., such as the Bantu Services and Transport Levies should be obtained from the Bantu Affairs Group which has dealt with them recently.

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SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

When it comes to considering "urban Bantu policy", one is faced with the problem of deciding what sort of "race relationship" can in fact be left out. There are so many laws that affect Bantu/White relationships whether Bantu live in urban areas or not, although tensions created by such relationships tend to be exacerbated by the conditions of urban life, for White as well as Black. It should be noted also, however, that the relationship of Bantu and White, and the situations facing Whites and Blacks, in so-called "White" rural areas have tended to be ignored. (This is a point against us which a Nat also raised in the No-Confidence debate.) Here the contact between White farmer and Black worker is often intimate; and the numerical preponderance of Blacks considerable. There are in addition numerous labour, educational, housing, amenity and administrative problems that confront and will confront in increasing measure, the rural Black who is slowly but surely evolving towards a more sophisticated way of life. How, for instance will the rural Black, now numbering some 4 million people, fit into the United Party's Federation policy? Into the United Party's scheme for "group responsibility for matters of intimate concern to themselves, e.g. education, health etc!?"

This matter / . . .

This matter has only been raised since it is considered important that the United Party develops a wider frame of reference in regard to Bantu resident outside the homelands than only those living in clearly demarcated Bantu townships outside our big towns and cities.

Taking a wider frame of reference therefore, we draw your attention to points of Party policy in regard to some laws that affect all Bantu living outside the Homelands. This document is being prepared in haste between other assignments required urgently and therefore we lay no claim to having exhausted the subject.

FREEDOM AND DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL:

- (i) An emphasis on the importance of the individual and individual freedom - one could loosely say "the United Party puts the individual above the state" as a contrast to the philosophy of authoritarian governments that put the state first, but naturally the United Party accepts that the individual's freedom may have to be curtailed to fit state policy in certain circumstances, e.g. service in the army, and to allow other individuals to enjoy their freedom in a similar manner. Although the matter has not been touched on in these notes, an important point of difference between the United Party and the Nats is in regard to the rights of businessmen - the United Party has a much higher regard for the meaning of "freedom" and absence of state interference in the "free enterprise economy. Freedom for Bantu businessmen, professional men etc. to pursue their callings?

- (ii) United Party race policies have consistently emphasised the need to protect the dignity of the individuals making up the various race groups. Amendments to the pass laws, and influx control regulations e.g. always stress this, which highlights a major point of difference with the Nats in regard to the urban Bantu. The Nats, however, when advocating the Bantu Homelands policy, stress repeatedly its importance as an aid to building up the dignity of the Bantu

as individuals. Many are apparently sincere in this belief. The United Party also pays much more attention to the importance of protecting the individual dignity and freedom of the members of the other two non-White groups than do the Nats. United Party policy is however still considerably circumscribed by "traditional" attitudes, and thus in its implementation could be regarded as trailing far behind world opinion and even behind moderate "liberal" opinion at home.

- (iii) With regard to justice, United Party policy emphasises strongly the individual's rights, whether White or Black, to a fair trial by impartial judges; the right to be regarded as innocent until proved guilty, the individual's right to know the reasons for action taken against him; the need to limit the powers of Ministers and officials of the state to take action without Parliamentary sanction and the need to curb bureaucratic control and power over the lives of individuals generally. Justice is intended to know no colour discrimination, but is in fact often influenced by Bantu law and custom.
- (iv) With regard to censorship, United Party policy is not to abdicate from the responsibility of maintaining and fostering a high moral standard among our people, but to allow considerable margin for "moving with the times". The United Party upholds the freedom of the press, commonly regarded as a pillar of democracy although ironically the dignity of individuals is often impugned by it! (Would the United Party exercise "discriminatory" censorship as regards what a Bantu may read, see or hear?)

EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL POLICY:

- (i) Human Dignity - General - From "The Answer".

"FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The United Party will put an end to the arrogance and abuse of power by the Government. It will end:

- a) the intolerable growth of ministerial powers and government by decree;
 - b) threats against the freedom of the Press;
 - c) the stranglehold of bureaucracy and red tape;
- and above all
- d) totalitarian actions and attitudes of the Government against free access of the citizens to independent courts.

The United Party will uphold the rule of law; secure the safety of South Africa both internally and against outside attack

and will

guarantee every man's right of access to independent courts of law.

TO THE UNITED PARTY THE FREEDOM AND DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL MATTERS."

The above was put and adopted in a resolution to Central Congress in October 1969, presumably having been taken from the policy statement.

(ii) The Immorality Act:

"The following statement of policy has been received from the General Secretary, Sen. Horak, and was published in "The Argus" 12.12.1969:

"The United Party disapproves of sexual intercourse across the colour line, and of marriages between Whites and non-Whites.

We have / . . .

We have always held, however, that legislation is not necessarily the most effective or desirable method of dealing with the problem. On the other hand, simply to repeal the existing legislation would be interpreted by irresponsible elements as creating an 'open season', with inevitably ugly sociological results.

The United Party will therefore have the position fully investigated by a non-party body, representative, inter alia, of experienced sociologists, criminologists and the Churches, to recommend upon the best steps to be taken. Pending its report and a decision thereon, the legislation, sensibly administered, will remain."

On 26.2.1971, Mr Mike Mitchell moved the following motion in

Parliament:

"The United Party calls for the appointment, as a matter of urgency, of a commission to examine the problems arising from the legal enforcement of the Immorality Act as well as the social, humanitarian, and religious problems resulting from it. . .

Mr. Mitchell moved the following amendment to Mrs. Suzman's motion:

"That this House, while opposed to miscegenation, is of the opinion that Section 16 of the Immorality Act, 1957, gives rise to serious and pressing legal, lawful enforcement, sociological, humanitarian and religious problems, causes hardship and smears the good name of the Republic, and calls upon the Government as a matter of urgency to appoint a commission to examine such problems in the light of this and related legislation."

* The commission should consist of:

Judicial officers of both the superior and inferior courts faced with the problems of administering the law and the problem of punishment;

- * Members of the police force faced with the problems of enforcing the law and investigating alleged offences under the law;
- * Sociologists conversant with the social problems involved; and
- * Representatives of our churches who have to deal with the relevant problems of religion, conscience and morality which arise, with a view to determining whether the law was not doing more harm than good to society and to the State, and whether the problem could be dealt with effectively in any other manner.

In view of the large number of acquittals of persons prosecuted, with immediate effect, prosecutions under Section 16 of the Immorality Act, 1957, should not be instituted without the written approval of an attorney-general, the amendment said. . ."

(RAND DAILY MAIL - 27.2.1971.)

(iii) Pass Laws:

From "The Answer":

"To maintain the pass laws and influx control but to administer these laws humanely and realistically to meet the demand for labour; to fit the right man to the right job."

A Prog accusation / . . .

A Prog. Accusation:

"Mr. Michael Mitchell (UP Durban North) today dismissed as "absolute nonsense" allegations that just as many Africans would be imprisoned for pass law offences under a United Party Government as under the Nationalists.

Mr. Mitchell, head of the Opposition's Justice group, was reacting to strong criticism yesterday from Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive MP for Houghton.

Referring to a week-end statement by Mr Mitchell, Mrs Suzman said it was ironical that he should express shock at the number of Africans sent to jail for pass law offences - 'under UP policy, which upholds influx control, exactly the same position would obtain.'

Mr Mitchell said today: 'This is nonsense, Our administration of influx control would be completely different.

'The United Party introduced influx control when it was in power. But we introduced it in the interests of the Africans, not in the interests of the Whites only - as it is being implemented by the Nationalist Government.'

A United Party Government would not use influx control to restrict the use of African labour and no responsible African would be penalised under influx control laws.

'If we allowed a free flow of Africans into the urban areas the Africans would be exploited.'

(THE STAR - 4.6.1971).

A Bantu Comment:

"Leading African personalities - with one exception - spoke out at the weekend against Sir De Villiers Graaff's suggestion in Parliament last week for the re-examination of pass laws and influx control and the exemptions that were given "to certain people" in the old United Party days.

'What difference does it make,' asked Mr L.M. Traunyane, principal of Alexandra Secondary School. 'We would still have to produce it (the exemption) on demand.'

Father Magaliso Mkhathshwa, a member of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference secretariat said: 'Let us all have the same system of identification. As a Christian I do not think it is good thing. It would be encouraging class distinction.

'As soon as you treat people differently you are creating ill-feeling. I don't think that I should get special treatment because I am a minister of religion. What we need in the present situation is a more humane and sympathetic manner of carrying out these laws,' he said.

'I wouldn't be happy with the suggestion because of the distinctions,' he added.

On the other hand, Mr. Richard Mapanya, an Urban Bantu councillor, said: 'It would be a reasonable and appropriate thing for a civilised country like South Africa to do. You cannot treat people the same because of their colour.

'There are class differences even among Africans and they should be treated accordingly.' . . ."

(RAND DAILY MAIL 26.4.1971.)

(iv) Sport:

Sport, and policy in regard to mixed sport particularly of course, is something that affects Bantu in urban areas more than Bantu in the Homelands. In due time of course, when there are "Homelands" soccer teams etc. as there are already in Lesotho, the problem will extend to them also - not only whether we "Play" them or not, but also such matters as whether their citizens are eligible for "South African" teams or not.

UNITED PARTY SPORT POLICY IS TO DATE AS FOLLOWS:

"Speaking at the Western Province Cricket Club annual awards dinner at Newlands over the weekend Sir De Villiers Graaff outlined the United Party's policy on sport and announced (see para 7) certain important additions which he said had the full support of his caucus. The statement was enthusiastically received. It is as follows -

- (1) Maintain traditional participation in international sport.
- (2) Allow all race groups to watch all organised sport provided adequate facilities are available for Whites and non-Whites.
- (3) Entrust the control and administration of sport in the Republic to the recognised sporting bodies.
- (4) Accept the principle of non-interference in the realm of international sport and leave the issuing of invitations and the selection of teams to the controlling bodies concerned.
- (5) Recognising in the case of both national and international professional sport acceptable statutory boards of control representative of the sport concerned.
- (6) The United Party will not tolerate political interference in sport which may harm our international relations or cause internal unrest.

(7) The statement outlined above was made against the background of customs conventions and existing legislation in force in South Africa. Sport at an international level however, has ceased to be a mere social activity and has become not only a reflection of foreign policy, but also a matter of national prestige. Accordingly the United Party, if so requested by the national controlling bodies of the various sports, would be prepared to consider a relaxation of any hindering legislative enactments in the same way as the government has relaxed them in the diplomatic sphere and in respect of the representatives of the Bantu homelands, etc., e.g. this would mean that, 'if so requested by the national sporting bodies concerned, we would be prepared to accept South Africa being represented overseas at the national level by mixed teams and would be prepared for mixed trials to select those teams in South Africa. We would also be prepared to accept mixed teams from overseas and would be prepared to see South Africa represented by mixed teams at national level in South Africa."

(STATEMENT BY THE LEADER APRIL 18, 1971.)

The "background of customs, conventions and existing legislation in force in South Africa" would appear to be a drastically limiting qualification for the formulation of enlightened sport policy. The "crunch" comes, e.g. when the United Party is asked what is its policy in regard to sport at the club level. It would appear that this could be easily solved by leaving it in the "area of choice" as stated in Onward - December 1971 - Page 6 (3).

Would the following charge be possible under present United Party policy? And if so, should it not be altered?

"The Government is busy investigating the circumstances of a mixed cricket match played in Johannesburg last Sunday - action against the organisers might follow.

This was confirmed yesterday by Mr. Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Community Development, who said he was working with Mr Frank Waring, Minister of Sport, on the case.

Indian and White / . . .

Indian and White league cricketers played together for the first time in 11 years in the Transvaal last Sunday when the Derek James invitation 11 met the SA Haques Invitation 11 on a secondary field at the Marist Brothers College, Inanda, on the Sunday before a similar match was played at Natal University in Durban, but it seems this match has been overlooked by the Government.

But Mr Coetzee told a Rand Daily Mail reporter last night: 'I am not a legal man, but to the best of my knowledge, a match like that is legal. I am going into the matter to see what can be done in the future.'

And Mr. Michael Kane-Berman, who captained the White side on Sunday, plans more mixed matches.

Mr. Kane-Berman said more fields had been offered for mixed cricket since it had proved to be legal.

He said the question of legality of playing private matches on club or school grounds had acted as an unseen deterrent for years. Now that it was clear from legal opinion that there was nothing illegal in holding private matches and that a permit was not required the situation would change.

Mr. Kane-Berman said it was hoped to make Sunday's invitation team match an annual or bi-annual match. A floating trophy would be presented to the winning team.

He said league cricketers who played on Sunday said they hoped other sportsmen in other sports would arrange games on a similar basis.

'Of course we hope it will become accepted as a normal sporting event with normal sporting coverage on the back page,' he said.

'The match on Sunday indicated that we were playing with people who could put up a full-strength side which could compete with any premier league team,' Mr Kane-Berman said."

(RAND DAILY MAIL - 15.3.1972.)

(v) Provision of subsidised Housing, Transport etc.:

In the Bantu Transport Levy debate, the principle of subsidised services was raised.

Please consult Mr Hughes, but I think the United Party supports subsidised amenities where essential to do so, (i.e. users too poor to pay full cost) but aims at a society in which all races earn incomes sufficiently high to make it possible for them to pay economic prices for what they use. This principle is important to Bantu urban dwellers.

If the principle of subsidising users is accepted, then there is also the question of who pays the subsidy - consolidated revenue funds or the employers, municipalities etc.

(vi) Provision of Education:

Also please consult Mr Hughes for statement of United Party policy arising out of recent debate on Bantu Education Act.

To my knowledge, it is United Party policy that education and training facilities of all kinds and to the highest levels must be available to urban Bantu in areas readily accessible to them, not only in the Homelands, which is Nat policy. More must be spent on Bantu education and the quality greatly improved.

Bantu Education costs, according to United Party policy, should be a charge on Consolidated Revenue Funds.

A point to consider here is the administration, and the allocation of costs and revenue at such time as the Communal Councils become responsible for Education one of the portfolios set aside for them in our policy.

(vii) Provision of separate amenities:

The policy of the United Party is the provision of separate amenities plus, in consequence of recent changes (Onward - December 1971 - Page 6 (3)) an area for the creation of mixed amenities where these are desired. This means that the apartheid enthusiast need never see a face of a different colour in a residential area, school (?), restaurant, theatre etc. if he so wishes while those wishing to mix may open such amenities and use them.

Sir De Villiers has, I believe, stated that separate amenities must be adequate to the needs of the people both as regards numbers and social class. I do not have a reference readily available but could find one later if desired. This is from our 1954 policy Page 16 (5) :

"The permissive power of Departments of State, the Railways, Provincial Administrations, local authorities and public carriers to create separate amenities, including separate facilities in, among others, post offices, railway stations and public transport, is recognised. Separate amenities shall be of such a standard as shall have due regard to the numbers and standard of civilisation of a reserved group.*

*United Party's attitude in Parliament to the Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill, 1953.

It must be borne in mind that the provision of such truly adequate amenities - the present state of affairs is way below the desirable - will constitute a very considerable cost.

(viii) Mobility of Labour:

The United Party supports the increased mobility of Bantu labour between urban areas (municipalities).

A question to consider here is how will different municipalities

(a) apportion revenue e.g. Bantu Services Levy Fund money when a man lives in one and works in another

(b) deal with housing problems in similar circumstances?

Both of these problems are alleviated as Bantu become economic beings, earning sufficient to pay economic costs of services, housing etc. provided for them.

(ix) Migratory labour:

From 1954 policy booklet:

- "(a) The Party's policy will be one designed to facilitate and encourage the stabilisation of industrial labour, but the employment of a certain amount of migrant labour under existing conditions is unavoidable.
- (b) Such a policy would be facilitated by -
- (i) the continuance and if possible the intensification of the policy of development of the Reserves, and
 - (ii) co-ordinated labour bureaux for guiding the migrant stream into the most useful channels. (Fagan Report, para 65(19))
- (c) In general the system of recruiting, inspection and regulation of migrant labour as provided for in the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911, as amended, is approved, and future amendments will be considered in the light of circumstances then prevailing and after consultation with the industries mainly concerned with migrant labour."

(x) Labour Bureaux:

From 1954 policy booklet:

"The system of labour bureaux for guiding and advising Natives seeking employment is approved. Such bureaux should, however, not be instruments for forcibly directing the flow of Native labour into arbitrary channels. While the submission of the necessary data on labour supply and demand to these bureaux should be compulsory, Natives should rather be encouraged to make voluntary use of such bureaux which will have available the necessary information for employees on labour shortages, wages and housing facilities in all areas. (Fagan Report, para 44).

The natural resources of the Reserves must be protected and developed to curb the flow of Natives to the European areas. (Mr Strauss - Union Congress, 1952.)

(We can go on ad infinitum raising points of detail: most of these are raised in the 1954 Native Policy Booklet. We conclude with a few issues of a very general nature that also affect Bantu though not specifically "urban").

(xi) Passports:

Mr. J.D. du P. Basson:

"I admit that I do not know of any country where there is not some form of passport control, but we believe it is quite wrong for a Minister, a political figure, to use these wide powers in regard to the question of passports in the manner in which it is done by the present Government. As it is, the decision of the Minister, and I am not talking to him personally, but to any Minister in charge of that portfolio, whatever decision he takes about a man's passport his decision is based on secret and one-sided evidence. There is no way in which a victim can determine what there is what the Government has against him and whether what they have against him is true or has the meaning the Government places upon it. He is simply not to know and has no right of defence or explanation at all. There is also nobody above the position of the Minister, a party politician, to whom such a man can appeal. To deny a man a passport is a hardship in every case, but can in some cases be an extremely severe punishment for an individual citizen. That punishment is meted out by a politician on one-sided evidence without any kind of trial whatsoever. I think it is the worst possible system you can have in any country. I am not suggesting that the hon. the Minister is an unreasonable man. This is not my point at all. . ."

(HANSARD - 4.9.1970 - Col.3425).

Mr. L. Murray:

"When a decision is made as to whether a passport is to be granted or a visa refused, the full facts should be before the Minister, and if there is any doubt the person concerned should have the opportunity of appearing before a tribunal in camera in order to deal with those doubts which have been raised. . ."

(HANSARD - 7.9.1970 - Col. 3485).

Are these remarks intended to include Blacks and Whites alike?

(xii) Censorship:

Please see Pages 3 and 4 of "U.P. Views on Current Topics".

Mr. Steyn read and approved these statements. Any differentiation required in regard to the different race groups?

(xiii) Detention, B.O.S.S. etc.:

Please see attached memo by Mr. Mitchell for details in regard to some aspects of this type of legislation.

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We conclude these notes with

- (A) a list of legislation with racial overtones. (It does not claim to be exhaustive)
- (B) a note on the problem of citizenship rights for all
- (C) some urban problems raised by granting independence to the homelands, and
- (D) a note on discrimination.

A. LEGISLATION WITH "RACIAL" OVERTONES:

I.e. non-Whites generally most affected, although not in every case, e.g. the Immorality Act which would appear to have caused more suffering to White than non-White "dignity".

- 1. Population Registration Act;
- 2. Immorality Act;
- 3. Prohibition of mixed marriage. (Does this affect "dignity" or

only freedom?)

4. Group Areas Act;
5. Reservation of separate amenities. (Could be "inoffensive" and apply equally to all races if truly adequate as regards numbers and status of users).
6. Bantu Urban Areas Acts and Bantu Laws amendment Acts (embodying separate residential areas, influx control, pass laws, rights to remain in an urban area, freedom of movement and the abortive attempt to stop non-Whites doing certain jobs e.g. telephone operators, clerks etc. would have affected 20 000 people. Not proceeded with.)

The Bantu Urban Areas Act could be fairly "just" if applied in the interests of the non-White. Has however been one of the corner stones of separate development and the cause of much human indignity and suffering when applied in order to "endorse out", emphasise impermanence of Bantu residence in a White area; "clean up" White suburbs through "White by night" regulations etc.)

7. Industrial Conciliation Act:

Job reservation; denial of all civilised right to training for a job in the conventional manner, e.g. apprenticeships for Bantu; denial of right, in fact, for a Bantu to be regarded as an employee.

8. "Church Clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 enabled the Minister of Bantu Administration, subject to certain conditions, to control presence of Bantu at church services, schools, hospitals, clubs and places of entertainment.
9. Whites prevented (1957) from serving on Committees controlling welfare services for Bantu.
10. Apartheid introduced on Nursing Council and Association - separate advisory bodies.

11. Bantu homelands Acts: (These need not be repressive or injurious to dignity - on the contrary!! - but most of the Nats' repressive negative legislation has come about as a result of their desire to make a reality of the "homelands" ideology).
12. State Aided Institutions Amendment Act 1957
- boards of art galleries, museums, zoos, libraries etc. empowered to lay down "apartheid" hours of use.
13. Differentiated forms of social welfare, e.g. small pensions paid to Bantu.
14. Differentiated forms of education (Note: separate control of education also United Party policy: it is difference in quality of education that non-Whites regard as an offence.)
15. Sport:

Government sport policy has shown considerable relaxation in recent months. The inter-racial meeting in October was a revolution. It remains a problem, both for United Party and Nats, as to how far "indignities" (e.g. Papwa's experiences at golf tournaments) have been and will be removed in the future.

B. CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR ALL - SOME IMPLICATIONS:

Right to full citizenship is an important part of "human dignity" and will also affect U.P. policy towards Bantu permanently settled in urban areas. It was pointed out in Bantu Affairs Notes No. 1 that the Nationalists are placing increased emphasis on the denial of Citizenship (residence) rights to Bantu in White South Africa. This is set against the "advantages" of increased independence for their homelands and the resultant increased "status" for their citizens ("foreigners" in South Africa).

The United Party, on the other hand, grants certain rights of "citizenship" to all races i.e., all races under United Party

policy "belong" to one country, South Africa, and are under the protection of one central Government; Bantu in urban areas are regarded as permanent if fulfilling certain conditions (as prescribed by the Bantu (Native) Urban Areas Act) and all races enjoy equal justice before the law. The latter of course so far also applies to Nat policy. But, it was pointed out in these Notes that there are numerous areas where no equality regarding "citizenship" rights and duties exist e.g. in regard to:

franchise rights;

freedom of movement;

duty to defend South Africa in time of war;

enjoyment of social welfare benefits;

free and compulsory education;

freedom to work in any occupation and to earn equal remuneration;

freedom to live, entertain oneself and use facilities where and as one pleases;

Note: however, that so far as the latter social "segregation", is concerned, this can be taken as applying to all citizens and could be "equally" applied and therefore imply no discrimination or denial of equal citizenship rights if care was taken to provide adequate separate amenities for each group. In the same way, restrictions on the right to marry whom one pleases also applies to all races and therefore does not impinge on "equal" citizenship rights.

These remarks only touch on the fringes of a vast problem which formed part of the background to the thoughts and suggestions contained in the "Bantu Affairs Notes No. 1" and "National Unity" (Part of General Notes No. 1) memos.

C. SOME URBAN ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS CAUSED BY CREATION OF INDEPENDENT BANTUSTANS.

This extract comes from "Bantu Affairs: Urban Areas No. 1, Page 39".
References are to items included in this Parliamentary Note.

Should a homeland be granted independence, how will municipalities be placed in view of the fact that these Bantu will then be foreigners? Already municipalities deal to some extent with a similar situation i.e. Bantu from Swaziland, Malawi etc. living in our towns. How are these "foreigners" treated in regard to housing priorities? How will the situation be affected when the municipalities are not dealing with a few "foreigners" from Swaziland etc., but millions from the homelands?

What new situations will independent Bantustans and foreign citizenship for Bantu create in regard to -

- (a) provision of all amenities;
- (b) the fair distribution of tax burdens;
- (c) provision of education facilities and financing thereof;
- (d) the administration of Bantu urban areas.

In regard to the latter, one must not forget the representatives of the Bantu homelands who sit on Bantu urban councils. Will these people be regarded as foreign ambassadors and given all the privileges offered to foreign Black ambassadors from African states? See the cutting "City Folk to Test Emerging 'Stans'" - to what extent can independent status be expected to ease discriminatory treatment of Blacks inside "White" South Africa - and what are likely to be Black expectations in this regard?

See also article from SABRA Journal below "Volksdeputate - Die Begin van Diplomatieke Betrekkinge met die Tuislande." There seems to be some pretty deep-seated nonsense to contend with here. Refer also to Section I of these notes, pages 12 and 14, Dr. Leistner talking about the effects of de-tribalisation. Blacks in urban areas will not "mirror" Blacks in homelands as suggested in the second paragraph of the article below.

D. NOTE ON DISCRIMINATION:

Whether we opt for the "separate nationalisms" of the Nats, the hybrid "separate group identities within a multi-racial state" of the United Party or the full multi-racialism of the Progs, a change in attitude involving decreasing discrimination based on the colour of a man's skin is inevitable. Should not all race legislation and attitudes to racial issues be judged on a very simple formula, viz.

- (i) How does this legislation attitude reduce discrimination based on colour? (OR how can it be amended to reduce such discrimination?)

- (ii) How can changes, (we have in mind the changes necessitated by reducing discrimination) be introduced with the approval of the Whites?

The latter is by no means impossible. The first requisite is to remove all fear of bulldozing long established prejudice and accepted norms.

To do that, the Party must repeatedly give the assurance that these fears will receive a sympathetic and understanding hearing. This is essential. It is here that the arrogant Progs fall down. Consultation will therefore be essential likewise the encouragement of the right decision from the grass roots, rather than imposing decisions from above. Concessions in the form of alternative privileges and advantages must be freely given where necessary. (We are thinking here of changes necessary as a result of bringing more non-Whites into the labour field.)

URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE.

^d
SUMMARY of decisions taken on 11th August, 1972.

1. WHO ARE URBAN BANTU ?

- (a) DEFINITION : Those Bantu who have ^{qualified for} ~~acquired~~ rights of permanent residence in an area prescribed in terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act, 1948.
- (b) Accept that Bantu who obtain permission to enter such prescribed areas in terms of Section 10(1)(d) of Bantu (Urban Areas) Act may acquire rights of permanent residence as in the past.
- (c) Accept that Urban Bantu are permanently in the white urban areas.
- (d) Accept that, as such, they form a group on their own - separate from the 8 accepted ethnic groups.
- (e) The term "Urban Bantu" does not include Bantu resident in townships such as Umlazi, KwaMashu, Mdantsane, Imbali, Nyamalanga (Hammerdale), GaRankuwa and ^{make a point} ~~Mankodi~~ which fall within the Bantu Reserves, even though they may be employed in white urban or border areas.

2. PROPERTY RIGHTS OF URBAN BANTU.

A. HOUSES:

- (a) Separate residential areas shall be set aside for Bantu.
- (b) Urban Bantu have the right to enjoy an undisturbed family life.
- (c) Urban Bantu shall enjoy the right of freehold ownership of fixed property in these areas - ~~no limit to the number of properties an individual may own.~~
- (d) Our aim is to provide a home for every qualified Bantu and his family, ~~and it does not oblige the authorities to assume any responsibility in this regard.~~
- (e) We acknowledge the necessity for a certain amount of migratory labour and that they must be suitably housed. (~~See 1 - Influx Cont~~)

B. BUSINESS:

- (a) Urban Bantu shall enjoy full trading rights (as well as ownership of sites) in Bantu residential areas.
- (b) In white areas "Open-Trade Precincts" shall be established in which all groups may carry on businesses and Urban Bantu shall enjoy the same trading rights as other groups in those precincts.

(This was not unanimous.)

*not included
because of
moral*

- (c) Submitted by some members that Urban Bantu Authorities should be allowed to create similar "Open-Trade Prescripts" in Bantu areas (principle of local option) but this did not receive general support.
- (d) Suggestions that white traders should be allowed to trade in Bantu areas and that Bantu be allowed to trade in white areas were rejected.

C. INDUSTRY :

- (a) Urban Bantu shall enjoy full rights (including ownership of property) to establish industries in any proclaimed industrial township. (Not unanimous.)
- (b) Proposed by some members that Bantu industrialists should only be allowed to establish industries in proclaimed industrial townships in white areas on same basis as white entrepreneurs will be allowed to establish industries in the Bantu Reserves i.e. no ownership of land, etc. This did not receive general support.

AGREED that all the proposals under Business and Industry above should be submitted to our Economics Group for consideration.

3. INFLEX CONTROL.

AGREED that this must be maintained but that improvements must be made regarding the provisions of regulations and administration generally.

- (a) OBJECT of influx control should be to control the supply of labour to employers after the employment needs of the Urban Bantu have been satisfied. *so that the urban areas are not flooded with labour which can not be absorbed*
- (b) We will restore the spirit of Section 10(1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act, 1945, whereby Bantu can qualify to become Urban Bantu as defined above.
- (c) In pursuance of (b) above, we will not insist that a Bantu migratory labourer return home at least once a year.
- (d) Admission of workers will be subject to suitable accommodation being available. (See 2 A.(c) above.)
- (e) Principle of "soning" certain districts from which Bantu labourers may only be recruited for a specific Urban area to be scrapped.

DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE AT ITS MEETINGS, HELD IN JOHANNESBURG, AUGUST 11 & 12, 1972.

A preliminary list of questions for discussion was circulated to members on May 1, 1972, and discussed by the Committee during its meetings on August 11 and 12, 1972.

Decisions taken were:

(a) WHO ARE THE URBAN BANTU?

- For the purpose of its study the Committee defines as Urban Bantu those Bantu who have acquired rights of permanent residence in a prescribed area in terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act 1945.
- The Committee accepts that Bantu who obtain permission to enter a prescribed area in terms of Section 10 (1)(d) of the above Act may acquire rights of permanent residence as in the past.
- The Committee accepts that Urban Bantu will be permanently in the white urban areas and that such Bantu form a separate group distinct from the eight accepted ethnic groups.
- The term URBAN BANTU does not include Bantu resident in Umlazi, KwaMashu, Mdantsane, Imbali, Mammaredale, Gerankuwa and Makopani which are located in Bantu Reserves even though such Bantu may be employed in White urban or border areas.

(b) PROPERTY RIGHTS OF URBAN BANTU

(i) Homes:

- They will have the right to enjoy undisturbed family life in the residential areas set aside for them.
- They will have the right to acquire freehold ownership of fixed property in such areas.
- It is the aim of the United Party to provide a home for every qualified Bantu and his family.
- The United Party accepts the necessity for some migratory Bantu labourers who will not acquire permanent property rights.

The Party will take steps to ensure that such workers are satisfactorily housed.

10(b)
5 years - one

Esdeavour to provide
for kind of
homes provided

(ii) Business:

- Urban Bantu will enjoy full trading rights as well as ownership of business sites in Bantu residential areas.
- White traders will not be permitted to trade in Bantu areas nor will Bantu traders be permitted to trade in white areas.
- Whether or not certain areas should be set aside by local authorities for open trade by either Bantu or Whites requires further examination.

(iii) Industry:

- The Committee discussed whether urban Bantu should be permitted to establish industries in any industrial township either on a property-owning or an agency basis, but established no policy in this regard.
- The Committee decided that all its proposals in regard to Business and Industry as stated above should be submitted to the Economics Group for consideration. x

(c) Influx Control:

- The Committee agreed that influx control must be maintained to ensure that urban areas are not flooded with Bantu who cannot be gainfully employed, but considers that influx control regulations and their administration should be improved particularly in respect of Labour Bureaux and Aid Centres.
- The United Party would restore the spirit of Section 10(1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act, through which Bantu would again become eligible to qualify as permanent urban residents.
- Bantu migratory labourers will not be required to return home every year.
- The admission of workers to urban areas will be subject to the availability of suitable accommodation.
- The principle of "zoning" of certain districts from which Bantu labourers may only be recruited for a specific urban area will be scrapped.
- Single women will be treated on the same basis as single men.

Normal leases
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allow to develop

Property of
Bantu
Develop trading rights

We will avoid
where all time

Yes provided
adher to industry
agreements

- The wife of a Bantu worker will be permitted to join her husband provided that he can show that -
 - he is in permanent employment -
 - he is in a position to support his family -
 - suitable accommodation is available.

(d) Education in Urban Areas:

- Control will be vested in the ~~Communal Council~~^{LA} for urban Bantu with no restrictions and every encouragement from the central United Party government.
- The ~~Communal Council~~^A will be responsible for the provision of secondary and technical education in urban Bantu townships and for making financial and other arrangements for university education.
- The United Party would reverse the policy of the present government which does not permit technical or university education in white urban areas.
- The Committee recommends to the Labour Group that technical and artisan training should be given to urban Bantu in their own areas and on as large a scale as possible.

(e) Functions and Powers of Urban Bantu Councils:

- These Councils ^{will} be trained to assume all the powers, functions and responsibilities of a Local Authority. *where do they get finance*
- They will be under the direct control of the ~~Communal Council~~ for urban Bantu.
- The relations between an urban Bantu Council and the adjoining white Local Authority is to be referred to the Constitutional Committee for examination.

(f) Statistics:

The Committee considered that the statistics made available to it were either inaccurate or inadequate. It directed the Secretary to write to

- (i) The Department of Bantu Administration and Development,
- (ii) The Bureau of Statistics -
- (iii) The Institute of Race Relations

with a request for the following statistics:

- A. The number of Bantu who have qualified in terms of Sections (10)1) (a),(b) and (c) of the Bantu Urban Areas Act 1945;
 - B.(The number of Bantu presently in urban areas under authority granted in terms of Section 10 (1) (d) of that Act;
 - B. The number of Bantu presently housed on a family basis in urban areas;
 - D. The number of Bantu (a) men and (b) women accommodated (i) in hostels and (ii) on a single basis;
 - E. Total Bantu population in (a) white urban areas and (b) white rural areas;
 - F. Estimated or projected rate of growth of (a) settled urban Bantu and (b) Bantu migrant labourers.
- (g) Different arrangements and facilities for urban urban Bantu and migrant labourers:

The Committee discussed in general terms

- Whether each Local Authority should determine what different arrangements it would make for the members of these two groups -
- What special arrangements were required for servants housed on the employees' property -
- To what extent hostels should be provided -
- The provision and location of recreational facilities.

(h) Discussion with Bantu leaders in Soweto:

The Committee met

- Dr.Nyembezi, a medical doctor,
- Mr.Maponya, a successful businessman,
- Mr,Mehlomakulu, a bank manager,
- Mr.Mehlape, Principal of the Diepkloof Secondary School in Soweto.

These gentlemen stated unanimously that

- They did not accept the Government's eight nation concept. They regarded themselves as Black South Africans.
- The greatly resented the racial discrimination to which they were subjected and particularly the wage differentiation based on colour and the insecurity which resulted from their inability to obtain freehold title to their properties.

- They realised that they needed the whites for their progress and advancement, but that the younger men were hostile to whites and critical of the lack of progress which was being made in giving ^{them} a voice in the government of South Africa.
- The Africans would refuse to accept independence in separate Bantu States.
- They spoke as urban Africans but all educated Homeland Africans held the same views. They said that they were in close touch with Butelezi and Matanzima.

UNITED PARTY

CENTRAL HEAD COMMITTEE

ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO BE ADDRESSED TO
THE GENERAL SECRETARY

HEAD OFFICE:

3RD FLOOR,

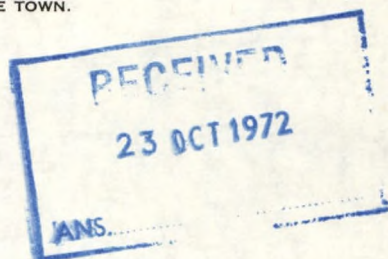
65 BUREAU STREET,

CAPE TOWN.

TELEGRAMS "SANAP"

TELEPHONE 2-1470

P.O. BOX 1539



With the compliments

of the

Secretary, Urban Bantu Committee

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION AND DECISIONS TAKEN ON
AUGUST 18, 1972 : URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE

Recorded that certain members had met with the Constitutional Committee on August 13 and that it became apparent that the Committee was thinking along lines of Federal Units for Bantu based on "Regional" rather than "ethnic" and "urban" demarcations. "Regional" would include Urban Bantu within that region.

However, no decision at that stage.

BANTU IN URBAN TOWNSHIPS SITUATED IN RESERVES - e.g. UMLAZI

In view of constitutional problems and uncertainty of the ultimate policy regarding these Bantu, this Committee is unable to make any recommendations with regard to their rights, but recommends that they receive special consideration when there is more certainty as to their constitutional position.

COLONEL BOWRING'S SUBMISSION -

Was then considered *seriatim*:

Question 2(a) : Members to consult Bantu leaders.
Arrangements be made for the Committee to meet these Bantu.

(b) : Present Policy
Bantu may have "associate membership" of White Trade Unions.
Discussion was held over for meeting with our Labour Group.

(c) : Restriction of (1) Movement
(2) Property ownership
(3) Curfew, etc.
(4) Educational facilities - particularly vocational and secondary
(5) Job opportunities
Lack of (6) Social amenities - colour bar
(7) Hospitalisation
(8) Transport.

Make best endeavours to alleviate hardships within framework of our policy as outlined above.

-(d)-

- (d) : Refer to Labour Group
- (e) ; Refer to Labour and Economic Groups.
- (f) : Publicity through our own Department of Public ty. Better publicity is necessary - this must be improved.
- (g) : Refer to Constitutional Committee.
- (h) : Yes, provided wages are determined by the Federal Parliament.
- (i) : Not considered.
- (j) : Yes. Dynamic growth and development will lead to greater productivity and gross national product.
- (k) : We will have to consider this problem.

RECORD OF DISCUSSION AND DECISIONS TAKEN on August 12, 1972, were considered and accepted.

The Committee then returned to further consideration of the questions raised in Colonel Bowring's letter of May 1, 1972.

Different arrangements and facilities for Urban Bantu and migrant labourers:

Decided that facilities for Urban Bantu (as defined) and others housed in Bantu Township areas be provided by Urban Bantu Councils (as the responsible Local Authority controlling those areas) under the control of the Communal Council concerned.

Accepted that different arrangements and facilities will have to be made and provided for Bantu accommodated in the white areas, but believe that the provision thereof should be left under the control of each Local Authority which may decide for itself all such matters including -

- (i) whether to accommodate Bantu or not;
- (ii) the type of such accommodation to be provided;
- (iii) whether domestics should be housed on employer's property;
- (iv) provision of recreational facilities;
- (v) provision of transport facilities.

Arrangements for acquisition of additional land required as a result of Bantu urbanisation:

Question of a "hinterland" discussed but not finalised.

Decided that we must accept that additional land will be required with the growth of the urban Bantu population, and that such land must be made available.

To the members of the Urban Bantu Committee for information

With the Compliments of the
General Secretary
United Party



Met die komplimente van die
Algemene Sekretaris
Verenigde Party

P.O. Box 1539,
Cape Town.

Phone: 2-1470

Posbus 1539,
Kaapstad.

Foon: 2-1470

THE VIABILITY, RESPONSIBILITIES AND REPRESENTATION OF
FEDERAL UNITS:

(Note: Statistics obtained from Mr. I. F. A. de Villiers, M.P.)

1. The Department of Statistics recently released further analyses of the 1970 Census. These reveal the artificial nature of some of the claims made by the Government in respect of autonomous "homelands" and should be closely examined by the Constitutional Committee before it makes any firm recommendations about the constituent units of a Federal Assembly.
2. The actual populations inside and outside the areas defined as "homelands" are as follows:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Indigenous residents of "homelands"</u>	<u>Others resident in "homelands"</u>	<u>Indigenous resident outside "homelands"</u>
Basotho	24,000	500	90%
Lebowa (Sotho)	973,000	111,000	44%
Matshangana	234,000	33,000	47%
Swazi	82,000	36,000	77,5%
Tswana	600,000	224,000	65%
Venda	240,000	24,000	30%
Xhosa			
(Ciskei)	510,000	14,000	13%
(Transkei)	1,651,000	83,000	42%
Zulu	2,057,000	40,000	47%

3. It is apparent from these figures that the Basotho and Swazi "homelands" are no more than small remnants whose inhabitants are barely sufficient to sustain a simple form of municipal or divisional council government.

The Matshangana and Venda "homelands" also have comparatively few local inhabitants with a high proportion of absentees, and would hardly be able, either economically or demographically, to meet the status and responsibility of full federal units. Only the Lebowa, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu homelands appear likely to be able to support local governments comparable to those of the other major communities.

4. It might, therefore, be made a basic requirement that a full federal unit must represent at least 2% of the total national population or 5% of the gross national product. This would disqualify groups which are not yet viable from having to accept undue responsibility, but would open the way for stronger regions (e.g. the Witwatersrand) to acquire full federal status.

If, for example, four new regions were created in this way and each federal unit were then entitled to either five or ten representatives in the Federal Assembly in consequence of meeting one or both of the percentage requirements, it is probable that the Federal Assembly would contain 80 White and 50 non-White representatives.

Apart from the direct simplicity of such a system, it should be remembered that the maintenance of White responsibility will in the future depend more on effective regionalisation than on additional loading devices.

5. Small units (e.g. Basotho or Swazi) which neither qualify for federal status nor are constituent parts of units which do so qualify, would require a special constitutional link. Some form of consultative and administrative machinery, such as a federal ministry for small trust territories, could no doubt be created for the purpose.

September 1972.

Pat

Summary of discussion and decisions taken on 13th August.

Recorded that certain members had met with the Constitutional Committee on 13th August and that it became apparent that that Committee was thinking along lines of Federal Units for Bantu based on "Regional" rather than "ethnic" and "Urban" demarcations. "Regional" would include Urban Bantu within that region. However, no decision at that stage.

8. BANTU IN URBAN CENTRES SITUATED IN RESERVE, e.g. Umhlanga.

In view of constitutional problems and uncertainty of the ultimate policy regarding these Bantu, this Committee is unable to make any recommendations with regard to their rights, but recommends that they receive special consideration when there is more certainty as to their constitutional position.

9. GEN. MARRING'S COMMISSION

was then considered serriatus :

Question 2 (a) Members to consult with Bantu Leaders. Arrangements be made for the committee to meet these Bantu.

(b) Present policy : Bantu may have "associate membership" of White trade unions.

Discussion held over for meeting with our Labour Group.

- (c) Restriction of 1. Movement
- 2. property ownership
- 3. curfew, etc.
- 4. educational facilities - particularly vocational and secondary
- 5. job opportunities.
- Lack of 6. social amenities - colour bar
- 7. hospitalisation
- 8. transport

Make best endeavours to alleviate hardships within framework of our policy as outlined before.

- (d) Refer to Labour group.
- (e) Refer to Labour and Economics groups.
- (f) Publicity through our own department of publicity. Better publicity is necessary - this must be improved.
- (g) Refer to Constitutional Committee.
- (h) Yes, provided wages are determined by the Federal Parliament
- (i) Not considered
- (j) Yes. Dynamic growth and development will lead to greater productivity and gross national product.

(k) No. We will have to consider this problem.

Record of Discussions and decisions taken on 12th August, 1972 were considered, amended and accepted.

The Committee then returned to further consideration of the questions raised in Col. Howring's letter of 1st May, 1972.

7. DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENTS AND FACILITIES FOR URBAN BANTU AND MIGRANT LABOURERS :
(Continued from page 4)

Decided that facilities for Urban Bantu (as defined) and others housed in Bantu Township areas be provided by Urban Bantu Councils (as the responsible Local Authority) controlling those areas) under the control of the Communal Council concerned.

Accepted that different arrangements and facilities will have to be made and provided for Bantu accommodated in the white areas, but believe that the provision thereof should be left under the control of each Local Authority which may decide for itself all such matters including

1. whether to accommodate Bantu or not;
2. the type of such accommodation to be provided;
3. whether domestics should be housed on employer's property;
4. provision of recreational facilities;
5. provision of transport facilities.

8. ARRANGEMENTS FOR ACQUISITION OF ADDITIONAL LAND REQUIRED AS A RESULT OF BANTU URBANISATION :

question of a "hinterland" discussed but not finalised.

Decided that we must accept that additional land will be required with the growth of the urban Bantu population, and that such land must be made available.

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