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SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS (INGELYF)
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HOUSING SCHEMES FOR URBAN AFRICANS IN
MUNICIPAL AREAS AND THE HOMELANDS

by

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HOUSING SCHEMES FOR URBAN AFRICANS IN
MUNICIPAL AREAS AND THE HOMELANDS

By Muriel Horrell

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

One very significant aspect of the consideration of housing is the question of where this housing is to be situated. This is a particularly important matter for Africans, in view of the policy of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, as notified to local authorities in 1969.

In about June of that year, the Secretary of the Department asked local authorities to give consideration to two propositions. These were as follows.

- a) Where a town is situated in the vicinity of a homeland, the Africans employed in such town should be accommodated on a family basis in a Bantu township in the homeland concerned.
- b) Should the distance between the city and the nearest homeland be too great to make it feasible for the Africans to travel to and fro daily, the families should nevertheless be accommodated in the homeland, hostel accommodation being provided for the workers in the urban area. The workers would be able to visit their families periodically.

Transport committees were being set up to study the question of commuting, the Secretary said.

He asked local authorities to devote their resources to the provision of family housing and facilities for Africans in conveniently-situated homeland townships.

To prepare for this Council meeting, the Institute of Race Relations decided to try to find out how far this Departmental policy has been put into practice. We sent out 210 letters of various types, to meet particular situations, to local authorities and others, and, later, about 75 reminder letters. Three local authorities curtly refused information, and six merely referred us to the Government Department. A number failed to acknowledge our letter. However, we had most useful replies from more than 90 widely-distributed local authorities and government officials. Our Regional Secretaries, and members of the Executive Committee and of the public, were kind enough to supplement the information gained, and there have been detailed Press reports on conditions in some areas. Facts given in the Municipal Yearbook have been used, too.

All of this has enabled us to build up a broad picture of what the general situation is to-day. Grateful thanks are extended to all those who helped.

The first major question is that of transport, and the distances between which Africans will be expected to commute.

TRANSPORT BETWEEN CITIES AND THE HOMELANDS

In the Assembly on 18 May 1971,⁽¹⁾ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said the Government's aim was that as many as possible of the Africans who lived in homeland villages and were employed in "white" towns should be able to travel home on a daily or weekly basis, at a reasonable, subsidized cost.

Amplifying this statement,⁽²⁾ the Deputy Minister announced that official planners had established that it was feasible to transport workers daily between points up to 70 miles (113 km) apart, or, on a weekend basis, between points that were up to 400 miles (644 km) apart. (He did not mention the average time that it would take workers to do this travelling.)

A complex, inter-related system of committees had been set up to plan the transport services, the Deputy Minister told the Assembly. Firstly, there was an inter-departmental committee that was considering the laying of railway lines to resettlement villages. It met biannually or annually, under the chairmanship of the General Manager of Railways, and was representative of the Departments of Finance, Planning, Transport, Coloured Affairs, and Bantu Administration.

In each major urban complex, there was a technical transport committee, with the Railways System Manager as chairman. Another inter-departmental committee, headed by an official of the Bantu Administration Department, planned facilities for weekend commuting, by train or bus. This body was assisted by local committees on which Bantu Affairs Commissioners and urban Managers of Bantu Affairs served. Besides these, there were road transportation liaison committees.

The bus fares for daily commuters to and from the larger towns may be subsidized from the Bantu Transport Services Levy Fund, created in terms of Act 53 of 1957. If this Act is applied to a particular town, all employers of adult male Africans who do not provide accommodation for them at the place of employment are required to pay a levy of up to ten cents a week towards the cost of their transport. Subsidies are paid to the operators of various bus services from the money thus collected. The money available may, apparently, be increased by adding receipts by the Government from the sale of liquor in urban African townships.⁽³⁾

Railway services for Africans commuting between towns and nearby resettlement areas such as Soweto, Umlazi and Kwa Mashu, and Ga Rankuwa, are subsidized by the payment to the Railways Administration of an annual contribution from the State's revenue account: this amounted to R14 100 000 in 1971-2.⁽⁴⁾

At a congress of the National Party held during October 1971,⁽⁵⁾ the Minister of Community Development announced that the Government had decided, in principle, to subsidize transport for non-whites who were moved to "out-of-the-way" resettlement areas.

(1) Hansard 15 cols. 7052-5.

(2) Star, 19 May 1971.

(3) Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Assembly Hansard 4 of 1970, col. 1811.

(4) R.P. 2/1971, page 18, Vote 5.

(5) Rand Daily Mail, 14 October 1971.

Employers would have to meet some of the costs. The necessary legislation might be introduced in 1972. At present, some of the bus services operating to and from these areas are run by private African operators, with the aid of loans from the Bantu Investment Corporation.

The fares charged at present vary, of course, according to the distance involved, and whether the journey is made by train or by an unsubsidized bus service. As mentioned elsewhere in this memorandum, the present weekly (six-day) fares appear to vary between 77 cents and about R1,56. Contract workers travelling third class between Cape Town and East London pay R22,21 return, while those going from Cape Town to Umtata are charged R24,07.

In the larger centres, additional bus fares often have to be paid for feeder services. Mdantsane, for example, has now expanded to such an extent that workers living on the outskirts pay 7 cents a trip if they use the feeder bus (many choose to walk, instead).

Many of those now living at Mdantsane have been moved there in recent years from East London's municipal townships, from where it was previously possible for some of them to walk to work. This is the case, too, in certain other centres.

Particularly during holiday periods, many Africans making overnight journeys have to travel in railway coaches that have no toilet facilities. Replying to a question in the Assembly on 25 May 1971, (6) the Deputy Minister of Transport said that between April 1970 and March 1971, 229 trains running from Cape Town to the Transkei and Ciskei were made up in sets of one main-line saloon to two local side-door coaches without toilets. Further main-line saloons were on order: 426 more would be in service by March 1973.

There have been similar complaints in respect of other railway services, for instance the line between Johannesburg and Zeerust. (7)

FINANCING OF HOMELAND TOWNSHIPS

Before describing the position in various parts of South Africa, one might usefully consider the question of the financing of townships in the homelands.

The major portion of the costs is being borne by the S.A. Bantu Trust. It may employ African building contractors to erect housing schemes, or, in some cases, local authorities are acting as agents for the Trust in building the houses and providing the services. This has taken place mainly in areas where the homeland townships are, to all intents and purposes, new African suburbs of the towns concerned, being adjacent to it but just inside the borders of a homeland.

(6) Hansard 16 of 1971, col. 920.

(7) Star, 23 July 1971.

Parliament appropriates money to the Trust annually, usually from Revenue Account for current expenditure, and from Loan Account for the purchase of land and the development of the Bantu areas. The Trust's revenue is derived, too, from appropriations from its accumulated reserves, interest on money invested, income from development projects and, in areas not under homeland Legislative Assemblies, local taxes, quitrent, rents of dwellings and sales of plots for houses, prospecting and mining fees, grazing fees, certain fines, and other sources.

Revenue from some of these sources has, in recent years, accrued to Bantu Authorities or the new Legislative Assemblies. They, too, receive annual appropriations from Parliament, and they have in some cases been helping to finance the development of new townships.

In terms of the Liquor Amendment Acts of 1961 and 1962, 80 per cent of the profits made by local authorities on the sale of hard liquor to Africans must be paid to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for use in the general interests of Africans. As indicated earlier, it appears that some of this money (which must be a large amount) has been used to subsidize transport services. To my knowledge, no information has been published about how the rest is used.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1970 empowered local authorities to use profits from the sale of kaffir beer to subsidize services officially considered to be in the interests of Africans, whether in their own areas or in the homelands.

No subsequent information has been published; but on 5 February 1970 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly(8) that, by then, urban local authorities had contributed R3 500 000 from surpluses in their Bantu Revenue Accounts, and R2 052 000 from profits on the sale of beer, for the general development of the homelands. Sums contributed by certain of the individual local authorities are mentioned later.

The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, provided for in the legislation of 1971, may, possibly, be disposed to vote larger amounts. It transpired during the Parliamentary debate on the Bill concerned, however, that sums collected from employers in terms of the Bantu Services Levy Act of 1952 will be retained for expenditure on capital works serving Africans in the Areas where the money is collected.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced during December 1970 (9) that the S.A. Bantu Trust was prepared to act as the agent of an employer in erecting "tied housing" for his employees in a homeland township.

(Housing in urban African townships is financed from various sources, for example loan funds from the National Bantu Housing Fund or the Department of Community Development, privately-raised loans, the Bantu Services Levy Fund collected from employers, beer and liquor profits, etc.)

5./...

(8) Hansard 1 of 1970, cols. 287-90.

(9) Race Relations News, December 1970.

URBAN AREAS WHERE MOST OF THE AFRICANS ARE PROBABLY TO LIVE IN
HOMELAND TOWNSHIPS

In considering the future geographical pattern, it is simplest to start with areas bordering on or within what is considered to be commuting distance of the homelands, where all the Africans already live in homeland townships, or are eventually to be moved there. A start will be made, in this paper, in the Northern Cape and Western Transvaal, following through the Northern Transvaal, Natal, and the Transkei and Ciskei: the areas adjoining the huge horseshoe of Bantu areas.

A. NORTHERN CAPE AND WESTERN TRANSVAAL

Kuruman. All the Africans have been moved to Mothibistat, about 7 km away, the cost of new houses and hostels there being met by the Tswana Territorial Authority. It costs 60 cents a week to commute daily to and from the town by bus, this service having been established by means of a loan from the Bantu Investment Corporation.

Douglas is about 225 km to the south, by road (there is no rail link). It has a municipal township, with about 75 families on the waiting list for homes; but in terms of a Government Notice of August 1971 the township was declared abolished. The Department has decided that the Africans should join those from Kuruman at Mothibistat. The Town Council of Douglas will contribute to the costs of building houses there. A bus service will be provided. There are, as yet, no estimates of the fares; but it seems unlikely that Africans employed in Douglas will be able to travel home more than once a week, if that.

The same may apply in respect of other towns in this area, for example Griquatown and Postmasburg.

Taung is a small administrative centre for the Bantu Administration Department. Apart from a few people employed by the Department, there is no work for Africans there. In the surrounding areas there have been fairly large villages or stats built by Africans. Many of these people work in the Hartswater district on the Vaalhartz irrigation scheme. Some are employed in surrounding small towns such as Hartswater and Jan Kempdorp. Other breadwinners migrate to labour centres in the cities.

The Trust is laying out a large township called Pampierstat, in an adjoining homeland, into which the people of Hartswater have already been moved (about 18 km). Approximately 1 200 families are gradually being moved there from Jan Kempdorp (some 29 km). Daily subsidized bus services, run by Africans, operate between Pampierstat and these towns, the weekly fare from Jan Kempdorp being 75 cents (5 day week).

Earlier Africans were moved to Pampierstat from diamond diggings in the Barkly West and Windsorton areas, further south. Those who are still employed on the diggings travel by bus, too: the costs are higher, and many of the men are probably weekend commuters.

Christiana. The Africans from Christiana (slightly more than 4 000) are also to be moved to a proposed new township to be built by the Trust in the Taung homeland, the nearest boundary of which is about 29 km away. The exact site has not yet been determined. Workers will travel by bus. It seems possible that Africans from towns such as Vryburg, Bloemhof and Schweizer Reneke will be similarly affected.

Delareyville is a town to the north of Schweizer Reneke. Families from there and surrounding small towns are to be resettled in a new Trust township called Marotzi, about 19 km to the north. This may develop into a very large township to serve proposed new decentralized industrial areas. Men employed in Delareyville will probably spend the week there in a hostel with 800 beds, which is being erected by the Town Council. Fast bus services are envisaged.

Lichtenburg, to the north-east, is negotiating with the Department on behalf of 14 towns in regard to the laying out of a regional township called Itsoseng (De Hoop), apparently in the same homeland area as Marotzi. The other towns concerned are Carletonville, Coligny, Fochville, Hartebeesfontein, Klerksdorp, Leeuwdsoringstad, Orkney, Ottosdal, Potchefstroom, Sannieshof, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp, and Wolmaransstad. According to the Press(10), Dr. P.J. Riekert, Potchefstroom's Director of Non-European Affairs, will be in charge of the scheme. All the towns concerned will contribute to the costs from surpluses in their Bantu Revenue Accounts.

Itsoseng is about 35 km west of Lichtenburg, but a very long way distant from towns such as Carletonville, and Potchefstroom. It will be a "labour reservoir". Hostels will be provided in the participating towns, and fast transport services are envisaged to enable workers to visit their families weekly or monthly.

Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp are two of the regional townships planned for the Coloured people of the Transvaal. They may possibly, in consequence, make decreasing use of African labour.

Mafeking's Bantu residential area was abolished in April 1971. All the Africans live in the homeland township of Montshiwa, in the Molopo Reserve adjoining the municipal commonage. Africans from small towns nearby may be moved there, too. Montshiwa is likely to become a large township, for Mafeking is one of the growth-points for decentralized industry decided upon by the Government.(11)

Zeerust's municipal township has been abolished, too. The Africans are being resettled about 13 km to the west, at Le-Hurutsi near the Botswana border, which is being developed by the Trust. By mid-1971 about 60 families had gone there, selected from volunteers. The municipality moved their possessions for them. Zeerust, too, is a selected growth-point for decentralized industry.

10. Rand Daily Mail, 5 March 1971.

11. White Paper on the (Riekert) Inter-Departmental report on the Decentralisation of Industry.

Rustenburg is another selected growth-point. It proved unnecessary to move the Africans: the borders of an adjoining homeland were extended to include the former municipal township of Thlabane.

The Tswana Legislative Assembly is planning to establish a capital at Heystekrand, near Pilanesberg.

Brits was decided upon earlier as a border industrial area. A new township to house the Africans is being financed and developed by the Trust about 13 km to the east, on the farm Elandsfontein. It is named Muthutlung. About 1 070 houses have been completed or are under construction (by African contractors), a sewerage scheme is operating, and a school functioning.

B. NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL

The Bantu residential areas of Nylstroom and Naboomspruit were officially declared abolished towards the end of 1971. Nylstroom states that accommodation will have to be situated in various homelands: no decision has been reached in regard to the sites. The Town Council will not be in a position to give financial help.

Potgietersrus is another of the selected growth-points for industry. Residents of the old municipal township have been moved to Mahwelereng, about 5km away in a homeland to the north-west, which is being developed by the Trust. By mid-1971 there were 1 700 dwellings there, with 50 more under construction. Some of them are being used as hostels for single men. Commuters use an African bus service, the weekly (six-day) fare being 36 cents.

Pietersburg is one of the older border industrial areas, where considerable development has taken place. An African freehold area was used for industrial expansion. The Africans from there, together with those from Pietersburg municipal townships, are being moved a short distance to the west, to the new township of Seshego, which is the temporary Lebowa capital, and is becoming an educational centre.

The University of the North is in another portion of the Lebowa homeland, to the east. Adjoining it is the township of Mankweng.

Louis Trichardt has a hostel for 512 men, but all family housing is being provided at Setooni, about 35 km to the north-east, which is being developed by the Trust. Africans living there who are employed in the town will travel to and fro daily or weekly, by means of a private African bus service. The monthly tariff is R4,50 (for daily travel).

Sibasa is a Departmental administrative centre. Adjoining it is Makwarela, to be the Venda capital. The Trust has used African contractors to build houses there for sale or rental, and sites are available for those who wish to provide their own homes. Sewerage and electricity will be available.

Giyani, to the south, on the Little Letaba River, is being developed by the Trust as the Machangana capital.

Phalaborwa is a rapidly expanding mining and border industrial area. The Africans live at Namakgale, in a small reserve about 14 km to the west, which, again, has been built by the Trust.

Tzaneen is a selected future growth-point. There are three townships in a homeland nearby - to serve Africans of different ethnic groups: Lanyeenye, Letsitele, and Nkowakowa. Employees of the Letaba Citrus Estates live in these townships.

Groblersdal's African community was moved in about 1969 to Motetema, some 11 km to the north-east: this is another Trust township. No information was received from Lydenburg, Belfast, or Pilgrim's Rest, but it seems likely that Africans employed in these towns will be accommodated in homelands, too.

White River's old municipal township was deplorably overcrowded, and the valuable white farming land surrounding the town was too expensive to be bought for extensions. The Africans have, thus, all been moved to a Trust township called Kabokweni (Ngodini), 20 km to the east. In mid-1971 there were 585 dwellings there. The weekly (six-day) fare for daily commuters is 90 cents. One complex of small houses caters for elderly people. An educational centre is being developed at Inzikazi, nearby.

Nelspruit's municipal townships are seriously overcrowded, too. It has been decided that the approximately 2 600 families living there should be moved about 23 km to the east, to a new township on the farm Nyamsaan, which adjoined a homeland and has been bought by the Trust. A new access road is being constructed. The Trust had completed 600 houses by September 1971.

The Town Council contributed R560 000 to the costs, and, as agent for the Department, is building a community hall and a high school with hostels for boys and girls. A primary school and the first shop are ready. The Council is determined to ensure that all necessary facilities are available before any families are moved. It will transport them free of charge and assist them for the first few days thereafter.

Workers will commute daily by bus, the service being subsidized from the transport levy collected from employers. At present, the Africans can walk to work, and have no transport costs. For this reason, numbers of white companies and businesses have decided to pay the bus fares for their employees.

A hundred houses in one of the existing municipal townships are to be converted into hostels, each to house six single men. The Town Council will provide all the furniture.

9

Piet Retief. It seems possible that the Africans may be accommodated at Ncotshane, in the reserve north of the Pongola River.

C. ZULULAND

The Richards Bay/Empangeni area has been selected as a growth-point, and an African township will be developed there. The Africans engaged in farming in Reserve No. 6 will, in consequence, be displaced: their future has not been decided. Africans employed in Empangeni live in the Trust township of Ngwelezana, about 6 km to the north, near the University of Zululand. Most of them walk or cycle to work; but there is a bus service, the daily return fare being 16 cents.

Eshowe has, adjoining it, the large township of Gezinsela, where Africans build for themselves or take over houses erected by the Trust. Further south is Sundumbili, which houses workers employed at the Sappi paper mills, and is to be extended to meet the needs of the homeland industrial growth-point at Sithebe.

Ulundi is to be developed as the future capital of Zululand.

D. NATAL

Stanger municipality has been given authority to build 200 more houses for Africans (about 250 are needed). It has hostel accommodation for 160 men and 30 women. In the future, however, further family housing will probably be situated in a homeland township planned by the Trust, about 29 km away from the town by road.

Newcastle is a selected growth-point for decentralized industry: the third Iscor works is to be situated there. The municipal African township is to be abolished by the end of 1971. All the Africans will be moved to the further side of the industrial area, to the east; living in the Trust townships of Madadeni (13 km from town) or Ozisweni (26 km). They will commute daily. Many cycle to work; but there is a bus service, the daily return fare being 16 cents from Madadeni and 26 cents from Ozisweni. These townships are being used, too, for the resettlement of African farm squatters, displaced labour tenants from the Utrecht district, and people from black spots.

Vryheid. During 1963 about 1 600 Africans were moved from a black spot called Besterspruit adjoining Vryheid to Mondhlo, in a reserve about 24 km to the south. For a time, the water and sanitary facilities were seriously inadequate. Conditions have, however, since been improved.

It is now planned that all the families from the municipal township of Vryheid should be moved to Mondhlo, too. The housing will be provided by the Trust; but Vryheid will help to finance the scheme from a surplus in its Bantu Revenue Account. A bus service will be subsidized by a loan from the Bantu Investment Corporation; fares have not been decided upon at the time of writing. Daily commuting will be possible; but workers who prefer to do so will be able to live in hostels in the municipal area during the week.

Glencoe. The municipal authorities have not been informed about Government plans for the future of the urban township. To the south-east of Dundee and Glencoe is the Limehill complex, which includes the areas of Uitval and Vergelegen. These were used, from 1968 on, for the resettlement of Africans from various black spots and mission stations. At Limehill, in particular, inadequate advance preparations were made.

It is reported⁽¹²⁾ that conditions have been improved very considerably in these areas. A further settlement called Zandbult is to be established by the Trust nearby: in this case the necessary amenities will be provided before people are moved there. But the problem of lack of enough local employment opportunities remains.

At Dundee there is no shortage of family housing in the urban Bantu residential area. The natural increase of married children of residents can be accommodated in houses vacated for various reasons.

Dundee draws labour from the Limehill complex and Flint, and also from the Nqutu and Msinga districts, all of which are within a radius of 65 km from the town. The families have always occupied their own homes. Workers travel by bus services operated by Africans with assistance from the Bantu Investment Corporation, those living fairly near commuting daily, and the rest, with homes more than about 40 km away, going home at weekends, spending the week in hostels provided by the local authority. This hostel accommodation is extended as and when necessary.

The Town Council has given no financial assistance to the Department for the erection of homeland houses. It has, however, presented a water tanker to one area; provided equipment and medicines for several clinics; made grants-in-aid to various institutions outside its own area; and built two houses for chiefs.

The Ladysmith/Colenso area in the Tugela Valley is another selected growth-point for decentralized industry. It has been decided that all the African families from both towns should be housed at Ezakhene township (at Pieters Station), some 19 km from Ladysmith and 10 km from Colenso. Workers will commute by cycle, bus, or train.

Work on the servicing of the future Ezakhene has begun. Houses will be built by African contractors to the Trust: Ladysmith has agreed to contribute to the costs.

There are no hostels at Colenso, but an additional hostel for 550 men is being built at Ladysmith, to provide for a total of 1 800 single men there.

Weenen reports that no housing schemes are in progress or planned.

11./...

(12) Star, 16 March 1971.

African families from Estcourt are probably to be moved to a proposed township in a homeland area to the south-west of the town (probably Wembezi).

Africans from Howick are all eventually to be moved to Mpophomeni on the farm Montrose, 13 km away, which is being developed by the Trust. About 744 had been resettled there by the end of March 1971; but the erection of more houses was then postponed for the time being pending the provision of water and other essential services. (13) A daily journey into town and back by bus costs 15 cents.

The Pietermaritzburg City Council is developing Imbali, to the west of the town, as an urban Bantu residential area, using National Housing loan funds. The township extends into a homeland, however, and will consolidate existing housing schemes at Edendale and Swartkop. In three to five years time, when the urgent needs of the homeless have been met, families now living in the municipal township of Sobantu will be moved to Imbali. The daily return bus fares are 12 cents to Imbali and 8 cents to Sobantu.

Ashdown township, to the south of Pietermaritzburg, was built by and falls under the jurisdiction of the Natal Local Health Commission. There are 413 houses, with no extensions planned. They cater for African families who were removed from slums in Edendale. Breadwinners work in Edendale or in Pietermaritzburg.

Clermont, also controlled by the Local Health Commission, is about 6 km from Pinetown, and houses Africans employed in small towns such as New Germany.

Pinetown's African community, numbering about 2 800, has been living at Klaarwater, 11 km south-east of the town. This area has, however, been zoned for Indian occupation. The Trust is to develop a township called Kwa Ngendezi (Dassenhoek), to the south-west of Clermont, to cater for Africans employed in Pinetown and for squatters in the Mariannahill/St. Wendolin areas.

Hammersdale is one of the early-established border industrial areas. For various reasons the establishment of an African township was delayed, but in 1969 building was commenced at Mpumalanga, by contractors to the Trust. This township is designed to accommodate squatters from surrounding areas as well as employees in the border factories.

Richmond. Africans working here live in the Trust township of Ndaleni, three km away. The bus fare is about 20 cents return.

In Durban, housing development was held up for years pending a Government decision in regard to group areas, a serious backlog developing. This was exacerbated by the first group areas proclamation for the city, in 1958, in terms of which the whole of the central area was allocated to whites. Africans were displaced from parts of this area where they had lived for many years, having freehold rights.

12./...

(13) Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Assembly Hansard 11 of 1971, col. 738.

The Trust, in co-operation with the City Council, developed a very large township for Africans in the Umlazi Reserve, to the south of the city. By 1970 these authorities had erected more than 17 000 dwellings, and many Africans had built their own homes. A wide range of educational, social, and recreational facilities has been provided.

Two small municipal townships adjoining Umlazi are to be retained for the foreseeable future. These are Lamont and the Glebe. The latter has been converted into hostel accommodation for men, and the City Council has applied for authority to build multi-storey hostels there for some 19 600 men.

Kwa Mashu, to the north of the city, was developed by the City Council. It, too, has developed into a very large township. It is close to a homeland, and the intention is that in 1974 or soon afterwards the homeland boundary will be extended to include Kwa Mashu, which will become a Trust township. (Enabling legislation was passed in 1970.) The Trust is developing a new township called Ntuzuma just within the homeland, adjoining Kwa Mashu.

A weekly worker's rail ticket between either Kwa Mashu or Umlazi and Durban costs 77 cents. Very many Africans have to pay additional bus fares from the railway stations to their homes and/or places of work. According to the report of the General Manager of Railways for 1969-70, 88 450 Africans were travelling daily by train between the city and these townships in March 1970.

Building is continuing at Umlazi as well as Ntuzuma, using loan funds supplemented by the Bantu Services Levy funds collected from employers in Durban. It is unlikely that existing loans will have been repaid before almost the end of the century. But there is still an acute shortage of housing for Africans, hundreds of thousands of whom are reported to be living in insanitary conditions in squatter camps in the Durban-Pinetown area. The municipality estimates that the requirements for the Durban metropolitan area (which includes 23 local authority areas) are:

	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Men's hostel beds</u>
Required immediately	5 900	31 270
Required by 1980	7 900	67 550
Required by 1990	10 500	77 650

Natal South Coast. There are no municipal African townships at Scottburgh, Umkomaas, Uvongo, and other small towns, but Margate has a township housing about 2 000 persons. This is, however, to be abolished. The Trust is building a new township called Gamelakhe in a homeland, about 10 km from Margate and 11 km from Uvongo, to house the Africans from these towns and surrounding areas: it may eventually accommodate 20 000 to 30 000 persons. Some families have already been settled there. Workers who commute to Margate pay 30 cents a day to travel by buses operated by private enterprise.

The Umzinto municipality has not been informed of Government plans for the future of its Africans.

The townships of Magabeni and Kwa Makuta in the Umbumbulu area house families of workers employed in dynamite and fertilizer factories and a Sappi forestry project.

E. EAST GRIQUALAND

In Matatiele there are well over 100 families on the waiting list for housing, but no further dwellings are to be built. Future housing will be at Maluti, about 10 km to the north-west in the Ramohlakoana area, just inside the Transkeian border. The municipality anticipates that the Transkeian Government will develop this township. Workers would commute by bus.

Kokstad sent no reply, but, as the boundary of the Transkei runs a few km to the south of the town, it seems likely that the Africans will be required to live across the border.

F. THE TRANSKEI

Nearly all the towns in the Transkei have, by proclamation, been reserved for occupation or ownership by Africans. Parts of Umtata, Butterworth, Idutywa, and Umzimkulu, and the whole of Port St. Johns, have, however, been set aside for whites.

G. THE CISKEI

Aliwal North has a municipal township, with about 150 families on the waiting list for housing. Hostels for single men and women, each with 64 beds, are planned. In terms of Government policy, further family housing will probably have to be situated in a homeland; but the local authority has not yet considered such a scheme. If this is decided upon, however, the housing would have to be in the Sterkspruit/Herschel area, about 64 km to the east by road. Workers would probably have to commute weekly.

The resettlement village of Orange Fountain may be selected. This is reported to be of the Sada and Dimbasa type (described later).

Lady Grey adjoins the southern boundary of the Herschel reserve. It seems possible that its Africans will have to move to Orange Fountain, too.

There was no reply from Burgersdorp, Jamestown, Barkly East, and Elliot, which are in the white area between Herschel and Glen Grey.

Dordrecht has about 150 families awaiting housing. It has not been informed of Government plans, but further dwellings will probably have to be in the Glen Grey area, the nearest boundary of which is some 10 km south-east of the town.

Sterkstroom is further to the west of Glen Grey. The future is uncertain; but no further housing is to be built in the municipal area.

Indwe adjoins the northern boundary of Glen Grey. In terms of a Government draft plan announced on 19 November 1971, it is to become an African town.

Queenstown has a municipal township with more than a thousand houses built by the local authority and others erected by Africans on rented sites. The residents are all to be moved to the Queensdale area, adjoining Ilinge, 10 to 11 km to the south along the road to Cathcart and King William's Town. The municipality will develop this new township as agent for the Trust: preliminary survey work has been completed. Workers will have to travel by bus.

Ilinge is about 16 km from Queenstown and accommodates about 7 000 Africans. Conditions here are similar to those in Sada and Dimbasa (mentioned later). They are resettlement villages, established between 1963 and 1967, to provide for women, usually with dependants, endorsed out of towns in the Cape Midlands and elsewhere, aged and disabled people, Africans displaced from farms, people from squatter camps, peasants forced off the land, and ex-political prisoners who have been deprived of urban residential rights. Some two-thirds of the heads of families are women.

The services are rudimentary, but destitute people can at least obtain rent-free one-roomed cottages. Larger dwellings are being provided by the Trust for those who can pay rent. The few who can afford to do so can buy plots and build for themselves. Social pensions are paid to those who qualify for them. Maintenance grants were recently introduced for women, who have dependants and cannot go away to work. Those without pensions or jobs receive basic rations, and school-children are given protein-enriched soup. Conditions have improved considerably since the villages were started: there are schools, clinics, a few shops, and a few sports fields. Inter-Church Aid does relief work. All three townships have waiting lists of applicants who are homeless or living in squalid squatter camps.

The main problem, in all the areas, is that they are remote from large centres of employment. The able-bodied men go away to work as migrants, but old and disabled people, and women with dependants cannot do so. There is said to be insufficient work in Queenstown even for the residents of that town.

Sada is nearby: 32 km from Queenstown along the road to Alice. It is stated to have about 12 000 residents. Here there is a little employment - but far too little. The Trust is reported(14) to employ about 300 men on building work at wages of some R19 a month, and it provides work for 100 widows and 78 blind and handicapped people at a handicrafts centre. Brickworkers employ approximately 200 men. Some women are paid small wages by the Trust to grow vegetables on an irrigation farm.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration visited Sada during August 1971, and was shocked by the poverty of the people there. He is reported(15) to have said, "Something must be done, and done soon, to ease this misery". Shortly afterwards,(16) he announced plans for establishing certain

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- (14) Rand Daily Mail, 28 August 1971.
(15) Ibid, 10 August.
(16) Ibid, 7 October.

small factories in the three townships; and said that there would be no further such resettlement villages. Instead, there would be well-planned, modern townships, as near as possible to work opportunities.

Queenstown is a selected industrial growth-point; but unless there is very speedy development, Ilinge and Sada, and even the proposed Queensdale area township, are likely to continue to be poverty-stricken areas.

Whittlesea is a village about 5 km south of Sada, to which area all its African residents were moved some years ago.

Cathcart is further away from a homeland. The municipality has for some years been negotiating with the Department about the future of its Africans: it would like to retain family housing at least for those in employment in the town and their dependants, even if people unable to work or out of jobs have to leave to live in a homeland.

At Fort Beaufort the Government has stopped housing development, although there are about 85 families on the waiting list. The town is only about 8 km from the border of reserves in the Alice region, thus it seems likely that future housing will be within this homeland.

At Alice, the municipal township is being taken over by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

Stutterheim lies to the north of a reserve in the King William's town area, and the Government has decided that all the Africans should move there. The site of their new township has not been decided definitely, but it will probably be about 18 km to the south of the town, on the tarred road to King William's Town. It will be developed and financed by the Trust. Workers will commute by bus.

King William's Town's African families are gradually being moved to Zwelitsha, about 4 km east of the town, which also houses those employed at the Good Hope Textile Factory. Dwellings in the municipal township that are vacated are being converted into single quarters for men. Zwelitsha was developed by the Trust some years ago, thus there has been time for amenities to be provided such as electricity, sewerage, tarred main roads, a community hall, and a teacher-training college. There is an hotel, several restaurants, and a variety of shops. The bus fare into town is 6 cents return.

Dimbasa, referred to earlier, is 19 km from King William's Town on the road to Alice, and accommodates at least 7 400 Africans (17) - again mainly women and their dependants and elderly folk. The Department employs some men on building houses, and some women on doing odd jobs such as weeding and planting grass. Women without dependants can work as domestic servants in King William's Town: if they travel daily, rather than "sleeping in", the return bus fare is 40 cents. Again, there is great poverty in this resettlement village.

Berlin is a selected growth-point, on the border of a reserve, where the African workers will live.

Hamburg is a small town 97 km south-west of East London. Africans who live there own or rent plots on which they build their own homes. Most of the workers are away at labour centres. The future of their residential area would appear to be uncertain.

East London was one of the first towns declared a border industrial area. In about 1963 the development of a new African township was commenced at Mdantsane, the nearest point being about 21 km to the north of the city. This was designed in the first place to house industrial workers and Africans moved from West Bank location. It was then decided that all the Africans from the large municipal township of Duncan Village should gradually be moved there, too, and the population has been augmented by families endorsed out of the Western Cape. The boundaries of a neighbouring homeland were extended to include Mdantsane.

There are at least 48 000 people still to be moved from Duncan Village, which will probably eventually become a Coloured area.

The City Council is carrying out the construction work at Mdantsane as agent for the Trust, but is making no financial contribution from its Bantu Revenue Account. Probably more than 70 000 Africans are living there now. About 12 500 houses have been completed, and building is progressing towards the 26 000 dwellings planned for the first stage of the township, when the population is expected to be some 100 000.(18) Forty-two of the houses are being used as hostels, each for six men.

A full range of amenities, including a hospital, will eventually be available, but much remains to be done, including the provision of adequate postal services.(19)

The railway line to East London runs along one perimeter of Mdantsane only, hence is not much used by residents. Most of the workers in town commute by bus. Some buses operate from a central "collecting area" in Mdantsane, the weekly (six day) return fare being R1,34. Unless journeys are made on consecutive days, the proportionate amount of the price of the weekly "clip card" is forfeited. From this collecting area, feeder buses serve outlying parts of the township, which are as much as up to 6 km away. The weekly(six day) cost of using this service ranges from 48 to 84 cents return. Many people prefer to walk and save this money. These transport costs are a burden on the people moved from Duncan Village, many of whom could previously walk to work.

Peddie is to become an African town in terms of the Government plan for the consolidation of the Ciskei, announced on 19 November 1971.

CAPE MIDLANDS (EXCLUDING THE PORT ELIZABETH
METROPOLITAN AREA)

For present purposes, the Cape Midlands is defined as the Coloured labour preference area between the Eiselen Line of 1955,

17./...

(18) Daily Dispatch, 25 August 1971.

(19) Natal Mercury, 29 March 1971.

in the west, and the Aliwal North Kat/Fish Line in the east.

Some towns in the east of this region are within what the Department apparently considers to be commuting distance of homelands. The account that follows starts with those in the north of the Midlands.

Molteno has in recent years been permitted to build 401 new dwellings from National Bantu Housing funds, to rehouse those in slums, and to cater for additional families. The future is uncertain: the boundary of the nearest homeland is 100 km away.

Hofmeyr is a small town roughly 64 km north of Cradock, by road. It is building housing in a new township for 62 families, but it is thought that all the rest (about 270 families), will have to move to a homeland in the King William's Town area, some 274 km away by road and 440 km by the round-about rail route, where the Trust will provide accommodation. No hostels are planned in Hofmeyr.

Cradock did not reply, but the Department possibly may have a similar plan in mind.

Bedford, too, stated that its Africans will eventually have to go to a homeland. The local authority does not yet know what area has been selected. It will not contribute to the resettlement costs.

Grahamstown. In 1970 the Government over-ruled longstanding opposition by the City Council and local residents, and proclaimed the Fingo Village in Grahamstown a Coloured group area. Africans have had freehold rights there since 1855, and about 5 500 of them live in the Village. The Government's plan is that they should be moved about 33 km to the east, across the Fish River, to a place called Committee's Drift in the Peddie area. The ground there is bare shale. An access road will have to be constructed and a water supply provided. Transport costs are likely to be high, and women may find it most difficult to undertake "living-out" domestic work.

There are three municipal townships in the city area. The last family housing scheme there was completed in 1958: after that the Government consistently refused applications by the City Council to build more. Eventually, in 1971, approval was given for the erection of 100 dwellings, whereas the City Council had applied to build at least 1 000. Government loan funds will, presumably, be used, supplemented by accumulated Services Levy funds.

Because of this long delay, family housing has become seriously overcrowded. About 9 000 Africans are living in some 1 200 unauthorized shacks in the townships, and squatter camps have sprung up recently around the city.

Municipal officials estimate that well over 90 per cent of the African residents of the townships have Section 10 residential rights. Yet, if the City Council is not permitted to build adequate family housing for those in shacks and for the natural increase, it is possible that more of the Africans, besides those from the Fingo Village, may be forced to seek family accommodation in homeland areas.

It is not clear what is to happen to the Africans who live further to the west in this region.

The Philipstown municipality needs at least another 102 dwellings for Africans. No new housing has been built since 1963, in spite of repeated applications to the Government by the local authority. There is no proclaimed African township.

De Aar is one of the towns selected as a growth-point for Coloured people. About 100 African families who qualify to live in the area are on the waiting list for houses, but the municipality has made no application for a loan to accommodate them.

Colesberg and Hanover are towns which, according to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration(20), will not qualify for loans for family housing.

Noupoort's African township was abolished in terms of a Government Notice of 24 September 1971. The municipality has not stated what is to become of the residents.

Middelburg. Mr. W.G. Kingwell (United Party) said in the Assembly on 19 June 1969(21) that no new houses had been built at Middelburg since 1938. Insanitary squatters' camps had been established. Conditions were so bad that many of the Africans moved voluntarily to the resettlement area of Dimbasa.

Pearston reports that it has no shortage of housing, and that no scheme in a homeland has been suggested.

Humansdorp. The municipal Bantu residential area was redefined in a Government Notice of 5 November 1971, thus is apparently to be retained. But, in reply to Mr. Kingwell, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that future loan funds would be granted for hostels only.

At Knysna there is no proclaimed African township. The Town Clerk states that about 2 000 Africans are living "under deplorable conditions" as squatters on the outskirts of the town. The municipality has made repeated applications for authority to establish a controlled emergency camp for them.

ADJOINING AREA IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Upington and Prieska are further towns which, the Deputy Minister said, will not qualify for loans for family housing. Upington has been selected as a growth-point for Coloured people.

Britstown states that there is sufficient accommodation for the Africans in the town.

Victoria West, too, has no housing schemes in progress or planned.

19./...

(20) Assembly, 19 June 1969, Hansard 19 cols. 8644-8.

(21) Ibid.

Mossel Bay is, apparently, to have a new African township. The Municipality is awaiting a Government decision as to where this is to be situated. About 400 African families who qualify to live in the town are awaiting housing (most of them are slum-dwellers). A few private firms have been allowed to build temporary accommodation for their African male employees: some 300 men are living in such premises.

SOUTH WESTERN CAPE (EXCLUDING THE CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN AREA)

Saldanha municipality states that there is sufficient accommodation for the Africans living in the town.

Africans working in Paarl and Wellington all live in the Paarl municipal township. During 1970, the Paarl municipality completed 150 houses to accommodate families moved from an emergency camp or living as lodgers. It has offered no assistance for housing in homelands: available funds are needed for the provision of amenities in the township it controls.

Stellenbosch sent no reply; but it is reported that the municipality has recently provided additional hostel accommodation, and it is allowing private firms to build hostels in the Kaya Mandi township to accommodate their own employees.

The Stellenbosch Divisional Council has erected hostels near the Strand and Blackheath for men working in these areas, in Somerset West, and in other small towns in the neighbourhood. A small number of families lives in the Mfuleni township, but no extensions are planned.

In Grabouw, Bonnievale, Elands Bay, and other small towns to the west of the Stellenbosch and Strand areas there have been numbers of Africans who have for generations lived among or near to Coloured people, in privately-built cottages or shanties. The men have worked in the towns, or on farms, or as fishermen, and many of their wives have been seasonal workers on farms. In recent years the pattern has been for the residential areas to be proclaimed for Coloured (or sometimes White) occupation. Although the Africans qualify to remain in the areas by virtue of birth or long residence, they then become illegal inhabitants because no alternative residential areas are provided for them. Men in employment then have to move into barracks or hostels if such accommodation is available - if it is not, they have to leave the towns. Their wives and children are generally sent to the Ciskei or Transkei, having to try to adapt to very different ways of life.

Worcester authorities state that no additional family housing is at present needed. No contribution has been made towards the development of housing in homelands.

Hermanus has a proclaimed African residential area, which is apparently to be retained, although the Coloured people of the town are to be moved to Hawston, approximately 10 km away. There is accommodation for 43 African families and 400 single men. About 12 families are awaiting housing. The municipality has applied for authority to build 29 rooms for these families, and to provide more hostel beds.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE

Bloemfontein municipality is erecting 1 974 houses, but has been advised that, thereafter, no further family dwellings will be authorized: at least 3 000 more are needed to eliminate overcrowding. The possibility of providing housing at Selosesha Township in the Thaba 'Nchu reserve is being investigated: this is 61 km away by rail and 64 km by road. Some men who work in the city already live there, commuting daily. The single trip takes 1½ hours, and workers pay just over R6 for a monthly season ticket. When sufficient travellers want to make use of the service it may be possible to introduce a quicker, non-stop journey.

There are two hostels for men in the municipal township, with 3 184 beds. One is being enlarged to provide a further 672 beds, and further extensions are planned. When there is adequate hostel accommodation, workers whose families are required to live at Selosesha may elect to go home at weekends only.

Towns such as Dewetsdorp, Wepener, Ladybrand, Clocolan, Marquard, and Brandfort are situated at approximately equal distances from Thaba 'Nchu: it seems possible that "excess" families from these towns may be required to live in the homeland, too.

Winburg is about 322 km from the Thaba 'Nchu area. It has recently been granted authority to extend its African township. No contribution has been made to housing in any homeland.

At Harrismith, the "old location", where home ownership was permitted, was deproclaimed in 1964 because the Department of Health condemned the living conditions there. For some years many of the families refused to move; but in 1971 owners were paid compensation and the people were resettled, the Zulus in Madadeni (240 km away) and the Southern Sotho (Shoeshoe) in the Witzieshoek (Quaqwa) reserve, 50 km to the south.

The remaining municipal township, Phomolong, houses about 12 000 Africans, all the available dwellings being occupied. It appears that no more will be built. Further families will have to live in a new township being developed by the Trust in Quaqwa, called Phuthadithjaba. There were about 500 dwellings there towards the end of 1971, with about 200 more being erected annually. The

journey to town, in an African-owned bus service, takes about 1½ hours: the road is untarred. Workers pay 75 cents for a five-day return ticket, but non-workers are charged R1,20 per single trip. The municipality is reported to be applying for a subsidy for this service.

Three hostels, with about 300 beds for men, are being built at Phomolong.

Harrismith was declared a border industrial area some years ago, but development has been very slow: there are only four factories in the town.(22)

At Bethlehem, some of the workers have families living in Phuthadithjaba, which is 80 km from the town. The municipal authorities are reported to be planning hostels in town, and a weekly bus service to and from Quaqua. A similar situation possibly obtains at Fouriesburg, which is about the same distance from the homeland.

Warden is a long distance from a homeland. The municipality is planning a new township, the housing to cost R70.000. It has about 150 families on the waiting list. No hostels are at present envisaged. New housing schemes are to be undertaken, too, at Heilbron, Bethulie, and Rouxville.

Fauresmith, too, is building new family housing. It is not contributing to homeland townships.

Welkom municipality states that it has received no indication from the Department that the provision of additional family houses will not be approved, should application for this be made. A high proportion of the Africans in its area are of the Southern Sotho group. In view of this, the municipality intends contributing a sum which may amount to about R250 000 towards housing at Witzieshoek (258 km away by road), this money to be drawn from accumulated surpluses in the Bantu Revenue Accounts. African families will not be forced to move there, however.

PRETORIA AREA

Building development (including that of hostels) has been frozen for some years in the Pretoria municipal townships of Atteridgeville/Saulsville and Mamelodi. Families of Tswana origin are gradually being moved out, to townships in the Tswana homeland.

About 400 families have been resettled in Ga Rankuwa, about 34 km by rail from the city. This township was originally established by the Trust primarily to house families of workers employed in the border industrial area of Rosslyn, about 10 km on the Pretoria side of the township. Subsequently, the City Council assisted with the development. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said on 26 February 1971(23) that there were then 5 201 Tswana and 1 986 non-Tswana families living there, the latter being mainly Ndebele (who have no homeland) or Pedi. About 200 of the dwellings are used as hostels for single men. Train-fares to Pretoria from Ga Rankuwa and from the municipal townships

22./...

(22) From Rand Daily Mail reports, 20 March and 20 November 1971.

(23) Assembly Hansard 4 of 1971, col. 324.

are subsidized, costing 77 cents per six-day week or R2,85 a month (excluding Sundays). According to the 1969-70 report of the General Manager of Railways, in March 1970 there was an average of 64 350 Africans commuting daily by rail between Pretoria and the three townships mentioned.

Acting as agent for the Trust and the Tswana Legislative Assembly, the Pretoria City Council is developing another large township called Mabopane, about 29 km north-west of the city as the crow flies. The scheme is, apparently, jointly financed. It is designed partly to house people of Tswana origin employed in Pretoria (419 families had been moved there from the municipal townships by October 1971) and partly to accommodate workers in the homeland industrial area of Babelegi. According to a Press report(24), 2 500 houses had been built by August 1971, with a further 500 nearing completion. Another 2 150 would probably be ready by March 1972. Here, as in Ga Rankuwa, some Africans have bought plots and built their own houses. Some small prefabricated dwellings have been provided for pensioners and widows, whose rents may be remitted. In Mabopane, too, there are a number of families of non-Tswana origin. Chief Councillor Lucas Mangope is reported to have said that he would not object to non-Tswanas living in the eastern part of the township if they were employed in Pretoria, but that they would be granted no trading rights. A railway link to Pretoria is planned: at present the workers there travel by bus.

To the north of Mabopane is the "closer" resettlement area of Stinkwater to where, in 1968, Africans were moved from Eersterus, to the east of Pretoria.(25) Further north again, 48 km from the city by road and 45 km by rail, is another township for Tswana people, being financed by the Trust and the Bantu Investment Corporation. It was originally called Leboneng, but has been renamed Temba. By November 1971 there were 2 434 dwelling units there. People have been moved to this township from black spots such as Wallmansthal, Ellison, Steynberg, and Onverwacht.

SMALLER TRANSVAAL TOWNS THAT ARE NOT NEAR HOMELANDS

At Messina there has for some years been no demand for additional family housing.

Middelburg has 250 families on the waiting list. It is building 150 dwellings, merely to replace dilapidated huts in the "old location", but anticipates that further family housing will have to be in a homeland: which homeland will be selected is not known. There are hostel beds for 2 256 men, with another hostel for 1 056 under construction. Middelburg, (as also Witbank, Standerton, and certain other towns) is to be developed as a regional township for Coloured people.

Nigel is retaining the township of Duduza, to where Africans are being moved from areas that have been proclaimed Coloured.

At Bethal and Ermelo there are only 15 and 3 families, respectively, on the waiting list for houses, and the question of providing dwellings in a homeland has not arisen. Bethal has a hostel for 400 men, while Ermelo is planning one for 528 men.

23./...

(24) Star, 12 August 1971.

(25) See 1968 Survey of Race Relations, page 135.

Balfour states its township will, apparently, be retained, but that any additional family housing will have to be in a homeland: it is not known where. The municipality will not be in a position to help with the costs.

Barberton will be allowed no new family housing; but the municipality has as yet not been advised in which homeland township future housing will be situated.

Volksrust municipality controls the African townships of Volksrust and Charlestown. In the latter area there are about 8 000 Africans. The Town Council has been authorized to erect approximately 400 dwellings and hostel accommodation for 500 men. As this will nowhere near meet the demand, the Council is negotiating with the Government for permission to undertake further schemes. About 200 family houses are needed at Volksrust. At this stage, the Government is prepared to allow the erection of 100 only. The provision of family accommodation in a homeland will be considered only after completion of the current negotiations.

THE JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA

Areas controlled by the City Council

There are 66 293 houses in the Johannesburg African townships that are controlled by the City Council, and five hostels with beds for 21 476 men and women (this excludes mining and industrial compounds). In the townships collectively called Soweto, 1 186 family dwellings have been completed in the last five years, while 1 886 were under construction in October 1971. Government approval was then awaited for the provision of a further 4 342. These dwellings are financed from Government loan funds.

Pimville, a little to the south, has long been declared a slum. About 784 dwellings were needed to rehouse the residents who qualify to remain in the Johannesburg area. Mining houses made a loan available to meet part of the costs, and it is hoped that the rest will be forthcoming from the Services Levy and National Bantu Housing funds. Some of the residents have been rehoused at Klipspruit, nearby, and the Pimville area is being replanned. Besides this, 416 more houses will be needed in the Soweto complex to rehouse families now living in Eastern Bantu Township, which is to be abolished.

The Municipality estimates that yet a further 13 620 dwellings are needed to accommodate families who are now living in seriously overcrowded conditions, as lodgers with other families. And this does not take into account the natural increase in the population. Some 2 000 couples are married annually, and need housing. A prominent City Councillor, Mr. J.F. Oberholzer, M.P.C., commented on 10 February 1971(26) that even if the Council provided 4 000 to 5 000 dwellings a year, it would take 15 years to catch up with the needs.

24./...

(26) Rand Daily Mail of that date.

There are 22 100 men and 2 470 women on the waiting list for hostel accommodation. A new scheme for 5 072 beds for men and 504 for women has been authorized, and official approval is awaited for a further scheme for two new hostels for men, providing 7 284 beds.

When the terms of the Government's request, mentioned on the first page of this memorandum, became known, the City Council decided that it would be impracticable at that stage to consider the provision of family accommodation in a homeland for the dependants of African men employed in the city. There is no homeland within reasonable commuting distance. An alternative official proposal was then considered: that the Council should pay for the erection of houses in suitably situated homelands for widows, pensioners, and incapacitated people, generally on a rent-free basis, to make more room for the families of working men.

The Council decided that it would make a contribution for the latter purpose only on condition that official assurance was given that the Africans concerned would be moved on a completely voluntary basis, and that the houses built would, if possible, be identified with Johannesburg. After the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration had agreed to these conditions, the City Council voted R100 000 for the purpose from the proportion of the profits in its liquor and beer appropriation account that could, legally, be used for development of the homelands.

Resettlement Board area

The townships of Meadowlands and Diepkloof, adjoining Soweto, are controlled by the Government-appointed Bantu Resettlement Board, and accommodate some 159 916 Africans (a conservative figure). As at 30 June 1970, there were 142 688 living under family conditions, and 12 945 in hostels.(27) The standard of the hostel accommodation was severely criticised by members of the public in 1969 and 1970, but is being improved. More hostel beds are being provided, and more houses, too, to accommodate Africans from Alexandra Township whose breadwinners work in the southern part of Johannesburg.

It is not publicly known how much the Resettlement Board has contributed to homeland development.

Transport from Soweto and neighbouring townships

The General Manager of Railways stated in his most recently-published report that, in March 1970, an average of 212 750 Africans was commuting daily between the south-western townships and Johannesburg city. A local Member of Parliament, Mr. D.J. Marais (United Party) commented in the Assembly(28) that the railway lines concerned had reached saturation point in so far as the number of trains that the system could handle were concerned, but the number of people needing transport was increasing at the rate of 6,2 per cent a year. The privately-owned bus company, Putco, is prepared to operate a bus service; but because of opposition from the Railways Administration is allowed to run only 30 buses a day, at peak hours.

25./...

(27) From Soweto: Johannesburg's African City, by Dr. Ellen Hellmann.

(28) Hansard 7 of 1971, cols. 2925-6.

As in other large urban-complexes, very many of the Africans have to pay bus fares in addition to the rail fares, to reach their homes at night and their places of work in the morning. According to an estimate by the Association of Chambers of Commerce in November 1970, an average family in Soweto had to pay R5,03 a month in transport costs for working members of the family.

Alexandra Township

Alexandra Township, to the north of Johannesburg, is administered by the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas. All of the African families are gradually being moved out of this township, those whose breadwinners are employed in southern Johannesburg to Meadowlands or Diepkloof, and the rest, whose workers are employed in northern Johannesburg, neighbouring municipalities, and surrounding peri-urban areas, to Tembisa township, which is administered by the Germiston Municipality and is situated near Kaalfontein, adjoining the railway line linking Germiston and Pretoria.

Alexandra Township will eventually provide hostel accommodation only, for "single" men and women working in the northern areas mentioned above. The first two hostels, catering for 2 834 women and 2 642 men, respectively, will open in February 1972. The original plan was to provide twelve hostels with about 32 000 beds; but it is reported that this scheme may be considerably extended.

Already, there are about 15 000 "single" men in the area, living in rented rooms. There is said to be a rising rate of promiscuity.(29)

EAST RAND TOWNS

Germiston. As mentioned earlier, the Germiston Municipality administers Tembisa, to which certain of the families in Alexandra Township are being moved. Tembisa also houses families and single workers from Germiston North, Kempton Park, Edenvale, Bedfordview, Verwoerdburg, Modderfontein, and adjacent peri-urban areas. When representatives of the Institute of Race Relations visited the township in April 1970 they were told that, by then, about 12 000 four-roomed dwellings had been completed, and building was continuing at the rate of 100 a month. A hostel for 3 300 men existed, while another for 7 000 was planned. Workers could commute daily, by rail or Putco buses. The General Manager of Railways stated that, in March 1970, 30 650 were travelling daily by train.

The Germiston Municipality also controls the municipal township of Katlehong, situated to the south of Alberton. In March 1970, 27 750 workers were commuting daily by rail from this township. The population is reported (30) to be close on 80 000.

According to the municipal Director of Non-European Affairs, the building target at Tembisa and Katlehong for the current financial year is 3 000 houses.

(29) Rand Daily Mail, 20 September 1971.

(30) Ibid, 26 August 1971, and Municipal Yearbook.

Application has also been made for Bantu Housing Board loans to provide another 15 000 hostel beds in the two areas.

The Director added, "My Council favours participation in Bantu homeland development projects and substantial amounts have already been earmarked for this purpose. Negotiations with the Department are, however, in the initial stages".

Alberton and Boksburg

The municipal townships serving Alberton (Thokoza) and Boksburg (Vosloorus) adjoin Germiston's Katlehong. It seems clear that these are to be retained. Boksburg has been planning a "white by night" policy, implying that even domestic servants will have to commute daily. This involves the provision of further hostel accommodation. Adjacent to this town is the largest Coloured group area on the East Rand: employers are encouraged to use Coloured, rather than African, labour.

In Benoni, the most recent housing scheme approved was in 1966-7, for 2 387 dwellings at Daveyton, about 15 km to the north-east of the centre of the town. Most of these were allocated to residents of the "old Bantu township", which was then disestablished. At the end of 1971, housing was still required for about 200 families who were living as lodgers at Daveyton or at Wattville (a municipal township just outside Benoni).

A new hostel for men, with 1 328 beds, was completed in 1969, financed by a loan from the Bantu Housing Board. There was, probably, a shortage of 800 beds at the end of 1971; but demands for accommodation varied considerably from month to month, depending on the number of "contract workers" admitted. The Daveyton hostel is being extended to cater for an additional 400 men, and authority is being sought to build another hostel in this township.

Workers living at Daveyton commute by train: the General Manager of Railways stated that an average of 20 100 was doing so daily in March 1970.

Benoni has allocated no money specifically for housing in the homelands; but in 1967 it made a grant of R150 000 to the Department towards the general development of homeland areas.

Brakpan's township of Tsakane adjoins Kwa Thema, which serves Springs. According to the latest issue of the Municipal Yearbook, close on 41 000 Africans live there.

At Springs, the older township of Payneville, originally African, has been declared a Coloured group area. The municipality has applied for a loan to build 635 more houses at Kwa Thema to re-accommodate the African families who will be displaced. It is reported(31) that, apart from this, the municipality does not intend to provide further family

27./...

dwelling. It has made a substantial contribution towards the cost of housing in the homelands, and has advised all those on its waiting list to apply for dwellings in these areas.

WEST RAND TOWNS

Roodepoort. According to the same report, Roodepoort has housed most of the African families in its area at Dobsonville, to the north-west of Soweto, and intends providing no more family housing, although some 125 families are on a waiting list. It has, however, applied for a loan to build hostels for "single" men. The Town Council donated about R100 000 for the development of towns in the homelands.

Krugersdorp, too, has built no new family dwellings during the past five years. It has about 100 families awaiting such accommodation. An application for a loan from the Bantu Housing Board to build hostels for 2 250 men has, however, been approved. Krugersdorp has, thus far, given no financial assistance to the Department for homeland housing.

Africans from Randfontein live in the township of Mohlakeng, to the west of the Soweto complex. No news was sent about recent developments.

Westonaria states that there has been no recent demand for additional housing in its area: part of the reason for this is that ground subsidences have discouraged general development. New hostel accommodation has, however, been provided. Quite a number of the local Africans have voluntarily bought plots in homelands, where their families live. No contribution towards homeland development has been considered by the Town Council.

THE VAAL TRIANGLE

Until recently, each of the towns in the Vaal Triangle had its own African townships. To the north-west of the white areas, adjoining the road linking Johannesburg with Vanderbijlpark, is Evaton, an area in which part of the land was owned by the Bantu Trust and part divided into small-holdings or plots owned by individual Africans. Many of the houses were in poor condition, with rented shacks in the yards.

In 1966 the Government established the Sebokeng Management Board to control this area. It is composed of representatives of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas, and all the local authorities in the region.

This Board has built 10 000 new dwellings at Sebokeng, on Trust land adjoining the freehold area. Another 1 500 are in the

course of erection. No final decision has yet been taken as to whether more will be built, after that. There are already 8 000 beds in hostels for men, with accommodation for a further 2 000 in the course of construction, and another 2 000 to be catered for in the next eighteen months. All of these buildings have been financed from National Bantu Housing loan funds.

All the Africans from the Meyerton area have been moved to Sebokeng. Those from the municipal townships of Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark (including Sharpeville) will eventually follow. Vereeniging and Meyerton have disbanded their Bantu Affairs Departments, transferring control to the Board; and Vanderbijlpark is to follow suit.

African landowners at Evaton may, if they wish, sell their properties to the Board. If they do not choose to do so, they will retain freehold rights. If, however, their dwellings are considered to be unfit for habitation, the Board may order these to be demolished, offering compensation and alternative housing at Sebokeng (where leasehold only is available). The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 7 May 1971(32) that, by then, the Board had ordered the demolition of 600 structures owned by Africans on 318 sites, and of 408 dwellings on 391 sites owned by the Board.

THE CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN AREA

The building of family dwellings has continued at the Cape Town municipal township of Guguletu: 3 308 have been added during the past five years, while 560 are in the course of erection at the time of writing. This will cater for the immediate needs (far lower than they would have been were it not for the strict control of the influx of women). But it is not clear whether further building will be allowed to provide for the natural increase of about 300 families a year with residential qualifications: mainly newly married couples with both partners having been born in Cape Town.

The need for beds for men in hostels in the municipal townships of Langa and Guguletu varies from month to month depending on the demand for "contract" labour from outside the area, especially in the building trade. In August 1971, the City Council reported a shortage of about 5 000 beds. The City Council has discontinued building hostels because of a lack of funds and the length of time that elapses before National Bantu Housing fund loans are approved and granted. Instead, employers are allowed to erect hostel accommodation for their own employees on land provided by the local authority. This is much quicker, as employers use their own funds, and numbers have taken advantage of this scheme.

The Divisional Council of the Cape controls the township of Nyanga, where it has built dwellings consisting of two, three, or four rooms. Some years ago it established a transit camp in this area, to which it moved many families who were living in highly unsatisfactory, insanitary squatter settlements widely scattered in the Peninsula. They were allowed to build their own temporary shacks in the controlled transit area, the number of families there reaching a peak of 2 508 in July 1958. Their circumstances were

29./...

then investigated. Those who did not qualify to remain in the area were endorsed out, while the rest were gradually settled in permanent housing. Only 167 families remained in the transit camp in October 1971.

Some of the two-roomed dwellings are overcrowded, but will progressively be converted into four-roomed houses. About 600 men who are living with their parents as lodgers will be moved into hostels. Beyond this, the Divisional Council has no plans at this stage to provide further family housing: again, it is not clear where the natural increase in the married population will be accommodated.

Since 1968 the Divisional Council has built 54 hostel blocks housing 1 728 "single" men (others had been erected previously). There is a shortage of some 1 666 beds. Like the City Council, the Divisional Council has allowed private employers to provide accommodation on its land for their own employees. Late in 1971, there were 50 small permanent brick hostels (two of them provided by the Divisional Council for its own workers). Each houses 20 men. Besides this, there were 49 temporary prefabricated hutments, housing about 1 700 men, which will gradually be replaced by permanent structures.

"Contract" (migratory) male workers in the Cape Peninsula have to return home annually to the Ciskei, Transkei, or other areas where their homes are considered to be. They may then be recruited for further periods of service. The third-class return fare to East London is R22,21, and to Umtata, R24,07. Many have additional train or bus fares to pay in order to reach their homes.

Neither the City Council nor the Divisional Council has made any contribution to homeland development beyond the compulsory 80 per cent of profits made on the sale of hard liquor.

PORT ELIZABETH - UITENHAGE AREA

In Port Elizabeth, there is an estimated shortage of about 10 600 family dwellings, including existing schemes to be replanned. Official approval is anticipated for the building of 5 500 semi-detached four-roomed dwellings at Zwide in the Veeplaats area (inland from the New Brighton township), to be financed from Department of Community Development loan funds.

Although the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area falls within the Coloured labour preference area, according to the 1971 White Paper on the Riekert Report, quoted earlier, industrialists are to be allowed to engage additional Africans whenever the registered unemployment figure for Coloured people (men and women) drops below two per cent. As there has been a shortage of Coloured labour, further Africans are being employed. The immediate shortage of accommodation for single men in September 1971 was about 3 000, but new hostel beds for some 13 000 men are to be provided at Zwide.

The City Council has agreed, in principle, to contribute to the erection of dwellings in homelands; but its present financial position does not make it possible for this to be done.

An inter-departmental committee has been appointed to consider the future planning of the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage metropolitan area.

Uitenhage at present has about 2 500 family dwellings and hostel beds for 1 392 single men in its Kabah township. It is planned that they should all be moved about 6½ km, to a new township called Kwa Nobuhle on the south bank of the Swartkops River (a "white" area), where approximately 6 500 family houses and hostel accommodation for 2 512 single men will be provided. The project will be financed from the Bantu Services Levy Fund, National Bantu Housing loan funds, external loans, and beer and liquor profits.

Uitenhage is building no housing in any homeland township.

KIMBERLEY - BARKLY WEST

Kimberley reports a shortage of housing for 356 families. About 100 dwellings were being built late in 1971. There is hostel accommodation for 1 020 men. Like other local authorities, the Kimberley municipality was officially asked to assist in providing housing in the homelands, but has, thus far, given no serious consideration to the request.

At Barkly West, a further 425 houses are being completed in the municipal township, which will meet the present demand. There are no hostels. This municipality, too, has no plans for the provision of housing in a homeland.

SOME OF THE PROS AND CONS OF LIVING IN HOMELAND TOWNSHIPS

Advantages

The paragraphs that follow are based, unless otherwise stated, on a comparison of regulations for the administration and control of townships in Bantu areas(33) with those for the control and supervision of urban Bantu residential areas.(34)

1. Ownership of sites and dwellings

Africans in urban residential areas are not permitted to purchase stands, nor to build their own homes on leasehold plots. They are permitted only to rent houses from the local authority. Unless with the superintendent's permission, no alterations or additions may be made to the dwellings. The tenant is not entitled to any compensation for improvements made by him, although he may sell them to a new tenant or remove them if, in the superintendent's opinion, this may be done without damage to the building. Those who did own homes on leasehold plots in 1968 (when the regulations were changed) may continue to occupy them, but may dispose of them only to the local authority, and may not bequeath them to their heirs.

In homeland townships, on the other hand, heads of households may buy stands, either vacant ones or plots on which

31./...

(33) Proclamation R293 of 16 November 1962.

(34) Proclamation R1036 of 14 June 1968, as applied in the light of Departmental directives to local authorities, and relevant provisions of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945 as amended.

houses have been erected by the S.A. Bantu Trust. The Bantu Investment Corporation makes loans available for the purpose. The prices of undeveloped residential stands are R2,20 for each 50 square metres or part thereof exceeding 25 square metres.⁽³⁵⁾ Trading, industrial, or professional stands cost a little more than double this amount.

In the Assembly on 18 May 1971,⁽³⁶⁾ however, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced that residential sites were being offered free of charge to Africans who had the capital resources to put up their own homes, to the "natural increase" of urban Africans who were prepared to move to the homelands, and to Africans who qualified to remain in "white" urban areas but decided to settle in homeland townships instead. The plots would be free of charge even if there were houses on them built by the S.A. Bantu Trust: the Africans would pay only for the dwellings.

On the death of an owner, the interest in his property devolves on his heirs.

2. Persons who qualify to be householders

In urban residential areas, tenancy of a dwelling may normally be granted only to male adults who are South African citizens, who are in employment in the area or are carrying on some lawful occupation there, and who have dependants who themselves qualify to remain in the urban area concerned. No woman may be placed on the waiting list for a house, even if she has dependants living with her legally. Only in very special circumstances, and with the permission of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, may the tenancy of a dwelling be transferred to a woman who becomes deserted, divorced, or widowed, or to a man under the age of 21 years.

In homeland townships, all heads of families, including women, may acquire building sites or dwellings, or lease houses. Unless permission is obtained, they must be of the ethnic group for which the homeland is designated. If a man who leases a house dies, his widow has prior claim to take over the lease.

Lodgers' permits may be granted in both types of townships.

3. Security of leasehold tenure

Residential permits in urban townships are valid for one month only: acceptance of rent due is deemed to be a renewal for another month. Tenancy is subject to one month's notice, and is cancelled if the householder or lodger forfeits his right to remain in the area, in terms of Section 10(1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

Section 10 (1) does not apply in homeland townships. Leases of dwellings there run for an indefinite period (except that, as in urban townships too, they may be cancelled if the person **concerns** fails to pay his rent; or ceases, in the superintendent's opinion, to be a fit and proper person to reside there; or is sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period

32./...

(35) Government Notice R216 of 19 February 1971.

(36) Hansard 15 col. 7055.

of more than six months; or fails to occupy the property for longer than a stipulated period.)

4. Visitors

Africans who want to visit an urban township for more than 72 hours must apply for an accommodation permit. In the Bantu areas, they may visit a township for up to 30 days without permission. If they wish to stay for longer than this, they must apply for a lodger's permit.

5. Traders and professional persons

An African person, company, or syndicate wishing to establish a trade or profession in a homeland township must qualify for residential rights there, and obtain the appropriate licences. Unless with permission, only one site may be occupied. There has been criticism by Africans of the power of control maintained by Government-appointed Corporations, and their retention of wholesale rights.

There are numerous other conditions in urban townships. An applicant for trading rights must be the bona fide family breadwinner, must qualify under Section 10 (1) to remain in the area, and must possess no business or trading rights elsewhere. His trading permit must be renewed at the end of each calendar year. No companies, partnerships, or financial institutions may be established, nor may one man carry on more than one business. The only businesses allowed are those that cater for the daily essential domestic requirements of the African residents. (Since 1963, for example, no new permits have been granted for dry-cleaners or proprietors of garages.)

All assistants employed by a trader must qualify under Section 10 (1) to be in the area, and must be approved by the superintendent. In recent years, traders have not been allowed to erect their own buildings. They may not make structural alterations to leased shops, or instal additional fittings, unless with permission.

African professional men and women have, since 1969, not been permitted to rent consulting rooms or offices in urban townships unless they qualify under Section 10 (1) to remain in the area concerned.

Some of the disadvantages of living in homeland townships

For years after a homeland township is first established, it lacks the amenities that have been provided by the larger local authorities in their urban townships, for example proper roads and stormwater drainage, street lighting, sewerage, individual household supplies of water and electricity, community halls, sports fields and children's playgrounds, library and other recreational services, and mother and baby clinics.

Some of the homeland townships, for example outside Pretoria and Durban, are virtually suburbs of the towns concerned; but others are much further away from cities or towns, and the breadwinners are able to return home only at weekends, or less often than that. There is little real family life. This may lead to promiscuity.

In cases where the homeland townships are some distance from centres of employment, the workers' transport costs increase, as does the time that has to be spent in travelling. Examples are given elsewhere in this memorandum. Wives find it difficult to visit well-stocked urban shops, where prices are often lower than homeland traders can afford to charge. The people are isolated from contact with persons other than those of their own ethnic group, and lack the stimulus brought about by experience of such contact, and of ways of life in the towns.

There are clinics in all but the newest of the townships, staffed by nurses, and visited by district surgeons. But, in an emergency, it may be difficult to secure the services of a doctor, and the nearest telephone, hospital, and police station may be miles away, with no convenient transport service.

INFLUX CONTROL AND "ENDORSEMENTS OUT"

In terms of the Bantu Labour Regulations of 1968⁽³⁷⁾, unless with the approval of the Director of Bantu Labour, African women may not be recruited in a homeland for employment in a prescribed area (i.e. urban and certain peri-urban areas in "white" parts of the country).

The provisions of Section 10 (1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, which govern the legality of residence in a prescribed area, have progressively been tightened. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964, for example, laid down that, in order to qualify to remain with a man who is entitled to live in such an area, his wife and unmarried daughters must not only ordinarily reside with him (as stated in a previous Act), but must initially have entered the area lawfully. This is often difficult to prove. The same Act stated that, in considering applications to live in a prescribed area, the authorities must give regard to the availability of accommodation in a Bantu residential area. Thus, if no accommodation is available, a woman who is otherwise entitled to come and live with her husband may be prevented from doing so.

By these and other methods, Governmental authorities have controlled the number of married couples who qualify to live in towns. Influx control has been particularly strict in the Western Cape, where the men far outnumber the women. Questioned in the Assembly on 5 March 1971⁽³⁸⁾, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following statistics in regard to the African population of Langa, Guguletu, and Nyanga in greater Cape Town:

Men over 16 years of age in bachelor quarters...	30 882
Men over 16 years of age in family accommodation.	15 492
Women over 16 years of age	17 021
Children	32 035

The regulations for the control of urban townships, quoted earlier, provide that if a woman who becomes widowed does not

(37) Proclamation R 74 of 1968.

(38) Hansard 5 of 1971, col. 394.

qualify in her own name to remain in the town, she may continue to occupy the family house only with the specific approval of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner. Wherever possible, such women must be resettled in the homelands. The same applies to deserted women.

A woman who becomes divorced may remain in the family house only if she has been granted custody of the children; if she can prove that she is not the guilty party; if she herself qualifies to remain in the town; if her ex-husband agrees to vacate the house and transfer the tenancy to her; and if she can pay the rent.

If a retired or disabled man has no close relatives with whom he may lodge, he and his dependants may be required to go to live in one of the settlements being established for such people in the homelands.

For a variety of reasons, a man may lose his urban residential rights, when he and his family will be "endorsed out". If a man marries a woman who does not qualify to be in the town, but wants to live with her, he is forced to go to a homeland township. As described in the previous section, African business and professional men are being encouraged and constrained to settle in homelands. Educational and welfare institutions are increasingly being sited there.

As a result of all the factors mentioned, the demand for family housing has been decreased. Some towns report that all of those who apply for and are entitled to houses can be accommodated in dwellings that are vacated for various reasons, so that there is no need to build more.

Every effort is being made by the Government to encourage industrialists whose concerns are not considered to be locality-bound to move from metropolitan areas (especially the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region) to border industrial areas or to the homelands. But locality-bound industries are to be permitted to expand, and it appears likely that many absorb workers who are discharged by entrepreneurs who do move.

The building of family housing is being continued in most of the metropolitan areas that are remote from homelands; but in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, in particular, the supply lags far behind the demand. Even if, in some towns, the immediate demand is being met, it is not clear what is to happen in the future. There is a steady natural increase in the number of newly-married couples, both partners to which qualify to remain in the area concerned. Johannesburg reports an increase of 2 000 a year; Cape Town of 300.

All authorities appear to agree that, despite influx control, "endorsements out", and inducements to move to homelands, the African populations of the metropolitan areas are likely to grow very fast.

It would seem that the Government has no intention of abolishing Section 10 residential rights in the near future (if at all). The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly in 1971(39), "We will not try to shy away from Section 10

in any other way than to go candidly and openly to the Bantu and then come to this House to remove Section 10 when we deem the time for that to be necessary and when we think it may be necessary".

One presumes that, even if Section 10 rights were abolished, this would not be done retrospectively. If so, children born in towns up to the time that the relevant legislation was passed would qualify to remain in these areas, and it would not be until the first boys born thereafter reached the age of 18 years that it would, in theory, begin to be possible for the authorities to order the removal of very large numbers of urbanized Africans. It would then have to be determined whether the economy of the homelands had expanded sufficiently to absorb these people, and what the attitude of the homelands governments to removal schemes would be.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Two main considerations emerge from what has been said.

Firstly, population census figures indicating the distribution of Africans as between the homelands and the "white" urban areas are misleading. Hundreds of thousands of Africans enumerated as homeland residents are, in fact, equivalent to urban commuters. It is impossible to determine, from available information, whether or not they outnumber the migrants from homeland areas who are enumerated in "white" areas; but this factor should be borne in mind when comparing 1960 and 1970 census figures. Migrants were, both times, included in the figures for "white" areas; but it is a new development to include so many urban commuters in the figures for the homelands.

Secondly, as the African population of metropolitan areas that are remote from homelands continues to expand (as it appears bound to do) large new family housing schemes will become essential. If land adjoining the existing townships is not available, the new schemes may have to be separated geographically. But there seems to be no reason, apart from ideological ones that in any case may be impracticable, why the new schemes should be located in a homeland.

It will, clearly, be a sheer impossibility to move all the Africans from townships serving such metropolitan areas to the homelands. They are there to stay. This being the case, why should the residents be denied the greater security of tenure and the occupational opportunities that are available to those living in homeland townships, such as the right to own property in freehold, and to engage in professional or trading activities without restrictions? In terms of practical politics, the homelands of most of the ethnic groups will never be fully consolidated. Is there then, any valid reason, why the Government should continue to refuse to recognize Soweto and Guguletu and other such African cities as being de facto homelands, and to extend to these cities the less restrictive regulations that apply in homeland townships? This suggestion has repeatedly been made. Were it adopted, it would be one important step towards relieving the very dangerous tensions that are building up amongst the larger concentrations of urban Africans.

INFORMATION SUBSEQUENTLY RECEIVED

NATAL

Estcourt. Future family accommodation will definitely be at Wembesi, about 11 km by road south-west of the town. All the families will eventually have to move there. The local authorities has not decided whether it will give any financial assistance.

CISKEI

Seymour has a small township, most of the residents being pensioners or people supported by breadwinners working elsewhere. It is possible that, in the future, the unemployed people will be moved to a homeland.

CAPE MIDLANDS

Grahamstown. According to the Rand Daily Mail of 9 November, the new township at Committees Drift will be 52,5 km from Grahamstown. It is to be planned as a "model" township, with a potential population of 100 000 to 200 000. These Africans, resettled there from the city and surrounding areas, will work in industries which the Government hopes to attract to the region. A railway line may be built from Grahamstown via the proposed industrial area and Committees Drift to King William's Town.

Colesberg is undertaking no new family housing. It is uncertain where further houses will be built, if needed; but should families be moved, this would be on a voluntary basis only. The municipality will not assist with homeland township development.

Graaff Reinet is to build no additional housing. The future of the existing township is being considered by the Department. The municipality will not contribute to the development of homeland townships.

WESTERN CAPE

The Oudtshoorn municipal township is fully developed, the erection of further family housing not being possible. In terms of Government policy, all the families will eventually be resettled in the Ciskei or Transkei.

ORANGE FREE STATE

Reitz is shortly to build another 290 houses. Its African families are unlikely to be moved to a homeland; and the Town Council does not at present intend making any financial contribution to homeland housing.

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