DIE VERENIGDE PARTY
SENTRALE HOOFBESTUUR

HOOFKANTOOR
4 DE VERDIEPING
NATIONAL MUTUAL GEBOU
KERKPLEIN 17
KAAPSTAD

TELEGRAMME "SANAP"
TELEFOON 21470
POSBUS 1539

UNITED PARTY
CENTRAL HEAD COMMITTEE

HEAD OFFICE
4 TH FLOOR
NATIONAL MUTUAL BUILDING
17 CHURCH SQUARE
CAPE TOWN

TELEGRAMS: "SANAP"
TELEPHONE 21470
P.O. BOX 1539

UP/50/5/1

February 25,1972.

Dr.Patrick Lewis,
25, Erlswold Way,
SAXONWOLD,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Dr.Lewis -

I write by direction of Sir De Villiers Graaff to invite you to serve upon a Committee of Enquiry to investigate and report upon United Party policy in respect of the Urban Bantu and to recommend any adjustments and amendments thereto which the Committee may deem to be desirable.

The Chairman of the Committee is Mr.Gray Hughes, M.P., the Secretary Colonel J.R. Bowring and the members:

Messrs. Newton Thompson, M.P.,Warwick Webber, M.P., H.Miller, M.P., Senator A.Getz and Dr. Patrick Lewis.

Sir De Villiers trusts that you will be able to serve and thanks you in anticipation.

Please advise me only if you are not able to accept the invitation; in the event of your not doing so you will receive notice of the first meeting direct from Colonel Bowring.

With kind regards and best wishes -

Yours sincerely,

(Senator) J.L.Horak
General Secretary

February 29, 1972.

Senator J. L. Horak,
Post Office Box 1539,
CAPE TOWN,
Cape Province.

Dear Senator Horak:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 25th February containing Sir de Villiers Graaff's invitation to serve on the Committee of Enquiry.

I am very pleased to have been asked to serve on this Committee, and have much pleasure in accepting.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.R.B.Lewis

PL:mh

J. C. de Villiers,
Director,
Direkteur,
Non-European Affairs Department,
Afdeling Nie-blanke-sake,
P.O. Box 5382,
Posbus
Johannesburg.

Banlu Policy Committee.

Telephones / Telefone
Office 21–4911
Kantoor
Res. 42–3561
Huis

2.3.72.

Dear Dr Lewis,

I attach the document mentioned to you last night & hope it can serve some purpose.

Regards

Divvy.

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

6th March, 1972.

Dr. Patrick Lewis,
25, Erlswold Way,
Saxonwold,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Dr. Lewis,

re: Enquiry into Urban Bantu.

I understand from Senator Horak that you have very kindly agreed to serve on a parliamentary committee which has been appointed by our Leader to go into the question of the United Party's policy and attitude to the urban Bantu.

We are having a meeting on Tuesday, the 7th, at 9.30 a.m. to discuss our procedure. It will not really be necessary for you to attend this meeting and I shall forward you copy of our minutes.

I would, however, be pleased to have any comments or suggestions that you would care to make with regard to the procedure to be adopted or any other matter which would be of interest to us. Our terms of reference are very wide.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Gray Hughes

~~T. GRAY HUGHES.~~ M.P.

March 15, 1972.

Mr. T. Gray Hughes, M.P.,
House of Assembly,
CAPE TOWN,
Cape Province.

Dear Gray:

re: Enquiry into Urban Bantu

Thank you for your letter of the 6th March regarding the meeting you held on the 7th. I have since seen Mr. Hymie Miller who was at that meeting, and he told me of your discussions.

It would help me if I could be given the present policy of the United Party, the Progressive Party and the Nationalist Party. How is it proposed to tackle the question of the United Party's policy? Are we to tackle this under various headings, such as -

Influx Control
Ownership of property
Pass Laws
Education
Position of Urban Bantu
Councils, etc. etc.

I should also be glad to know what the terms of reference are.

I should be glad if I could be given adequate notice of the next meeting, so that I can fit it into my programme.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

DIE VERENIGDE PARTY
SENTRALE HOOFBESTUUR

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CAPE TOWN

TELEGRAMS: "SANAP"
TELEPHONE 21470
P.O. BOX 1539

UP/50/5/1

March 20, 1972.

Dr.Patrick Lewis, C.A.(S.A.),
P.O.Box 1044,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Dr.Lewis -

Your letter of March 15, addressed to Mr.Gray Hughes, M.P., has been passed on to me as Secretary of the Urban Bantu Committee for acknowledgment and reply.

Firm decisions have not yet been taken on how the Committee will carry out its tasks. Owing to their other responsibilities and duties the members have not been able to devote much time to this matter but undoubtedly it will be necessary to break it down into a number of headings, as you suggest.

At the present stage of discussions it would not be worth your while to come from Johannesburg to Cape Town specially to attend a meeting, but if you had to come to Cape Town for another purpose I would arrange a meeting to suit your convenience.

As soon as the Chairman feels that a stage has been reached when your attendance is desirable I shall try to inform you in time for you to arrange your programme accordingly.

-The-

The Nationalist Party policy on Urban Bantu was stated by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr.M.C.Botha, during the No-Confidence debate in Parliament and is recorded in HANSARD, Vol.1 1972. (A copy will be posted to you).

The latest statement on United Party Policy is contained in THE ANSWER - YOU WANT IT - WE HAVE IT and ONWARD of December 1971. Copies have been posted to you under separate cover. I shall try to obtain a copy of Progressive Party policy to send to you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

J.R.Bowring,
Secretary, Urban Bantu Committee.

March 30, 1972.

Colonel J. R. Bowring,
United Party,
4th Floor,
National Mutual Building,
17 Church Square,
CAPE TOWN.

Dear Colonel Bowring:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 20th March. I have now received the documents you posted to me, and I shall read these with interest.

I now await further developments.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

DIE VERENIGDE PARTY
SENTRALE HOOFBESTUUR

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CAPE TOWN

TELEGRAMS: "SANAP"
TELEPHONE 21470
P.O. BOX 1539

UP/50/5/1

May 1, 1972.

RECEIVED 2 MAY 1972

To:

Senator the Hon.A.Getz,
Mr.J.O.Newton Thompson, M.P.,
Mr.Warwick Webber, M.P.,
Mr.H.Millwr, M.P.
Dr.Patrick Lewis.

---

1. Please note that a meeting of the Urban Bantu Committee will be held in the United Party Whip's Room, House of Assembly, on WEDNESDAY, May 10, commencing at 10 a.m.

2. The Chairman has decided that the Committee must now state clearly the questions which it intends to answer in its report and that members should be asked to accept responsibility for providing the initial answers to specific questions.

3. His first list of questions which will subsequently be expanded is as under:

   (a) What is the definition of an urban Bantu?

   (b) What qualifications are required to justify the status of urban Bantu?

   (c) What are the property rights of urban Bantu at present and how will these be changed in terms of United Party policy?

   (d) What are the conditions under which women are admitted to urban areas at present and in terms of United Party policy?

-(e)-

(e) What will be the composition and method of election of the Urban Bantu Communal Council to be set up in terms of United Party policy -

What will be its powers?

What will be its relationship to the Central Parliament and/or other legislative bodies?

(f) What educational facilities will be provided for urban Bantu and how will these be administered and controlled?

Will there be a separate university for urban Bantu?

(g) What facilities will be provided for the technical training of urban Bantu?

(h) What will be the functions and powers of urban Bantu councils? Who will control them?

What will be their relationship to adjoining urban councils?

(i) What is the present permanent urban Bantu population?

What is the present migrant urban Bantu population?

What is the total Bantu population in white areas?

What is the estimated rate of growth of both migrant and urban Bantu?

(j) What different arrangements and facilities will be required for permanent urban Bantu and migrant Bantu?

(k) What arrangements must be made for the acquisition of additional land required as a result of Bantu urbanisation?

4. At the meeting on May 10 members will be asked to indicate the questions for which they will be willing to accept responsibility and submit their suggestions for additional questions.

J.R.Bowring

J.R.Bowring
Secretary,
Urban Bantu Committee

UNITED PARTY

CENTRAL HEAD COMMITTEE

ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO BE ADDRESSED TO
THE GENERAL SECRETARY

HEAD OFFICE:
~~3RD FLOOR,~~
~~65 BURG STREET,~~
CAPE TOWN.

TELEGRAMS "SANAP"
TELEPHONE 2-1470
P.O. BOX 1539

UP/50/5/1

May 4, 1972

Confirmation of Telex Message

To:

Senator A.Getz,
Mr.J.O.Newton Thompson, M.P.,
Mr.Warwick Webber, M.P.,
Mr.H.Miller, M.P.,
Dr.Patrick Lewis -

This is to advise that the meeting of the Urban Bantu Committee of the Party, called for May 10, has been postponed indefinitely.

E. G. Rees

---

de J.R.Bowring,
Secretary,
Urban Bantu Committee

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

5th May, 1972.

Senator The Hon. A. Getz.
Mr. Warwick Webber, M.P.
Mr, H. Miller. M.P.
Dr. Patrick Lewis.

Dear Pat

URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE.

By now you will have received Colonel Bowring's letter advising you of a meeting on the 10th instant.

Unfortunately, because of other commitments, some of the Committee Members cannot attend and the following week I shall be away attending a Civic Association Meeting in the Transkei. Colonel Bowring, too, goes on leave from the 11th instant and I have decided, therefore, to postpone the meeting scheduled for the 10th until a date to be advised by me later.

In the meantime, however, I shall be glad if you will give due consideration to his letter and let me know what research you are prepared to undertake.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Gray

T. Gray Hughes. M.P.

TGH/hj.

May 18, 1972.

Mr. T. Gray Hughes, M.P.,
House of Assembly,
Parliament Street,
CAPE TOWN.

Dear Gray:

re: Urban Bantu Committee.

I have been away in the Eastern Transvaal for a short time, and only received Col. Bowring's letter of the 1st May, and yours of the 5th, on my return to office.

I am wondering from what angle the Committee is proposing to tackle its task. Is the purpose of the Committee to state a policy which will appeal to the electorate at large, or is the policy to be one which it is hoped will be acceptable to the leaders of the Urban Bantu? Is it proposed to go into these matters in detail? For instance, one of the aspects of Urban Bantu policy which concerns the urban Bantu is housing. The United Party have stated quite clearly that they would allow freehold ownership. Is it proposed to state to whom freehold ownership would be given? For example, would a person have to have a residential qualification; would women be allowed ownership? Would Bantu from outside the Republic be allowed ownership?

Questions arise in connection with the leasing of property. At the moment there are severe restrictions regarding the persons to whom houses can be leased. This is mainly to persons who qualify under Sections 10(a) and (b) Would the Committee be going into details to decide who would be on our letting lists? Here again, would women be allowed to lease property?

I am raising these questions as I would be very happy to go into these matters, and give the present

2/..

position, and raise the questions we would have to consider, if I knew the guidelines on which you wished to work.

In 1965 I gave a lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand entitled "A City within a City - the creation of Soweto", and in this I listed all the Acts of Parliament that had been passed in recent years affecting Africans: this list is on page 78/9 of the enclosed lecture. Is it proposed that we look at all these measures to see what alterations we would wish to make? In the meantime I will start collecting information in regard to the questions (c) and (d).

I am sorry I have not yet had an opportunity of meeting you and the other members of the Committee to discuss these matters. I could come to Cape Town early in June if any purpose would be served.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.R.B.Lewis

PL:mh
enc:

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

Address during the recess :-

P.O. Box 9095,
JOHANNESBURG.

Patrick Lewis Esq.,
607 Union Castle Building,
Loveday Street,
JOHANNESBURG.

1st August, 1972.

Dear Pat,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I have sent to T. Gray Hughes, M.P. concerning the tour which as you know has been cancelled because of the paucity of numbers wishing to attend by reason of other involvements.

It is hoped that the sub-committee will take advantage of the tour on Thursday and Friday, the 10th and 11th instant as besides you and I, no-one else has seen these areas.

I have asked Sam Moss to make the official arrangements.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

H. MILLER, M.P.

During Recess :

P.O. Box 9095,

JOHANNESBURG.

31st July, 1972

Mr. T. Gray Hughes,MP.,
P.O. Box 36,
UMTATA.

Dear Gray,

I have arranged with Mr. Sam Moss, MPC., member of the Management Committee of the Johannesburg City Council, to organise officially the following tour :

Thursday morning, the 10th August, 1972 at 8 a.m. for 8.30 a.m.

We meet at the Non-European Affairs Department,cor. Albert & Delvers Streets, Johannesburg. We will proceed to inspect the hostel at Alexandra Township, and then on to Pretoria, to see the Mamelodi and Ga-Randkuwa, both of which Townships serve Rosslyn Park, and Pretoria.

Friday morning, the 11th August, 1972.

We proceed to Soweto and in the afternoon proceed to see Daveyton at Benoni.

Saturday morning, the 12th August, 1972 at 9 a.m.

We will meet at the offices of the United Party , Noord Street, Johannesburg.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Patrick Lewis for his information.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

H. MILLER, M.P.

Copy for Mr S. Moss.
+ for Mr Patrick Lewis

PHONE:
Office 1821
Res. 205

P.O. Box 36,
UMTATA.

4th August, 1972.

Dear Pat,

As only two members indicated their intention of going on the tour of the Transvaal Homelands I cancelled the arrangements. I hope to be able to arrange another tour later and will give details at our caucus meeting on the 24th.

Hymie Miller has very kindly arranged a tour of the urban Bantu townships and I shall be glad if you will let me know at once (or earlier) if you still intend accompanying us and if you will need transport.

The arrangements are as follows:-

Thursday morning, the 10th August, 1972 at 8 a.m. for 8.30 a.m.

We meet at the Non-European Affairs Department, corner Albert & Delvers Streets, Johannesburg. We will proceed to inspect the hostel at Alexandra Township, and then on to Pretoria, to see the Mamelodi and Ga-Rankuwa, both of which Townships serve Rosslyn and Park, and Pretoria.

Friday morning, the 11th August, 1972.

We proceed to Soweto and in the afternoon proceed to see Daveyton at Benoni.

Saturday morning, the 12th August, 1972 at 9 a.m.

The Urban Bantu Committee will meet at the offices of the United Party, Noord Street, Johannesburg.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

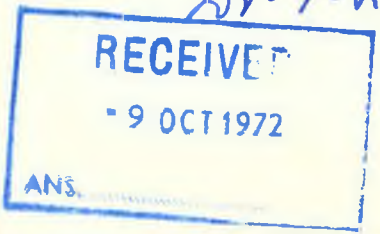
Gray.

T. GRAY HUGHES, M. P.

Hymie says he has contacted you.
L.

RECEIVED
- 7 AUG 1972
ANS.

PER LUGPOS
BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION



OFFICIAL

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8

Dr. P. R. B. Lewis,
Box 1044
Johannesburg

RECEIVED
- 9 OCT 1972
ANS.

Handtekening van Lid
Signature of Member ..... L.V. M.P.

Kiesafdeling
Constituency ..... Transkei.

Box 36
UMÍATA.

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

P.O. Box 36,
UMTATA.

29th September, 1972.

RECEIVED
- 9 OCT 1972
ANS.

Dear Pat,

I have finalised arrangements for our visit to Port Elizabeth on the 12th October. The Mayor wishes us to have tea with him before we start our trip through the township where we will meet Africans.

It will not be necessary to stay overnight.

These are the flight times.

Johannesburg to Port Elizabeth	Depart	7.15	arrive	9.00
Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg	"	18.30	"	20.40
Cape Town to Port Elizabeth	"	7.00	"	8.05 a.m.
Port Elizabeth to Cape Town	"	20.00	"	21.10
Durban to Port Elizabeth	"	7.15	"	9.00
Port Elizabeth to Durban	"	18.15	"	19.20

Please let me know as soon as possible how you will be travelling and if you will want accommodation reserved for you (in the event of your wishing to stay over). You must do your own plane booking.

Kind regards,

Gray

P.S. I do not know if Hymie let you know about the proposed visit to Port Elizabeth. The request came from the P.E. Officials and as it is advisable for us to consult with as many as possible I have arranged this trip. I hope you can make it.

Regards,

Gray

October 23, 1972.

Mr. Gray Hughes, M.P.,
Post Office Box 36,
UMTATA,
Transkei.

Dear Gray:

I only received your letter of the 29th September on the 9th October. Unfortunately, I had arranged to be in the Eastern Transvaal at that time, so was unable to take part in the trip.

Yours sincerely,

P.R.B.Lewis

P.O. Box 743,
Pretoria.

25th October 1972

Dear Pat.

I am sending you a copy of a Memorandum prepared at the Pretoria University, which I think you will find of interest. As copyright is no doubt involved, please ensure that the contents are not published.

Yours sincerely,

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA

DEPARTEMENT STAATSLEER EN INTERNASIONALE POLITIEK

DIE STEDELIKE BANTOE.

Die eeue-oue standpunt wat beweer dat geld harder as ideologie druk blyk deesdae van besondere toepassing in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika se kleurpolitiek te wees. In teenstelling met die etiek van die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling, wat vir die Swartman van Suid-Afrika die verkryging van politieke regte en vryhede binne sy eie geo-politieke eenhede impliseer en wat as 'n humanitêre ideaal van aanvaarbaarheid spreek, het daar wat die tegnieke vir die suksesvulle realisering van die beleid betref, praktiese probleme opgeduik. Die Bantoes is voor 'n onwillekeurige keuse geplaas: In hul eie tuislande kan hulle op sinvolle politieke regte aanspraak maak en ook politieke vryhede geniet, maar wel ten koste van ekonomiese welvaart, omdat die tuislande nog nie ekonomies selfgenoegsaam is nie. Die stede daarenteen bied ruime geleentheid vir ekonomiese vooruitgang, sonder politieke regte en vryhede. Die toenemende groei van swart getalle in die stede toon die keuseprioriteit van die Bantoe in hierdie opsig — moontlik ook onwillekeurig — duidelik aan.

Indien ook in ag geneem word dat politieke ontwikkeling deur politieke stabiliteit, administratiewe vaardigheid en ekonomiese ontwikkeling geimpliseer word en dit word aanvaar dat die Bantoe slegs 'n politieke aanspraak in die tuislande kan beoefen, maar tans van sy ekonomiese vooruitgang en administratiewe vaardigheid van blanke stede afhanklik is (waar hy nie oor politieke regte beskik nie), dan word die omvang van dié probleem nog groter.

Die vraagstuk van die verstedelikte Bantoe word nog verder verskerp deur die feit dat die patrone van sy politiek-kulturele oriëntering ten opsigte van sy tradisionele politieke stelsel(s), sy insetvermoëns, uitsetreaksie en sy beskouing van homself as politieke akteur (uit Westerse demokratiese oogpunt beskou), uiters rudimentêr van aard is. Terselfdertyd het die Swartman se toenemende ekonomiese ontwikkeling en sy voortdurende maatskaplike kontak met die blanke politieke akteur 'n sosialiseringsproses begin stimuleer wat die kontakgaping tussen die verstedelikte Bantoe en sy eweknie in die tuislande nog groter gemaak het.

2/...

gemaak het. Ten spyte van die feit dat daar geargumenteer word dat die stedelike Swartman en die inwoners van die tuislande nasionaal deur bande van taal, afkoms, tradisies, gewoontes, ens. aan mekaar gebonde is, moet nie uit die oog verloor word nie, dat die sosialiseringsproses wat die stedelike Bantoe vanweë sy kontak met 'n blanke Westerse politieke kultuur in die stede ondergaan, 'n swart menslike produk "skep" wat uiteraard van die tuislandbewoner verskil. Hierdie "politieke opvoedingsproses" wat die stedelike Swartman ondervind, geskied in intieme sosiale kontak met die blanke (vir generasies nou-al) en al die invloede wat dit impliseer het 'n ontwikkelingsituasie geskep wat met realisme benader behoort te word, sonder om in die romantisering van tradisionele kultuureienskappe te verval.

Met betrekking tot die vraagstuk wat die politieke en burgerlike status van daardie Bantoes sal wees wat as gevolg van hul ekonomiese betrokkenheid binne blanke Suid-Afrika woonagtig is, word die standpunt in die algemeen gehuldig dat hierdie Bantoe (i) oorspronklik na die blanke gebiede aangetrek is, primêr om hul arbeid te verkoop — met ander woorde, om ekonomiese redes en nie omrede verowering òf assimilasie nie; (ii) beskou word as lede van vreemde etniese of nasionale groeperinge en gevolglik as sulks behandel en geadministreer word; (iii) ekonomies met blanke Suid-Afrika ineengestrengel is op 'n statutêr gedefinieerde en gekwalifiseerde basis en dat hierdie ekonomiese integrasie tot die onvermydelike minimum beperk word; (iv) nie toegelaat kan word om hul beperkte ekonomiese betrokkenheid op so 'n wyse te eksploiteer, dat hulle die politieke mededingers van die blankes sal word nie; (v) hul politieke en burgerregte in hul onderskeie tuislande moet uitoefen — met ander woorde, hul politieke en burgerregte word aan hul persoon gekoppel en is gevolglik, met inagneming van hul vreemde status, alleenlik in hul eie tuislande en nie in blanke Suid-Afrika toepasbaar nie, waar hul teenwoordigheid in elk geval slegs van ekonomiese belang is; (vi) burgers van hul eie onderskeie tuislande is en dus in die toekoms in blanke Suid-Afrika as burgers van vreemde state behandel sal word; (vii) toegelaat sal word om met betrekking tot hul residensiële gebiede in blanke Suid-Afrika, slegs bestuursregte te behou en alleenlik sover as plaaslike bestuursvlak; en (viii) die beklemtoning van die ekonomiese onafhanklikheid tussen blanke Suid-Afrika en die opkomende Bantoevolke/...

volke; 'n interafhanklikheid wat sal voortduur ondanks toenemende politieke outonomie vir die Bantoegroepe in hul onderskeie geo-politieke tuislande.

'n Ontleding van die verhoudingsvraagstuk ten opsigte van die Swartman, dui vervolgens op die aanwesigheid van die besondere groepe wat soos volg daaruit sien:

1. Die Tuislanders: Die aanvaarding en voortsetting van die tuislandbeleid wat alreeds 'n gevorderde stadium van ontwikkeling bereik het, is waarskynlik die maklikste aspek. In hierdie geval word voorsien dat die tuislanders met verloop van tyd dié punt van ontwikkeling sal bereik waar volkome selfbeskikking aan hulle toegestaan sal kan word. Staatkundig gesproke skep dit nie veel probleme nie. Per slot van sake veronderstel en vereis die afsonderlike politieke ontwikkeling van die Bantoe, 'n maksimale mate van territoriale skeiding tussen Wit en Swart. Met ander woorde, die toekomstige nasionale onafhanklikheid van die Bantoevolke, moet op 'n doeltreffende wyse in afsonderlike geo-politieke tuislande gerealiseer word.

2. Swart trekarbeiders in die stede: Hierdie Bantoes word as burgers van 'n bepaalde tuisland aanvaar en dit word geag dat hulle vir 'n korter of langer tydperk(e) in blanke gebiede werksaam is. Hulle politieke toekoms lê opgesluit in die tuisland waarheen hulle vroeër of later terugkeer. Onder omstandighede lewer hulle ook nie besondere probleme op nie, want dit word aanvaar dat hulle slegs tydelik en toevallig in blanke gebiede woonagtig is.

3. Die verstedeliking van die Swartman: Die toenemende tempo van verstedeliking wat by die Bantoe plaasvind, baar die grootste kommer. Dit is egter nie 'n proses wat slegs aan die Swartman eie is nie, maar is inderdaad 'n universele verskynsel en kenmerkend van die menslike geskiedenis. In hoofsaak kan dit toegeskryf word aan:

   (a) toenemende industrialisasie;
   (b) ekonomiese ontwikkeling;
   (c) aanloklikheid van die stede;

'n/... 4/...

(d) 'n hoë opvoedkundige peil; en
(e) die toekomsmoontlikhede wat die stede bied.

Die volgende vergelykings behoort die proses van verstedeliking te illustreer:

Provinsies	1951	1960	1970
Kaap	430,456	618,527	866,597
Natal	286,352	421,483	711,900
Transvaal	1,433,462	2,015,428	2,823,599
O.V.S.	231,322	411,145	530,851
Suid-Afrika	2,381,592	3,466,583	4,932,947

Uit hierdie syfers kan duidelik afgelei word watter omvang verstedeliking reeds aangeneem het.. Die verstedeliking het egter betrekking op die tuislande sowel as op die blanke gebiede. Indien die tuislande met die blanke gebiede vergelyk word, ontvou die volgende patroon.

Persentasie van Bantoes verstedelik

Volksgroep	Persentasie van volk verstedelik	Persentasie van stedelike bevolking	
		Blankegebied	Tuisland
Xhosa - Transkei	28,4	93,0	7,0
Xhosa - Ciskei	37,3	70,3	29,7
Tswana	38,9	87,9	12,1
Noord-Sotho	23,6	84,7	15,3
Shangaan	24,1	86,3	13,7
Venda	17,8	96,1	3,9
Swazi	34,9	95,4	4,6
Zoeloe	31,1	80,8	19,2
Suid-Sotho	42,6	98,7	1,3

Volgens berekening (deur Prof. Van der Merwe gemaak) het 46,0% van die stedelike Bantoe hulle in die gebiede Pretoria, Witwatersrand en Vereniging bevind.

Die/... 5/...

Die basiese vraag waaroor nou besin moet word is die toekoms van die verstedelike Bantoe en meer in besonder hulle politieke toekoms. In die verband is daar enkele alternatiewes waarna gekyk kan word.

1) Integrasie in die blanke politieke stelsel. So 'n oplossing word wel deur 'n minderheid blankes in Suid-Afrika aanvaar. Onder huidige omstandighede word dit egter verwerp omdat juis dit wat behou wil word in die proses vernietig sal word, naamlik dat dit die blanke 'n minderheid in sy eie gebied sal maak.

2) Burgerregte vir die stedelike Bantoe in sy tuisland. In die algemeen gestel is dit vandag min of meer die amptelike beleid. Dit geld in besonder vir die tuislanders en die Bantoetrekarbeiders. Hulle kan hulle politieke regte volwaardig in hulle eie tuisland uitoefen en namate hierdie gebiede mettertyd onafhanklikheid verkry is daar hoegenaamd geen plafon t.o.v. hulle politieke ontwikkeling nie. Of dit egter 'n oplossing bied vir die Bantoe wat 'n langdurige verblyf in die Blanke stedelike gebied verwerf het is egter 'n heel ander saak. Enersyds het dit reeds aan die lig gekom dat tuislandregerings vir goeie redes van hulle eie nie entoesiasties is om aan hierdie mense volle burgerregte in die tuislande toe te ken nie. As rede word aangevoer dat hulle tradisionele gesag nie meer wil aanvaar nie, dat hulle tot sekere hoogte die stamverband ontgroei het, dat hulle politieke opvattings verskillend is van die van die tuislanders en dat hulle die verantwoordelikheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse owerheid is. Die stedelike Bantoes aanvaar op hulle beurt weer dat die stede vir hulle 'n ekonomiese lewensbestaan en politieke toekomsmoontlikhede bied wat in die tuislande nie bestaan nie.

As oplossing vir hierdie vraagstuk word enkele moontlikhede aangebied.

(i) Nywerheidsgroei moet in die tuislande tot daardie punt van ontwikkeling gebring word waar dit 'n aanloklike alternatief vir die Bantoe sal wees sodat hulle spontaan daarheen sal beweeg. Of daardie punt van ontwikkeling in die afsienbare toekoms bereik

kan/... 6/...

kan word is egter twyfelagtig.

Uit 'n praktiese oogpunt beskou is R6 000 nodig om vir een Bantoe in die grensgebiede werkgeleentheid te skep. Van hierdie sesduisend rand aansporingskoste moet R4 000 deur die nyweraar en R2 000 deur die staat bygedra word. (Die staat se bydrae word in terme van verhaalbare en nie-verhaalbare uitgawes bereken).

Om nou die uitvloei uit die tuislande na die stede stop te sit, is die skepping van ±40 000 werkgeleenthede per jaar vir die tydperk 1970-1980 nodig.

Indien die uitvloei uit die tuislande, sowel as die natuurlike aanwas in die stede geabsorbeer wil word, is die skepping van 40 000 + 48 000 werkgeleenthede per jaar vir die tydperk 1970-1980 en 53 000 + 61 000 werkgeleenthede per jaar vir die tydperk 1980-1990 nodig. Om dan die nodige 114 000 werkgeleenthede per jaar (53 000 + 61000) te realiseer word ongeveer R684 miljoen rand (jaarliks) benodig. Daarvan sal staatsbydrae R228 miljoen en nyweraarsbydrae R456 miljoen beloop.

(ii) Die aanlê en ontwikkeling van Bantoestede in die tuislande word ook beplan. Of dit werklike lewensvatbare stede sal word sal afhang van die groeipunte wat daar geskep word.

(iii) Ook word daaraan gedink om die stedelike Bantoegebiede deel van die tuislande te verklaar en dus daarby in te skakel. Die probleem is egter dat hierdie stedelike gebiede deur verskillende volksgroepe bewoon word en dit sal in praktyk beteken dat die tuislandregerings oor vreemde Bantoes gesag sal voer.

(iv) 'n Ander alternatief wat ook oorweeg is, is om die skeiding tussen die stedelike Bantoe en die tuislande as 'n voldonge feit te aanvaar. In die geval sou dan daaraan gedink word om eie plaaslike rade aan hulle te gee, soortgelyk aan die voorsiening wat vir die Kleurlinge gemaak is. Met ander woorde om strukturele voorsiening vir die uitoefening van politieke regte vir die Bantoe in die stede te maak.

Ind... 7/...

Indien die hele vraagstuk in sy geheel in oënskou geneem word kan die volgende afleidings gemaak word.

1) Die vraagstuk van die ontwikkeling van die tuislande en die uiteindelike onafhanklikheidswording van die gebiede is gering in vergelyking met die vraagstuk van die politieke toekoms van die stedelike Bantoe.

2) Die stedelike Bantoe is reeds tot 'n groot mate by die ekonomiese aktiwiteite van die blanke in die stede ingeskakel. Daar is trouens 'n toename van Bantoe arbeiders in die meeste bedrywe. Dit beteken die langdurige verblyf van die Bantoe in blanke gebiede.

3) Meer gunstige omstandighede kan vir die stedelike Bantoe in die tuislande geskep word indien daar
   i) groter nywerheidsvestiging kan plaasvind;
   ii) versnelde ekonomiese groei gestimuleer word;
   iii) meer grond aan die tuislande beskikbaar gestel word; en
   iv) die konsolidasie van die tuislande ongeag enige opofferings wat die blanke sal moet maak, deurgevoer word.

Ten spyte van hierdie maatreëls los dit egter nog nie die vraagstuk in sy geheel op nie en sal daar nog baie nie-blankes hulle in die blanke stede bevind.

- - - - - - - - - -

October 31, 1972.

Senator Abe Getz,
Post Office Box 743,
PRETORIA.

Dear Abe:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 25th October enclosing the memorandum by the Pretoria University. I am reading this with interest.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

PL:mh

UNITED PARTY

CENTRAL HEAD COMMITTEE

ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO BE ADDRESSED TO
THE GENERAL SECRETARY.

HEAD OFFICE:
CAPE TOWN.

TELEGRAMS "SANAP"
TELEPHONE 2-1470
P.O. BOX 1539

RECEIVED
14 NOV 1972
ANS.

UP/50/5/1

November 6, 1972.

To Senator A.Getz,
Advocate J.O.Newton Thompson,M.P.,
Mr.Warwick Webber, M.P.,
Mr.H.Miller, M.P.,
Dr.Patrick Lewis

Dear Colleague -

Interim Report : Urban Bantu Committee

I enclose draft of the First Interim Report of our Committee for your comments.

Mr.Gray Hughes intends discussing it with you at the earliest opportunity so that, with suitable amendments, it may be presented to the Leader.

Yours sincerely,

E.G. Rous

J.R.Bowring,
Secretary, Urban Bantu Committee.

FIRST DRAFT ONLY

-

Sir De Villiers Graaff, M.P.,
Leader of the United Party -

INTERIM REPORT BY THE URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE

1 Terms of Reference -

The terms of reference of the Urban Bantu Committee, appointed by you, are "to investigate and report upon United Party policy in respect of the urban Bantu and to recommend any adjustments or amendments thereto that the Committee may deem to be desirable.

2. Action taken -

The Committee has held numerous meetings; it has visited Bantu townships in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth. It has held discussions with officials of the Bantu Affairs Department and with leading urban Bantu personalities. Individual members of the Committee have carried out a great deal of personal research.

3. What is the United Party's policy in respect of the urban Bantu?

The policy is officially stated in the following publications:

(a) The Native Policy of the United Party as approved by the Union Congress of the Party at Bloemfontein in November 1954.

In this booklet the general principles of Bantu policy are stated and detailed policy in respect of urban control, pass laws; influx control, industrial labour legislation, trading facilities, migrant labour and urban Bantu commerce are clearly defined.

(b) Handbook for Better Race Relations, 1963 -

In this pamphlet the permanent presence of millions of Bantu in white urban areas is affirmed and accepted. The policy of, firstly, taking steps for a more humane administration of the pass laws and, secondly, for giving the urban Bantu a say in their local government and a stake in the maintenance of law and order are re-affirmed

-(c)-

(c) THE ANSWER - YOU WANT IT? WE HAVE IT!

In this pamphlet existing policy is stated without modification.

(d) ONWARD - December 1971 -

In this re-statement and updating of United Party policy, there is no change in policy in respect of urban Bantu.

4. Nationalist Party policy in respect of urban Bantu -

The policies of the United Party and the Nationalist Party are diametrically opposed; the most superficial examination of Nationalist Party policy exposes its flagrant injustice, its impracticable aims and the dangers inherent in its application.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated in Parliament (HANSARD - February 3,1970):

"In white areas here the Bantu is not being granted equality or potential equality with the white man in any single aspect of social life whatsoever; not so far as the say as regards the government of the country is concerned, not as far as propriety rights are concerned, not as far as labour status is concerned, not as far as social amenities are concerned; they have no potential or actual equality."

There has never been any actual equality of rights and all potential for equality has been systematically removed and eliminated. Today the urban Bantu has, in effect, no rights at all except the useless one of exercising a vote in a distant homeland.

Townships where Africans owned land and built their houses have been zoned as white group areas or, as in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, are being cleared of family housing to make way for hostels. A departmental directive ordered local authorities to stop the sale of houses on easy terms on leasehold land and to discontinue the home ownership scheme whereunder Africans in the higher income group built their houses on 30 year leasehold plots; - this was a terrible blow aimed at the emerging middleclass Bantu, robbing them of both incentive and security and counteracting the stabilising influence of home

ownership. Traders have been limited to a one man - one site principle, have had their right to erect their own premises on leasehold plots taken from them, have been denied the right to form companies or enter into partnerships and prohibited from establishing new drycleaning establishments, garage and filling stations. Local Authorities have been reminded by the Department of Bantu Affairs that trading by Bantu in municipal African townships in white areas is not an inherent opportunity for them and that they must confine themselves to daily essential domestic necessities. Moneyed Bantu and Bantu companies and partnerships must establish themselves in the Bantu homelands. It is to be noted that Bantu are not permitted to carry out any form of trade outside their townships in white areas.

The Bantu, who may have been living and established for three generations in a white area, is regarded as a permanently rightless and rootless sojourner in the land of his birth. Given the fact that more than half the Bantu live in the white area, if this system persists, large scale violence is ultimately inevitable. Such people are always, as the Communists say, the spearhead of the revolution.

5. Views expressed by urban Bantu spokesmen -

All urban Bantu with whom the Committee held discussions and who included urban Bantu Councillors, a prominent businessman, a school principal, a medical doctor, a bank manager, social workers and ministers of religion were unanimous and bitterly opposed to Government policies in their regard. They said that they did not desire the removal of the white man because he is, through his greater technical knowledge, essential for their advance and progress but that they they had lost all confidence in his integrity and sense of justice.

They stated their views and demands in the following terms:

- They wanted to be treated as human beings on an equal basis with whites in terms of a common humanity.

- They reject the manner in which the Government decides how their lives shall be regulated without any consultation with them

- or -

or any regard for their aspirations, interests or feelings. They were very pleased to hear that the United Party would create machinery for consultation with them.

- They reject the Government's claim that they belong to eight separate nations. They said that, irrespective of whether they are Zulu or Xhosa, they regard themselves as Black South Africans and want to be accepted as such. They laugh at the idea of eight independent Bantu nations.

- They insist on the abolition of job reservation. They want educational and training facilties to be provided for them on a large scale so that they may become better qualified and enabled to progress to better, more skilled jobs and higher wages and salaries.

- They want the right to obtain freehold title to their houses and they want the right to bring their wives from the homelands to live with them.

They offered no opinion on the new constitutional policy of the United Party and are probably unaware of it. They do not believe that any white political party is sincerely desirous of improving their conditions of living.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE -

The Committee has come to the definite conclusion that no major adjustments or amendments to existing United Party policy in respect of the urban Bantu is either required or desirable. The existing policy which is, in the main, that advocated by the Fagan Commission in 1948 and has stood the test of time. Under both presnt and foreseeable future conditions it still appears to be sound and practicable as any that can be devised; had it been implemented when it was first advanced South Africa would today undoubtedly be a happier country with a much brighter future.

The Committee believes that an opposition Party should not try to present its proposed policies in complete detail but that it should preferably present them in terms of general principles and not allow itself to be bogged down by minor and contentious detail.

-The Committee -

The Committee is of the opinion that the Party's policy in respect of the urban Bantu has in its published propaganda not been satisfactorily presented to the electorate nor in a manner calculated to arouse emotional support and enthusiastic reasoned interest.

The Committee therefore strongly recommends that the policy of the Party in respect of the urban Bantu should be presented to the electorate in a completely new format. Instead of being briefly and tersely stated as part of a general statement of Party policy, it should be set out vividly, discursively and and convincingly in a separate publication with an eye-catching cover. The contents should emphasise the vital necessity for, and importance of, a just, sound and practicable Bantu policy in the best interests of all races not only for now but also for the long-term future of the white nation.

Concentrating mainly on the problems of the urban Bantu, it should state the nature and size of the problems involved. Statistical information should be as exhaustive as possible; every argument, both for and against, should be clearly stated. The presentation should be such that the "New Era" philosophical approach of the United Party will appear in striking contrast to the moral bankruptcy of the Nationalist Party, and no factual examination of Nationalist Party economic, social and racial policies can fail to highlight how disastrous they must be in the long term.

PREPARATION OF A NEW POLICY STATEMENT

The Committee is now actively engaged on the preparation of a statement on the lines outlined above which it plans to submit when Parliament assembles in 1973.

October 1972.

Bantu

RECEIVED
26 JAN 1972
ANS.

DRAFT

URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE -

Second Interim Report : January 1973

1. Terms of Reference:

To investigate and report upon United Party policy in respect of the Urban Bantu and to recommend any adjustments or amendments thereto considered desirable.

2. Definition of Urban Bantu:

For the purposes of its study the Committee initially defined as "urban Bantu" those Bantu who have acquired rights of permanent residence in a prescribed area in terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act of 1945.

During its investigation the Committee found that this rigid definition could not be maintained. There are Bantu at several different stages of urbanisation, varying from those who have been urbanised for several generations, to those who maintain tribal links to those who oscillate between living under urban and rural conditions.

3. United Party policy in respect of Urban Bantu:

One of the first tasks of the Committee was to establish as clearly as possible what exactly is Party policy in respect of urban Bantu.

This policy was first set out in a booklet entitled THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE UNITED PARTY, which was approved by Union Congress in 1954. Modifications to this policy statement have been made in subsequent publications and by statements made by the Leader of the Party from time to time.

.-Having-

Having examined all such publcations and statements, consolidating those which affect urban Bantu and re-stating them in contemporary idiom, the Committee considers that the Party policy today in respect of urban Bantu is as follows:

(a) Economic integration is a fact. The ~~townward movement of the Bantu can neither be prevented~~ nor reversed and a permanent urban Bantu population ~~has to be accepted as~~ is an integral part of the South African economy. Bantu labour is essential to the national economy, but its integration cannot be permitted to take place without regulation, guidance and control.

For these purposes it is the policy of the United Party

(i) to provide aeparate residential, social and educational amenities;

(ii) to maintain influx control and the pass laws but to administer these laws realistically to meet the demand for labour and humanely so as to ensure that they do not cause unnecessary hardship and grievance;

(iii) to give the Bantu a stake in the maintenance of law and order:

- by making it possible for Bantu to acquire freehold title to their homes in urban locations -
- ensuring their enjoyment of undisturbed family life -
- actively fostering the emergence of a responsible [redacted]-class of Bantu townwellers. -
- raising their standard of living, their facilities for education and training as well as creating better opportunities for their productive and gainful employment.

-(b)-

(b) To give effect to this policy a United Party Government will

- Abolish job reservation and protect white workers through the application of the "rate for the job;"
- Arrange for the collective representation of Bantu labour in a manner to be determined after consultation with existigg Trade Unions and organised management;
- Give Urban Bantu Councils the greatest possible control over their own local self-government;
- Accept responsibility for the provision of permanent Bantu housing in urban and peri-urban areas;
- Encourage Bantu to develop & operate their own commercial undertakings; trading in urban Bantu locations will be strictly reserved for them;
- Take steps to improve Bantu health, malnutrition and social services such as Old Age Pensions, blind persons and disability grants;

  Polygamy will be discouraged and parental responsibility for Bantu children strongly encouraged;
- Make elementary education available to all Bantu children;
- Immediately on return to power review, with a view to repeal or amend, all discriminatory laws including those which control Bantu in urban areas.

-(c)-

(c) In principle the Party is opposed to migrant labour because of its adverse social and economic consequences, but it recognises that the employment of a considerable number of migrant workers is unavoidable. (See ECONOMIC ~~S~~ OF MIGRANT LABOUR BY Dr.F.Wilson)

(d) The Party is stronlgy opposed to miscegenation and will maintian law and order at all costs and in all circumstances.

The Committee regards this policy as sound, sensible and practical; moreover it is know to the electorate. ~~It should therefore be modified as little as possible so as to avoid the accusation that the United Party is constantly changing its policies.~~

It is impossible to predict what changes will have taken place and what conditions will prevail when the United Party regains power. It might be that, through changed circumstances, some aspects of the policy could not be implemented. ~~This possibility is not of great importance because the first aim is to attract voters and to gain power.~~

4. Matters requiring further consideration:

(a) Party policy in respect of organised Bantu Labour -

On this subject Party policy is very indefinite and and dependent on attitudes adopted by Trade Unions and organised management.

A new factor has arisen in the fact that Bantu in the self-govefning Reserves may form their own unions and exercise pressure on white employers for better conditions for Bantu workers in white areas.

It is unjest to deny to Bantu workers the right to organise to promote their own interests. It is only by organising that the Bantu will be able to improve their bargaining power ~~and they must ultimately be permitted to form their own Trade Unions.~~

-Whether-

Whether it is in the interests of the Party to make a major change of policy on this matter at the present time requires further examination.

(b) Pass Laws and Influx Control -

Party policy is clear on this matter - i.e. Pass laws and influx control must be maintained and humanely administered.

The Bantu population is exceedingly hostile to the pass laws whose application constitutes the major source of crime in South Africa and change is obviously essential. When the Party gains power and examines existing legislation they will be reviewed and amended as necessary.

Whether the Party should state now how they will be modified or how they will be administered requires further examination.

(c) Competition between Black and White industrialists -

Such competition will undoubtedly eventually occur and will have to be controlled. It is, however, premature to evolve and state a definite policy on this subject at the present time.

(d) Presentation of Party Bantu Policy -

The Committee is agreed that a skilful and professional re-statement of urban Bantu policy is required.

Senator Horak said that professional experts who advise the Party are now fully engaged in examining the presentation of the new constitutional plans and that they will not be in a position to advise on the presentation of our urban Bantu policy until the above task had been completed.

The rights acquired by a tent-
ten of Sect 10 a b & c shall not
be deducted to any one person.

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN
UMTATA

10th January, 1973

Dr. Patrick Lewis,
P.O. Box 1044,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Pat,

As Warwick was not able to arrange a meeting with Chief Butelezi before Xmas, I do not think we can fit one in now before the session begins. In any event I think we know pretty well what he would say and Sir De Villiers has told me of his meeting with him.

Mdantsane, at East London, all except two have been seen and the Durban townships will fall under the Bantu authorities as part of the Homelands. Although some of us have seen Langa and Gunguletu we have not had the opportunity of talking to representatives of the residents and we can easily arrange that in Cape Town.

I would like to finalise our report before Parliament meets and am wondering if the 29th and 30th January in Cape Town would suit you. Most of us are in Cape Town at that time preparing for the session and in any event would have to be there by about Wednesday for the caucus.

If I hear from you that this is in order I shall approach Marais Steyn and ask him to be there too to discuss labour matters. Also I would like to hear Sonny Emdin and possibly Baxter and Van Hoogstraten on competitive trading. Sonny and Marais are usually in Cape Town a week before the session starts and David and Hoogie live there.

If you can manage it I would suggest a pre-arranged visit to Langa in the morning of the 29th and a meeting thereafter in the afternoon and evening with the other groups. On the 30th we would finalise our discussions.

Please let me hear from you.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely
Gray

January 16, 1973.

Mr. Gray Hughes, M.P.,
Post Office Box 36,
UMTATA,
Cape Province.

Dear Gray:

Thanks for your letter of the 10th January. I sent you the following telegram today -

"THANKS LETTER 10TH JANUARY WILL BE CONVENIENT ATTEND MEETINGS AS SUGGESTED STOP WHERE DO WE MEET".

I have made arrangements to leave here on the evening of the 26th January and to return to Johannesburg on the evening of the 31st, and I shall be staying at the Mount Nelson Hotel.

I look forward to meeting you again, and hope we can complete the report.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.R.B.Lewis.

T 20

GP-S–(F)

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TO
AAN GRAY HUGHES BOX 36 UMTATA

USE BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE

THANKS LETTER 10TH JANUARY WILL BE CONVENIENT ATTEND MEETINGS AS SUGGESTED STOP WHERE DO WE MEET

FROM
VAN PAT LEWIS

GEBRUIK BLOKLETTERS ASSEBLIEF

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED/*MOENIE OORGESEND WORD NIE*

Signature of sender
Handtekening van afsender.....

Address
Adres 98 Market Street, Johannesburg.

Name in block letters
Naam in blokletters P.R.B.LEWIS

Telephone number (if any)
Telefoonnommer (as daar is) 834-6963

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Phones: Office 1281
Res 205

P.O. Box 36
Umtata
Transkei

January 18th, 1973.

RECEIVED
20 JAN 1972
ANS.

Dr. Pat Lewis,
P.O. Box 1044,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Pat,

Thanks for your telegram.

We shall meet at the Houses of Parliament at 9.30 a.m. on Monday the 29th instant.

I see a plane arrives from Jo'burg at 9.35 so if you get there at 10 or so it will be O.K. That afternoon we meet the Advisory Board members.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gray

Urban Bantu Committee

1. It is proposed that members should prepare

a) a list of subjects which should be examined by the committee

b) Suggestions as to what aspects of our ~~pass~~ existing policy require amplification or change

2. It is suggested by the Secretary that the following matters inter alia require examination:-

- Given our definition of urban Bantu who will examine the problems of other urbanised Bantu located in Native Reserves or employed as migrant or contract workers in White areas?

- What is our attitude to the labour organisation of urban Bantu? Will they be permitted to form trade unions? Can trade unions be trusted to obtain a fair deal for Bantu workers?

- What are the disabilities imposed on urban Bantu? What should be done to alleviate them?

- Given the need for trained Bantu labour how will we ensure that adequate numbers of Bantu are trained & employed? How will we deal with

Trade union objections?

- How do we intend to ensure that wages for urban Bantu are fair + adequate?
- How do we propose to make certain that the Bantu will know the extent to which U.P. policy would improve their living conditions?
- What notice should be taken of Bantu demands to be considered as a one Black African nation?
- The South African economy is one. Do we wish to encourage separate industrial development in Bantu industrial areas?
- Does our urban African policy gain us increased White voting support or does it lose us votes?
- Is our urban Bantu policy adhered to our financial resources?
- Are the urban Bantu townships planned with sufficient regard to future development possibilities?

R/Relation.

RR 11/72.
14/2/72

Get pan Race Relations

Fact Survey.

Asyl & Dislocation
of the African Population

UNITED PARTY

CENTRAL HEAD COMMITTEE

ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO BE ADDRESSED TO
THE GENERAL SECRETARY

HEAD OFFICE:
[redacted]
CAPE TOWN.

TELEGRAMS "SANAP"
TELEPHONE 2-1470
P.O. BOX 1539

January 24, 1973

To the members of the Urban Bantu Committee -

With the compliments

of the

Secretary

RECEIVED
26 JAN 1972
ANS.

April 17, 1973.

Mr. T. G. Hughes, M.P.,
House of Assembly,
CAPE TOWN.

Dear Gray:

Thank you for your letter of the 30th March regarding the interim report of our committee.

I think the report is fine. There are just two points which I think need correction. On page 5, paragraph ix, No. 1 - I cannot agree with this point. Under the Urban Areas Act the local authorities are responsible for housing the Bantu within their boundaries, and I do not think you can relieve the Urban Bantu Councils of the responsibility, which previously rested on the local authority.

On page 6, paragraph 6(b), the second paragraph reads, "....Firstly, the Committee was forced to take note of the virtually unanimous rejection by the urban Bantu spokesmen whom it consulted, of ALL aspects of Government policy." I would suggest that "all" be altered to "many".

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.R.B.Lewis.

PL:mh

- 2 APR 1973

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

Dr. Pat Lewis,
P.O. Box 1044,
JOHANNESBURG.....TVL.

30th March, 1973.

Dear Pat,

I prepared an interim report from our Committee which I submitted to Div. at the commencement of the session. We were holding over the final report until we could meet with the Labour Group to finalise our attitude towards Trade Unions.

However, I understand that the Government is introducing a Bill shortly to deal with Bantu labour and, I think, mainly with the works committees. In the circumstances I have told Div. that I do not think another report is necessary at this stage and I want to be able to refer to our recommendations in the Budget Debate next week.

In view of this fact I am enclosing the interim report for your consideration and comment.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

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T.G. HUGHES, M.P.

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REPORT BY THE URBAN BANTU COMMITTEE

1. Appointment and Terms of Reference.

In February, 1972, Sir de Villiers Graaff, M.P., Leader of the United Party, appointed a Committee of Enquiry consisting of the following members :-

Mr. T.G. Hughes, M.P. - Chairman
Senator the Hon. A. Getz
Dr. Patrick Lewis
Mr. O. Newton Thompson, M.P.
Mr. H. Miller, M.P.
Mr. W. Webber, M.P.
Colonel J.R. Bowring, - Secretary

"to investigate and report upon United Party policy in respect of the urban Bantu and to recommend any adjustments and amendments thereto that the Committee may deem to be desirable."

2. Activities of the Committee

The Committee held numerous meetings. It visited the Bantu townships in the vicinity of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. It held discussions with officials of the Bantu Affairs Department and municipal officials concerned with Bantu administration. It also held discussions with members of urban Bantu Councils and other leading urban Bantu personalities. In addition individual members of the Committee carried out a great deal of personal research and established personal contact with Bantu leaders in various spheres.

3. Definition of the term 'Urban Bantu'

The first task of the Committee was to define the meaning of the term 'Urban Bantu'.

There exists a wide-spread belief that Bantu can be divided into distinct categories, viz: firstly, those who are urban dwellers in the White area and who are detribalized and more or less Westernised and secondly, those who live under tribal conditions in their Reserves.

This view the Committee found to be not strictly accurate and an over simplification of the factual situation. There are for example :

- Bantu who have lived in Bantu townships in the White area for several generations and are completely detribalized.

- Bantu who live in Bantu townships in the White area but who maintain their tribal affiliations and links with their Homeland to which they hope one day to return.

...../2

- Bantu who live under urban conditions in Bantu Reserves and who work in the White industrial areas.

- Bantu who work as migratory labourers, spend part of their lives living in Bantu townships in the White area under urban conditions but who return to their Reserves after the completion of their contracts.

After lengthy discussion the Committee decided that, for the purposes of its investigations, it would define 'Urban Bantu' as those Bantu who have acquired rights of permanent residence in a prescribed area in terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act of 1945. It also decided that this definition excluded Bantu living in Bantu townships in the Reserves such as Umlazi, Kwa Mashu, Imbali, Mdantsane, Mpumalanga and GaRakuwa even though such Bantu might work in White urban or border areas, as well as all migrant Bantu workers.

The Committee recognises that its definition of an Urban Bantu is an arbitrary one which limits the scope of its investigation and submits that a review of United Party policy in respect of migrant workers and other categories of Bantu excluded from the present study, should be undertaken.

4. <u>United Party policy in respect of the Urban Bantu</u>.

The next task of the Committee was to determine and state as clearly and precisely as possible present United Party policy in respect of Urban Bantu. The Committee examined all relevant official publications and policy statements and decided that present policy is as stated below:-

a) Economic integration is a fact which necessitates the acceptance of a permanent Bantu urban population as an integral part of the South African economy. Although the Party regards Bantu labour as essential to the national economy, it will not permit it to be integrated into the economy without regulations, guidance and control. It must be stressed that the Party's attitude on this subject is in direct contradiction to that of the Nationalist Party which regards all Bantu resident in White areas as "temporary sojourners."

b) It is the policy of the United Party in respect of the Urban Bantu :-

i) to provide separate residential social and educational amenities for them.

ii) to maintain influx control but to administer the system in a realistic manner so as to meet the demand for labour and a humane manner so as to obviate hardships and grievances.

iii) to give the Urban Bantu a stake in the maintenance of law and order :

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- by making it possible forthem to acquire freehold title to their homes in urban locations.

- by ensuring their enjoyment of undisturbed family life.

- by actively fostering the emergence of a responsible and stable class of Bantu town-dwellers.

- by raising their standard of living, their facilities for education and training as well as creating better opportunities for their productive and gainful employment.

iv) To give practical effect to this policy the United Party has committed itself when in power :-

- To abolish job reservation and to protect workers through the application of the principle of "the rate for the job."

- To arrange for the collective representation of Bantu labour in a manner to be determined after consultation with existing Trade Unions and organised management.

- To give Urban Bantu Council the greatest possible control over their own local self-government.

- To accept responsibility for the provision of permanent Bantu housing in urban and peri-urban areas and to acquire the land required for this purpose.

- To encourage, train and assist Bantu to develop and operate their own commercial and industrial undertakings.

- To take steps to improve Bantu health and other social services including old age pensions and disability grants.

- To make elementary education available to all Bantu children.

- To provide secondary and technical education facilities for Urban Bantu in the White area and to assist Bantu to gain admittance to universities by restoring their autonomy to these institutions.

- Immediately on return to power to review, with a view to repeal or amend all discriminatory laws including those which apply to Bantu in urban areas.

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v) Having examined in detail this, the existing policy in respect of Urban Bantu, the Committee decided that in general it is sound, sensible, practical and comprehensive as well as having been long and widely propaged. Further it decided that amendment or adjustment is desirable only in respect of the following matters

- The implementation of movement control and the rights of Urban Bantu in connection therewith.
- Bantu Labour and its rights to organize.
- The regulation of competition between Black and White interests in trade and industry.

5. Amendment to existing policy

a) Movement control

In amplification of existing policy the Committee recommends that in any future statement of policy it should be clearly stated

Non-urban Bantu

i) Influx control will be made less irksome through the wider and improved use of labour bureaux and aid centres.

ii) Bantu migratory workers will not be required to return home every year.

iii) The principle of 'zoning' of certain districts from which Bantu workers may be recruited only for a specified area will be scrapped.

iv) Single Bantu women will be treated on the same basis as single men.

v) The wife of a Bantu worker will be permitted to join her husband in a Bantu urban area provided that he is in permanent employment, is in a position to support his family and suitable accommodation is available.

vi) The United Party will restore the spirit of Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act of 1945 and accepts that Bantu who obtain permission to enter a prescribed area in terms of Section 10 (1)(d) of the Act may acquire rights of permanent residence as in the past.

Urban Bantu/.....

Urban Bantu

vii) A special form of reference book will be issued to Bantu qualified as permanent residents in a prescribed area so as to free them from pass regulations which constitute a continuous form of irritation and are largely responsible for the high rate of contraventions of the control system.

viii) Bantu qualified as permanent residents in a prescribed area will be entitled to move to, seek work in, visit or reside in any urban Bantu area.

Different arrangements and facilities for Urban Bantu and migrant labourers:

ix) 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 Legislative Assembly concerned.

Different arrangements and facilities will have to be made and provided for Bantu accommodated in the white areas. 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 employers' property;

(iv) provision of recreational facilities;

(v) provision of transport facilities.

Acquisition of additional land:

x) Accept that additional land will be required with the growth of the urban Bantu population, and that such land must be made available.

b) Organised Bantu Labour

On this subject party policy is very indefinite and dependent on attitudes adopted by Trade Unions and organised management. The Committee is of the opinion that only through their own organisations will Bantu workers be able to promote their own interests and improve their bargaining power. This matter is of concern to all Bantu and not only to urban Bantu.
The Committee decided that any modification of

existing policy entails a major change which it is not competent to recommend.

It considers that problems of Bantu labour such as relations with White trade unions, their right to strike, the right to form their own trade unions and other matters concerning the rights and disabilities of Bantu workers, should be examined as a matter of urgency by this Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Group sitting as one body under the Chairmanship of the Chairman of the Labour Group.

c) Competition between Black and White in Commerce and Industry

Members of the Committee discussed this subject amongst themselves and with Bantu spokesmen. It is one of extreme complexity and conflicting interests. Unregulated competition today would drive out Bantu entrepreneurs who have neither the necessary capital nor the experience, whilst giving them protection under present conditions operates to the financial disadvantage of the Bantu community as a whole.
After careful consideration the Committee decided that it could not recommend any policy change at the present time.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations of the Committee

a) The Committee came to the definite conclusion that apart from firstly, the major policy change required in regard to organised Bantu labour which falls outside its competence and, secondly, administrative improvements and clarification of existing policy in connection with movement control, major changes in the existing Urban Bantu policy of the United Party are neither required nor desirable.

b) There are two matters which although not strictly within its terms of reference, on which the Committee desires to comment.

Firstly, the Committee was forced to take note of the virtually unanimous rejection by the urban Bantu spokesman whom it consulted, of all aspects of Government policy. The injustices and hardships which urban Bantu have to endure and patient, dignified way in which Bantu spokesmen stated their legitimate grievances, made members of the Committee feel ashamed. Where the Committee had an opportunity - usually very limited - to explain United Party policy to Bantu representatives there appeared to be general acceptance of it.
Secondly, the Committee came to the conclusion that the Party policy in respect of the urban Bantu is not presented to the electorate in a manner calculated to arouse either emotional support or enthusiastic informed interest.

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The average Bantu appears to know nothing whatsoever about United Party policy except that their leaders reject it.

The Committee feels that the policy in respect of urban Bantu and indeed of all Bantu, should be presented in a new format, vividly and convincingly and in such a way as to contrast the "New Era" approach of the United Party with the worn-out, failed and impracticable policies of the Government.

T.G. HUGHES

J.R. BOWRING.

Collection Number: A1132

Collection Name: Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987

PUBLISHER:

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