

1. THE WORKING MAN'S REALITY(a) His privileges as a White man

- (i) In a population of 21 million people effective political power resides in the white group who constitute 17½% of the population (i.e. roughly 3¾ million whites.)¹
- (ii) The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development and the Prime Minister made it clear in 1971 that no additional land beyond the remainder of the quota decided upon in 1936 would be added to the "homelands."² This means that the Whites (17½% of the population) will be in effective control of 86,3% of the land area of South Africa, as presently constituted, even after "separate development" has been achieved.³ The Africans who constitute 70,2% of the populace (roughly 15 million people) are supposed to be content with 13,7% of the land. In this connection Mrs. Helen Suzman's comment⁴ that the land promised to Africans in 1936 was designed as a quid pro quo for the abolition of the African franchise in the Cape, but not as a basis for independent Bantustans is very apposite.
- (iii) The Whites, also, as a declining population group (19,3% in 1960, 17,5% in 1970), continue to retain more than 70% of the national income as they have done since 1936. The following table gives the relevant figures and might be effectively used as a chart to show what it means.

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- 1.) Calculated from: Department of Statistics. News Release dated 10/8/71.
- 2.) Assembly Hansard 7 Cols. 3236-42 and 3248 and Assembly Hansard 11 col. 4918.
- 3.) D. Hobart Houghton. Summary of the Tomlinson Report. page 7.
- 4.) Assembly Hansard 11 col. 4897.

SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY RACE - A SUMMARY OF THE STUDIES DONE

			WHITES		AFRICANS		ASIATICS		COLOUREDS		INCOME RATIOS BY RACE		
			% POP	% INC	% POP	% INC	% POP	% INC	% POP	% INC	WHITE/AF	WHITE/ASIATICS	WHITE/COL
1	HELLMAN	1936	20.9	74.5	68.8	19.7	2.3	1.7	8.0	4.1	12.4/1	4.7/1	5.8/1
2	THIRION	1946/47	20.7	73.8	68.5	20.1	2.5	1.9	8.2	4.2	12.1/1	4.7/1	6.9/1
3	RETIEF	1956/57	19.9	74.0	68.0	19.0	2.9	2.1	9.1	4.9	13.3/1	5.3/1	6.9/1
4	RETIEF (adjusted)	1956/57	19.9	72.5	68.0	20.6	2.9	2.0	9.1	4.8	12/1	5.3/1	6.9/1
5	LANGSCHMIDT	1962	19.1	71.9	68.4	20.6	3.0	2.0	9.5	5.5	12.6/1	5.6/1	6.52/1
6	LANGSCHMIDT	1967	19.2	73.4	67.9	18.8	3.1	2.4	9.8	5.4	13.8/1	4.9/1	6.9/1

- 2/
- 25 E HELLMAN (ED): 'Handbook of Race Relations in S.A.', Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1949.
- 26 S F THIRION: 'Die Indeling van die Volksinkome van die Unie volgens Rasse-groepe vir die jaar 1946/47 - 'n metodiese Studie'. Unpublished M Com Thesis, University of Pretoria, 1955.
- 27 A J RETIEF: 'Die Verdeling van die Volksinkome van die Unie volgens Rasse, 1956/57, Unpublished M Com Thesis, University of Stellenbosch 1960.
- 28 RETIEF'S FIGURES: are adjusted since it is argued by Lombard & Stadler that the convention methods underestimate subsistence output in the reserves by about two-thirds, (J A Lombard & Stadler: 'Die Ekonomiese Stelsel van Suid Afrika; H A U M, Cape Town 1967).
- 29 W LANGSCHMIDT: Some Characteristics of the Urban Bantu Market; Paper delivered to the National Development and Management Foundation Conference 1969.
- 30 IBID

Another way of looking at white affluence and "non-white" indigence is seen in the Annual Reports of the Department of Inland Revenue which show the number of people earning a taxable income of R4000 or more per year. The latest figures I have are for 1966/67¹¹ and present the following picture:

Whites	192 641
Coloureds	445
Asians	2 431
Africans	164
	<hr/>
	195 681

In other words whites constitute 98,4% of the people in the higher income brackets.

The gap between average cash earnings in various sectors of the economy in 1971 was as follows.¹²

Manufacturing

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	315	-
Coloured	73	4,3
Asians	80	3,9
Africans	52	6,0

Mining¹³

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	341	-
Coloured	71	4,8
Asian	93	3,7
Indian	19	18,0

11.) G.M.E. Leistner. The role of the non-white population groups in the South African economy. IN Mercurius 11 Sept.1970. p. 28.

12.) Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and John Kane-Berman, A survey of race relations in South Africa, 1971. pp. 201,228,232,235,239,

13.) Mining figures are for 1970,

Construction

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	326	-
Coloured	110	3,0
Asian	144	2,3
Africans	49	6,7

Banks

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	258	-
Coloured	73	3,5
Asian	108	2,4
Africans	61	4,2

Building Societies

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	269	-
Coloured	98	2,7
Asian	127	2,1
African	59	4,6

Insurance Companies

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	299	-
Coloured	105	2,8
Asian	185	1,6
African	70	4,3

Wholesale Trade

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	281	-
Coloured	76	3,7
Asian	108	2,6
African	54	5,2

Retail Trade

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	151	-
Coloured	59	2,6
Asian	91	1,7
African	43	3,5

Central Government

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	293	-
Coloured	145	2,0
Asians	195	1,5
Africans	52	5,6

Provincial Administrations

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	283	-
Coloured	64	4,4
Asians	99	2,9
Africans	36	7,9

Local Authorities

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	299	7,2
Coloured	94	3,2
Asians	65	4,6
Africans	44	6,8

South African Railways & Harbours Administration

	<u>R</u>	<u>Ratio of White/Black Earnings</u>
Whites	295	-
Coloured	71	4,2
Asians	54	5,5
Africans	52	5,7

The foregoing figures establish the economic hegemony of the Whites very clearly.

(iv) Health

Hospital beds per head of population. ⁽¹⁴⁾

Whites: 1 to 94,7 people

Non-whites: 1 to 184 people

African Homelands: 1 to 343 people

(v) It might be useful to include facts on recreation eg. cinemas, theatres, etc., but one would probably have to pick a specific area. This could make the document too unwieldy.

(b) Job and advancement opportunities

There are no restrictions on the upward mobility of Whites insofar as job opportunities are concerned. Rob Kraft may have more to offer in this respect. It is, of course, tied up with the next item.

(c) Educational facilities

School attendance is compulsory for White children until they reach the age of 16 or pass Std. VIII. ⁽¹⁵⁾ The Department of Coloured Education is giving much attention to the phased introduction of compulsory school attendance for Coloured children, ¹⁶ while it is not yet compulsory for either Indian or African children. The Deputy Director of Planning in the Department of Bantu Education has forecast that there could be compulsory education for Africans in certain areas by 1980. ¹⁷.

14.) Calculated from 1970 census figures, 1971 Hospital and Nursing Year book and reply given in House of Assembly.

15.) Muriel Horrell, Introduction to South Africa. p. 47.

16.) Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and John Kane-Berman. Op.Cit. p.26

17.) Rand. Daily Mail, 20 December 1971.

Holding power of schools¹⁸

	<u>Children starting school</u> <u>in 1945 who reached Matric</u>	<u>Children starting school</u> <u>in 1957 who reached Matric</u>
Whites	29,4%	55,6%
Coloured	1,6%	2,7%
Asians	5,6%	14,5%
Africans	0,4%	0,8%

University Enrolment 1970¹⁹

White	73 200	88,0%
Coloured	1 880	2,3%
Asians	3 470	4,2%
<u>Africans</u>	<u>4 580</u>	<u>5,5%</u>
	<u>83 130</u>	<u>100,0%</u>

From this it appears, that, against the 1970 population figures: Whites 17½%, Coloureds 9,4%, Asians 2,9% and Africans 70,2%, Whites are grossly over-represented at University level, Coloured people rather badly under-represented, Asian-people marginally over-represented and Africans grossly under-represented. It is interesting to note that there were more Whites in Std. X in the nineteen-twenties than there were Africans in Form V in 1971.²⁰

The Survey of Race Relations for 1971 gives - on pages 281-287 - the figures of the various racial groups in respect of technical and vocational education. This has an obvious bearing on manpower and economic growth. Rob Kraft may have fuller and later figures for specific industries.

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- 18.) F.E. Auerbach. Education 1961-1971: a balance sheet pp. 4-5
 19.) F.E. Auerbach. Op. Cit. p. 6.
 20.) Taken from Union Statistics for Fifty Years and Assembly Hansard 9
 28/3/72 Col. 736.

(d) Trade union rights

I think Rob Kraft will have a better idea of this than I do. One should not however, forget that Whites in Public Service and essential services are also prevented from striking. The fact that the Apprenticeship Act has acted as a barrier to African advance should also be borne in mind.

(e) Social rights and personal freedom

It is a matter of opinion whether this belongs on the debit or credit side. On the face of it the White is very privileged but there has been a steady erosion of his personal freedoms. One could go into a great deal of detail on this aspect of S.A. Society. It might be best to extract comments from Prof. A.S. Mathews "Law, order and Liberty in South Africa" which has provided a careful analysis of Security Legislation and Censorship, etc. While the White still enjoys freedom of movement in the country as a whole he nevertheless requires permission to enter African areas. If the "homelands" are consolidated he will be faced with a shrinking territory - presuming African "states" are hostile. Federation could be a solution. Perhaps it is necessary to contrast Prog. Policy to Nat. and U.P. in this regard. (See pages 1 to 37 of 1971 Survey of Race Relations for these aspects)

(f)

POPULATION

	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>	
White	3 088 492	19,3%	3 751 328	17,5%
Coloured	1 509 258	9,4%	2 018 453	9,4%
Asian	477 125	2,9%	620 436	2,9%
African	<u>10 927 922</u>	<u>68,4%</u>	<u>15 057 952</u>	<u>70,2%</u>
	16 002 797		21 448 169	

There are various predictions about the size of the population in 2 000 A.D. They vary from 30 million to 60 million. (In October 1971 there was a Conference on Population Explosion at Pretoria. The papers contained a wealth of factual material. They were supposed to be published in S.A.M.J. but have not appeared yet. It would be useful if you know him to contact Dr. Van Rensburg, Deputy Supt. H.F. Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria to see whether you could get copies of these papers. He has not yet supplied me with mine.)

What does emerge is that White population growth has levelled off and will not increase whatever the exhortations. Indian and Coloured population growth has gone "over the top" and is starting to decline. The African population is still in the "explosive" growth stage and has been increasing at a faster rate than provided for in recent Economic Development Programmes. This probably means that unless there is a dramatic reverse in present trends population at year 2 000 will be:

Whites	10%	i.e. probably \pm 4 - 6 million
Coloured)	10%	" " " " "
Indian)		
Africans	80%	i.e. probably \pm 32 - 60 million.

In 1970 roughly 53,53% of the Africans were enumerated in "white areas" (see Muriel Horrell's fact sheet supplied to Bruckner de Villiers.)

From June 1960 (when the scheme decentralisation commenced) to the end of 1970, employment had been created in these areas for more than 87 000 persons, more than 68 500 of whom were Africans. These figures do not include the Durban-Pinetown industrial complex since no decentralisation assistance has been afforded in this region. There is a marked discrepancy between these 1970 figures and those for the previous year, when a figure of 100 500 new jobs was given. The Permanent Committee attributed this discrepancy to the fact that 1969 figures included all cases approved, but experience had shown that all approved projects did not materialise. (In a paper delivered to a conference of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs in 1970, Professor H.J.J. Reynders, of the University of Pretoria, estimated that if the aim of decentralisation was to create as many employment opportunities in and around the homelands as there were new entrants to the labour market in the homelands 40 700 jobs would have to be provided annually between 1970 and 1980 and 53 000 between 1980 and 1990. If one were to aim at providing work in and around the homelands for Africans who became available for the labour market in the "white areas" as well, the target would have to be 88 000 and 114 000 jobs for the respective periods.)²¹

It is significant to note from the 1972/73 Dept. of Planning Vote (Loan Account) in the Budget that the following are the areas upon which the Gov't is concentrating:

Richards Bay	(R, 5,4 million)
Brits	(R 1,7 ")
Rustenburg	(R1,7 ")
East London	(R1,4 ")

21. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and John Kane-Berman. page 215 of 1971 Survey of Race Relations.

From the Revenue Account (R.P. 2/1972) R50 000 has been provided for in-service training of labourers in approved border areas (Grossly inadequate, in my opinion.)

Agreed that while Black labour kept at an unskilled level appears "cheap" at first it is relatively unproductive.

It might be useful to consider manpower shortages in various sectors of the economy. Rob Kraft may have a copy of the Dept. of Labour's Manpower Survey No. 8 for 1969 (I do not think there is a later one) which gives the picture. Alternatively have a look at this:

On 10 March in the Assembly,²² the Minister of Transport said that during the period 1966 to 1970 the cumulative turnover of regular staff reached 101,2 per cent or 105 032 units, an average annual turnover of 24,7 per cent. In the 35 689 "bread and butter" grades there were 6 786 vacancies, while in the training quotas of 4 345 posts, 882 were vacant. Recruitment of apprentices had been more favourable in 1970 than in 1969: 85 per cent of the quota had been filled as against 79,3 per cent the previous year. The Minister said later,²³ that in collaboration with the (white) staff associations more and more non-whites were being employed in jobs formerly done by whites. Figures for the number of non-whites employed in white jobs were:²⁴ 15 355 white posts, previously temporarily filled by non-whites, were transferred to the establishment for non-whites on a permanent basis in December 1970; 141 Coloured, 79 Indian, and 1 296 African employees were working in posts still reserved for Whites, and of the latter 750 were receiving salaries of less than R2 per working day.

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- 22.) Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and John Kane-Berman. pages 243 of 1971 Survey of Race Relations
- 23.) Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and John Kane-Berman page 244 as above.
- 24.) Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and John Kane-Berman page 244 as above.

On 11 April 1972 the Minister of Defence indicated in the Assembly that 2 730 civilians were being employed against vacancies in the Defence Force.

G) Restraints on National Economy

E.D.P. has set a growth rate of 5,5% p.a. Rob Kraft has probably got information on the principal critics of this low rate. Better to use Jan Marais than Harry Oppenheimer.

Between June 1970 and June 1971 consumer price index rose by 6,1%. It is interesting to note that the South African Reserve Bank stated that higher rents and postal and railway rates were mainly responsible for an average rise of 6,7% in all services. This is significant because both Railways and P.O., as essential services, are being forced to use more black workers. (See pages 244 and 245 of 1971 Survey of Race Relations if actual figures are needed.)

Professor George Marais of UNISA's School of Business Admin. described the rise in the cost of living as one of the "biggest leaps" since the Second World War. (Star, 22 July 1971). There is every reason to expect that the cost of living will continue with this spiral this year. It is important to bear in mind that inflation is a disguised means of taxation falling on those least able to bear it.

Provisional Figures For Economically
Active Population in 1971

Whites	1 554 000	18,6%
Coloured	732 000	8,8%
Asians	188 000	2,3%
Africans	5 856 000	70,3%
	8 330 000	100,00%

This ties up with population figures given earlier and also share of national income given on page 2. Rob Kraft may have figures on overtime being worked by different races. (I know that Tom Murray usually hammers this point.) It should be pointed out that while overtime pay is a short-term benefit for Whites it is probably injurious if continued over too long a period. (Rob Kraft may have thoughts on how to present this.)

John Vorster speaking to the P.M.'s Vote in the Assembly on 18/April/1972 said:

"Accepting that the rand of 1948 is worth 40 cents now, hon. members may work out for themselves what the position is." He then went on to give various examples (leaving out cents).

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1971?</u>	<u>Real Value</u> <u>1971?</u>	<u>Annual Increase</u>
Motor mechanic	R17 p.w.	R64 p.w.	R26 p.w.	37 cents p.w.
Constable under 18	R30 p.m.	R110 p.m.	R44 p.m.	58 cents p.m.
" over 18	R33 p.m.	R130 p.m.	R52 p.m.	80 cents p.m.

The P.M. went on to give further categories of employee. I do not know how useful this would be. Rob may have some useful ideas on this and sources which would give a more meaningful comparison.

It would also be useful to consider the R153 million in the Workmen's Compensation Fund and the R63 million in the Unemployment Insurance Fund, all earning $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ p.a. Is this being used in a meaningful way?

I think the "time is running out" theme very important.

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