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"A SKETCH OF LIFE IN SOWETO" BY COUNCILLOR PATRICK R.B. LEWIS,
TO BE DELIVERED TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL WINTER SCHOOL -
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND : TUESDAY, 22ND JULY 1969.

I have studied the Agenda of your Winter School and am glad that you have included in your studies consideration of the life of the African people in an urban environment.

I know that no white person can really give a true picture, because he can only speak from hearsay. Nor can a white man reflect the innermost thoughts of the people or of the effect of their inter-racial contacts and their repercussions on everyday life. However, as one who has been interested in race relations for over thirty years and as one who has been connected with Bantu administration in Johannesburg since 1957, let me try to tell you what I know of the situation.

I would like to thank you for asking me to speak to you on a subject on which I have pondered for some time - what is it like to live in Soweto? The canvas is so large, and there is so little scientific information available, that one can only etch some facets and then only give a glimpse of the way of life of the hundreds of thousands of people who have moved to the cities from the rural areas.

It is a story of a social upheaval on a vast scale, where traditional patterns of behaviour developed over a long period of time, have been suddenly undermined before a new social code has been evolved to substitute suitable norms of conduct in place of those which have been destroyed.

First let me tell you how Soweto got its name. Early in 1930 the Johannesburg City Council purchased 1,300 morgen to the South-West of Johannesburg, adjacent to the Potchefstroom Road, and in 1932 started building houses in a township which was called Orlando, named after one of the then Councillors, Mr. Orlando Leake. One of the primary purposes was to rehouse Africans living in appalling slums at a place called Prospect Township, which was situated on part of the ground now occupied by the new Kazerne Goods yard. By the outbreak of World War 2 in 1939, 5,800 houses had been built by the City Council in Orlando. During the war no additional houses were built even though rapid industrialization called for many more workers, and it was at this time that a veritable flood of people moved into the areas adjacent to Orlando, and the notorious squatter camps of Shantytown and Moroka were established. Those were days of degradation, crime and appalling misery. Then, after a hesitant start, the seemingly impossible was achieved.

Today we have some 65,000 houses accommodating some 382,000 men, women and children. There are 3 hostels accommodating 15,000 men and one women's hostel accommodating 282 women. In addition the Bantu Resettlement Board houses some 134,000 men, women and children and hostel accommodation is provided for 9,900 adult men.

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So, to Orlando was added townships such as Dube, Naledi, Moroka, Chiawelo, Jabavu, Jabulani, Emdeni, Mapetla, Mofolo, Zolo, Zondi, Phiri, Senaoane, Maletsane. For years this large area of 7.900 morgen or 25 square miles was referred to as the South-Western Bantu Townships. It was a city without a name, with no corporate entity. A competition was then held to choose a name. Many of the suggestions had to be turned down because the Zulu would not accept a Sotho name and vice versa. Eventually, a compromise was reached and Soweto is derived from the first letters of South-Western Townships. So Soweto is the name of this unique town.

Why unique? Because within a period of less than 37 years what had been veld has now become the home of nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ million African people. It is a city without industries, and the working population has to commute to work in the white areas of Johannesburg, some 12 to 20 miles away depending on the station at which the train is boarded. It is unique in that there is only one landlord - the City Council. Unique too, in that the landlord has been prepared, year in and year out, to subsidise many of his tenants by providing houses at sub-economic rentals, by providing medical care, recreational facilities, social welfare services, swimming baths, recreation halls, vocational training - incurring losses which for the last 16 years amounted to R8-million. The employers of the tenants have contributed R32-million by means of such funds as the Bantu Transport Levy to subsidise transport, and the Bantu Services Levy towards the capital costs of providing services, thus enabling the rentals to be lowered.

But who are the people who live at Soweto and where did they come from? Why did they come? What manner of persons are they?

Who are the people? Where did they come from? The Xhosa came from the Transkei, the Basuto from Basutoland, the Shangaan from Portuguese East Africa, the Zulu from Zululand, the Bapedi from Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, the Tswana from the Western Transvaal, the Nyasa from Malawi, the Bechuana from Bechuanaland, the Mashona and Mandabele from Rhodesia. There are also Swazi, Fingo, Pondo, Makwena, Barolong, Bakgatla, Venda and Griqua. Johannesburg is the magnet for people from all over Southern Africa.

They came to the cities to work, for in their homes in the rural areas the land available was limited, and the agricultural methods primitive. They had no means to support their families when crops failed. They needed cash to pay taxes. Their

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wants increased and the bright lights of the cities lured them to come to E-Goli - the City of Gold - to seek the cash they needed. With the industrial expansion in the cities their labour was required to enable the factories and industries to function. The services provided in the towns, the educational and medical facilities available, and the general better living conditions drew the people to the cities from the rural areas.

At one time, it was just the men who came. In 1900, of the 60,000 Africans the ratio of males to females was 12 - 1; by 1927, with a population of 136,000 the ratio was 6 - 1; at the outbreak of war the ratio was 3 - 1 and now it is equal.

At first the men worked for short spells, returning home to join their families and returning to the cities again when their funds gave out. What a different pattern it is today! Now that the women folk have moved to town the vast majority are permanent urban dwellers.

How different they found the city from their rural areas! How strange they felt in their new surroundings! How ill equipped their tribal beliefs and training had made them for their new life. Instead of the sun being their time-piece, they now had to work to the inelastic and unsympathetic clock of the white man. Instead of working in the circle of their clan, where everyone was known to them and to each other, they were now among strangers, strangers to them and strangers to one another. They heard unfamiliar tongues they could not understand. Because they could not understand they were thought to be stupid - some called them momparas and worse. Whereas at home they had a sense of kinship, and could consult their kinsmen, they were now on their own and had to make decisions for themselves. Their food was different, as were their mealtimes, and the white man's medicine was different. Instead of a barter economy, ready cash was necessary. Instead of leisurely walks along country paths, 170,000 persons each day rise early to throng the crowded trains carrying them to work, only to repeat the same tortured travel in the late afternoon. No longer were cattle the symbol of wealth. In the City the material goods of the West and a flashy car were one's aim. Whereas in the clan initiative was not encouraged and could lead to jealousy, now they were judged on their own merits and were encouraged to develop individuality. At home there was respect for one's elders. The daily battle to secure a place on the crowded trains

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destroyed any attitude other than looking after oneself. In the City one was on one's own, and free from restraints of the tribe, but at the same time one had lost the security of the assured help of kinsmen. The ancestral spirits seemed far away; some people in the towns even cast doubt on their very existence. It is difficult enough for a rural dweller of any race to adjust himself to the hustle and bustle of the City. For the African it also meant adjustment to a totally different way of life.

What an upheaval - what an adaptation to make. The migratory worker away from his kith and kin, away from his women folk, could not be expected to observe the tribal sanctions and restraints - for a man is a man and needed his desires fulfilled and so began the process which has caused a most heart-rending upheaval in the structure of African society, particularly in family life. Sadly enough both marriage and family life are very unstable and one fears that it will be a long process to rebuild secure and stable families again. But other societies, notably England during the Industrial Revolution, have experienced the same mal-adjustments inevitable in such a drastic transition, and have readjusted themselves. While large numbers are living normal family lives there are still 85,000 men and 55,000 women living under single conditions in hostels, compounds, flats or on their employer's private property. There is no means of estimating how many of these men and women are in fact single and how many are involuntarily parted from their spouses.

In the early days of contact between White and Black many well-meaning people, looking through the eyes of one civilization and, not knowing the customs and traditions of the other, condemned polygamy and other marriage customs, and the lobolo system, interpreting that system as the purchase of the wife by the bridegroom - how wrong they were.

In days gone by, while customs varied from tribe to tribe pre-marital pregnancies would have had serious consequences for both parties. In the towns no such sanctions existed and illegitimate children became accepted without many eyebrows being so much as raised. The transfer of cattle by the kinsmen of the bridegroom to the kinsmen of the bride was a symbol of the alliance of the clans, and many consequences flowed from these transactions. For one, if the husband died his clan would care for his wife and children. There were no uncared for widows or orphans.

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How different in the towns. One was away from the close-knit community where everyone knew one's actions. One was among strangers who did not care, thus causing a breakdown in tribal sanctions.

In the cities the lobolo system lost its old meaning for there were no cattle. Yet it persists today in the form of money in circumstances which destroy its original purpose. It is often the earning capacity of the bride which determines the lobolo demanded. In days gone by it was the parents and the clan who assisted with the payment of lobolo now it is the groom who has to find it. If the amount demanded is too high the man and maid often live together until lobolo can be found.

In Bantu society in rural areas polygamy was the accepted norm. The women tilled the fields and were responsible for providing the meals. In the cities there were no fields to till and the only means of providing the food was to go out and work for cash. Then who looked after the children while one was at work in the city? No wonder many of the youngsters have grown up without discipline or the desire to have regular employment, seeking rather to live by their wits. The role of the women in the tribe was well defined and very different from that of women in the Western societies. What profound change has resulted from coming to the city. Today in Soweto the women play an increasingly important role in their own society and are potent agents of stability. Read books such as "A Black Woman in Search of God" to appreciate the stabilising force of the Manyano women. It is often the women who provide the stimulus in educating the children. In many households the women scrimp and scrape to find the funds to enable the children to acquire the knowledge they themselves never had. And what problems this often creates where the children may scorn the parents because of their illiteracy.

One of the ever-present problems is that of making ends meet. Poverty in the rural areas was one thing because in the rural areas one shared what there was to share. In the city where cash is required to meet the month's rental - for with only one landlord one can find oneself on the street with nowhere else to go if the rent is in arrears - where food and clothing has to be bought at ever-increasing prices - poverty is a nightmare, especially for the aged, the out-of-works, the ill, the deserted wives with a crop of children to care for. These days of full employment and more adequate wages have helped enormously in relieving the hardships of a large portion of the Soweto population, but it is a constant struggle, especially if the men spend their wages on clothes, or gambling, or at the Municipal beerhalls or on their

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girl friends without measuring up to their responsibilities for the family they helped to create.

I have endeavoured to put to you this melting pot into which people of varying tribal backgrounds, various levels of education, varying stages of civilization, have been thrown. What has been the outcome of this melting pot process?

If one visits Soweto one is impressed with the manner in which the houses are kept, by the gardens that have been made and how neat the homes are inside.

I can only marvel at the resilience, at the good humour, the philosophical attitude, and the good sense of the people in adapting themselves to what has happened.

Who could have visualized some 30 years ago - 20 years ago - even 10 years ago the skills that would be acquired by these country folk, who could have envisaged that there would be African matrons at Baragwanath Hospital, and a hospital staffed with African nurses, who could have believed that Municipal treasury officials would be Africans, that the builders of houses, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the electrical wiremen, the plumbers and drainlayers would be Black, and that there would be building contractors, that they would be driving bulldozers, that they would acquire the skills for industry, that there would be elegant owner-built homes in a middle-class suburb, that there would be choirs who could sing the Messiah to us in the City Hall, that there would be artists trained in the city's art centre in Polly Street capable of exhibiting works of art in London, Paris and New York. Who would have believed, not 10 years ago, but 3 years ago that making European liquor available to the Africans would not result in an orgy of drunkenness and terror. The release of European liquor to the Africans has improved the relationship with the Police, who no longer have at all times to carry out the hated liquor raids. Unacceptable and unenforceable laws breed disrespect for the law. The complicated pass laws and influx control regulations impinge on the desired freedom of movement of most families in one way or another. In the minds of the Africans the Police are identified with the laws and the niceties of the difference between the makers of the law and those who have to carry them out are not recognised.

That all is not well, we know. You cannot have a social upheaval such as we have had without somebody being hurt, and it will take time and patience and understanding to heal the wounds caused by the destruction of one social order before another takes its place.

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The beliefs of the African, the concepts of kinship, the belief in ancestral spirits, the belief in signs, in omens good and bad, the belief that one can be bewitched, that one can bewitch one's enemy, the belief in the witchdoctor's occult powers, in his medicines - these and many others are deeprooted and will be a part of African thinking for a long time to come.

What have we tried to put in their place? Often the Africans' first contacts with White civilization were the missionaries. What dedicated men and women they were. To what extent have those sacrifices and dedication influenced African life and morality today? A large proportion of the educated Africans received their schooling at Missions and Church affiliated institutions such as Lovedale, Fort Hare, Kilnerton, Adams College and Roma. While the churches have many hundred of thousands of members and adherents, Christianity is by many regarded as the white man's religion and is therefore suspect. Was the behaviour of the white man towards them, and were the laws of the white man such as to create a desire to repose belief in the white man's God?

Countless separatist churches, some put the number at over 2,000, have sprung up throughout South Africa. These vary from those having beliefs and a faith bearing a close resemblance to Christianity to those which are almost completely pagan. It is regrettable to have to say that the Christian church is finding it hard to penetrate to the core of the masses and amongst the more sophisticated church affiliation is often for purposes of social status rather than for inherent belief backed by a standard of conduct.

A hopeful sign in a society where the class structure is emerging is that not only in South Africa, but in Africa as a whole, status is allied with the extent to which western civilization has been attained. We recently suggested that we have an exhibition in Soweto at which tribal huts and impedimenta be displayed and tribal costumes worn. The Advisory Boards would have none of it - they did not want to be reminded of their past.

In Soweto today various strata of society are emerging. These strata are based on the extent of education, and the absorption of western civilization. Possession of material goods is a symbol of success and status. The better educated - professional persons, the teachers, shopkeepers, nurses, senior officials in administration, entertainers - tend to form the uppercrust of society. One's

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income and skills are important factors. In addition there are the labourers and the newcomers to town. There are church associations, choral societies, football clubs, school associations, chambers of commerce, advisory boards and many other organisations cutting right across ethnic grouping and these activities determine one's associates and place in the new society. Unfortunately, there are also the city slickers and spivs, the people who want to make money the easy way not caring whom they rape or rob or how they maim. I often feel that today the greatest need in Soweto is to find some way of providing the law-abiding citizen with protection from the molestation of his fellows.

The urban dweller of today has travelled a long way on the path of material progress. His standard of living, his abilities, his outlook and that of his City-bred children are vastly different from those of yesteryear. What of tomorrow? I see a further advance in that progress, but care must be taken that these abilities are given adequate outlets so that a mood of frustration is not allowed to develop. If that can be done then I have confidence in the future.

Having endeavoured to give a picture in broad outline, I would now like to deal in greater detail with certain aspects and, in addition, tell you how the City Council is endeavouring to cater for some of the problems I have outlined.

Can we first of all deal in greater detail with one of the most interesting aspects - that is tribal customs and the extent to which they are still practised in Soweto. Some years ago a survey was made analysing the tribal customs which still form a feature of life in Soweto.

The whole of Bantu traditional life is founded on reverence for ancestors. Broadly, this entails some sort of ceremony in which the names of ancestors are recited. The ancestors guard the living and, in return, the spirits depend on the living for sustenance.

In a recent survey in the townships it was found that the bulk of the people in Soweto still practise worship of ancestral spirits in one way or another.

The tribal concept of the family was that of the extended family consisting of parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, cousins and their kin all living as a socially integrated whole. This concept has now been broken down by the change in

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the economy of the Bantu from a subsistence economy dependent on the joint family venture of working the land to a money economy based on the breadwinner's earnings outside the home and independent of any co-operative family effort. This change has diminished or even broken the control of the family by the patriarch and led to a greater desire for social mobility and freedom from family control.

As far as the structure of the family is concerned the greatest change which the impact of the European has wrought is in the gradual disappearance of the custom of polygamy. In a recent study (1965) by the research section of the Non-European Affairs Department it was found that only 9.93% of those studied were polygamously married and only one of these people had contracted a polygamous marriage in the city. 47% of those questioned were opposed to the practice and no other single custom had nearly the same degree of opposition. The diminution of the practice of polygamy is not without its problem. 62% of Bantu questioned in the N. E. A. D. survey believed in prolonged breast feeding of infants and coupled with this practice goes abstinence from sexual relations during lactation.

The result of diminishing polygamy and persistence of prolonged lactation is that of increase in family disorganisation as the male now tends to find sexual outlet with random extramarital contacts again promoting illegitimacy, prostitution and spread of venereal disease.

The breakdown in the authority of a family head or elder is by no means complete and an urban family may still retain as head a father, mother or grand-parent. Without the consent of this head, no important decision may be taken. Often this person exercises the right of decision when a child may be weaned or whether a doctor or witchdoctor should be consulted in case of illness. All efforts directed at the patient or a parent of a child may be completely fruitless if another person is the decision making person in the family.

As is to be expected in an area where many people spent their childhood years living in rural surroundings surrounded by the easy flow of tribal life, the people have retained many of their tribal customs, some in toto, most of them adapted to suit the needs of their altered circumstances. So, for instance, the practice of lobolo continues, but the medium of payment has become cash rather than cattle. The witchdoctor still practices his age-old rites, but he is as likely to be dressed in a modern business suit as the skins and beads of his rural predecessor.

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Initiation, so important to the tribal Bantu, continues to a certain extent and many tribes set up their initiation lodges on the outskirts of Soweto each year. The girls receive instruction at the houses of the older women, and the tradition continues. But there have been important changes. Modern western economy is catching up on old customs, and inevitably, these have been affected. Those customs able to survive without a direct clash with western life survive, the others go under. So, for instance, the slaughtering of cattle for ceremonial purposes is no longer practiced as widely as before, many of the initiation rites, especially those based on veld lore, cannot be taught in urban surroundings.

Education has also had its effect, and the young often question the necessity of the old practices. Many of the old beliefs are untenable in the face of western knowledge, and slowly they are disappearing. The modern educated Soweto businessman is not as likely a candidate for the superstitions of his forefathers as the dweller in the homelands.

Dietary Customs.

Certain tribal dietary taboos persist in the urban environment such as the belief amongst the Sotho that the eating of eggs by unmarried girls increases their wantonness. Thus the urbanite already deprived of good sources of protein cannot readily make use of eggs.

Liquor:

Although the drinking of beer has a social significance, the drinking of spiritous liquor has been tempered by the time when Bantu were unable to buy spirits legally. The result was the establishment of a habit of drinking the spirit in one gulp undiluted with minerals - a vestige of the drinking in shebeens where the drink had to be downed before the arrival of the police. The drinking of spirit is aimed at getting maximum intoxicating effect as rapidly as possible rather than enjoyment of the drink.

Free access to "European type" liquor did much to destroy the old shebeens, and there are far fewer of them today than there were in the past. Some do still exist, specialising often in illegal liquor, unobtainable anywhere else. "Ai Ai", with a base of aeroplane fuel, is one such, and the hospitals regularly treat people who have been poisoned by it. Unfortunately, in any society, there are those who would profit from man's weakness and ignorance and illegal liquor is still sold.

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The Council now has 23 liquor outlets in the townships and the City. These comprise beergardens, where the traditional Bantu beer is sold, bar lounges for the more sophisticated person and off-sales depots. The Council has maintained a monopoly on the sale of liquor in the townships, and the profits are an important source of revenue. At least one third of these profits are spent on improving social welfare, recreational and health facilities for the Bantu. The rest may be used to reduce losses on housing schemes.

Bantu beer is brewed by the Council for sale to the Bantu people. Thirty million gallons a year are sold at 20c a gallon. This drink, with a food value roughly equivalent to that of milk, has an alcohol content of less than 3%, and is still the most popular of all the types of liquor sold in the townships. Bantu beer is rich in protein and is a good source of B1 and B2 vitamins. The value of Bantu beer sold by the Municipality is approximately R7-million per year. Sales of European liquor in Soweto by the City Council is approximately R5-million. If we add to this the European liquor sold in the City bottle stores, I think we can conservatively add a further R4-million, making the total liquor sales R16-million. The total rent debit for hostels and houses is R4-million.

In my opinion far too much is being spent by the urban Bantu man on liquor without regard to the needs of his family.

Labour Force:

The total male labour force in Johannesburg in June 1968 was approximately 250,000, 61% of whom worked in either commerce or manufacturing. Johannesburg is after all a commercial city. The rest worked for a variety of different employers, ranging from construction firms (7%) to the local authority (8%) and other smaller groups. The pattern among Johannesburg's 112,512 female Bantu workers is rather different. 55% work as domestics, 20% in accommodation or catering and 15% in manufacturing. Unemployment figures among men are phenomenally low ranging between 1% and 2%, mostly short term unemployment. This figure for women is considerably higher.

The proportion of skilled workers remains low, being only 10% among men. 47% may be classified as semi-skilled and the remainder as unskilled labour. This compares very favourably, however, with the position only a year earlier, when the

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figures were 8% and 25% respectively.

Train Travel:

Because of the inability of the Railways to carry people at the times they wish to travel, they are forced to leave their homes in the early hours of the morning in order to be at work on time. Here I would like to give you figures for just one day's travelling on the South Western line. Starting at 4.00 to 4.15 a.m., the number of people using the trains is 2202, and this figure rises as follows:-

4.15 to 4.30	2,168
4.30 to 4.45	2,920
4.45 to 5.00	5,634
5.00 to 5.15	7,807
5.15 to 5.30	11,616
5.30 to 5.45	14,257
5.45 to 6.00	22,025
6.00 to 6.15	17,247
6.15 to 6.30	18,495
6.30 to 6.45	17,224
6.45 to 7.00	11,254

and then the numbers start decreasing until they are down to 2,885 between 7.45 and 8.00 a.m. Between 8.00 a.m. and 11.00 a.m., the number of passengers is 35,259 and the grand total for the incoming journeys is 190,924. It must also be remembered that many of the people have to travel by bus from their homes to the station, which means, as I have already said, that they must rise at a very early hour, and we must remember, too, that they have the overcrowded weary journey home in the evening, so that they really do not have sufficient rest. Many, if not most, of the people leave home without food, and this must inevitably affect their productivity.

Bantu Vehicle Ownership:

A reflection of the growing affluence among the Bantu is the fact that the number of vehicles owned have increased from approximately 8,000 in 1960 to 21,393 in 1967, a ratio of 36.2 persons per vehicle. This increase in motor ownership will continue.

I am sure that it is noticeable to many of us that Bantu women drivers are becoming more common, indicating that they are making their transition from backseat

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to true drivers. Changing conditions are leading to new patterns of thought, and it is perhaps significant that the modern woman in Soweto is no longer the household drudge she was in the old days.

Bantu Vehicle Ownership:
Johannesburg Metropolis Area

YEAR	NO. OF VEHICLES	% INCREASE	POPULATION	PERSONS PER VEHICLE
1960	+ 8,000 —	-	-	-
1964	13,161	(64.5)	706,389	53.7
1965	13,906	5.7	713,808	40.5
1966	18,107	30.2	733,339	36.2
1967	21,393	18.1	773,415	36.1

Welfare:

The Johannesburg City Council realised that in re-housing thousands of people the provision of accommodation alone was insufficient. The social and emotional needs of the inhabitants had to be considered.

Services had to be provided to assist in the adaptation to the new environment. Many of the people had previously lived in conditions of abject poverty, filth and squalor. They had to assimilate a new way of life. Positive stimulation was needed if the community was not to deteriorate and slums of the worst order to re-appear.

The Council has been fortunate in this respect; their success has ensured that lawless elements have been discouraged from taking over the new areas as happened in the old slums.

Modern Western Society may be represented as a pyramid with a small wealthy upper class at the apex; a broad strata of the middle class, and a narrow strata of the poor at the base. The pyramid in Soweto, however, has a narrow middle class strata and a very broad base of the poor.

It is the object of the Non-European Affairs Department to widen the centre strata until it resembles that of a modern Western Society. The middle class, after all, has always been the stable element of Society.

In order to achieve these aims, the Community Services Branch of the Non-European Affairs Department was established with the following sections:-

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Recreation Section;
 Rehabilitation & Youth Services Section;
 Horticultural Section;
 Welfare Section (Bantu & Coloureds);
 Cultural Activities Section;
 Cinema Section.

It will be seen that the work of the Branch, therefore, covers a very wide field of activities and endeavours to cater for all the varying interests of the Bantu in Soweto. Only by catering for all sections of the community can a complete integration into a well-formed and directed society take place.

Health:

The medical services operate from seven general clinics, with additional tuberculosis, dental and child health clinics. A large staff deals with over one million attendances a year.

The general clinics offer a 24-hour service including a midwifery service.

Casualty and out-patient facilities operate as an integrated system under radio control with a base hospital at Baragwanath. A charge of 20c is made for each out-patient attendance but treatment is never withheld on grounds of inability to pay. A service is also operated for patients who have to be visited in their homes by doctors and nurses. The Family Health Service which offers advice on all health problems, devotes considerable attention to the promotion of child health.

Immunisation against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, poliomyelitis, smallpox and tuberculosis is vigorously pursued and, after intensive mass campaigns, the level of immunity is maintained by administering over a half a million immunisations a year.

44 nursery schools are run, in the main by voluntary organisations, and these are visited and supervised by the Family Health Section to ensure the highest possible standards.

Tuberculosis services are provided free of charge and extend widely to cover diagnosis, treatment in hospital and at home, supplementary feeding and follow-up of the patient and his family.

Fixed and mobile X-ray units are used for case contact and suspect

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examination, and regular visits are paid to factories and other places of work for routine examinations. All men placed in employment by the Municipal Labour Bureau have a routine medical examination and X-ray for tuberculosis.

More than 18,000 people were examined in this manner in the month of January 1969 alone. 13,000 of these received vaccinations.

Municipal Police:

Active measures have been instituted to combat crime in Soweto. Not only is there a force of 500 reservists drawn from among the people of Soweto, and attached to the South African Police, but the Council has recently taken steps to modernise and extend its Municipal Police branch.

This Police branch has its headquarters at Dube, where a Training Depot was established recently. It is at present 848 strong, of whom 3 are Senior Sergeants, 70 Sergeants and 137 Corporals, under the command of a Senior Superintendent of Police, and assisted by 5 Superintendents of Police. Fifty of these men are trainees who are at present attending a non-residential training course. Later this will become a residential course.

The Branch operates a 24-hour security patrol from its headquarters in Dube. Four vehicles are on patrol day and night, guarding municipal property and protecting the people from criminals. Later, all vehicles will be equipped with two-way radios, and an efficient fast moving police patrol will have been established which through its headquarters will be linked by radio with the South African Police. There is also a Bench Warrant Service Squad which executes warrants of arrest for traffic and other offenders. Arrested persons are transported to the Police Stations.

A Central Record of all Municipal Bantu Police is maintained at Police Headquarters.

Urban Bantu Council:

The Urban Bantu Council was established to replace the old Advisory Board system, and it is indeed heartening to see the enthusiasm with which the people have accepted the greater responsibilities imposed on them through the Council.

The Council consists of 58 members, 41 elected by the people to represent the various tribal groups in Soweto, the other 17 appointed by the Chiefs' Representatives to guard the interests of the tribes in the homelands. They work, as does the

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City Council, on a Committee system. The four committees they have at present, dealing with Education and Health, Transport and Trading, General Purposes and Housing, and Amenities. These committees meet monthly to discuss any matter falling within their terms of reference, and their decisions are then passed on to the full Council meeting for discussion and ratification.

While the Urban Bantu Council is, at the moment, only an advisory body, the City Council has done its utmost to co-operate with this body at all times. No matter affecting the people of Soweto is ever considered without the prior recommendation of the Urban Bantu Council. The Urban Bantu Council has repaid this trust handsomely, acting always in a responsible and enthusiastic manner, a position which can only get better as the Urban Bantu Council gains experience with the passing years.

To celebrate Johannesburg's 80th Birthday, a film was made - the title - A Million Cities of Gold - to each of the million inhabitants the City meant something different. We each see the City through our own eyes.

I have endeavoured to give you a sketch of Soweto - of its people - its material development - of the City's part in its development.

Much has been done - much more has to be done. I do hope some of you will devote your time and talents to help improve the conditions and, above all, to help improve the quality of the people's abilities so that they can develop their potential and thus improve their lot, and help South Africa to solve some of its manpower shortage.

I have been privileged to see considerable improvements in the relatively short space of 12 years. If this rate of progress can be maintained, great strides will be made.

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