



Race relations survey: 1986, Part 1

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Race relations survey: 1986, Part 1

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RELATIONS
SURVEY

1986

Part 1

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RACE RELATIONS
SURVEY

1986

Part 1

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Part 2 will contain the following chapters: Education, Political Developments, The Homelands, Security, Employment, Removals,

and Health and Welfare.

Unless otherwise stated, all dates in the text refer to 1986.

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OVERVIEW

The political violence which began in South Africa in September 1984 continued throughout 1986, although its intensity declined towards the end of the year. Political violence occurred not only in conflict between the State and blacks seeking an end to apartheid, but also between rival black organisations. Numbers of blacks were killed by political rivals who placed tyre 'necklaces' around them and then set these alight.

During the year the African National Congress (ANC) called for an 'intensification of the military assault on apartheid' and a 'people's war'. It also called for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, a stayaway of workers on 16 June, and the creation of alternative structures of government. In January the state president, Mr P W Botha, offered to free the jailed leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, in exchange for the release of certain prisoners in Angola and the Soviet Union. Mr Botha said that he would not negotiate with the ANC while it advocated violence, and the ANC said that it would not contemplate a ceasefire until well into the process of negotiation. The South African Defence Force (SADF) launched raids into Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe in May against alleged ANC targets and threatened to launch a raid into Mozambique. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the main standard bearer of 'black consciousness', condemned 'western imperialism' in general and the United States (US) in particular. In January AZAPO refused to meet six members of the US congress who were visiting South Africa. The organisation, which was in violent conflict with the United Democratic Front (UDF), condemned violence within black communities and the use of the 'necklace'.

The leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he would participate in the government's proposed national council (see below) only if he received a massive mandate from Africans to do so and Mr Mandela was given the same choice. Inkatha stressed its commitment to education and its opposition to school

boycotts. It also reiterated its opposition to economic sanctions. Chief Buthelezi again called for the release of Mr Mandela and stated his willingness to serve in a government with him. Inkatha members were involved in violent conflict with UDF supporters in Natal during the year. Chief Buthelezi warned that the country was on the verge of a civil war between blacks. He condemned violence within the black community and what he claimed was violence by the ANC. Chief Buthelezi made several calls for a negotiated settlement to South Africa's problems, and the KwaZulu legislative assembly jointly convened the KwaZulu Natal indaba (see below) with the Natal provincial council.

The UDF accused Mr Botha of attempting to 'reverse the tide of history, to prevent the old order from dying and a new South Africa from being

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born'. The UDF was severely affected by detentions during the second state of emergency (see below). It claimed that 70% of detainees were members of UDF affiliates. The UDF called on the PFP to withdraw from Parliament, and accused the KwaZulu Natal indaba of being undemocratic. The UDF was involved in violent conflict with both Inkatha and AZAPO during the year under review. In October the UDF was declared an affected organisation, and was thereby prohibited from receiving funds from abroad.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from his position both as leader of the party and as an MP because, he said, he had reached the end of his tether in trying to promote negotiation politics with the National Party (NP). The PFP warned that only reform would end unrest in the country. The new leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, stated that his party opposed economic sanctions.

The Conservative Party (CP) opposed power sharing, and argued that Africans were 'not by nature democratic'. It warned that if it came to power it would reverse 'constitutional reform' and return South Africa to strict 'Verwoerdian apartheid'. The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said that he would organise a 'resistance movement' among his own people if the state president brought Africans into Parliament.

Mr Botha said that South Africa had outgrown the colonial system of paternalism and the outdated concept of apartheid. The proposed national council for Africans, which would serve inter alia as a forum to discuss constitutional reform with them, had still to be launched by the end of the year. South African citizenship was restored to citizens from the 'independent' homelands who resided permanently in white-designated South Africa. Common identity documents, which no longer reflected the holder's race group, were introduced for all race groups. However, information on race was to be retained in the central population register and on birth certificates.

The provincial councils were phased out in favour of multiracial nominated executive committees responsible for general affairs. Although no regional services councils (RSCs) came into operation during the year under review, the government remained committed to their introduction. The RSCs were due to start functioning in 1987. Pressure on African local authorities continued, many

councillors resigned, and, in some cases, township administration broke down. Rent boycotts across South Africa continued, many African township residents facing the threat of eviction.

Forms of black resistance to government policies included school boycotts, worker stayaways, acts of insurgency, violent confrontations between security forces and township residents, and violent attacks on people allegedly associated with the authorities. Consumer boycotts were used as a political weapon, leading in some cases to negotiations between businessmen, local officials, and township organisations over local and national issues. In some instances the process of negotiation led to the fulfilment of certain demands and the subsequent lifting of the boycotts. The government responded by declaring a second state of emergency from 12 June (the first, declared in 1985, had been lifted on 7 March 1986).

A total of 3 989 people were detained under the Internal Security Act of 1982, while emergency detentions were estimated at 25 000, most of them schoolchildren, students, and teachers. Four people died in detention.

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According to figures compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), at least 1 298 people died in political violence during 1986. Conflict within black communities accounted for about half of the fatalities, while deaths at the hands of the security forces accounted for about a third. The remainder occurred in other types of violence, including insurgency incidents, or in circumstances that were not clear.

The increased conflict within the black community occurred notably between the UDF and AZAPO, and the UDF and Inkatha. Whereas the UDF/AZAPO conflict showed signs of abating, the UDF/Inkatha struggle gained in intensity as the year progressed. Vigilante groups played an increasingly significant role in the violence which continued throughout the country during the year.

There was an increase in insurgency, including acts of sabotage, bombings, the planting of land mines, and armed attacks, but it was difficult to verify the extent of the increase as the government decided that the release of specific figures and statistics was not in the public interest. The ANC claimed responsibility for much of the insurgency.

In March the government acknowledged the existence of 12 joint management centres (JMCs), designed to provide it with a mechanism for identifying and controlling unrest in its incipient stages. Critics of the JMCs accused the government of relying increasingly on a military executive, unaccountable to Parliament, in governing the country. Many business leaders criticised the government's handling of the unrest in the country. Business leaders played an increasingly important role in calling for more rapid reform and for negotiation with various organisations, including the ANC.

The KwaZulu administration and the Natal provincial council convened the KwaZulu Natal indaba in April with a view to reaching consensus on proposals to be put to the government for the creation of a single legislative body to govern the combined area of KwaZulu and Natal as part of South Africa. The indaba adopted

a bill of rights in July and a nonracial provincial constitution in November. The indaba also called for a referendum to test the views of the people of KwaZulu and Natal on its proposals, which were to be formally presented to the government in January 1987. The NP leader in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, rejected the indaba's proposals, while the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that they would be considered against the government's own constitutional guidelines.

The South African economy grew by 0,7% in 1986, but real growth per head declined by 1,7%. South Africa continued to be a net exporter of capital. The financial rand came under severe pressure, sinking to as low as 19 American cents in July. It was estimated that the current account surplus would be R7bn in 1986. The average gold price of R844 (\$368) an ounce in 1986 as against R718 (\$317) in 1985 helped increase the surplus, along with the weaker commercial rand. South Africa had an inflation rate of 18,6% in 1986, compared with 16,2% in 1985. Prime overdraft rate was reduced from 16,5% at the beginning of the year to 12% at the end.

Pressure on companies to disinvest from South Africa continued. Notably, Barclays Bank in the UK sold its final holding in Barclays National Bank in South Africa in November. An estimated 48 American companies sold up or shut down operations in 1986. In October the US congress passed the

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Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which extended the range of American sanctions in force against South Africa.

The average monthly earnings of Africans increased from R190 in 1980 to R398 in 1985, of Asians from R336 to R748, of coloured people from R254 to R535, and of whites from R767 to R1 532.

The economically active population of the whole country (including the four 'independent' homelands) was approximately 11,5m in 1986. Unemployment continued to climb rapidly. Data published by the central statistical services in Pretoria showed that more than 291 000 jobs had disappeared in the manufacturing and construction industries alone in less than ten years.

All sectors, except mining and the public service, showed a decline from June 1985 in numbers employed, mainly as a result of the continuing recession. The largest employer was the public sector, with 1 449 137 workers.

In September South Africa's worst gold-mining accident - in which 177 miners died and 235 were injured - at General Mining Union Corporation's Kinross goldmine focused a spotlight on mining safety standards in the country.

A new union federation, the Council of Unions of South Africa-Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA-AZACTU), was formed when CUSA and AZACTU amalgamated. The Trade Union Council of South Africa - which had been in existence since 1954 - disbanded in December, after having suffered a spate of disaffiliations over the last three years. A new union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), was launched in May under the auspices of Inkatha. At least 2 700 trade unionists were detained under the emergency regulations. These detentions led to widespread protest strikes, particularly in the

retail and mining industries. The minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said that there had been 793 strikes in 1986, the highest number in a decade. A new type of strike during the year under review was the sit-in or sleep-in strike. Workers increasingly used strikes and mass stayaways to exert pressure for general political and local demands.

The Johannesburg and Durban central business districts (CBDs) were opened to traders of all races in February and by November a total of 29 CBDs had been opened. A new proclamation (R17) in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966, which came into effect on 21 April, would allow restaurant owners in free-trade areas to decide for themselves whom to serve. The Liquor Amendment Act in March repealed a section of the Group Areas Act, thus making it no longer necessary for licensed hotels to seek permission to admit 'disqualified' people to their premises.

Calls to open schools to all race groups were made by, among others, parents of pupils at several schools in the western Cape, most white English teachers' organisations, and the PFP. However, the government continued to reject the idea of integrated education. In February the Labour Party and the National People's Party, the majority parties in the house of representatives and the house of delegates respectively, announced that all educational institutions under their control would be open to all races.

Of the 8m pupils of all races attending schools in South Africa (including the 'independent' homelands) 75% were African, 10% coloured, 3% Indian,

OVERVIEW

and 12% white. Once again African schools in many parts of the country were affected by school boycotts, about 260 schools being involved. Many universities also experienced boycotts and other disturbances which, in some cases, led to the universities' being temporarily closed.

In April the government published a White Paper on urbanisation which accepted the permanence of Africans in official 'South Africa' (ie South Africa excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei). The White Paper coincided with the suspension on 23 April of arrests under the pass laws and the release of all pass offenders. The Abolition of Influx Control Act, which was enacted with retroactive effect to 23 April, repealed most of the pass laws.

Full property ownership rights for Africans in African townships came into effect in 1986 in terms of the Black Communities Development Amendment Act. Full property rights for Africans in proclaimed townships in the nonindependent homelands and on trust land also became available.

The destruction of substantial parts of the Crossroads and KTC squatter camps in the western Cape took place during violent fighting in May. More than 60 people were killed and about 70 000 left homeless after battles between 'comrades' and vigilantes known as 'witdoeke'. Many residents of these camps moved to a new housing complex at Khayelitsha, and parts of the squatter area were cleared so that upgrading could begin.

In August 1986 the government announced that housing projects involving a further R750m would be aimed especially at underprivileged groups. Of this,

R350m would be spent by the government and R400m would go into a new private sector organisation, the South African Housing Trust.

Violent unrest afflicted parts of most homelands during the year under review, most notably Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele, and Lebowa. Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei, and Lebowa all tightened their security legislation. Resistance between May and August to the KwaNdebele legislative assembly's plans to take 'independence' on 11 December left an estimated 160 people dead and caused three virtually total worker stayaways

- which also involved the territory's civil service. The protests led the assembly to cancel 'independence' plans in August (although it subsequently revived them in May 1987).

The government said in March 1987 that altogether 64 180 Africans had been resettled in 1986. According to the government 24 337 Africans were resettled in 1981, 24 444 in 1982, 28 796 in 1983, 22 936 in 1984, and 39 717 in 1985.

Regarding future resettlements (which would involve at least 21 873 Africans), the government said that apart from decisions to move six towns or communities in the Transvaal and one in the Cape, no definite decisions on further resettlement had been taken. The decision to move the seven communities had not been made on political grounds, it said. Decisions for future removals would be taken on merit and to prevent 'unorderly squatting' and the 'illegal' occupation of land.

The transport sector continued to face financial and political problems. At least R1,16bn was spent in 1985/86 to subsidise rail and bus passenger transport. While some bus companies decreased fares in response to the overall 20% drop in the fuel price, there were numerous rail and bus fare increases. These resulted in disturbances in KwaNdebele and a bus boycott in

,°i

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Soweto, while there were at least four other bus boycotts. Buses, and increasingly trains, continued to be attacked during unrest in various African townships. Bus operators had lost up to R70m as a result between October 1984 and April 1986. Four drivers were killed and 232 injured in unrest in this period from Putco's workforce alone.

It was announced in April that parity between the race groups would be introduced in October in the benefit scale for military pensions. Regulations governing the means test for pensioners were discriminatory, said the government in March, and were to be removed as soon as possible. All coloured war veterans received pensions equal to those of white veterans from October. Parity for military disablement pensions for all races was also introduced in October.

By the end of the year under review, 64 countries had signed the United Nations convention against apartheid in sport. Only 31 of 108 national sportscontrolling bodies in South Africa retained international links, as compared with 72 in 1984. The launching of the Southern African Schools Sports Council by the government was rejected by many organisations, who asked how the government could logically maintain racially-segregated education and at the same time promote integrated sport.

The minister of national health and population development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, warned that if the South African population (excluding the 'independent' homelands) continued to grow at its present rate, it would reach 47m by the end of the century. For the first time since 1978, more people emigrated from South Africa than immigrated.

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The updated figures (and estimates of probable undercount) for the 1985 population census (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei) compiled by central statistical services (CSS) are given below. (Midyear estimates for 1986 were unavailable at the time of writing.)'

Population (excluding TBVC*)

Revised for

Numbers	Proportion	undercount	Proportion
African	15 162 840	64,9%	19 051 500 68,7%
Asian	821 361	3,5%	861 300 3,1%
Coloured	2 832 705	12,1%	2 862 200 10,3%
White	4 568 739	19,5%	4 947 100 17,9%
Total	23 385 645	100,0%	27 722 100 100,0%

* Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei

According to CSS the problem of undercount is a world-wide phenomenon. For the 1980 census, estimates of the probable undercount were made by CSS and the census results were adjusted and published accordingly. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) undertook to estimate the probable undercount for the 1985 census.

The estimated African population of the ten homelands in 1985 was:2

Homeland populations

'Independent' homelands*

Bophuthatswana 1 721 463

Ciskei 756 185

Transkei 2 916 134

Venda 455 857

Sub-total 5 849 639

Non-independent homelands

Gazankulu 496 200

KaNgwane 391 205

KwaNdebele 235 511

KwaZulu 3 738 334

Lebowa 1 833 114

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Non-independent homelands (continued)

QwaQwa 180 924

Sub-total 6 875 288

Total 12 724 927

* These figures are based on the 1985 census conducted in the TBVC areas. Thus in some cases, notably the Ciskei and the Transkei, they are lower than the figures for 1985 quoted in that year's Survey, which were based on estimates.

If the updated 1985 census figures for the white-designated areas and the non-independent homelands are added to the figures for the 'independent' homelands, the following picture emerges:

Total population

Revised for

Numbers	Proportion	undercount	Proportion
African	21 012 479	71,8%	24 901 139 74,1%
Asian	838 859*	2,9%	878 300* 2,6%
Coloured	2 851 867*	9,7%	2 881 362* 8,6%
White	4 582 701*	15,6%	4 961 062* 14,7%
Total	29 285 906	100,0%	33 621 863 100,0%

* These figures differ slightly from the official population estimates given above as they have been adjusted to include the small percentage of Asians, coloured people, and whites estimated to be living in the 'independent' homelands.

Preliminary figures on the number of births in 1985 (excluding the TBVC areas) are as follows:'

Births in 1985

Asian	20 394
Coloured	83 694
White	79 858

Figures for Africans were not available. According to a spokesman for the department of national health and population development, the underregistration of African births made it impossible to reflect correctly the African birth rate. He suggested a rate of 38 per 1 000, which would give a figure of 576 188 African births for 1985, if the census figures are used.⁴

The minister of national health and population development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said in Parliament that the four main population groups (excluding the TBVC areas) had increased by the following percentages between 1980 and 1985: Africans by 2,7%, Asians by 2,0%, coloured people by 2,1%, and whites by 1,5%.'

However, the birth rates of all four groups had dropped considerably, he said. Since 1960 the white birth rate had fallen to less than two children per family (ie by 40%), while the birth rate of Africans had declined by 21%, of Asians by 42%, and of coloured people by 30%.

Dr Van Niekerk maintained that if the present growth rate of South Africa's population (excluding the TBVC areas) of 2,3% continued, the

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population would be 47m by the end of the century, at least 80m by the year 2020, and 138m by the year 2040. He said that South Africa did not possess either the socio-economic wealth or the resources to provide decent living conditions for such a population growth.⁶

Dr Van Niekerk said at the opening of a national conference on health care in April that the ageing of the South African population was a major problem. He said that estimates showed that the African population over the age of 60 would have increased by 64% by the year 2000, the Asian population by 93%, the coloured by 44%, and the white by 22%. This meant that there would be a substantially older population with a larger, relatively unproductive component requiring pensions, housing, health care, and community services.'

In June the chairman of the president's council's constitutional affairs committee, Professor A J G Oosthuizen, told a conference on urbanisation that there could be between eight and ten million more urbanised Africans in South Africa by the year 2000 than at present! According to Sanlam's economic survey for December, Africans would represent 70% of the total urban population by the year 2000, with far-reaching implications for housing, social services, education, and employment. The other population groups were already largely urbanised.⁹ The HSRC noted that without large-scale urbanisation, and the accompanying modernisation of the African population, continuing population growth could lead to the impoverishment and deterioration of the country and all its inhabitants. It said that if the Group Areas Act of 1966 were abolished and there were purposeful, selective development in, or near, the non-independent homelands, the African population could stabilise at about 70m during the latter half of the next century.¹⁰

A report of the general synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) said that the number of children born to white couples in South Africa was insufficient to replace the existing population. The NGK asked its members to 'optimise' the birth rate - ie the maximum number of children they could best feed and educate given their circumstances.¹¹

Mr Louis Stofberg MP (Herstigste Nasionale Party) said that the government was indifferent to the declining white birth rate, which could lead to the disappearance of the (white) race.¹

Family planning

Dr Van Niekerk said in Parliament in February that while the causes of rapid population growth were 'multidimensional', the lower the socio-economic situation of a population, the higher the fertility. The problem of rapid population growth could be dealt with only by way of socio-economic development and family planning on an integrated basis. He said that the government acted upon two guiding principles with regard to family planning. Firstly, the individual had the right to decide on the number of children she/he desired, but had the responsibility of looking after those children. Secondly, the State had the responsibility and the right to take steps and implement programmes to ensure a balance between resources and the size of the population. To this end, the government's population development programme (PDP) had as its chief aim a figure of 2,1 children per family by the year 2010. Along with this, accelerated socio-economic development

POPULATION AND RACE CLASSIFICATION

would bring about parity in development opportunities and mortality rates.

Dr Van Niekerk said that R12,6m was to be spent on family planning counselling in white-designated South Africa (excluding all ten homelands). There were 840 family planning advisers, he said. There were also 12 800 industries and businesses that arranged family planning on their premises or sent their employees to be trained in family planning, he added. In all, 55 000 clinics and 2 000 nurses provided such services. An HSRC survey revealed that of all women in South Africa of childbearing age, the proportion of Africans using contraceptives was 57%, of coloured women 73%, of Indians 78%, and of whites 84%.¹¹

The PDP, introduced in March 1984, is essentially a community development programme. It recognises urbanisation as an important factor in bringing down birth rates. It employed 99 full-time community development liaison officers to establish local committees for community development. About 160 had been formed to date, 8% of them multiracial.

The council for population development, established to make recommendations on a continuous basis to the government on how PDP policy should be implemented, had its first meeting in October. The former vice state president, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, was appointed chairman of the 25-member multiracial council.¹⁴ At the first meeting of the council the deputy minister of population development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, said that the development of the full potential of all people and communities 'implies that we have to maintain a balance between population development and political development'. He maintained that population growth, rather than political upheaval, was likely to influence the future of South Africa and determine its political and socio-economic life."

Discussions on health and welfare took place in September between Pretoria and the TBVC areas. The meeting discussed, inter alia, progress made with community development projects and population development programmes. ¹⁶ The director general of national health and population development, Dr F P Retief, said in September that gynaecologists should aim at ensuring that nobody in South Africa was deprived of birth control and that family planning was associated with social reform. Family planning should be considered a natural extension of obstetric care, and pregnant women and their partners should be motivated to accept birth-spacing as an essential part of total health care, he said.¹⁷

More than 20 000 'unwanted' children are born in the greater Cape Town area every year - most of them to unmarried women under the age of 19. To combat this problem, the western Cape region of the Family Planning Association established a youth centre in Guguletu to give guidance and advice to teenagers." The Association for Voluntary Sterilisation of South Africa (AVSSA) encouraged sterilisation for couples who had had the number of children they wanted or could afford. It said that there was no safer form of contraception - its failure rate was only 1%. The AVSSA argued that negative feelings towards sterilisation in the black community were mainly born out of ignorance. With a better awareness of sterilisation and the alternative of poverty in an overpopulated world, the idea would become more acceptable, it said.¹⁹

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

At a seminar on birth control held in Johannesburg in March the AVSSA said that 31 000 sterilisations were performed in South Africa every year and that more than half the female patients were Africans. The chairman of the association, Dr Paul de Villiers, said that the marked benefit of sterilisation was the reduction of child and maternal mortality. Professor E T Mokgokong of the department of obstetrics and gynaecology at the Medical University of Southern Africa said at the conference that mainly women used contraceptives and that men needed to be educated in this field. He added that people still needed to be enlightened about sterilisation and its benefits?

The HSRC revealed that the rapid population growth of Africans could be ascribed to declining mortality rates and the absence of family planning programmes in the non-independent homelands, where about two thirds of the African female population lived during their reproductive years.¹

The Financial Mail suggested in March that the question of population control would remain a controversial one until Africans were convinced that real political reform was on the way. Until then, many Africans could not accept the argument that resources were limited. It quoted a paper delivered at a conference in 1985 by the chairman of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry's industrial counselling committee, Mr S N Sebotsa, which stressed that as long-as the government continued with its immigration schemes in which people of other countries were enticed to settle in South Africa, few people, if any, would believe that overpopulation was threatening South Africa.¹²

Immigration and emigration

Migration figures for 1 January to 30 November 1986 are as follows: 2

Migration

Emigrants Immigrants Net loss

January to December 1986 13 711 6 994 6 717

From 1 January to 31 December 1986 there was a loss of 1215 professional, technical, and related workers compared with a gain of 614 persons in this group between 1 January and 31 December 1985. In 1985, there was a net overall gain of 5 883 people, and in 1984 a net gain of 20 243.²⁴

The last time South Africa experienced a net loss was in 1978, when the country experienced its second consecutive net outflow of people (2 017) after the 1976 Soweto riots. During 1978, 931 more professionals left South Africa than entered the country."

The director general of home affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said in July that while the government was alarmed at the sharp rise in the number of skilled people leaving the country, it did not intend to take moves to stem the outflow. He opposed suggestions by some representatives of the business and medical fraternities that newly qualified emigrant professionals - such as doctors, engineers, and accountants - should be forced to pay the State a portion of their tuition fees before leaving, calling the idea undemocratic.²⁶

An African National Congress (ANC) spokesman in Lusaka was

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reported in July to have said that South Africa could not afford to lose professional and skilled people in the growing exodus from the country. The ANC appealed to South Africans who were thinking of emigrating because of the deepening political crisis to stay.⁷

At the opening of Parliament on 31 January, the state president, Mr P W Botha, announced that he proposed to introduce legislation to amend the government's immigration selection policy (see 1985 Survey p3) by repealing discriminatory preference provisions. The Matters Concerning Admission to and Residence in the Republic Amendment Act, gazetted on 13 June, gave effect to this announcement by amending the Aliens Act of 1937 and repealing section 17 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972. It merely requires immigrants to swear allegiance to South Africa and to be assimilable with any community there, whereas previously prospective permanent residents had to be assimilable with the 'European inhabitants of the Republic' and had to renounce allegiance to their country of origin.⁸ Members of the Indian community had for many years lobbied to have these laws amended, particularly as they had made it difficult for Indian wives to join their husbands in South Africa. The chairman of the ministers' council in the house of delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, welcomed the move, arguing that 'Indians in this country were subjected to more legislation curbing our movements than any other community in South Africa'.⁹

The deputy minister of defence and of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in April that immigrants had played a 'momentous' role in the achievements of South Africa over the last quarter of the century. He cited electronics, the iron and steel industry, and the manufacture of arms as some of the fields where this had occurred. South Africa stood at the threshold of a new dispensation which would demand loyalty and dedication from all its inhabitants in all fields.¹⁰

The minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange, said in May that as at 20 February of the year under review, 952 suspected illegal immigrants were being held in police stations for periods ranging from one day to 180 days. A total of 17 714 persons had signed admissions in 1985 to the effect that they were illegal immigrants, including citizens of the Transkei and Venda (no admissions from Bophuthatswana or Ciskei citizens were recorded).¹¹

In July the bureau for information announced that the influx of illegal 'aliens' from Mozambique seeking employment had become a problem. The secretary of the ministerial co-ordinating committee of the Nkomati accord, Admiral J A Edwards (retired), said that in the preceding 18 months these persons had been sent back to Mozambique at the rate of 1 500 a month. A number of the illegal immigrants were so-called 'refugees' trying to escape fighting and starvation in Mozambique. They headed mainly for the Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, and Lebowa homelands where they were offered short-term aid. Admiral Edwards said that the Mozambique government regarded these people as its citizens and wanted them sent back (see Employment).¹²

Race classification

In 1986, 1 624 people applied to be reclassified from one race group to

RACE CLASSIFICATION

another. A total of 1 102 applications were successful. The reclassifications were as follows:33

Race reclassification

1986

African to coloured	387	
African to Griqua	16	
African to Indian	9	
African to Malay	2	
African to other Asian	1	
Chinese to coloured		7
Chinese to white		
Coloured to African	35	
Coloured to Chinese	10	
Coloured to Griqua	4	
Coloured to Indian	81	
Coloured to Malay	25	
Coloured to white	314	
Griqua to African	2	
Griqua to Coloured	2	
Griqua to white	1	
Indian to coloured	63	
Indian to Malay	53	
Indian to white	4	
Malay to Chinese		
Malay to coloured	21	
Malay to Indian	43	
Malay to white	9	
Other coloured to African	1	
Other coloured to Indian	2	
White to Chinese		
White to coloured	8	
White to Indian		
White to Malay	2	
Total	1 102	

The Identification Act, which came into effect on 1 July, provided for the repeal of the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 and introduced a common identity document for all race groups. Identity numbers would no longer reflect a person's race group in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950, or any other law.

However, the minister of home affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, emphasised that race classification remained the basis of National Party policy and that information about the race of South Africans would remain on the central population register, and would also be included in registration numbers on birth certificates'

In October the synod of the NG Sendingkerk rejected the Population Registration Act and called on church members to oppose it with 'word and deed'. The moderator of the church, the Rev Allan Boesak, said that the act

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was the foundation on which the apartheid system was built, and it was only a matter of course that a synod which rejected apartheid should also reject such legislation.³⁵

fin-- attempt to overcome the problem of the classification of mixed-race couples, section 12 of the Group Areas Act of 1966 was amended in November so that the definition of Indian would include any woman or a white man who married or cohabited with an Indian. Thus the couple could live only in an Indian group area and their children could be classified only as Indian, unless permits for exemptions were granted. Mr Peter Gastrow MP (Progressive Federal Party) described the move as 'a crude attempt at social engineering' .⁶

The Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Acts

According to the minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange, a total of 929 persons had been arrested, 859 charged, 733 brought to trial, 221 acquitted, and 527 found guilty in terms of section 16 of the Immorality Act of 1957 from the date of the act's inception to the date of its repeal on 19 June 1985.³⁷ At the time of writing the ministry of law and order could not explain the discrepancy between the total of people brought to trial and the numbers acquitted and found guilty.

Mixed-race- couples continued to face hardships despite the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 in 1985.

The first couple to marry legally across racial lines (on 15 June 1985), Mr Protas Madlala and his white American wife Suzanne Leclerc Madlala, were considering emigrating from South Africa. Mrs Madlala was given a residence permit in April 1985 but not a work permit. At the time of writing she was working in the Transkei, 375km from her husband in Mariannhill (outside Durban). She had lived in Mariannhill township for six months but, for example, had been unable to take a bus to Durban with her husband or his relatives because public transport was for Africans only.⁸

One of the first mixed-race couples to marry legally, Raymond and Welheminah Crevits, decided in February to register their newly-born daughter, Aziyade, as a Belgian citizen and leave South Africa. They were forced to live in a coloured township near Potchefstroom and their daughter was born in an African maternity ward after Mrs Crevits (who is a coloured person) was refused permission to have the child in the white section of the local hospital.³⁹

In Johannesburg two children of a mixed marriage between a white man, Mr M A Roux, and his coloured wife, Rona, were refused permission to attend the whites-only Malvern Primary School in Belgravia - despite their having been allowed to live in a white group area by permit."

In March of the year under review a white store owner in Kirkwood (near Port Elizabeth), Mr Jack Salter, who had had his trading licence revoked by the Kirkwood municipality because he was married to a coloured woman, won a

supreme court case to have the licence renewed. The municipality had revoked the trading licence because, it said, his wife's coloured classification automatically made him a coloured person. He was thus barred from trading in a white group area. The judge, Mr Justice N W Zietsman, ruled that it had not been proved that Mr Salter was not white. He also found that Mr Salter could not be reclassified as a member of another race group unless the

THE IMMORALITY AND PROHIBITION OF MIXED MARRIAGES ACTS procedure laid down in the Population Registration Act had been followed.⁴¹ A Cape Town man, Mr Albertus Smit, was found guilty in July of contravening the Group Areas Act of 1966 by living with his coloured common-law wife of 12 years in a white group area. Mr Smit was under the impression that the area, Maitland, was a 'grey' one, where mixed-race couples could live together. The magistrate said, 'You were born in South Africa and should have known better.'⁴² In a similar case Mr Johannes Meintjies appeared in court for allowing his coloured common-law wife to live with him in a white group area.⁴³ He was subsequently found guilty. The magistrate, Mr M J C Tolken, cautioned and discharged the couple, saying that he had no power to change the law, only to apply it."

In October the NGK reversed a previous policy decision that racially mixed-marriages were 'undesirable'. The general synod instead approved a statement that scripture did not prohibit these marriages. However, it felt that different social circumstances, philosophies, and world views, as well as cultural, socio-economic, and other factors could create serious tensions in mixed marriages.⁵

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BUSINESS

Desegregation of Trading Areas

The desegregation of trading areas took a step forward when in February the central business districts (CBDs) of Johannesburg and Durban were opened for trading by all races. This followed more than two years of delays since the necessary enabling legislation, the Group Areas Amendment Act, was passed by Parliament in 1984 (see 1985 Survey p97), and it was also seven years since the move was recommended by the commission of inquiry into legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower (the Riekert commission) in 1979. The Group Areas Amendment Act amended the Group Areas Act of 1966 in order to give effect to the policy of declaring certain CBDs as free trade areas.'

Commenting on the opening of these CBDs, the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said: 'The proclamation of Johannesburg's and Durban's free trading areas means that members of all population groups can now freely obtain occupation and ownership rights of premises in the proclaimed area. The premises may be used for business, commercial, professional or religious and educational purposes in terms of the current town planning schemes of the city concerned.'

Mr Heunis added that in terms of the government's policy to eliminate any form of discrimination, the cabinet had decided that owners of businesses in a free trading area would in future decide for themselves whom they were prepared to admit to their premises; no permits would be needed for a person of one race to occupy (for business purposes) property or premises owned by a member of another race within the open CBD. This would eliminate the need for permits in terms of Proclamation R228 of 1973 under the Group Areas Act, such permits having been required for the occupation of land or premises in controlled or group areas. The proclamation was amended accordingly .2

A practical consequence of the February move was that owners of restaurants and cinemas in the 'open' area of Johannesburg, for example, would not need permits to admit people other than whites. As regards buildings in the CBD which were used for both business and residential premises, such as those with shops on lower

floors and flats above, Mr Heunis said that only the business portion was open for ownership and occupation by other groups. A permit would still be required if a black person wished to reside in the CBD.³

A spokesman for a major property leasing company in Johannesburg, J H Isaacs & Co, said that the demand for premises had come mainly from professional people, such as doctors and lawyers. He said that African entrepreneurs lacked the capital and expertise to operate in the city centre .⁴

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The Johannesburg central business district association (CBDA), the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), and the Sullivan signatories' association joined forces in Johannesburg to develop schemes to help African entrepreneurs set up shop. The executive of the Sullivan association, Mr Lionel Grewin, said that a contingency fund had been established by members. Talks with African entrepreneurs to establish their needs had taken place soon after the opening of the area in February.' Subsequently, a spokesman for Mr Grewin confirmed that funds to assist African small businesses would become available in November.

Contrary to the rush that some had predicted, by June there were only a few legal black tenants in the Johannesburg CBD. Landlords believed that blacks would move in gradually and that it would take time for a core of black entrepreneurs to be established there. One possible explanation was that nearly all Indian, coloured, and African entrepreneurs who had wanted or needed to locate in the CBD were there before February, illegally leasing space through white nominees.' The opening of the Durban CBD was reported to have taken place 'without generating much excitement% The explanation offered was that many Indians had, with the assistance of white nominees, covertly rented or owned businesses in the newly desegregated trading areas for years, some for as many as 20 years. Property agents felt, therefore, that there would not be a sudden increase in the demand for retail space but that the opening of the CBD would lead to an improvement in office letting for professional purposes. A negative result would be an immediate decline in demand for premises in the Grey Street area on the city outskirts because many of the traders at present occupying premises there would now move to better locations in the heart of the city. Many Indian entrepreneurs felt that the opening of the CBD would remove a great deal of hardship as their activities would now be 'legal'.⁷

A day after the Durban CBD was declared open, Mrs Berrit Ntombizonke Khowa became the first African businesswoman to start trading in that CBD. She took over the Bus Stop supermarket in a light industrial area off Point Road from the previous owner, who was an Indian trading under a white nominee.'

In March Mr Heunis, in reply to a question in Parliament, disclosed that the government had accepted proposals for the opening of 41 CBDs for trading by all races. These were East London, King William's Town, Port Elizabeth, and Queenstown in the eastern Cape; Colenso, Durban, Eshowe, Estcourt, Pietermaritzburg, Port Shepstone, Stanger, and Tongaat in Natal; Delmas, Johannesburg, Nelspruit, Nigel, Potchefstroom, Volksrust, and Witbank in the

Transvaal; and Bellville, Cape Town, Carnarvon, Fish Hoek, George, Gordon's Bay, Hermanus, Kimberley, Knysna, Kuilsrivier, Malmesbury, Milnerton, Moorreesburg, Ottery, Paarl, Parow, Plettenberg Bay, Stellenbosch, Somerset West, Stanford, Swellendam, and Vryburg in the northern and western Cape. He said that 63 proposals had been received in all and that, of those remaining, proposals for 10 areas were still being considered while 12 had not been considered and were being held over for one of three reasons. These were the non-existence of town planning schemes, requests by local authorities who wanted to review their proposals, or negotiations which were still being conducted with local authorities for

DESEGREGATION OF TRADING AREAS

either larger free trading areas or the relocation of boundaries of adjoining group areas.

Mr Heunis added that the opening of CBDs was in the first instance a matter for local authorities and that he expected them to give their urgent consideration to this issue.⁹ The 41 towns for which open trading areas had already been approved would 'get the go-ahead soon', although it was not possible to indicate a date.⁰ (However, of these Johannesburg and Durban were opened in February.)

A director of the department of constitutional development and planning, Mr Bertie Nel, pointed out that the process for the opening of a CBD was often hindered by red tape. 'Although the government would like to open up other CBDs as quickly as possible, there are problems,' he said."

In June it was reported that an African businessman, Mr Allen Ngcelwane, had been granted a permit to open a supermarket in the Grahamstown CBD (eastern Cape), which was formerly restricted to white traders.²

According to a Market Research Africa (MRA) poll whose results were released in September, about 87% of urban Africans and 72% of urban whites agreed that CBDs should be open for trading by all races. Africans were in favour of open CBDs in all main urban areas, while there were marked differences among whites, only 58% of Afrikaans-speaking people favouring multiracial CBDs compared with 90% of English-speaking people. MRA used samples of 1 000 urban Africans and 1 000 urban whites.³

The first African-owned business in East London was opened on 20 September, two days after the government had proclaimed the city's CBD open to all races. A wholesale business was bought by a Mdantsane businessman, Mr A L Goci, and was renamed Nceduluntu (the people's helper) Cash and Carry.⁴

In November a leading Indian-controlled company, Corporate Property Management, resigned from the Johannesburg CBDA at a time when it had been hoping to recruit more black members. The managing director of the company, Mr Ebrahim Kharsany, questioned the claimed role of the CBDA in the opening of the CBD to trading by all race groups and its acceptance of only the city centre for mixed trading. Mr Kharsany maintained that real change had been brought about not 'by the CBDA but by the people who had physically moved in and risked police harassment and a white right-wing backlash' long before the CBD was officially opened in February. He added that black traders had operated for a

number of years under the nominee system and that when the CBD was opened very few black entrepreneurs had moved in. He further rejected the CBDA's claim that it represented black businessmen as its black membership was limited to less than five. The chairman of the CBDA, Mr Nigel Mandy, disputed Mr Kharsany's allegations and pointed out that the CBDA was a totally nonracial body and one of the main agents in achieving mixed trading. He argued that the role of the CBDA should not be underestimated.¹⁵

By November of the year under review a total of 29 CBDs had been opened to traders of all races. The initially slow and complicated process of declaring CBDs open was subsequently streamlined by Mr Heunis so that there were at least three proclamations a month. The list of open CBDs at the end of November was as follows: East London, King William's Town, Port Elizabeth, and Queenstown in the eastern Cape; Colenso, Durban,

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Estcourt, Howick, Pietermaritzburg, and Port Shepstone in Natal; Delmas, Johannesburg, Nelspruit, Nigel, Potchefstroom, Volksrust, and Witbank in the Transvaal; and Bellville, Cape Town, Fish Hoek, George, Kimberley, Malmesbury, Ottery, Paarl, Parow, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, and Vryburg in the northern and western Cape. There were none in the Orange Free State. The greatest single concentration of open areas was in the Cape Peninsula and environs. ¹⁶

By December the Johannesburg CBD had been open for trading to all races for nine months and the general impression was that there had been no significant change to property prices or occupancy rates. The executive director of the Institute of Estate Agents, Mr Stefan Swanepoel, said that this was a result of the recession but added that office accommodation had been rented for use as living space in an attempt to circumvent the Group Areas Act. Mr Mandy said that there had been a noticeable growth in the services industry in Johannesburg as the principal movers into the city had been people in public relations, industrial relations, and advertising."

Small Business and the Informal Sector

Policy and legislation

The minister of trade and industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said in a statement released in July that the government had accepted the recommendations for the deregulation and development of small businesses made by the president's council's committee for economic affairs and contained in its report entitled A Strategy for Small Business Development and for Deregulation. The recommendations had been published in October 1985 and sought to promote the development of the small business sector (see 1985 Survey p99).

The committee had suggested that the competition board, with expanded powers, would be the most suitable body to implement the deregulation of both small and bigger businesses. It had listed seven discriminatory measures which should be investigated. These included the Black Administration Act of 1927, the Group Areas Act of 1966, the Community Development Act of 1966, influx control, and land ownership for Africans. In addition, the committee had listed a number of

restrictive measures which could be reviewed by the national manpower commission. These included licensing laws, which should be streamlined and have their strict requirements eased; the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act of 1983, which laid down standards often inappropriate to small industry; and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1983. It had also recommended that the state president's powers be extended to allow him to suspend legislation affecting small businesses, or reinstate measures at his discretion, or implement new measures as needed, with the proviso that his actions be ratified by Parliament.¹⁸ The Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act passed in September sought to give effect to these recommendations by granting the state president power to relax or abolish a wide range of laws, bylaws, and regulations insofar as these might 'unduly impede the economic progress of persons engaged in...specific classes of undertakings, industries, trades and occupations, or competition...or the creation of job opportunities'. The state

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president would be able to suspend 'laws or conditions, limitations or obligations thereunder', as well as grant 'temporary exemptions from the provisions thereof. These powers applied to matters set out in parts one and two of the act's schedule, as follows:

Part 1:

- * requirements for the registration and licensing of businesses, undertakings, industries, trades and occupations, and the employment and use of land and premises for such use;

- " health requirements with which such premises and buildings had to comply; "
- the prohibition or regulation of, or restriction on, the erection of dwellings, buildings, and other structures;

- " the conveyance of persons and goods within, from, and to a specified area;

- * the establishment of towns and town planning; and

- * the days on which and times when business might be conducted. Part 2:

- " the registration of employees;

- * the registration of and control over factories; "
- the regulation of conditions of service and working hours;

- * the supervision of and the use of machines; and

- * the protection of the health and safety of employees. The state president could suspend an act of parliament or exempt or suspend conditions in terms of the act, only if that act related to matters in the schedule, and on the advice of a standing committee of Parliament to which the suspension or exemption in question had been referred. A proclamation with regard to the provisions of any law relating to a matter in terms of part 2 of the schedule could be issued only after the standing committee had consulted the minister of manpower, and could not affect any contract of work entered into before the issue of the proclamation. In order to ensure that the proclamations issued in terms of the act remained subject to parliamentary sanction, the act provided for them to be tabled in Parliament or in the relevant house, as the case might be. If Parliament or the house in question nullified such a proclamation or provision, it would cease to be of any force or

effect from the date on which it was nullified by the last of the three houses. However, such nullification would not invalidate any rights, privileges, obligations or liabilities acquired, accrued or incurred by that date. Apart from his obligation to consult the standing committee and for the committee to consult the minister of manpower, the state president might, at his discretion, consult with, or authorise any minister to consult with, any person or department of state which in his opinion represented the persons affected by the proclamation; was concerned with the administration of the law in question; or was otherwise competent to advise him. The act would cease to have effect as from 31 March 1989. Commenting on the bill in Parliament in August, the minister for administration and economic advisory services in the office of the state president, Mr Eli Louw, said that it arose out of the government's commitment to alleviate unemployment through the encouragement of small business undertakings, the creation of jobs, and the promotion of competition in business undertakings.¹⁹ He said that the matters mentioned in the schedule to the bill were identified by the committee for economic affairs of the president's council

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and other bodies as being those areas in which limiting regulations unduly impeded economic development, small businesses, competition, and the creation of job opportunities. Commenting on the date for the lapsing of the act, the minister said that progress made with the removal of restrictive practices would indicate whether this period was sufficient for the completion of all essential adjustments. He said that the government was in favour of deregulation on an ongoing and permanent basis, and the bill was not aimed merely at a single, temporary act of deregulation. Unnecessary restrictions should not only be removed on a temporary basis but should be followed up by steps of a permanent nature. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP), after certain amendments were made, supported the bill, although it still had certain misgivings.¹

The acting general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), Mrs Ruth Imrie, condemned the bill, saying it was a 'sinister' move as it represented a wholesale assault on wages and conditions of employment. 'Basically it gives the state president almost absolute power to suspend any regulation which gets in the way of employers making money.' TUCSA sent a telegram to Parliament voicing its concern over the bill and also sent a memorandum to the parliamentary select committee which considered the bill.²¹ In November the government established a co-ordinating council to advise it on all policy measures concerning small business. Dr De Villiers stressed that the new council would not impinge on the work being done by the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) and other bodies involved with small business. Some of the council's functions included the allocation of public funds voted for training; consultation; and advisory, after-care, and research services. The council would also be required to evaluate existing and proposed legislation with the object of identifying restrictions facing small enterprises and then to advise the competition board or the government on how to minimise these.²²

The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC)

In January the managing director of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), Dr Ben Vosloo, issued a warning that programmes aimed at creating new jobs on any big scale would be hamstrung unless the government took steps to remove the numerous regulations that inhibited African business initiatives. He acknowledged that the government had shown itself to be aware of the problems, but pointed out that what was of paramount importance was 'that a commitment be made to accelerate actively new development so that the present African townships become normal cities with their own neighbourhood shopping centres and central business districts'.²³

The SBDC reported in February that appeals for financial aid were streaming in as a result of the recession. The head of the SBDC's liaison services, Mr Francois Baird, said that there had been an increase of nearly 600% in applications for relief from the small business aid fund since it had been established in March 1985 (see 1985 Survey p100). The fund had been set up with R30m from the government to provide bridging finance for existing, viable small businesses experiencing short-term financial problems. In October 1985 a further R75m had been made available to the SBDC for

THE SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (SBDC)
the purpose of establishing job-creation programmes. This was part of the R600m allocated by the exchequer for work creation and relief in the 1985/86 budget (see 1985 Survey p100). Of the R75m, R20m had been utilised to set up two additional special funds - the small builders' bridging fund and the entrepreneurship training and development fund. The purpose of the latter was to encourage potential entrepreneurs to start their own businesses by making available equipped workshops and a variety of services. Within 14 weeks, this scheme had seen the creation of 112 jobs through the approval of 10 loans amounting to R19 000 and through the provision of 24 working areas. ²⁴

In his 1986/87 budget speech in March the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said that the R75m earmarked for job creation via the SBDC had not been fully utilised. In view of the time taken to launch job-creation programmes, only R47m had been utilised in the 1985/86 financial year. The remaining R28m had been found by the department of trade and industry via savings and would be paid over to the SBDC as a starting balance for further job-creation programmes for 1986/87. Mr Du Plessis said that the government placed a particularly high premium on the expansion of the small business sector, and he expressed the hope that the private sector, as partners in the SBDC, would contribute an amount in share capital equal to that of the government.²⁵

In an interview in June Dr Vosloo said that while South Africa had a predominance of large conglomerates which were usually capital intensive, the micro side of the economy also needed emphasis. This involved creating incentives for a dynamic small business sector. In the United States (US) from 1976 to 1982, 80% of new jobs had been created in small enterprises with fewer than 100 employees. The SBDC had a vital role to play, which was shown by the fact that in 1985, 2 000 enquiries had been received a month while the current

figure was 14 000. The informal sector was an enormous income generator for individuals and a point of entry into the economic system, Dr Vosloo said. Discussing whether the SBDC had the resources to meet the challenges of the future, Dr Vosloo said that the high unemployment rate resulted in people considering setting up on their own and a consequential flood of enquiries. To counter this, the SBDC had 'upgraded capacity' with the support of private companies and the government. While it had lent only R11,2m in 1981/82, this had increased to R101,8m in 1985/86. For the total expenditure of R275m, 46 000 jobs had been created and 25 000 retained.¹⁶

In June the government announced the allocation of a further R50m to the SBDC to assist small 'platteland' entrepreneurs who had experienced liquidity problems due to the financial plight of farmers. The allocation would also be used to support the recently-created aid programmes of the SBDC.

The SBDC took over the total financial function of the Fisheries Development Corporation from the government in June with the aim of expanding the development of the fishing industry. Announcing the move, Dr Vosloo said, 'A small fisherman is a small businessman and there is no reason that the SBDC could not look after their interests as well.'¹⁷

In July it was reported that initiatives had been launched by the SBDC to raise R5 000m over the next five years to finance a nationwide network of small businesses to bring African entrepreneurs into the economic

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mainstream and solve critical unemployment problems. The SBDC had had talks with the department of finance on proposals to encourage the private sector to invest in issues of special new bonds that would carry government guarantees. These bonds, which would be listed alongside government stocks and other marketable gilt-edged securities on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, were aimed at the big insurance companies and pension funds in particular.² The broad recommendations of the scheme were finally approved in an announcement in September by the deputy minister of finance and of trade and industry, Mr Kent Durr.²⁹

Institutions that granted loans to small businessmen, such as the SBDC, the Get Ahead Foundation, and Barclays National Bank, confirmed a trend for the jobless to seek funds from aid bodies. The SBDC reported in September that it had provided more loans to small businesses in the past year than in the preceding four years together. Many of the loans, some of as little as R100, had been distributed in the informal sector of the economy. The fact that some of the businesses were technically illegal had not halted progress. Dr Vosloo highlighted as one of the problems facing the small entrepreneurs the difficulty in meeting bulk orders from large clients because they did not have the capital to produce in bulk. A solution to this was suggested by a scheme in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, assisted by the Get Ahead Foundation, whereby Mrs Regina Maluka, who ran a backyard sewing industry and school which had grown into a centre with 150 students, passed on work on a commission basis to 12 of her former students who ran cottage industries. Each cottage industry supported eight people^o

Other developments

The Johannesburg city council announced in February that it would set up a sub-committee of top officials to investigate how small businesses could be promoted by the elimination of red tape. The sub-committee, headed by the chief licensing officer, Mr Melvyn Watson, would examine municipal by-laws and regulations to ensure that only minimum standards would be required for the establishment of small businesses.³

Also in February, it was reported that a programme to promote small industry in KwaZulu had received an injection of R2,5m. The move was initiated by the KwaZulu finance and investment corporation (KFC) through the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) and was seen as an important method of promoting African entrepreneurship and creating vital job opportunities within the region. The KFC hoped to generate a further R5,6m to finance small industrial development during 1986/87. The development programme consisted of the construction of 11 industrial and service complexes, two community complexes, the obtaining of land, the provision of loans to small industrialists, and training and counselling costs, as well as the investment of working capital, over a 15-year period. By February eight of the 13 planned projects had already been initiated at an overall cost of R833 052 and three others were in the process of being implemented at a total cost of R1m.³²

Speaking at a manufacturing management convention held in March, the chairman of the education and training committee of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC), Mr Sy Kutumela, made a plea for the process of deregulation to be speeded up as

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the formal sector alone would never be able to provide all the jobs required in South Africa. The informal sector could create extra jobs and did not pose a threat in these times of high unemployment and spiralling inflation. He said that studies in 1980 had shown that there were about 2m people engaged in this sector.³³

The 1985 annual report of the advisory bureau for small businesses at the University of Potchefstroom said that the bureau had helped 5 734 small businesses and entrepreneurs in the previous year. The report stated that about 30 full-time management consultants had provided an advisory service to a significant number of individuals in the commercial and industrial sector. Although the bureau's head office was located in Potchefstroom, there were branches in Soweto (Johannesburg) and Sebokeng (Vaal Triangle). Practical training sessions had also been conducted on the premises of promising entrepreneurs."

Arising out of a suggestion in 1985 by the minister of finance that the life assurance industry should consider investing in development projects to help create jobs and relieve unemployment, as well as its own desire to play a bigger part in the provision of development capital, the Life Offices Association (LOA) had recommended the appointment of a permanent standing committee to handle this matter. The committee, to be known as the development capital committee, would facilitate investment in specific projects by member offices of the LOA.⁵

In March a major US bank, Citibank, announced plans to establish an African business unit to assist emerging and small African entrepreneurs. Citibank's managing director in South Africa, Mr David Hexter, reported that within four days of advertising the new programme the bank had received more than 600 enquiries. He said that Citibank viewed this new undertaking as a step towards the creation of a significant capital base for African business and that its objective was to provide financial assistance primarily to those African businessmen and women who would not be able to secure funds through conventional channels either for lack of a trading record or adequate collateral. The bank had supplemented its own technical and administrative resources for this exercise by linking together with four other organisations, all of which had extensive experience and expertise in the African market. These were the centre of developing business at the business school of the University of the Witwatersrand, Co-ordinated Marketing, Ebony Management and Secretarial Services, and the Sizwe Finance Trust.³⁶

A new company, Job Creation SA, jointly owned by NAFCOG and the Barlow Rand Foundation, would create opportunities for small businessmen and women to realise their potential. Based on a similar company in the United Kingdom (UK), it was formed early in 1986 under the chairmanship of Dr Sam Motsuenyane, president of NAFCOG. Its aim was to help small businessmen and women decide what business opportunity was right for them, identify their potential customers, overcome legal and bureaucratic hurdles, organise for production or service, plan the future of their businesses, obtain appropriate finance, and improve their management and control. The company was at present helping 10 employers who between them employed 75 people, and it provided its service free of charge. It had been commissioned by the foundation to create 500 new jobs in the greater Johannesburg area in the next three years. The activities covered by the

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company included decorating, building, and upholstering.³⁷

In mid-1986 OK Bazaars was approached by the SBDC with a view to assisting and encouraging African entrepreneurs who could supply goods to the OK in line with its established policy of providing 'quality merchandise at value-for-money prices'. The first to make use of this opportunity was Rodana Manufacturers. In a speech in August which was one of the 'Senate Special Lectures 1986' at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the centre for applied social sciences at the University of Natal, described the belief that the informal sector might provide an answer to South Africa's urban poverty problem as 'palliative'. While conceding that job creation in this sector was cheap and the skills requirement very modest, he believed that the informal sector was not an avenue of capital accumulation and self-sustaining growth. A more promising area was that of small business development, which injected 'low-cost capital into growth-oriented entrepreneurship'. However, existing programmes were aimed at people who had to show promise as entrepreneurs and often, therefore, excluded the very poor and new migrants to the cities. Professor

Schlemmer's proposed solution was 'radically new investment projects in the marginal urban communities which would produce goods for city-wide consumption'. This might involve an injection of capital and seconded management into township and squatter community-based production undertakings.⁹

Hawkers

Eastern Cape

In January almost 120 hawkers met East London businessmen to discuss problems concerning hawkers in the central business district (CBD). The meeting was called jointly by the chairman of the East London city council action committee and the hawkers' 'committee of ten'. The city council expressed its willingness to allow the continuation of hawking, provided the problems were resolved.⁴

In September the Grahamstown hawkers' guild was formed under the auspices of the Masizane trade centre to combat criticism hawkers received from local white residents, and to assist in the recognition of hawkers as legitimate vendors of fresh fruit and vegetables. A spokesman for the trade centre, Mrs M Lorraine, said that the guild had 60 members who had been provided with uniforms, name badges, and barrows at a nominal fee of R5 a year. They had 'pitches' from which they could sell their goods. Mrs Lorraine added that the guild had succeeded in improving the lot of hawkers and increasing their incomes by R1,50 a day. The guild was criticised by some academics and political organisations on the grounds that the limiting of membership of the guild had created additional divisions within the local black community and also because hawkers who were not members were being forced out of the CBD by guild members who had the sanction of the city council.⁴¹

Cape Peninsula

In January the Cape Town chamber of commerce's work group which had investigated deregulation of the small business sector completed a review of

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restrictions on street trading and hawking. It recommended improvements and alterations to existing legislation. Describing the legislation as outdated, the group's report said that less sophisticated hawkers and street traders who were the product of the third world situation and operated in an informal housing area around cities were the worst affected and that adjustments would have to be made to the system if their trading activities were to be accommodated. The report also suggested that while there could be a need for registration for statistical and control purposes, hawkers could be required simply to register for a nominal fee instead of having to acquire trading licences. The removal of other regulations which severely hampered the activities of hawkers was also recommended. The biggest problem facing hawkers in prohibited areas was traffic regulations which denied them access to the main business areas.⁴²

Transvaal

In January a small trader, Mr George Moya, together with about 100 small traders and hawkers, established the South African Institute for Small Traders and

Hawkers. The aim of the institute was to bring 'small traders and hawkers together to raise the status of the informal sector and to provide practical assistance in the form of intensive business training and seminars'. The institute reported that it had successfully negotiated a few stalls in a newly-opened flea 'market in Johannesburg for use by small traders and hawkers. To facilitate the issuing of licences to such people, it had applied for permission for a member of its executive committee to sit in on meetings of the licensing board. The institute planned to make courses for hawkers and small traders available during the year. Mr Moya estimated that there could be well over 10 000 small entrepreneurs in the Witwatersrand area alone; and he said that if they were brought together they could represent a significant buying power which would enable them to negotiate favourable terms and discounts from wholesalers and manufacturers.⁴³

In May an organisation called the African council of nyangas' and hawkers' association (ACNHA) was formed in Johannesburg to fight for the rights of hawkers and nyangas. They had been struggling for recognition by the authorities. The association had a membership of 8 700 and expected that by the end of the year under review this number would exceed 10 000. The general secretary of ACNHA, Mr Lawrence Mavundla, said in an interview in October that his organisation had held many meetings with the Johannesburg city council in an effort to have the by-laws which restricted hawking in the city centre abolished. In addition representations had been made to the state president and the minister of constitutional development and planning. Although ACNHA's efforts had resulted in hawkers in certain places in Johannesburg being provided with shelters, that was not sufficient and more space was required in the CBD. He said that the significance of hawking was that it created jobs for many people who found themselves on the streets due to the economic recession and widespread retrenchments.⁴⁴

In November the association requested the Johannesburg traffic department to suspend the arrest of hawkers trading in the CBD until negotiations between itself and the Johannesburg city council were completed. A council spokesman said that the matter was under consideration and that a decision would be made soon.⁴⁵

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In December a hawker, Mr S Kunama, who had brought an urgent application before the Witwatersrand local division of the supreme court for an order for the seizure and destruction of R130 worth of fruit and peanuts to be declared unlawful, lost his case. The Johannesburg city council contended that it had seized the goods because Mr Kunama was trading illegally. Dismissing the application, the judge explained that Mr Kunama had been incorrectly advised to bring a supreme court action when his proper remedy lay in a magistrate's or small claims' court.⁴⁶

In December the opening of new fixed stalls in the Hoek Street Mall in Johannesburg represented a big step forward for hawkers. This was the fourth 'free hawking zone' in the city's CBD to be provided by the Johannesburg city council, the others being at Kazerne and at the New Doornfontein and Faraday stations. The new zone was organised so that hawkers who set up business in the

stalls no longer had to move every hour and not return to the same spot within 24 hours. The Hoek Street stalls were initiated by the SBDC and sponsored by a major food company, Fedfood.⁷

Figures quoted in a December news report indicated that there were 781 licensed hawkers in Johannesburg. Of these 295 were white, 237 African, 181 Indian, and 68 coloured.⁸

In November the SBDC took up the case of four African hawkers who had been charged by the Pretoria city council with illegal trading. The SBDC sought legal advice on the city council's actions and intended to appoint lawyers to defend the hawkers. A spokesman for the SBDC said that the council had no legal right to confiscate the hawkers' goods, which consisted of about 500kg of perishables made up of vegetables, fruit, and ice cream, if the goods could not be used as evidence in a court case. The case against the four hawkers was subsequently withdrawn.⁹

African Business

Policy developments

During the year under review the government introduced measures towards deregulating the economy to promote job creation and the development of small businesses, especially African small business. It accepted the recommendations of the president's council's economic affairs committee's report on deregulation and small business development, and introduced the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill, which was enacted in September (see above). The chairman of the competition board, Dr Stef Naudé, who would be working in close liaison with the minister for administration and economic advisory services in the office of the state president in implementing deregulatory measures, said that there were no simple answers or short cuts in deregulating a complicated society like South Africa. Deregulation did not mean doing away with all laws, but rather providing fewer, and better, laws.¹

In his keynote address at the Institute of Marketing Management's annual awards ceremony in September, the deputy minister of finance and of trade and industry, Mr Kent Durr, said that all government departments and state institutions had been instructed to seek ways to ensure that no person was excluded from economic participation on the grounds of race or colour. He

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reiterated that the government had accepted this recommendation of the PC's committee for economic affairs, along with the others recommending that the interests of small businesses should be guarded and that the principles of minimum restrictions on entry into the marketplace should be implemented.

Mr Durr said that attention would be given to physical planning features in towns and townships which had an adverse effect on the establishment and development of 'healthy' business activities. The government had accepted that discriminatory legislation applicable to black entrepreneurs should be repealed or amended as far as necessary, to achieve a situation where all entrepreneurs could run their businesses on an equal footing. The only exception was that alternatives which were less costly and simpler could apply in the interests of developing

communities. In addition, the government had accepted that a technical committee, with private sector representation, should make a detailed study of the amendments needed to the Group Areas Act of 1966, the Community Development Act of 1966, the Black Administration Act of 1927, and the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 in order to effect deregulation." The minister for administration and economic advisory services in the state president's office, Mr Eli Louw, told delegates at the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry's national industrial conference in Pietersburg in May that 'the government is committed to a policy of responsible privatisation'. He said that the policy would probably be published in a White Paper in the near future. Public sector functions were in the process of being scrutinised to determine which were suitable for privatisation and which form of privatisation would be appropriate in a particular case. It was anticipated that privatisation would open up business opportunities for the private sector, including African entrepreneurs, Mr Louw said.²

In November at a meeting between private sector representatives and members of the government, it was disclosed that a three-year programme for privatisation would be launched. The proposals were contained in a 'discussion' document designed to be drafted into a White Paper. The project would be carried out by an already-approved committee of ministers for privatisation under the chairmanship of Mr Louw.⁵³

In a speech in August to the South African Property Owners' Association (SAPOA), the auditor general, Dr J H de Loor, said that privatisation would help to provide some answers to three chronic problems which faced South Africa. These were a rapidly growing demand for socio-economic services, an increasing demand for basic services such as transportation and telecommunications for private industry, and the cynicism felt by most African citizens towards private enterprise because they believed they were excluded from it. Dr De Loor said that privatisation was attractive to government for socio-economic as well as for revenue reasons. For the man in the street it offered the prospect of more effective service and a lower tax burden, and for the employer and employee a sharing in a more productive enterprise could only bring benefits.⁴

In April a further obstacle to the development of African business was removed when a moratorium was declared on pass arrests. The announcement came at the same time as the tabling in Parliament of the government's White Paper on Urbanisation. The initiative removed

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uncertainty regarding Africans' rights to permanent residence in and freedom of movement to urban areas. The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that the government's new policy on urbanisation rested on two main pillars: firstly, urbanisation was necessary for the development of the country; and secondly, all South African citizens had the right to equal opportunities and treatment.⁵ The Abolition of Influx Control Act passed in June, with retroactive effect to 23 April, abolished influx control and introduced

measures to combat disorderly squatting, slums, and health hazards (see Urbanisation and Housing).¹⁶ African business development

The Black Management Forum (BMF), which was founded in 1976 to combat 'tokenism' in black management, decided in March to start its own training courses. It condemned its 'continued non-recognition' by the corporate world. The BMF executive council chairman, Mr Ernest Mcunu, said that it was time to get rid of the prefix 'black' when speaking of management as in that context it had the connotation of 'inferior' ⁷

A number of business development agencies in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) region supported a project of the Urban Foundation aimed at linking the white and African sectors of the economy. The idea was to provide African entrepreneurs keen to expand their markets with the opportunity to supply goods to white entrepreneurs. A spokesman for the foundation said that there was a demand for all aspects of African business, such as purchase of supplies and the opening of franchises and agencies. By February 1986 the value of orders placed with African businesses as a result of the project had amounted to R500 000.¹¹

A growing trend among Africans was a form of economic activity known as 'sideline', 'a term used for additional income earned to supplement regular income. In Markinor's 1983 black segmentation study, it had been established that 31% of urban men and 23% of urban women had some form of 'sideline'. In 1985 the number of urban women with 'sidelines' had increased to 28%. Of this group 54% sold liquor, vegetables, sweets, cold drinks, and ice blocks; 18% were involved in dressmaking, knitting, and crocheting; while a further 7% took a part-time job such as teaching or working in a shop. Twenty-one percent had some other type of income-earning occupation.⁹ No further information about urban men was available.

In April Blackchain, a wholly African-owned Soweto-based supermarket chain, established in 1976 by members of NAFCOG with the aim of retaining in African areas some of the income leaking out to white supermarket giants, was provisionally liquidated. However, a syndicate of top businessmen came to its rescue and invested about R1m to salvage the chain, which had branches in Diepkloof, Zola, and Pimville. The company's secretary, Mr Johannes Vezi, said that Blackchain's main problems had arisen from its rapid growth over the past five years, although the depressed economic climate and costs arising from damages to delivery vehicles during township violence had been contributory factors.⁶

A new organisation to train African housing sales consultants, initially in the PWV area, but later countrywide, was established in April. Called the Home Ownership Training Institute (HOTI), it was an independent entity linked to the government, African town councils, and the building industry, according to its founder, Mr C J Riddering. Mr Riddering said that it was

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particularly important that African men and women of entrepreneurial calibre be trained for careers in the building and housing industries.⁶

A Johannesburg insurance company, Federated Insurance, and the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) joined forces in April to finance a large shopping complex in Eldorado Park (a coloured township near Johannesburg) during the year under review. This was the first time that an insurance company had invested in business facilities in a black area. The shopping centre would serve about 125 000 residents of Eldorado Park, Klipspruit West, Nancefield, and Bushkoppies, and would comprise a supermarket, butchery, bank, launderette, café, pharmacy, liquor outlet, and consulting rooms for a medical doctor and a dentist.⁶

In April more than 50 African-owned businesses participated in the Matchmaker '86 Fair at the Rand showgrounds (Johannesburg) which was cosponsored by the American chamber of commerce in South Africa and the greater Soweto chamber of commerce. The fair aimed to bring the range of goods and services offered by African businesses to the attention of resident American and foreign firms.⁶³

In April International Business Machines South Africa (IBM) deposited an amount of R300 000 with the African Bank to be used by members of the Soweto building contractors' association (SBCA) in a revolving scheme that would create both jobs and housing for Africans. The scheme would enable African entrepreneurs with building skills to borrow up to R16 000 over three months at an interest rate of 1% per month, by which time construction would be sufficiently advanced for the builder to qualify for a normal building society progress payment.^Y

During the year under review an African woman, Mrs Esther Langa, a dealer at BMW's John Langa Motors in Soweto, completed an intensive course that qualified her as an approved service manager, and thereby became the first African woman to achieve this status in South Africa.⁶¹

As a result of the opening of the Johannesburg CBD to traders of all race groups in February (see above), Mr Simon Makhubo was able to set up his own business, Sikila Printing. His former employer, the Bristol Myers Group, donated printing equipment and provided him with the necessary capital to set up a print shop. The multinational company committed itself to supporting his operation for one year.⁶ A Tembisa businessman, Mr Walter Ngcobondwana, opened a R3m hotel and shopping complex in this east Rand township in May. He said at a press conference in Johannesburg that he had built the complex from the ashes of a shop burnt down in the 1976 unrest. The complex included a hotel, two discotheques, a restaurant, and 30 shops.⁶

A Soweto resident, Mr Reginald Malope, became the first African in the country to run an outdoor advertising business (Spot-On Advertising) when he successfully negotiated with a leading outdoor advertising company to take over its operations in Soweto and other African townships. Mr Malope had acquired a contract with the Soweto city council to erect 'welcome' signs at the entrances and exits of the township. He would also sell advertising space on the signposts and service all existing billboards in Soweto. He intended catering for small entrepreneurs.'

The African Bank reported a half-year profit of R5,9m to 1 March, compared with R169 000 in the 12 months to 31 September 1985, despite

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only a modest growth in deposits and assets. This was due to an increased share of US multinational business. According to the managing director, Mr Moses Maubane, most of the bank's increased share of corporate business had been conducted on an agency basis with multinational clients, most of whom were signatories to the Sullivan Principles.'

In May it was reported that the activities of the African Bank were being investigated by the Witwatersrand's commercial branch police. It was alleged that the bank had committed foreign exchange irregularities involving R100m and it was reported that the registrar of financial institutions had suspended the bank's appointment as an authorised foreign exchange dealer.⁷⁰ On 23 May an Extraordinary Government Gazette directed that all monies owed by any other person to nine suspended employees, including the managing director, should be paid into a blocked account in terms of exchange control regulations.⁷¹ In a statement released in June, the chairman of the bank, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said that the problems with the foreign exchange division had not affected the bank's operation as a whole.ⁿ

In June the International Executive Service Corps (IESC), a US business consultancy organisation operating in more than 70 developing countries, announced that it planned to open an office in South Africa. The organisation would concentrate on what it called the 'deprived communities' - Africans, coloured people, and, to a lesser extent, Indians. IESC was a non-profit-making, private organisation sponsored by many US blue-chip companies and was operated by retired executives from a variety of companies. These executives were brought in for two- to three-month consultancies on a voluntary basis. Although initially executives would come from the US, it was hoped that a pool of retired South African executives would develop.³

Early in the year under review a registered homeopath started an import-export company, the Z-Z Import-Export Company. The company had its offices in Johannesburg's Carlton Centre and employed ten staff, including a white management consultant. The founder of the company, Mr Zweli D Khoza, claimed that among the advantages of an African trading company was the fact that while neighbouring states were often reluctant to deal with white South Africa because of their political views, Zambia and Zimbabwe, for example, were fully supportive of the African South African entrepreneur. A similar attitude was found in the US, Australia, and Canada, he claimed.⁴

In July it was reported that the African kombitaxi/minibus market had grown significantly since the 1970s and was seen in many quarters as the most successful African participation to date in the free market economy (see Transport).⁷¹ Vehicle manufacturers such as Toyota, Nissan, Volkswagen, and Samcor were all prepared to manufacture vehicles specifically to suit the South African Black Taxi Association's requirements. Shell SA had negotiated with the association to set up a number of African-owned service stations. Oil companies were also competing with each other to gain SABTA recognition for their products. In the insurance field SA Eagle Insurance Company offered a special

vehicle insurance policy to kombitaxi owners with premiums rated at about half the normal level.⁷⁶

In August it was reported that three African-owned consultancy firms, African Development and Construction Holdings (AD & CH), Co-ordinated

OBSTACLES FACED BY AFRICAN BUSINESS

Marketing, and the Get Ahead Foundation were involved in the planning, construction, leasing, and marketing of a major regional shopping centre costing R100m in the Johannesburg area near Midway railway station, southeast of Soweto. As the site was not in Soweto itself, it was possible to avoid the 51%/49% African/white ownership requirement for any development involving whites in an African area.

SABTA announced the launch in September of a travel scheme called SABTA Travel, covering both domestic and overseas travel. According to the president of the organisation, Mr James Ngcoya, SABTA Travel would be in partnership with a leading firm of travel agents and aimed to extend the range of travel experiences of black people in South Africa because they did not travel enough either within the country or abroad. It was planned to put together weekend packages at beach and inland hotels at special rates and all hotel arrangements would be made by SABTA Travel. Regular overseas visits would also be arranged.⁷⁷

In October Mr André Immelman of Actuarial Management Associates announced the launch of a new life assurance concept in conjunction with an African financial institution which he anticipated would answer to some extent African criticism of traditional life assurance. He said that the life assurance industry needed to do some fundamental rethinking if it was both to serve and profit from the African market. 'The industry's criticism of the African market as a profitable source of business is bred largely out of its own ignorance of the market,' he said. He added that changes would have to be made soon, as the African market was growing and would dominate the industry at the turn of the century. Mr Immelman calculated that the African market contributed almost a quarter of the R30bn in industry assets.⁷⁸

Obstacles faced by African businesses

Delivering the keynote address at the inaugural conference of the NAFCOOC Transvaal regional convention in Johannesburg in May, the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said that black businessmen had not only had to succeed against all the normal risks that entrepreneurs faced, but had 'also had to contend with the whole gamut of apartheid laws'.

In February an article on an African entrepreneur, Mr Eric Mafuna, listed some of the obstacles he had had to overcome in establishing his own company, Consumer Behaviour. The first problem had been that of raising finance to launch his own business as banks had all been reluctant to lend money to support an African business venture, regarding it as too risky. Only the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) had been willing to make a loan available. A further problem was that of acquiring office accommodation in the centre of Johannesburg. Another disadvantage for African entrepreneurs was the fact that

business was frequently conducted on social occasions around the swimming pools and at cocktail parties in the white suburbs. Although an African businessman could be invited to such occasions from time to time, it was difficult for him to reciprocate in an African township.⁹

According to the SBDC, bureaucracy and red tape were the main reasons why an area such as greater Soweto, with an estimated population of up to two million people, had only about 2 500 licensed businesses and one self-

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contained shopping centre. It said that regulations obstructing free enterprise in Soweto numbered between 500 and 1 000. Development was hampered by licensing procedures, land tenure zoning which affected the availability of sites, and trading hours. An SBDC spokesman said that despite the removal of influx control, the severe business restrictions in operation up to 1979 had left an enormous development backlog. Before that date Africans had not been allowed to develop manufacturing or trade in white-designated areas and thus moved enterprises to the homelands. He added that the fact that black local authorities were not recognised as legitimate by African people was problematic for business confidence."

In an article in African Business in May, the issue of whether goods sold by African retailers were more costly than those of white retailers was discussed. It was argued that the pricing structure of the African retailer had been grossly misunderstood by African customers, and that many factors had to be taken into consideration when discussing prices charged by African retailers. Some of these factors were:

" retailers in African areas usually ran small, independent owner-operated stores, and bought in small quantities as they lacked purchasing power;

" they had to buy from wholesalers or cash-and-carry outlets where they had to pay more;

" they could not establish economies of scale because of financial constraints; and

* demand for goods and storage space was limited, which meant that the retailer purchased small quantities several times a year, leading to high transportation and handling costs.

In general the African retailer tended to have a very low turnover of stock and this affected his/her cash position and profit margins. Research in the Pretoria area had revealed that retailers there had a profit margin of about 5% compared with the big white chains' average of more than 20% .⁸¹

White involvement in African business In March a consortium headed by a former builder and township developer, Mr Willem Stronck, and a financier Mr Barry Fletcher, unveiled plans for an R80m retail and industrial complex for the African township of Khayelitsha near Cape Town. Part of the plan was to allow African participation in management, possibly along similar lines to that used by the supermarket chain Pick 'n Pay in Mitchell's Plain, a group area for coloured people near Cape Town. The development was expected to create 8 000 jobs, as well as reduce the travelling times for African shoppers. It was hoped that a

multiracial tenant mix would be permitted by the government despite the fact that the area had not been included among the four CBDs in the Cape which had been approved in principle as open for trading by all races. The plans provided for some 84 industrial sites, and a first-stage shopping centre covering 10 000m.² In March Jazz Stores, which was due to take over 11 Checkers stores in April, announced a proposed management agreement with township entrepreneurs whereby it would provide management expertise and establish a joint buying scheme for small retailers. This would provide the retailers with purchasing power in dealing with large merchandisers, and open up a potential multimillion rand market in African areas. For example, in Soweto

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alone there were about 3 000 small store owners with no access to modern buying and marketing expertise and lacking financial power to buy in bulk at lower prices and sell goods at prices competitive with those set by supermarket chains.

A group of African and white Johannesburg businessmen formed a new company, Joint Business Developments (JBD) in April. American companies in South Africa who were signatories of the Sullivan Principles had made it their policy to give work to African-controlled enterprises wherever possible. With this in view, the company aimed to transfer management and technical know-how from whites to Africans, while at the same time ensuring that Africans would retain a majority shareholding. Under the aegis of JBD as a holding company, itself with an African majority shareholding of 55%, whiterun firms would 'mother' a fledgling African-controlled company by providing support and training. To date progress had been made in the fields of travel, printing, shipping and forwarding, and public relations, and positive steps were being made to enter the computer field, civil and structural engineering, and architecture. The company had canvassed a number of established African businessmen, who had reacted favourably to the idea.⁴

In July it was reported that a new chain of multiracial steak houses was to be launched in Durban by a partnership of African and white entrepreneurs, in line with the objects of the newly formed South African association of entrepreneurs (SAAE) which had opened in the same city. The association sought, among other things, to help small businesses and promote business partnerships between African and white entrepreneurs. The first Zulu Pot restaurant with seating for 250 people was nearing completion in Umlazi in July and was likely to be followed by a second one near Durban's beachfront. It was the result of a partnership between the chairman of the SAAE, Mr A P d'Abbadie, and an African businessman and member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly, Mr A M Mkhwanazi. The restaurant would be based on a 50%/50% African/white partnership. Mr D'Abbadie said that there was a great need for high quality multiracial restaurants. The first two restaurants would be built by the entrepreneurs, but the chain would thereafter be developed through franchising.⁸⁵ The first African-owned supermarket, the Maluleke Savemore, to operate in the white business district of Rosslyn, near Pretoria, was taken over from white management by three African businessmen in June. The new managing director of

the R500 000 store, Mr Letsatsi Makena, said that he had not experienced any problems since taking over, and white shoppers who responded to a reporter's questions indicated that if the service was of the required standard, it did not matter who owned the concern.⁸

It was reported in September that Coca-Cola's plan to use the divestment of its South African interests as a means of involving African businessmen in the soft drink industry would remain 'under wraps' for some time. The investments to have been sold by Coca-Cola were a 30% interest in Amalgamated Beverage Industries and a 51% interest in Amalgamated Beverage Cannery. Coca-Cola's external affairs manager, Mr Hennie Viljoen, said that the company was in the process of investigating the creation of a multi-equity participation in both companies. This would involve selling part of its interests to African investors. He said also that it was possible that African dealers would be involved in the scheme and that it made good

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business sense to involve African entrepreneurs because about 76% of Coca-Cola sales were to African consumers.⁷

The project manager of the SBDC, Mr Mike Smuts, pointed out that whereas in the US the government was able to take the initiative in the development of 'minority businesses', the emotional associations of government in South Africa meant that the private sector was in a better position to do so.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC)
In February the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC) hosted an African leaders' conference in Johannesburg. Attended by more than 150 people, mainly entrepreneurs, academics, lawyers, and community leaders, it was aimed at fostering African unity and arriving at a joint national agenda as a basis for negotiations on power sharing with the government when the time came.

In his opening address the president of NAFCOC, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said that the conference was held following 'the momentous decision NAFCOC had taken to involve itself actively in the struggle to achieve genuine freedom and unity for the African people of South Africa', at its conference in August 1985 (see 1985 Survey p104). The most important issue to emerge at the leaders' conference was the need for African leaders and organisations to talk to one another, while at the same time it was unanimously agreed that in seeking unity organisations should not be expected to surrender their respective ideologies. It was essential to explore avenues of common ground between African people so that they could reach agreement on the formulation of desirable strategies for improving the tempo of social and political change in South Africa. The role of African businessmen in the struggle for change was the subject of intense debate among the delegates, as was the question as to which economic system was preferred by African people." In May a delegation of 12 NAFCOC members held talks with officials of the African National Congress (ANC) at its Lusaka (Zambia) headquarters. No details of the talks were given but one member of the delegation said that the two sides had found that they shared a common platform although they differed over

methods.⁹⁰ At NAFCOOC's annual conference in Cape Town in July Dr Motsuenyane said that the ANC had agreed that private ownership of property was to be allowed at all levels and the spirit of entrepreneurship encouraged. It believed in a mixed economy, and described the present South African economic system as a mixed one in that 'some things were owned by the government and others by individuals'. It was, however, opposed to the existing capitalist system in South Africa because of its discriminatory nature (see Political Organisations).⁹¹

In July NAFCOOC announced its decision not to serve on the government's proposed national council until the government had shown its willingness to accept certain demands. However, NAFCOOC also stated that it was prepared to talk to the government about the council. The demands included the release of the jailed leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and other political prisoners; the lifting of the banning order on the ANC; and

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government negotiations with credible African leaders (see Government and Constitution) .⁹²

A delegation from NAFCOOC led by Dr Motsuenyane met the visiting British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in July. It claimed that sanctions were seen by many Africans as the last peaceful option which could be applied to bring about the ultimate dismantling of the apartheid system, but said that NAFCOOC supported conditional investment. This implied that investors had a moral responsibility and had to take account of upgrading skills as well as of improving the general living standards of Africans. However, the delegation made it clear that if the government refused to be persuaded by international diplomacy, NAFCOOC would support sanctions, as at that stage it would be the only possible option.⁹³

At a meeting of the Public Relations Institute of South Africa in August, Dr Motsuenyane said that African entrepreneurs wanted stability in the country so that the free enterprise system could take root in the townships. He told the meeting that NAFCOOC had appealed to the government to remove all discriminatory legislation, such as the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Population Registration Act of 1950. 'Bad laws' could not be reformed but should be removed, Dr Motsuenyane said. Social and residential restrictions should be lifted, for it was ridiculous to open up CBDs to Africans and then refuse to allow them to live near their places of work. He warned that lack of reform on the part of the government would cause NAFCOOC to become more politicised, and that the African entrepreneur would become more involved in pressure for change. Dr Motsuenyane urged the private sector to become more involved in promoting free enterprise among Africans by contributing to efforts in which NAFCOOC was involved.⁴

At its fourth summit conference in October, NAFCOOC resolved not to resist the sanctions campaign against South Africa. At the same time it launched a programme to ensure that African business would benefit from the withdrawal

from South Africa of American companies. The resolution said that NAFCOOC would not take part in any future efforts to encourage new investment in the country where Africans were not meaningfully involved. As a corollary, NAFCOOC had initiated plans to mobilise resources to facilitate the 'indigenisation' of investments which became available as a result of sanctions."

In November the Transvaal region of NAFCOOC hosted a convention to evaluate the role of African business in the struggle against apartheid. The conference was attended by Africans only and was closed to the media. Among those who addressed it were the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu; the first assistant general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa/Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA/AZACTU), Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe; and two representatives of the national education crisis committee. A pre-convention press release said that among the primary objectives of the convention were: " the realignment of African business's economic, political, educational, and social stances;

* the unravelling of 'corporate camouflage' and the spelling out of NAFCOOC's views and policies on the corporate responsibility of multinational companies;

" the creation of a vehicle for the constructive nationalisation of economic

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interests in South Africa;

" the creation of a vehicle for the 'indigenisation' of multinational companies wishing to divest from South Africa; and

* the encouragement of all efforts by African parents and African organisations to find new ways to provide alternative education for Africans even if this entailed the establishment of African-controlled schools and colleges.⁶

Speaking in Cape Town at the annual conference of the western province African chamber of commerce (WEPCOC), the deputy president of NAFCOOC, Mr Patrick Gumede, said that the growth and prosperity of a new South Africa would depend on the survival of the free enterprise system. He warned, however, that if the government waited too long to bring about desired change events would overtake the country and private enterprise would not be the path followed. Mr Gumede urged business to help speed up reform through more direct social action on a large scale and by offering more opportunities to Africans. Also present at the conference were white entrepreneurs who had been accepted as-associate members of WEPCOC.⁹

Liquor

In 1983 a government decision directed that development boards should progressively divest themselves of their hard liquor outlets. In line with this, outlets were placed on sale to the private sector, a move which met with opposition from African town councils as liquor outlets represented one of their main sources of finance (see 1984 Survey p226 and 1985 Survey p104).

There was widespread dissatisfaction at the fact that the majority of new owners of liquor outlets previously owned by the Orange Vaal development board were members of the Lekoa town council or their families. (Development boards were abolished on 1 July - see Government and Constitution.) In addition, many of the bottlestore workers previously employed by the development board feared that they would lose their jobs when the new owners took over. However, the chief director of the board, Mr D C Ganz, said in March that 75% of the workers were entitled to 'special pension benefits' and that most of them would be re-employed by the new owners. In answer to an accusation by the Vaal tavern association (VTA) that the board granted bottlestores to councillors rather than shebeen owners, Mr Ganz explained that 197 applications from shebeen owners to have their premises legalised had been approved and that provision had been made for shebeens to obtain 10% shares in the bottlestores.⁹

Various black organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the Vaal parents' crisis committee (VPCC), and student organisations, expressed their anger at the Lekoa councillors' action in taking over the bottlestores.⁹⁹ In April, in protest, the VTA called on Vaal residents and shebeen owners to boycott all bottlestores and sorghum beer outlets owned by community councillors in the area."^o

In July 16 bottlestores previously owned by the west Rand development board were allocated to private owners by the Soweto town council, following advertisements in the press and notices issued to residents. The deputy mayor of Soweto, Mr Glen Jwara, said that the successful applicants had satisfied the council's demand that they be resident in Soweto and have the required capital. Dissatisfaction with the allocation was expressed by the chairman of

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the National Taverners' Association (NTA), Mr Lucky Michaels, because some of the successful applicants had never traded in liquor. He said that his association intended taking the matter up with the west Rand board as his members had applied to take over the outlets and had been turned down by the Soweto council.¹¹

In July it was reported that the privatisation of the sorghum beer industry would be finalised within a year. This was the result of certain constitutional developments, such as the establishment of regional services councils and the phasing out of development boards, as well as economic and financial factors (see 1985 Survey p85). According to a statement issued by the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, this decision meant that the State would immediately take over the boards' sorghum beer interests and make them available on offer to the private sector, subject to certain conditions. These state shares would initially be held in trust by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), from which they would be offered for sale to the private sector.

The government had earlier decided that the 'orderly privatisation' of the sorghum beer industry should be investigated, in line with its policy of diminishing its involvement in private sector territory (see 1985 Survey p104). At the time of

writing, legislation to effect this privatisation plan had not been introduced. Mr Heunis expressed confidence that the proposed privatisation could be brought about in such a manner as to benefit the State as well as the private sector. It was also aimed, insofar as was practically possible, at enabling small investors, including Africans, to obtain an interest in the profitable sorghum beer industry.^{1°2}

In December a major clash between African and white business interests resulted in a mainly African consortium winning the first round of a battle to take control of the sorghum beer industry in Natal. It acquired six breweries and the most advanced sorghum malt factory in South Africa. Although details of the takeover remained secret, it was reported that shares in the venture would be made available to the public.

The consortium consisted of the Ukhamba liquor association of Natal and KwaZulu, representing about 300 African entrepreneurs involved in the liquor trade; Khulani Holdings, which was jointly owned by Inkatha and the Inyanda chamber of commerce and industry; and the KwaZulu finance and investment corporation. Its objective was to prevent more monopolies in the liquor industry. A spokesman for the consortium pointed out that to allow the other major commercial bidders to acquire the sorghum beer breweries would not only be inequitable towards African businessmen and consumers of sorghum beer who were Africans, but would tend to entrench further monopolistic tendencies in the liquor trade. He also said that the private sector had been unhappy for years over the monopoly of the sorghum beer industry by the development boards.⁰³
African farmers

In February the newly-appointed agricultural officer of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC), Mr Steve Mokoena, said that he was determined to reverse the tendency of African youth to leave the land because they associated farming 'with those who oppress them'. He ascribed the low standard of African agriculture to the fact

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that Africans had been deprived of their land and reduced by law to tenants and labourers. The situation was not irreversible as 'blacks are agriculturalists by nature' and NAFCOC was engaged in fighting the restrictions on African farmers and to have the system of land tenure changed so that they could compete freely with their white counterparts. Mr Mokoena said that African farmers were moving away from subsistence farming towards modern commercial methods and that NAFCOC had embarked on a 'massive programme' to assist and enlighten such farmers countrywide on modern farming techniques. He predicted that by the end of the year there would be about 10 000 farmers on NAFCOC's books.^{1°4}

It was reported in February that about 2 500ha of rich arable land could be utilised by local African farmers to produce cash crops as a result of the completion of phase 1 of the Makatini Canals irrigation scheme, situated near the Pongolapoort Dam (formerly the Jozini Dam) in northern Zululand. The scheme was established by the department of water affairs as part of the agricultural development of the whole area known as the Makatini Flats.⁰⁵

About 2 000ha (of the 2 500ha) which had already been developed were presently being utilised for a central project and the establishment of small farmers on economic units of land. The central project comprised 1 250ha and was managed by the South African Development Trust Corporation on behalf of the owners of the land, the South African Development Trust (SADT). The other 750ha were being allocated to small farmers in units varying from 5ha to 10ha. The list of interested African farmers was growing and in 1985 the total number settled was 65. In that year a training programme for small farmers had been instituted. A new farmers' centre was being developed as an agricultural co-operative and would manage the farmers' accounts. Although initially the farmers were assisted to practise the agricultural activities with which they were familiar - ie the production of mealies, sorghum, and vegetables - they were also encouraged to plant new crops and to use farming technology as yet unfamiliar to them. The ultimate aim was to settle commercial farmers who would, as far as possible, cultivate crops which would provide for the needs experienced in a particular African homeland.

In July it was reported that an agricultural self-help scheme had been established in a remote area of KwaZulu by the institute of natural resources of the University of Natal as part of its Biyela multifacet rural development project. The institute had proposed that the inhabitants of Biyela embark on small-scale dairy, poultry, forestry, vegetable, and stock-farming enterprises. With the financial backing of private enterprise, loans and advice were provided to the farmers and by July, two chicken batteries had been established, with dairy, vegetable, and forestry enterprises progressing.⁶

In the 1985/86 financial year Venda's agricultural development corporation invested R1,52m in a scheme to provide loan finance to a prospective 6 030 farmers. Access to this finance enabled individual Venda farmers to upgrade significantly their farming operations with a resultant increase in farming incomes, crop production, and earnings. It was reported that Venda had recently become self-sufficient in potato production and had exported its surplus to markets in the white-designated area, in addition to exporting other crops such as avocados, mangoes, litchis, tobacco, and cotton.^{10°}

In May Mr Mike Tarr MP (Progressive Federal Party) made a call in

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Parliament for all races to be allowed to purchase farming land occupied by whites. He said that farming was a business like any other and that white farming areas should be opened up in the same way as CBDs.^{1'8}

The executive chairman of the Urban Foundation and chancellor of the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA), Mr J H Steyn, said in August that if South Africa was serious about reform, which included better food production, the discrepancy between African and white farming communities would have to be rectified. Mr Steyn pointed to the contrast between the advanced white agricultural economy which benefited from the assistance of modern technology, and the impoverished third world economy which was sinking deeper into poverty. He said that the majority of African farmers occupied small uneconomic

units of land without any system of secure tenure. Statistics indicated that the less developed areas produced only about a third of their real potential agricultural return. Mr Steyn attributed this mainly to lack of knowledge, bad management, and the deterioration in the quality of land because of incorrect farming methods. This indicated a need for increased training, education, and research facilities for the African farming community. 109

African Consumers

According to a financial journalist, Mr David Carte, statistics showed that in 1965 whites earned 70% of disposable income in South Africa. By 1985 their share had declined to 55% of a much bigger cake, and by the year 2000 the white share would be down to less than 50%. Therefore, retailers looking for growth in the next decade or so would have to turn increasingly to the African market because, for the present, the white market was virtually saturated."

According to the director of the University of South Africa's bureau for market research, Professor Marius Loubser, African buying power was rising steadily and would overtake white spending in the second half of the 1990s. The narrowing gap was accentuated by an annual African population growth of about 2,8% compared to a white growth rate of 1% to 2%. In 1970 the white share of total spending was 67,8%, that of Africans 23,3%, of coloured people 6,5%, and of Indians 2,4%. By 1985 whites' share had shrunk to 55,5%, while that of Africans had increased to 31,8%, coloured people's to 8,8%, and Indians' to 3,9%.¹¹¹

Advertising

In an interview published in February an African communications consultant, Mr Mtutuzeli Matshoba, said that advertising companies were aware that unless they moved away from apartheid stereotypes and the marketing of products separately for blacks and whites, they would appear to be 'propping' up the system. At the same time it was realised that cultural differences between race groups had to be acknowledged when formulating advertisements because these differences were relevant to the selling of the product. He argued, nevertheless, that although one had to be sensitive to cultural trends, advertising should be geared towards one market only.'

Mr Reuel Khoza, managing director of an African marketing consultancy,

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Co-ordinated Marketing, was critical of segmenting a market according to race and warned that there were few products that Africans bought because they were African. In support of his view he mentioned a media research study conducted in May for Young and Rubicam (Transvaal) among 200 Sowetan households with a television set which found that viewers switched channels regularly. This led to the conclusion that Soweto television viewers were being exposed to both African and white commercials for the same brands and advertisers should therefore be wary of differences between those which might be perceived as discriminatory.¹¹³

Foodstuffs and consumer durables

In March the importance of the rising buying power of Africans to the red meat industry was stressed by the deputy general manager of the meat board, Mr Frans

Pieterse. Speaking at the annual congress of the South African Feedlot Association, he said that by the year 2000 the African population would consume 68% of available food compared with the current 48%. The economic activity and urbanisation of Africans was increasing with rising education levels, and earnings would continue to increase. Mr Pieterse said that a major increase in disposable incomes was forecast for the African sector and that this increase, which was expected to be four times the rate of that for whites, would bring total consumption by Africans to the same level as that for whites by the end of the century." 14

A survey called Omnimetro relating to African television ownership conducted in July by Market Research Africa and reported in October indicated that African television ownership in suburban areas had continued to increase and that in July a significant number of Africans had television in their homes or access to one in a hostel. The survey covered 1 000 Africans, both male and female, from most of the major metropolitan areas in South Africa, but excluded Cape Town. The report revealed that from March 1983 to July 1986 the 'television incidence' in households, including hostels, had increased from 29% to 53% .11

Speaking at the Financial Mail's investment conference in November, the managing director of the McCarthy Group, Mr Brian McCarthy, said that although vehicle sales to Africans had risen 7,1% on average since 1976, this was well below the level anticipated by overseas manufacturers, who, for many years, had seen emerging African buying power as the reason to retain a presence in the South African market. He said that in fact African buying of new vehicles had had little impact on the industry. Of the 260 000 cars currently registered by Africans, 225 000 had been bought second hand. In 1985 only 6 391 new vehicles had been bought by Africans. Mr McCarthy said that the transfer of wealth from whites to Africans had stopped as a result of unemployment, and that negative growth in real African incomes was already occurring. He added that while African ownership of vehicles would continue to grow at a faster rate than white, there was absolutely no evidence that it would move from its current 6% to 7% growth a year to the level of 12% to 15% predicted three years previously." 6

Africans played a particularly important role in the used car market, and their influence was beginning to dominate the minibus (kombi) market. Nissan predicted that in five years the African market for minibuses would be much bigger than the white market. In 1981, 65 000 whites owned minibuses

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compared to 40 000 Africans. In 1985 African ownership rose to 78 000. (No figure was given for whites.) African k6mbitaxi owners played an important role in this vehicle market sector and they were emerging as the single most powerful organised group of purchasers of motoring products. 17

A study of the furniture and consumer durables industries by the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of Africa showed that these industries had experienced an upturn in demand since August 1985. The study showed that the biggest growth was in the white market but that the African market was not 'as bad as might have been expected'. It said that 'most sources agree that - given a relatively stable

political environment - state spending on African housing, the electrification of the townships, and the accelerating urbanisation of the African population will result in an explosion of demand that will be a major impetus for the industry's growth'.⁸

According to a spokesman for the directorate of housing in the department of constitutional development and planning, Mr Alex Weiss, the property market in African residential areas was gaining momentum despite the unrest. In an August report Mr Weiss said that the month of May, which had been characterised by unrest and numerous stayaways, proved to be one of the best months experienced by the African property market in that 1 070 houses had been sold. He quoted the average monthly sales figures for houses as approximately 1 000 and ascribed the boom to the fact that the term 'homeownership' was 'becoming assimilated by the African community'. Mr Weiss added that the resale market was also gaining momentum. The department of constitutional development and planning had launched an extensive promotion campaign to make large employers in South Africa aware of the benefits of homeownership for their African employees.¹¹⁹

Services

At the Liquor '86 seminar held in August, one of the topics under discussion concerned the boost to the hotel and restaurant industry as a result of the removal of racial restrictions in the hotel industry in May (see Social Segregation and Sport). However, it was noted that hoteliers needed to learn a great deal about the needs and wants of the black population in order to take advantage of this market.^{12'}

A survey conducted in August showed that the removal of racial restrictions in the hotel industry had not resulted in the hoped-for upturn in the financial situation of hotels in Natal. Although the desegregation of Durban beaches had opened the way for Durban hotels to capture a major share of the new market, the black occupancy rate had risen by only 1% after the legislation was amended. Hoteliers had expected at least a 10% jump in black patronage. A spokesman for the Natal region of the Federated Hotel, Liquor, and Catering Association of South Africa (FEDHASA) said that although blacks might be able to afford hotel holidays, they were apprehensive about using facilities reserved previously for whites. To remedy this situation FEDHASA and individual groups were investigating ways of encouraging blacks to make use of these facilities. They were aiming at blacks in the middle- to upper-income groups but believed that the market could, ultimately, be much wider. The spokesman said that at the moment about 6% of occupants in the three-star category and upwards were blacks, of whom the majority were businessmen and women.¹²

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The situation in Johannesburg was better and hotels there which had been hard hit by the recession and the slump in overseas tourism were hoping for a boost from the black population as racial 'mixing' became the norm in city hotels. Some one- and two-star hotels which had previously been struggling had already started to turn the corner towards financial stability. The executive director of operations for

FEDHASA, Mr Fred Thurman, said that those hoteliers who catered for the black market were already reaping the rewards. "I

In a television discussion programme in November, the president of FEDHASA, Mr Mike Kovensky, said that hoteliers in South Africa had a potential black market of about five million and that already 87% of all hotels had indicated that they had opened their doors to blacks. Hotels that remained reluctant to open their doors because of pressure from their clientele were in the 'platteland'. Mr Kovensky denied that many hotels had an ambiguous policy in that they opened facilities to blacks for conferences and then refused them access on a private basis. FEDHASA was educating its members to serve the black market but a continuous stumbling-block was that facilities such as beaches and sports facilities controlled by local authorities were often still closed to blacks.

Consumer Boycotts

The year under review saw the continuation of the use of consumer boycotts as a strategy aimed both at the political mobilisation of communities and at the pressurising of the government to accede to demands for the removal of civic and national political grievances (see Political Developments).

Eastern Cape

The eastern Cape cities of Port Elizabeth and East London were once again subject to boycotts from April.²³ It was estimated that 750 000 African customers would withdraw their patronage from white businesses there.

Announcing the decision to resume the boycott, the leader of the Port Elizabeth consumer boycott committee, Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, said that the duration of the boycott would depend on the government's response to African demands. A local member of Parliament, Mr Andrew Savage (Progressive Federal Party), said that the boycott was not about prices, quality, or the way shopkeepers did business, but about political rights. It was a means of communicating to whites the urgent need for them to use their influence to abolish apartheid.²⁴

In early September it was reported that the consumer boycotts had 'fizzled out' in most areas, including the eastern Cape, where the boycott was suspended for two months from 1 September. Several business sources ascribed this to the state of emergency which had been reimposed on 12 June (see Security). Large cash-and-carry concerns which had been hard hit by boycotts reported that business was back to normal and that trade was returning to white areas.²⁵

In October leaders of the boycott in Port Elizabeth announced that they had lifted the boycott until 3 November pending the government's reaction to their demands. However, in November the boycott was resumed.¹²⁶ A report

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in late November indicated that resistance to the boycott against white-owned shops was gaining momentum among Africans.²⁷ The boycott was indefinitely suspended at the end of December.¹²¹

Transvaal

Northern Transvaal

Several towns in the northern Transvaal were affected by a consumer boycott of shops and businesses belonging to whites and homeland politicians in May. The

aim of the boycott was to bring about an end to detentions in the area, a reduction in bus fares and rents, the withdrawal of troops from African townships, and the resignation of African town councillors and members of homeland legislatures.¹²⁹ Among the towns affected were Phalaborwa, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, and Tzaneen. The boycott was highly effective in Pietersburg, with the local chamber of commerce admitting a 20% drop in sales during the first week.¹³⁰ The president of the chamber, Professor Andr  de Villiers, warned that the boycott could cause many of the 25 000 African employees in Pietersburg to lose their jobs.¹³¹

Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area

In March an indefinite consumer boycott of white-owned shops was called for by the Pretoria consumer boycott committee. Some of the reasons for the call were stated to be the continuing presence of security forces in the townships, opposition to African police and town councillors, the reluctance of the authorities to decrease rents, and the continued detention of boycott organisers.¹³² Press reports indicated some confusion regarding the success of the campaign due to the distribution of anti-consumer boycott pamphlets in the townships. The boycott came to an end in May, when it was decided to lift it to enable people to buy winter clothing. At that time very few of the boycotters' demands had been met.¹³³

A former director of a group of companies which included American Savings Hampers, K-Mart, and Best Discount Stores said that the companies had held a strong position in the Pretoria area and had had good relations with Africans, but that their efforts to be exempted from the boycott had been frustrated because 'the people we needed to talk to at the time were either detained or in hiding'. As a result of the boycott the group had been forced into liquidation.¹³⁴

In April the residents of Alexandra township in the Johannesburg area instituted a boycott of all white-owned businesses and certain black-owned stores because of 'their collaboration with the police', who they claimed had been harassing residents. At the same time there was a call for a rent boycott. Shopkeepers in Alexandra alleged large-scale intimidation of shoppers by gangs of youths in the area on the first day of the boycott. One white owner of a restaurant reported that his business had dropped by 20%.¹³⁵ On the third day of the boycott the army sealed off the township after two people had died in a night of violence.¹³⁶

Also in April, residents on the west Rand decided to continue the boycott of Greyhound buses, started in January, until their demands were met. These demands were related to the bus service and Greyhound company practices in general.¹³⁷ In July it was reported that Greyhound had agreed to most of the demands. The general manager of the company, Mr Robert Nesbitt,

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announced that passengers would start using buses again and that Greyhound would operate a normal bus service with effect from 1 July (see Transport).", At the end of May, residents of Duduza (Nigel) started a bus and consumer boycott in protest against the political situation and lack of basic facilities in the townships. Demands included the provision of houses for the homeless,

improvement of the outdated lavatory system, reduction of bus fares from 60c to 40c, and the release from detention of leaders of the Duduza civic association. No further information as to the outcome of the boycott was available."

In May a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey found that Africans in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area were divided over the consumer boycott issue. The survey among 1 338 Africans in the area showed that about 48% supported consumer boycotts, while nearly the same proportion opposed them.⁷⁴

On 1 December a Christmas consumer boycott of all white Johannesburg businesses and those belonging to Soweto councillors began. A spokesman for the consumer boycott committee, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, said that strict disciplinary action would be taken against intimidators who seized groceries from defiant shoppers or used violence against them. He added that the boycott would be monitored by township street committee members to ensure orderliness. A new dimension to the boycott was the call for one municipality for Johannesburg, which would incorporate Soweto and other African townships. The boycott ended on 31 December.

A survey conducted by The Citizen in Johannesburg at the start of the campaign revealed that the boycott was not being adhered to. African shoppers were seen openly carrying goods in marked packets without being harassed. 141

Effects of boycotts on sales

In November it was noted that retail sales had received a boost of between R60m and R80m a month because of the rent boycotts in African areas throughout the country. Residents had withheld rent in 54 townships nationwide since June and retailers saw a direct correlation between rent boycotts and increased sales. The cash injection into the economy was estimated to be as high as R400m and economists described the rent boycott as 'effectively a massive subsidy to the African consumer'. Market research showed that African spending had been on the upswing for six months and a private market survey on buying trends commissioned by Checkers, a supermarket chain, confirmed the rise in grocery sales since the imposition of the boycotts. Another reason given for the rise in retail spending was the private stockpiling of goods by African buyers who were anticipating another consumer boycott.⁴²

Traders who catered mainly for African consumers reported a surge in African spending in December. This was in contrast to the lack of real growth in white consumer spending during the same period. The operations director of Jazz Stores, Mr Earle Sacher, said that he and others who traded predominantly in the African market experienced average gains of between 25% and 30% compared with the previous December. While it should be borne in mind that these gains were calculated from an extremely low base in that the 1985 Christmas sales were severely depressed by African consumer

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boycotts, the fact that the 1986 appeal for a similar boycott was not nearly as effective could not entirely explain the increase in African spending. African spending was not confined only to basic food items. Sales House, which

specialises in clothing, reported a 36% improvement in turnover and Mr Reuben Swindler, chairman of the World Furnishers Group, said that his group had 'had a good month, particularly in appliances like TV sets, hi-fis, and "white" goods'. Various explanations for the increased spending were put forward, among them reaction to the long restraint on consumer purchases, possible use of rent money to finance purchases, and the redirection into Christmas spending of money normally spent on betting, which was not possible because of the equine flu epidemic.⁴³

Employer responses to the boycotts

Commentators on the response to the boycotts reported that organised commerce had reacted in one of two ways reflecting, in many respects, the differing white attitudes towards the resolution of political conflict in South Africa as a whole. Some employer groups, recognising the legitimacy of many of the grievances, attempted to negotiate with boycott leaders and set in motion a process whereby they could act as mediators between African communities and the authorities. The East London chamber of commerce, for example, assisted in resolving grievances over matters such as access to the city hall for African organisations, unsatisfactory bus schedules, and harassment of street hawkers. The Port Elizabeth chamber of commerce was committed to developing further the relationship it had established with local African leaders, and the director of the chamber, Mr Tony Gilson, said that the primary aim of talking to these leaders was to discuss and resolve the social, political, and economic grievances of the region's African inhabitants. In contrast, other businessmen refused to consider talking to boycott leaders, deciding instead to 'sit it out'. The response of the Pretoria branch of the Afrikaanse sakekamer represented this approach in that it resolved, as a matter of principle, not to negotiate with the organisers of the Pretoria boycott.

Consumer boycotts were discussed at a conference on 'The Black Component - A Part or Apart' held in October by Marketing Mix. The president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM), Mr Rocky Ridgeway, blamed the Group Areas Act for making consumer boycotts possible in South Africa because the boycott target was clearly identified when Africans were precluded by law from trading in the 'white' city. He said that boycotts stood little chance of success if there was no clear differentiation between white and African trading areas. Boycotts had been most successful in those areas where there was a distinct township with clearly defined entrances and exits which could be monitored by a boycott committee."

State responses to the boycotts

The main response by the State to the boycotts was the detention of boycott leaders (see Security).

In October the vice president of the east Rand people's organisation, Mr Abeiot 'Star' Motswege, was charged with economic subversion in the Benoni magistrate's court. He was the first person in the Transvaal to appear before

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the courts in connection with the consumer boycotts. Lawyers regarded the trial as a test case because if Mr Motswege were to be found guilty it might open the way for the authorities to charge consumer boycott leaders under the Internal Security Act of 1982.¹⁵ The case was postponed to 2 December.¹⁴⁶

In an interview in December, the newly-appointed minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said that, as the organisation of consumer boycotts for the Christmas season was illegal in terms of the emergency regulations, action could be expected against those who propagated them. He added, however, that it was the right of an individual to decide whether or not to buy goods from a particular shop.¹⁴⁷

Decentralisation of Industry

The government first introduced its programme for the decentralisation of industry in 1960. In 1975 the national physical development plan amended this programme, with necessary changes being made to the Physical Planning Act of 1967. On 12 November 1981 a revised industrial decentralisation programme was announced. It was introduced on 1 April 1982. A national regional development plan, to replace the 1975 one, is currently being drawn up.

There are four levels of decentralisation incentive. The most favourable benefits are for industrial development points (IDPs), which are points along development axes established as alternative development sites to the main metropolitan areas. The next most favourable are for deconcentration points. These are points adjacent or close to metropolitan areas towards which industrial growth could be channelled to lessen the pressure of overconcentration in the metropolitan areas. Other industrial points are those where concessions were granted prior to 1 April 1982, but which are neither IDPs, deconcentration points, nor ad hoc cases (see below). The previous levels of incentives have been maintained or transformed in line with the April 1982 amendments. Metropolitan areas comprise the four main industrial centres in the country, and receive limited concessions. Ad hoc cases refer to specific projects and not to industrial points as such, and comprise all those cases falling outside the above-mentioned categories but which the regional industrial development authority considers worthy of certain incentives.

Policy

During the year under review the government confirmed its commitment to continuing with its decentralisation policy. In February the state president, Mr P W Botha, said that 53% of South Africa's total population (ie in the white-designated area and non-independent homelands) was living in the four large metropolitan areas. The government, he added, wished to spread this population through the decentralisation of industry and was 'seeking a positive strategy for urbanisation' (see also Urbanisation and Housing).

Firstly, this required the creation of conditions in which the quality of city life and stability in the existing metropolitan complexes could be maintained. This included the elimination of undesirable economic and social conditions, such as unemployment, poverty, and bad housing conditions, and the

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promotion of effective urban administration. Secondly, it meant the decentralisation of the process of urbanisation and the spreading of deconcentration points. 'This aim can be achieved in particular through a sound urban land policy, as well as the effective implementation of deconcentration and regional development,' he said. Thirdly, attention had to be focused on the stability of 'country and rural areas'. This included the promotion of balanced development between urban and rural areas. It required an active rural development strategy, partly to prevent urban overconcentration and partly to encourage a programme of positive rural settlement. 14

In its White Paper on Urbanisation published on 23 April the government set out its policy on the relationship between urbanisation and the decentralisation of industry. The White Paper said the objectives of an urbanisation strategy included balanced development between urban and rural areas, prevention of excessive population concentration and economic activity in large urban centres, and reduction of regional inequalities where appropriate.

To achieve these objectives the government instructed the department of constitutional development and planning to expedite the completion of the national regional development plan, which would replace the 1985 national physical development plan. The department and the various regional advisory committees, in consultation with the homelands, the government departments concerned, and the provincial administrations, were instructed to proceed with the preparation of regional plans within the framework of the national regional development plan.

The government instructed the department of constitutional development and planning, in co-operation with the department of trade and industry, to re-evaluate the industrial decentralisation programme. They were required to advise the government on their findings via the national regional development advisory council.

Setting out guidelines to ensure that industrial development supported the government's urbanisation strategy, the White Paper said that the present practice of creating a shortage of industrial land within the metropolitan areas should continue, although provision should be made for the reasonable availability of such land for light and service industries in or adjacent to lower-income residential areas. It added that industrial land should still be made available at recognised deconcentration points.

The White Paper also said it should be recognised that certain parts of the non-independent homelands were functionally part of the metropolitan areas, and that a broader regional approach, which extended across constitutional boundaries, should be followed. It said that in order to promote the deconcentration of urban functions a 'multi-nodal metropolitan structure', such as that already existing in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area, should be introduced. Urbanisation strategy should vary from one metropolitan area to another, depending on the needs of the area concerned, and incentive and disincentive measures should be applied in the various sub-regions of these areas to promote the government's objectives. However, recognition should be granted to the key

role played by the various metropolitan cores as 'first-order centres', and they should continue to be developed.

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The White Paper said that further urban development, together with the decentralisation and deconcentration of economic activities, should occur along currently identified development axes, particularly those which were advantageously located in relation to the homelands (both 'independent' and non independent).

Outlining its rural development strategy, the White Paper said that it should be oriented towards developing existing towns into 'vital centres'. The number developed in this way should be limited to ensure that the cumulative advantages of concentrated industrialisation were achieved, with the proviso that this should not restrict the development of the homelands. In the initial identification of these centres, priority should be given to those that were already viable, such as the IDPs, until further stimulation by the government was no longer necessary. The White Paper said that the government had instructed the department of constitutional development and planning to investigate ways of amending the Physical Planning Act to spell out clearly the planning responsibilities of the various government institutions.¹⁴⁹

Commenting on the White Paper, Professor P N Palmer, an associate professor in the department of business economics at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and executive member of the association of regional development consultants, said that it contained a 'dual policy emphasis'. He said that the government recognised that urbanisation was inevitable, necessitating a strategy to facilitate this process. Proponents of urbanisation, he said, linked it to 'inward industrialisation', which depended on constructive deregulation. They argued that 'inward industrialisation' could lead to expanded markets, an expanding informal sector, and enhanced training, education, housing, medical services, and total disposable income for urban black households.

Professor Palmer said, however, that the White Paper also supported economic decentralisation. It did this despite the increasing criticism directed at its policy of regional industrial development on the grounds that it was unsound in theory, had failed to create enough jobs in specific locations to meet its aims, and that it represented an enormous waste of natural resources that would otherwise have contributed to general economic growth and job creation, notably in the urban areas.

He cited as evidence of the government's continuing commitment to its regional industrialisation policy its proposals for uniform pricing policies, notably with regard to the pricing of strategic, primary inputs required in the manufacturing process. The idea would be to standardise the costs of these inputs to manufacturers in different regions in an attempt to alleviate interregional cost differentials which worked against industrialists in one region relative to their counterparts in others (see below). This process would affect raw material suppliers, intermediary processors, and those who were involved in the physical

conversion of semi-processed and finished goods, despite the fact that they might not necessarily be registered under the regional decentralisation incentives. Professor Palmer argued that because of economic sanctions, South African industrialists would increasingly be compelled to expand local markets in the hope of maintaining employment and production levels. This in turn pointed to a counter-strategy of enhanced import substitution as a

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national necessity and as the only hope for an ailing manufacturing sector. It was at this level that the programme for regional industrial development could help stimulate local production and the availability of raw materials, and have a significant effect on employment creation."

Speaking in Parliament in May, following the announcement of the scrapping of influx control (see Urbanisation and Housing), the minister of trade and industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said that the government's decentralisation policy went hand in hand with its urbanisation policy. He said that decentralisation took jobs to the people and resulted in the better distribution of economic activities.¹⁵¹ For every job created by decentralisation, some 2,4 additional jobs were created in the formal and informal sectors. 'When we talk about 282 000 jobs (he did not say what this figure represented), we are really talking about some 676 000 new work opportunities,' Dr De Villiers said. He added that if the average worker had six dependants, then more than 4m people could have benefited from the programme of decentralisation to date.¹⁵²

In October the deputy minister of agricultural economics and of water affairs, Mr G J Kotzé, said that the agricultural sector could make an important contribution to the further decentralisation of the economy. Regional development was high on the government's list of priorities, he said. It was government policy to develop the agricultural sector in such a way that it contributed to optimal economic, constitutional, and community development, as well as stability in the country. Mr Kotzé added that South Africa's economy was developing in an unbalanced way, with large concentrations of economic activity in the metropolitan areas, while rural areas were relatively undeveloped. Sixty percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) was generated in the four major metropolitan areas, while the PWV area alone generated some 40%.¹¹³

Deregulation

During the year under review, the government introduced a strategy for the deregulation of business and industry as part of its programme to promote small business and create employment opportunities in both rural and urban areas. Deregulation was seen as one feature of the policy of 'inward industrialisation' mooted in some government quarters. The cornerstone of this strategy was the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act, which was passed during the year under review. The act empowers the state president to relax or abolish a wide range of laws, bylaws, and regulations insofar as these might 'unduly impede the economic progress of persons engaged in... specific classes of undertakings, industries, trades and occupations, or competition...or the creation of job opportunities'. The state president would be able to suspend 'laws or conditions, limitations or obligations thereunder', as well as grant 'temporary

exemptions from the provisions thereof. These powers applied to matters set out in parts one and two of the act's schedule (see above).

Trade unions opposing the act feared both that workers would lose what little protection they had in unorganised sectors and areas, and that employers confronting organised workers could shift production from the areas where unions existed to areas where exemptions applied. Opposition to the act was also expressed by big business, which feared that exempted businesses would undercut them, as they would have lower costs (ie wages).¹⁵⁴

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Statistics

According to the annual report of the board for the decentralisation of industry for the period 1 April 1985 to 31 March 1986, 1 382 applications for aid for new projects and the expansion of existing projects were received, of which 1 243 were approved. Of the remainder 114 did not qualify for concessions, while 25 were held over. In 1984/85, 1 216 were approved.

A regional breakdown of the 1 243 applications, the expected employment to be created, and total anticipated investment is as follows:

Applications for decentralisation benefits: 1985/86

Region

Applications approved

Natal/KwaZulu (E) Eastern Cape (D) OFS/QwaQwa (C) Northern Transvaal/parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu (G) Western Cape (A) Eastern Transvaal/KaNdwane/parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu (F) Pretoria/Witwatersrand/

Vereeniging/KwaNdebele (H) Northern Cape/western Transvaal (B) Western

Transvaal/parts of Bophuthatswana (J) Walvis Bay

Expected

jobs

36 355 8 214 20 584

(41,5%)* (9,4%) (23,5%)

9 133 (10,4%) 4477 (5,1%)

Expected investment

Rm

442,4 233,8 180,4

152,6 121,3

69 2787 (3,2%) 53,3

4629 (5,3%)

96,2

862 (1,0%) 13,6

397 (0,4%) 3,2

197 (0,2%) 3,0

Total 1 243 87 635 (100,0%) 1 299,8

* Percentage of expected jobs

These figures exclude those parts of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei (the TBVC areas) which qualify for incentives. Figures for these areas are kept by the homeland administrations, and were not obtainable. The figures

also exclude applications in respect of the simplified wage incentive scheme for small industrialists which became operative in May 1984 (see below).

In 1984/85 total expected investment was R1,2bn and the anticipated number of jobs, 77 486.

Of the 1 243 applications approved, 622 were for new projects, 256 for the expansion of existing projects, 273 for relocation from metropolitan areas, and 92 for relocation from abroad. The 92 applications from abroad involved a total investment of about R234m and 19 977 employment opportunities.

In 1984/85, 44 applications from abroad were approved, involving a total investment of about R80,2m and an expected 9 322 jobs.

The average investment per proposed employment opportunity decreased from R18 800 in 1982/83, to R15 200 in 1984/85, to R14 800 in 1985/86,

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indicating, according to the board, that the smaller labour intensive undertaking was availing itself of the incentive scheme to an increasing extent. The largest single number of applications, that is 231, was from manufacturers of fabricated metal products, with 167 from clothing manufacturers, and 121 from furniture manufacturers.

East London (eastern Cape) once again received the highest number of applications (79). It was followed by Phuthaditjhaba (QwaQwa) (77), Port Elizabeth (eastern Cape) (75), Isithebe (KwaZulu) (62), Tongaat (Natal) (52), Atlantis (western Cape) (46), Stanger (Natal) (44), Botshabelo (Orange Free State) (43), Pietermaritzburg (Natal) (43), and Ekandustria (Transvaal) (40). The improved position of Port Elizabeth was seen to be a result of the increased incentives introduced there on 1 November 1984. In 1984/85 only 17 applications were received for that area. The largest number of jobs was expected to be created at Isithebe (9 499), followed by Phuthaditjhaba (8 995), Botshabelo (8 463), Ezakheni (KwaZulu) (6 979), Tongaat (3 943), East London (3 555), and Ekandustria (3 505). The highest capital investment was for Isithebe (R116,1m), then Ezakheni (R103,5m), followed by Port Elizabeth (R101m).¹⁵⁵

General developments

During 1985 it was revealed that there were abuses of the decentralisation scheme by industrialists (see 1985 Survey p109). It was reported during the year under review that the commercial branch of the South African Police was examining allegations of abuse, possibly involving millions of rands. In March charges of fraud were laid against five people in the Cape Town magistrate's court.

Commercial branch sources indicated that these cases were the 'tip of the iceberg'.

The affairs of some 26 companies which had moved to Atlantis in the western Cape were under scrutiny. This followed spot checks into the affairs of about 150 companies.¹⁵⁶ Speaking in Parliament in March, the minister of trade and industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said that the number of cases of alleged fraud was small in relation to the total scheme.⁵⁷ He stressed that every effort was being made to ensure proper control over the payment of incentives and that financial procedures were strictly in accordance with stipulations laid down by the auditor general. Provision had been made for inspection, the keeping of records for three

years by industrialists, and the submission of audit certificates by external auditors in a specified format for all claims, Dr De Villiers added. It had also been decided to carry out physical inspections before payment of any relocation claim was effected.⁵⁸

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) continued to voice reservations about the scheme. Mr Andrew Savage MP, the PFP's spokesman on trade and industry, said that it was 'a disaster' because it was designed to achieve ideological goals in the first instance. A further major problem, he said, was that the generous incentives tended to encourage abuse. An example was the tax-free wage incentive offered. For every employee, a company would receive R110 a month, and for a company with 100 workers this brought in R132 000 a year. (He did not specify to which area these incentives applied.) Mr Savage added, however, that there was merit in the argument for decentralisation, but that it should be concerned with the development of four or five core sites where some infrastructure already existed. He pointed

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out that in one year (unspecified) the government had approved decentralisation benefits for application in 177 different places.¹⁵⁹

Regional developments

Region C (Orange Free State/QwaQwa)

In November the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced that the central government and the Bophuthatswana administration had accepted a report entitled Towards a joint development strategy for the Bloemfontein/Botshabelo/Thaba 'Nchu subregion compiled by the regional liaison committee for region C. (Bloemfontein and Botshabelo are in the white-designated area, while Thaba 'Nchu has, since 1983, been part of Bophuthatswana.) Mr Heunis said that both administrations had been examining the problems of the sub-region since 1980. The purpose of the report was to present strategic guidelines for consideration by the administrations.

In delineating problems within the sub-region, the report pointed to the high population growth rate (6,1% for the sub-region, excluding Thaba 'Nchu between 1970 and 1980); high levels of unemployment (25,7% in the population in Mangaung - Bloemfontein's township - and 38,5% in Botshabelo); and that a high percentage of people from Thaba 'Nchu worked as migrant labourers or commuters in Bloemfontein. It was anticipated that the population of the sub-region would number some 1 097 300 by the year 2000. The report said that the prospects for economic growth in the sub-region were not encouraging and that the likelihood of a further increase in unemployment was 'an alarming reality'. It said that Bloemfontein relied almost entirely on the tertiary sector for its growth, while the contribution of the secondary sector, and especially the manufacturing sector, to the GDP of the city was lagging far behind the average national contribution of this sector. Due to a number of locational and other factors, Bloemfontein had a relative disadvantage with respect to industrial development vis-a-vis metropolitan cores such as the PWV and Durban/Pinetown areas. In

terms of development prospects, Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu were worse off than Bloemfontein, the report found.

Defining the objectives for development in the sub-region, the report said that the highest priority should be given to the creation of employment opportunities and to improving the quality of the labour force.

The report said that development of the sub-region should encompass all sectors of the economy, as well as non-economic aspects. A first priority was a strategy for industrial development. Problems to be tackled in this regard were the fact that industrially the sub-region was, within the national context, at a disadvantage.

Secondly, it had three IDPs, which could lead to unhealthy competition, and thirdly, the duplication of infrastructure might increase the cost of development.

Among aspects to be examined were:

- * the infrastructure available for the region;
- * the cost of further development of the IDPs and how the costs of employment for the different IDPs compared with each other; and
- * how complementary industrial development could be promoted without harming employment creation and the economies of scale that existed in the sub-region.

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It was decided that an inter-governmental committee under the chairmanship of Mr R P Mothlabane (from Bophuthatswana), who had chaired the committee compiling the report, would be responsible for co-ordinating the future development of the sub region.¹⁰

Commenting on the development of the Botshabelo IDP, Growth, a privately-owned development journal, said that as at 30 April 1984 fewer than 1 000 formal industrial sector jobs had been created, public sector investment totalled R8,3m, and private sector investment amounted to R5,5m. This meant that the total cost per job opportunity was the relatively high figure of almost R14 000. By mid-February 1986 public sector investment had risen to R27,2m, private sector investment to R54,3m, and some 7 300 job opportunities had been created. The cost per job had decreased to R11 200.¹⁶¹

Region D (eastern Cape)

Dissatisfaction among Port Elizabeth industrialists over the greater decentralisation benefits granted to other towns in the eastern Cape, such as East London, was once again an issue during the year under review. Port Elizabeth had been granted only minimal concessions in 1982 when the scheme had been revised, because it was regarded by the government as a developed metropolitan area. In November 1984, as a result of protests from the business community there, these had been increased slightly (see 1985 Survey p110). Speaking in Parliament in April, Mr Savage said that Port Elizabeth remained at a major disadvantage compared with East London. He said that an industrialist faced with the decision of whether to move to East London, Bisho - another eastern Cape IDP - or Port Elizabeth would realise that concessions offered for East London and Bisho amounted, over ten years, to about R9m more in each case than for Port Elizabeth.¹⁶²

In May Dr De Villiers announced that the incentive package for the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area was to be reviewed. Negotiations were being conducted by the regional development advisory board for region D. At the same time, he announced that he had asked the board of trade and industry to investigate the impact on the city of the present measures to promote the local manufacture of cars, light commercial vehicles, and components; and the extent to which the exploitation of the export market could make an important contribution to solving the problems of the motor industry in Port Elizabeth the city's main industry. He also announced that a committee of the decentralisation board had formulated a system of standardised criteria for assessing applications for regional industrial incentives. 16 The guidelines drawn up by the committee had been sent to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei for further discussion.164 Speaking in Parliament in May, Mr Savage appealed to the government to investigate the possibility of declaring Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage an export processing zone.165

In June the government announced that from 1 October there would be a uniform steel price for the whole of region D, in an attempt to boost the region's economy. The savings on steel ordered from Iscor - the iron and steel parastatal - for buyers in East London, Port Elizabeth, and Uitenhage would be between R18 and R30 a ton, and the cost to Iscor about R2m annually. All

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users of steel in the region ordering directly from Iscor would now pay the same delivered price for steel, irrespective of their location.

The government also released details of a special task force to be established to co-ordinate development in the region. The task force would be called the eastern Cape strategic development team, with Professor Charles Wait, dean of the faculty of economic sciences at the University of Port Elizabeth, as project co-ordinator, and Dr C F Scheepers of the department of constitutional development and planning as chairman. The other 15 members were state employees as well as an officer from the South African Police, Major General D K Genis. Two committees to liaise with the private sector, one for East London and one for Port Elizabeth, were also appointed, their members being drawn from the private sector.1" Professor Wait said that the immediate aim of the task force would be to identify and find solutions to economic bottlenecks in the region. As a first step, the development strategy for region D would be re-examined and brought up to date by dividing the area into sub regions.167

Reservations expressed by industrialists over the appointment of the task force were:

- * that it would duplicate work already performed by academic institutions, government-appointed bodies, and private sector organisations which had repeatedly spelt out what was needed to revive the region's economy:
- * that blacks might resist serving on it; " that a development strategy could not be implemented on a regional basis since the needs of various industrial hubs differed and required unique solutions; and

" that the 15-member team was initially to comprise only state employees, the participation of organised commerce being sought only at a later stage. The director of the eastern Cape African chamber of commerce, Mr Reuben Gongo, said that if the task force intended 'doing something of benefit in the townships', it should first consult the Port Elizabeth black civic organisation.⁶ In August Mr Savage criticised the performance of the task force, which had met only once since its inception. He said that it had been set up to investigate virtually the whole of region D, while there were vast differences between the different cities in the region. He also objected to the appointment of a member of the police force.⁶⁹

In the same month it was announced that improved incentives for the region would comprise an increase from 40% to 60% in the rail rebate on the transport of products from the Port Elizabeth area, and an increase from 4% to 5% in the state tender preference. The new measures would take effect from 1 September.⁷⁰ The improved incentives were welcomed by Port Elizabeth's business and civic leaders, but were seen as insufficient to attract new industries on a significant scale. Mr Bill Oddy, president of the Midland chamber of industries, said that incentives would make the area more competitive once the equalisation of the steel price had been introduced. This applied particularly to the production of equipment and components for the Agulhas Bank oil and gas field. The chairman of the the greater Algoa Bay development committee, Mr Ivan Krige, said that he was disappointed that the additional incentives would still leave the Port Elizabeth area at a disadvantage vis-A-vis East London.¹⁷¹

A report by the department of economics at Rhodes University on an

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industrial development strategy for region D, published in August, said that the industries in which the region had a comparative advantage, including motor components, hides and skins, electrical machinery, and the processing of foodstuffs, were unlikely to expand without an appropriate development policy because of the economic recession, locational disadvantages, and restrictions on the export of manufactured goods. The report said that although the area had lost comparative cost advantages in the assembly of motor vehicles, it was of the utmost importance that existing motor manufacturers should remain there and not suffer a further loss of their market share. Manufacturing in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage region was biased towards production of finished goods for the non-local South African market using non-local inputs, but this type of industry faced the greatest disadvantages in competing with overseas producers, the report found.¹²

In September, in an address to the southeastern areas development association, Professor Philip Black, an economist from Rhodes University, said that in the past 15 years a serious problem within region D had emerged, with the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area showing a negative growth rate (in real terms), and the East London/King William's Town and Ciskei areas showing positive growth. He said that there were both economic and political reasons for the uneven development of the region. The economic recession and the attractive financial

incentives which applied in the Border area and Ciskei were two of the main reasons for the difference. Professor Black said that decentralisation to low-wage areas such as the Ciskei might have occurred even without the incentive packages, partly to offset higher oil prices over the past 15 years. The Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area was in crisis mainly because its industries were so undiversified. Industries in the Border area and Ciskei were more diversified and these areas were, therefore, better able to withstand the recession. There was no doubt that the 1982 incentives and the role played by the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank had contributed to the vast expansion of the industrial sector in the Ciskei. Professor Black pointed out that although region D had been highlighted as a priority area by the government, it had, in practice, focused its attention on the Border area and Ciskei, which comprised a relatively small subsection of the region."

In September it was reported that clay bricks were arriving in Grahamstown from the Ciskei more cheaply than local manufacturers could supply them, endangering 400 jobs. Dr Brian la Trobe, city councillor and former mayor of Grahamstown, said that local manufacturers could not compete with the decentralisation benefits accorded to the Ciskei, which were the most generous in region D. These included a transport rebate of 60%; a housing subsidy for key staff; a wage subsidy of R110 a month per job, taxfree and payable quarterly; and a 5% preference on government tenders. A Ciskei brickworks was producing bricks at R82 a thousand, and landing them in Grahamstown at R120 a thousand. A Grahamstown-based company was transporting the bricks using donkeys. By contrast, the biggest local brick manufacturer, Corobrik, had to sell bricks at R130 a thousand. Mr D S Osborn, managing director (eastern Cape) for Corobrik, said that the company would have to close. He said that the decentralisation policy was 'iniquitous', and that the company had been operating in the town for 20 years and employed about 400 workers. He also said that Ciskei

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manufacturers were 'immune' to union action. (There are stringent controls on the operation of unions in the homeland.) Bricks from the Ciskei were being used by the department of education and training in Grahamstown, he added. Dr La Trobe had telexed his complaints to the government.¹⁷⁴

According to the minister of foreign affairs, Mr R F Botha, as at 31 March 1985, 93 industrialists in the Ciskei and 84 in the Transkei had received subsidies under the central government's decentralisation scheme. The total granted in subsidies for the 1984/85 financial year amounted to R7,1m for the Ciskei and R12,9m for the Transkei.¹⁷⁵

Region E (Natal/KwaZulu)

During the year under review the KwaZulu finance and investment corporation (KFC) said that the Natal/KwaZulu joint planning committee's investigation into the establishment of a deconcentration point near Stanger, some 35km north of Durban, was well advanced. A new residential township for 300 000 inhabitants formed part of the provisional planning.¹⁷⁶

During the year under review, the KwaZulu administration and the municipality of Newcastle (Natal), applied jointly to the central government to have the level of incentives offered at Newcastle brought into line with those at Madadeni, one of KwaZulu's four designated IDPs. Madadeni had been overshadowed by development at the nearby industrial development point of Ezakheni in KwaZulu, and only four factories were located on the 90ha of partially-serviced industrial land. Any expansion at Madadeni would require additional investment in infrastructure and the relocation of several people holding title to the demarcated land - which would take time. The KFC said that it had neither the resources, nor was there the demand to justify the full development of Madadeni at present. On the other hand, with some 200ha of serviced industrial land available at Newcastle and massive unemployment in the nearby black townships of Madadeni (from which the industrial township took its name) and Osizweni, 'there seems little point in putting an expensive infrastructure in a township 12km away merely to duplicate resources', said Mr Gerrit van den Berg, head of the KFC's industrial division. 77

In September the chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, urged that there should be 'massive development' of the Tugela Basin in KwaZulu, as it was one region capable of achieving self-sustained growth to rival the Witwatersrand in a short space of time. The basin had enough water to support six cities the size of Johannesburg, six the size of Cape Town, four the size of Durban, and four the size of Pretoria, leaving enough flow at the Tugela River mouth to supply the equivalent of greater London. Chief Buthelezi said he had asked the KFC to embark on a joint venture with the Natal provincial administration to market the basin's potential. The development was being advocated not only because it was necessary to improve the quality of life in the region, but because the area was the only one in South Africa able to accommodate future industrial development on a 'gigantic scale'. Chief Buthelezi added that the Tugela Basin was ideally positioned midway in relation to the PWV axis to take advantage of the 'huge' ports of Durban and Richards Bay. 178 Substantial decentralisation benefits offered at the Tugela Basin growth points of Ezakheni, Isithebe, and Madadeni had attracted 183 factories to date. 79

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During the year under review the KwaZulu administration published A White Paper on Development Policy. The White Paper criticised the fact that in the past the central government's monetary, fiscal, and economic policies had had little or no impact on regional growth. 'Macro-economic decisions remain the sole preserve of the central government. However, since the outcome of such policies significantly affects the different regions in the Republic of South Africa, the KwaZulu government believes that it must now exercise its right as a regional authority to influence macro-economic policy,' the White Paper said. It added that this influence should be used to reduce fluctuations in economic activity to a minimum, making it easier for the private sector to plan future growth, and to encourage a pattern of economic development that was suitable for the needs of a wider South Africa.

The White Paper said that the KwaZulu administration believed that it should control physical planning, and it intended asking the central government to hand over this function. However, it warned that this should not be construed as a move towards the acceptance of 'independence', as KwaZulu remained totally opposed to the concept.

The White Paper called for the establishment of a free port in KwaZulu. Waiving customs and excise duties in Hong Kong had created 'intense manufacturing, commercial and export activity,' it said.¹⁸

Two of three foreign investors in KwaZulu interviewed by the Financial Mail revealed that they were experiencing problems with exporting their goods because of the anti-South Africa lobby abroad. One industrialist mentioned that this problem had led to a paring of his workforce and a reduction in production from 8 000 units (of denim jeans) to 2 500 a day.¹⁸¹

During the year under review concern was expressed by industrialists from Pinetown and New Germany (both in Natal) over the relative disadvantage they experienced vis-A-vis Pietermaritzburg, the designated deconcentration point for the region in terms of the decentralisation programme. The municipalities of both towns said that they had lost industries to Pietermaritzburg, leading to increased levels of unemployment. New Germany's town clerk, Mr Graham Smith, said that the policy was not leading to the creation of new jobs, but to their movement from one area to another. In addition, the establishment of a regional services council for the Durban metropolitan area and the imposition of levies on industrialists (see The Economy) would further encourage businesses to move to areas where no such levies were charged. The head of Pietermaritzburg's industrial development division, Mr Rob Findley, said that the city was busy with an aggressive marketing campaign to attract firms, and had sold 85 sites of about 120ha to industrialists between 1981 and 1985.

Decentralisation incentives for the city included a railage rebate of 20%, employment incentives in terms of which the government paid industrialists R25 per worker each month, a tax-deductible training grant of 125%, a rental and interest subsidy of 15%, and a relocation allowance of up to R500 000. Benefits also included 20% of the interest rate on housing subsidies and a 4% preference on tenders. He said that Pinetown did not have much land for industrial development."²

In a report entitled Deconcentration - the case for Pinetown/New Germany, Professors T Fair and G Maasdorp of the economic research unit of the University of Natal warned of the danger of high unemployment in these two

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towns resulting from the application of the decentralisation policy. The report argued, inter alia, that the towns could constitute an ideal border area, given the government's plans for the expansion of Inanda township to hold 650 000 people by the year 2000, and the proposed development of Clermont/KwaDabeka, which would have a population of 182 000 within 20 years. It argued further that the Pinetown/New Germany area was the answer to Durban's over-concentration. There was ample land for industrial development - 729ha in all - and the area had

the capacity to absorb a further 131 000 people in industry alone, with additional employment in the commercial and service sectors. The report said that it would make no sense to develop Inanda and Clermont/KwaDabeka if there were insufficient jobs for the increased population. This would be the position if the industrial growth of the towns was inhibited, it said.⁸³

Small industrialists' incentive scheme

It was reported that the KFC had introduced an incentive scheme for small industrialists, modelled on the package available to larger industrialists in decentralised areas. Small industrialists outside the greater Durban area who had capital investments (excluding buildings) of up to R50 000 qualified for a wage bill subsidy on a sliding scale up to a maximum of R108 per worker, plus an additional 20% in lieu of other incentives offered at the main IDPs. The rebate was paid to the industrialist quarterly in arrears by the decentralisation board, the KFC acting as the facilitating agent. About two thirds of small industrialists assisted by the KFC would qualify for the package. Criticisms of the scheme were that the incentives ended after seven years in line with the main scheme, and that, as with the main scheme, citybound industrialists did not qualify. As a result the small industrialists' scheme encouraged small industrialists to move out of the metropolises to the rural areas.¹⁸⁴

Region F (eastern Transvaal/KaNgwane/parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu)

The Regional Industrial Development Annual of 1986 reported that industrial development in KaNgwane had accelerated considerably during the 1984/85 financial year and during the first five months of 1985/86. Employment opportunities created numbered 254 in 1984/85 and 182 in the first five months of 1985/86, while investment by the KaNgwane economic development corporation (KEDC) totalled R1 660 400 and R1 124 000 over the two periods respectively. Private investment amounted to R1 106 900 and R1 470 000 over the same periods. Four and five factories had been established respectively. The report said that several factors had contributed to the increased interest shown by industrialists in the region. These included the declaration of Kabokweni as an IDP, with the resulting increase in decentralisation incentive levels; the granting of a loan by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in August 1984 totalling R6,4m, to be utilised for the erection of 16 000 square metres of factory space and the creation of an infrastructure at Kabokweni; a sustained marketing drive by the KEDC; and in the recent past, a peaceful and stable workforce.⁸⁵

Region G (northern Transvaal/parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu)

A report on the Nkowakowa IDP in Gazankulu said that it comprised 43 factories and employed 2 900 people. Production had reached a value of R41m.^M

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The minister of foreign affairs, Mr R F Botha, said in Parliament in Ma that 24 industrialists in Venda had received subsidies from the centragovernment in terms of the decentralisation scheme as at 31 March 1985. The total aid received for the 1984/85 financial year amounted to R2,9m.¹⁷

Region H (Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging and KwaNdebele)

In August, as part of its programme for reviewing regional development strategies, the government issued a draft report, *The Central Witwatersrand Guide Plan* (see *Urbanisation and Housing*). The report argued that as the central Witwatersrand was becoming congested, growth in the area should be curtailed and redirected to the Rustenburg/Pretoria/Middelburg axis. It said that no further industrial expansion would be allowed in Johannesburg. In the rest of the region, if a small industry became too successful, it would be induced to move. No large-scale provision of work opportunities was envisaged, in the interests of preventing over-concentration. All future development on the central Witwatersrand would have to conform to the government's decentralisation strategy. The report said that the central Witwatersrand produced 18% of the gross geographic product (GDP) of South Africa (excluding the TBVC areas) and 27% of its tertiary output (finance, communications, etc). But its role was declining because of spontaneous deconcentration and government measures to restrict industrial growth there. Among the objectives listed were: " the relative levelling off of population and employment growth in the area in order to bring about a more even national distribution pattern. This would have to be achieved but without detracting from the key role played by the central Witwatersrand in a national and regional context; and * the creation of sufficient work opportunities within the framework of the national development policy.

The report said that the government would allow the central Witwatersrand to create 'light industries and service industries on the borders of the larger black townships'. The idea, it said, would be to broaden the economic base of these towns and provide work within easy reach of black residents."⁸ The draft guide plan was drawn up in terms of the Physical Planning Act, which makes provision for the establishment of a guide plan committee to compile draft guide plans for comment by the public.¹⁸⁹

Speaking to industrialists on the east Rand in November, the general manager of the KwaNdebele development corporation (KNDC), Mr Philip Kotzenberg, said that higher decentralisation benefits were offered for the deconcentration point of Ekandustria, outside Bronkhorstspuit, than for any other such area in the PWV region. He said that a plentiful supply of industrial land existed around Bronkhorstspuit. The government owned extensive tracts of land in the district and the KNDC had applied for an extra 240ha of industrial land to be developed at a cost of R12,5m. At present 240ha had already been or was being developed, and 109ha had been fully provided with infrastructure. The Development Bank of Southern Africa had approved a KNDC application for an R18m loan for the construction of 30 more factory buildings, which would involve an investment by the private sector of R13m. However, insufficient housing had been provided at the Ekangala residential area, and urgent attention was being paid to this. The present black population of 27 000 in Ekangala was expected to reach

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310 000 by the year 2000 and the present white population of 6 800 was expected to reach 60 000. Mr Kotzenberg said that KwaNdebele was a good investment area because:

" Ekanustria was situated 55km from Pretoria, 96km from Jan Smuts Airport, and 130km from Johannesburg, and had all the advantages and services of economic agglomeration without the negative cost elements; " its labour force was already largely industrialised; and " its industrial infrastructure was comparable to the best in the PWV and was inexpensive in comparison to other major industrial areas.

Since its establishment in January 1984, 65 industries with a total capital investment of R102m had been established in the KwaNdebele part of Ekanustria. About 3 500 job opportunities had been created. The private sector had invested R45m.¹⁰

Region J (western Transvaal/part of Bophuthatswana)

According to the minister of foreign affairs, Mr R F Botha, 111 industrialists in Bophuthatswana had received decentralisation subsidies from the central government as at 31 March 1985. These subsidies amounted to R3,7m during the 1984/85 financial year.¹⁹¹

Union responses to decentralisation

Unions were vociferous in their condemnation of the decentralisation policy, expressing their concern at the number of urban factories which were closing and moving to border areas, leaving their workforces in the lurch. The Natalbased Garment Workers' Industrial Union (GWIU) estimated that since January 1985 its membership had dropped by more than 13 000 as a result of employers' moving to the homelands. In the same period more than 56 000 clothing industry jobs had been created in the homelands. In September about 250 clothing workers from Scotford Mills, Durban, were fired after a strike over the severance pay offered by the company, which was moving to the border industrial area of Ezakheni. The GWIU's assistant general secretary, Mr Yunus Shaik, said that the union had nothing against people in the homelands getting jobs, but was against the exploitation of workers. 'Capital is exploiting workers with the assistance of the State,' he said. The bargaining power of unions in urban areas was being eroded because urbanbased companies had to compete with those in the homelands, where goods could be produced more cheaply. This meant that employers were less likely to agree to higher wages since this might affect their competitiveness, Mr Shaik said.

The union's general secretary, Mr Frankie Hansa, said that a machinist in Durban earned a minimum of R74,50 a week, compared with R20 a week in the decentralised area of Isithebe, for example. According to Mr Hansa, from about 1981 companies had been quietly moving their operations to decentralised areas without incurring any costs. The city factories were kept going while the rural ones came on line. When the rural factories were able to match production in the cities, the manufacturers moved production. Mr Hansa also alleged that companies had used the recession as an excuse to shift factories.¹⁹

The Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU), an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), voiced its objection to the proposed move (in 1988) by a Wadeville (east Rand) company, Matthey

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Rustenburg Refiners, to Bophuthatswana, which would cost about 400 workers, 220 of them members of the union, their jobs. According to the union's general secretary, Mr Rod Crompton, the company intended closing its Wadeville and Royston (England) operations and moving to Bophuthatswana, where South African-based unions were prohibited. Mr Crompton said, 'The point we want to make is that workers overseas are told that it is wrong to push for sanctions and disinvestment because that would put a lot of workers here out of their jobs. But if they do not push for the removal of apartheid, workers will continue to lose their jobs because companies will move to the homelands to make super-profits.' The homelands were attractive because their wage structures were low and they were hostile to the labour movement. The CWIU had conducted studies at a refinery attached to the Rustenburg Platinum Mine in Bophuthatswana which showed that present wage levels there were just over half those at Wadeville. Only industrialists benefited from the decentralisation policy, said Mr Crompton. Far from creating new jobs, the policy was encouraging industrialists to move to new areas, he added.¹⁹³ Mr Jack Forbes, managing director of Matthey Rustenburg Refiners, said that he was willing to meet the union to discuss the issue, but denied that there would be any deterioration in wages and conditions of employment after the move. He said that the company intended to keep on as many of the present labour force as possible to 'maintain and apply their skills'. The decision to relocate, he said, had been taken purely for business reasons - to set up a refinery close to the mine.¹⁹⁴ About 200 union members from the Wadeville plant held a one-day strike in November in protest against the proposed move.¹⁹⁵

Regional services councils

In 1985 section 3 of the Physical Planning Act, which laid down a ratio of a maximum of 2,5 African workers to one white worker prior to 1 June 1973 and 2 to 1 thereafter in factories in certain metropolitan areas, was repealed. The measure had been designed to limit the influx of African workers into developed metropolitan areas (see 1985 Survey p113). Commenting on the repeal of section 3 at the time, the deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said that instead of limiting people on the basis of race, the government anticipated that the payroll levies to be imposed on employers in the metropolitan areas by the proposed regional services councils (RSCs) would compel industrial employers to consider carefully the number of people they employed in those areas.

The first three RSCs (all in the Transvaal) were announced on 10 December, although they were due to come into operation only in 1987 (see Government and Constitution).

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The Macro-Economic Picture

The South African economy grew by 0,7% in 1986. When the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, pointed to this positive growth performance his statement was criticised in a no-confidence debate in the house of assembly by the Progressive Federal Party's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz. 'What (Mr Du Plessis) did not tell South Africa is that, in per capita terms, South Africa had a negative growth rate (in 1986),' said Mr Schwarz.' Finance Week pointed out that with a population growth rate of 2,4%, real growth per head declined by 1,7%.

A report by stockbrokers Edey, Rogers, and Company noted that per capita gross domestic product (GDP) per head at constant 1980 prices dropped between 1971 and 1985, as follows:2

Real GDP per head

R

1971 2 071,52

1985 2 030,79

Fixed investment fell substantially in 1986, continuing a slide started in 1982.

Barclays National Bank's Business Brief called this process 'accelerating deindustrialisation'. Real gross fixed investment declined by 16,5% during the year as a whole.'

Despite the slight growth achieved towards the end of 1986, key indicators demonstrated a continuing economic decline. The 'coincident indicator', which is an amalgam of statistics that usually move together with the overall business cycle, showed that the economy was operating in August 1986 at only about three-quarters of the level it had been at in 1980. The level of business activity measured in this way was 4,5% lower in August 1986 than it had been in August 1985, when it was 16,9% lower than in August 1984.4

Similarly, the use of manufacturing capacity dropped in the 1980s, so that only about three-quarters of this capacity was in use in 1986. Manufacturing production in June 1986 was only 92% of production in 1980.1

The Economist (London) commented, 'South Africa's real GDP has grown by an annual average of 1,1% over the five years to 1985, but its population has been rising by 2,5% a year'.

In view of the overall depression in the economy, unemployment continued to be high in 1986 (see Employment). The March 1987 issue of Standard Bank Review said that the official employment of 4,87m in September

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1986 was 3% below the peak of 5m people recorded as being employed in early 1982. Nevertheless, the economy did experience an upturn in the closing months of the year. The Standard Bank Review attributed this beginning of a recovery to the 'strong performance of exports'.

South Africa continued to be a net exporter of capital in 1986. Despite the continuation of the standstill on the repayment of certain foreign debts (see 1985 Survey p117), and despite the splitting of the commercial and financial rand exchange rates, capital continued to leave South Africa.' There was a net outflow of R614m in long-term capital in the first quarter, R476m in the second quarter, and R331m in the third. Short-term movements were net outflows of R1bn and R496m in the first and second quarters respectively, and a net inflow of R374m in the third.⁹

South Africa and its 30 major creditor banks met on 20 February to discuss the debt repayment standstill with the assistance of the mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler.¹⁰ He was reported as saying that the 'South Africans themselves know that there is no question of asking for fresh money at this time.'" Similarly, a British bank, Barclays, announced some weeks later that it would make no new loans to South Africa, nor be party to any formal rescheduling of existing loans.¹² Dr Leutwiler announced that a 'broad consensus of agreement' had been reached on 20 February, in which South Africa agreed to repay part of its debt. Dr Leutwiler stressed that this was not to be seen as a rescheduling agreement.¹³ Business Day explained that 'the banks maintained their political pressure by stopping short of a rescheduling agreement and insisting on a review of the political situation in 12 months' time' .¹⁴

The Financial Times (London) observed that this 'puts South Africa on parole and under notice that normalisation of relations with the international banks and a resumption of normal financial flows is dependent upon tangible progress along the path of political reform'.¹⁵

However, Mr Du Plessis claimed in October that he had been under no political pressure from the banks at the annual meeting of the international monetary fund. He was reported as saying, 'I cannot recall a banker telling us how to solve our problems.'¹⁶ At an interim meeting with creditor banks held in London on 24 September, no significant change was made to the agreement reached in February and the next major review of the debt standstill would be held in April 1987.¹⁷ By December 1986 South Africa had repaid \$3bn in the preceding two years.⁸ The governor of the South African Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, explained the system of foreign exchange as being a commercial rand that was subject to managed floating, and a financial rand that was floating more freely.⁹ In his view official monetary and fiscal policy gave priority to domestic growth and stability: 'The exchange rate will just have to adjust itself to this and not the other way round.'²⁰ Dr De Kock felt that the depreciation of the rand had greatly assisted

the economy 'in adjusting to the exogenous economic and political shocks to which it had been exposed'.²¹ By contrast, he argued, an overvalued rand would have materially worsened the recession and unemployment, as had happened during the gold standard crisis of 1931/32. The advantages of a low rand included a high rand value of gold output and of many other South African exports. A low rand also kept up tax revenue from gold and protected the domestic manufacturing industry from imports.

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Pressure on the balance of payments was reduced, and the reserves were protected.²²

The dual rand system had the effect of deterring emigration, according to The Star. In 1976 a potential emigrant obtained US \$1,20 for each rand, in 1984 \$0,70, and in 1986 \$0,22.³ In the opinion of a bank manager, 'the reasons for the reintroduction of the financial rand (see 1985 Survey p117) were purely to discourage disinvestment and capital outflows, and to discourage a brain drain from the emigration of skills and talent'.²

During the year under review the financial rand came under severe pressure, sinking as low as 19 American cents in July." Therefore, in August, it was decided to open up the uses of the financial rand. Under the new rules nonresidents were to be permitted to purchase residential, commercial, and industrial property partly or fully at the cheaper rate. However, 'roundtripping', whereby profits were made by buying at financial rates and selling at commercial rates, was not to be permitted. This perhaps helped bring the financial rand out of its 19-cent low, but the currency remained weak until December, when it traded at 29 American cents.'

In the ten years preceding the year under review, the mining and quarrying sector increased its share of GDP from 12,5% to 15,8%, whereas manufacturing's share contracted slightly from 23% to 22,3%. The group economist for the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, Dr Ronnie Bethlehem, said that the collapse of the exchange rate and the extent to which it had encouraged exports had been a major reason for South Africa's increased reliance on gold and other exports?

Mr Du Plessis said that South Africa had attained a current account surplus of R5,9bn in 1985, while it was estimated that the surplus for 1986 would be about R7bn.²⁹ The February 1987 issue of Nedbank's Guide to the Economy noted that an average gold price of R844 (\$368) an ounce in 1986 as against R718 (\$317) in 1985 had helped increase the surplus along with the weaker rand. Dr De Kock observed that 'achieving a large current account surplus, by whatever means, implies the transfer of real resources to the rest of the world. This in turn means fewer goods available in South Africa for public and private consumption, and therefore a lower long-term growth rate than would otherwise have been possible'."

Prime overdraft during 1986 was reduced from 16,5% at the beginning of the year to 12% at the end. South Africa had an average inflation rate of 18,6% in 1986,

compared with 16,2% in 1985 and 11,7% in 1984.³¹ The major industrial countries experienced much lower rates of inflation, however.³²

In the 15 years to 1970, South Africa's inflation rate was on average some 12% lower than the rates of the major industrial countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In the decade to 1980 it was on average 20% higher than those of the OECD countries. In 1980 it was approximately the same as theirs, but by 1986 was very much higher.³³ This relative high inflation rate was detrimental to the competitiveness of South African products abroad.'

Mr Du Plessis remarked that although the large depreciation of the rand from the second half of 1984 to the middle of 1986 was still reflected in consumer prices, other factors of a cost nature also played an important role in inflation.³¹ Sanlam's Economic Survey noted that both absolute productivity levels and growth trends in productivity were worse in South Africa than in the country's

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trading partners, which was a negative factor affecting unit costs. However, because the rate of increase in unit labour costs in South Africa was much lower than the inflation rate from 1983 to the end of 1986, 'excessive wage pressure cannot, therefore, simply be advanced as the reason for the sharp acceleration in the inflation rate in the past two years'.⁶ The average real remuneration of nonfarming workers was 9% lower in 1986 than in 1984,¹ so people employed in those sectors had experienced a drop in real income as a result of both inflation and slower growth in remuneration.

Dr Bethlehem isolated five underlying structural factors contributing to South Africa's inflation, in addition to gold price levels':

- * the limited size of the economy, which prevented full use of economies of scale, led to oligopoly and weakened competition;
- * political pressure, which closed wage gaps faster than productivity allowed;
- * the large rise in defence and security spending relative to GDP;
- * the growth of the non-productive public sector; and
- * the existence of administered prices.

Dr De Kock said that inflation in 1985/86 was neither demand-inflation nor wage-push inflation, but in major part was the result of the depreciation of the foreign exchange rate of the rand. This in turn was caused by an outflow of capital that occurred 'largely because of a deterioration in overseas perceptions of the domestic political economic outlook, which resulted in a withdrawal by foreign banks of credits to South African banks and other enterprises, and a net outflow of capital in other forms'.³⁹ For this reason, in Dr De Kock's view, inflation resulting from depreciation of the rand was cost-push inflation rather than demand-pull inflation, and therefore economic policy would remain growth oriented.⁴

.Ms Gillian Raine, an economist at stockbrokers Frankel Kruger Incorporated, noted that the biggest components of the consumer price index were food at 25% of the index, housing at 17,6%, and transport at 15% .⁴¹ 'Since expenditure on food comprises a much larger share of the lower- and middleincome groups' total

spending on consumer goods and services than that of people in the higher-income groups, it was they who were particularly hard hit by the steep increases in food prices,⁴² according to Sanlam's Economic Survey.

In contrast to the slow growth in GDP and the continued decline of gross domestic fixed investment, turnover and share prices on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange boomed in 1986. This bull run, despite the weak economic fundamentals, was in common with almost every stock exchange in the world.⁴³ Stock exchange prices in South Africa rose in 1986 by approximately one third, in rand terms, which was well above the rise in the consumer price index. In dollar terms South African share prices rose by more than one half of their 1985 closing levels.⁴⁴ The turnover index on 13 December 1985 was 477,5, whereas the same index on 12 December 1986 stood at 1 058,1.⁴⁵

The Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM) has developed an index of business confidence, with 1983 as a base, which attempts to measure the business mood in the country. ASSOCOM stressed that the index was still open for revision in the light of experience.⁶

As measured by the index, the business mood in South Africa was better in 1986 than in 1985. The average index (1983 = 100) for 1985 was 79,1, while for 1986 it was 84,3.⁴⁷ The index rose to 89,5 in January 1987. ASSOCOM's analyst, Mr Ed Verburg, believed that the December 1986

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figure of 87,0 was unreliable, because of holidays in that month. ⁴ In his opinion business confidence ended in 1986 not on an increase but on a plateau, the reasons for the slow recovery of the business mood probably lying 'mainly in the spheres of inflation, taxation, and politics.'

Dr De Kock said in August that the scope for more rapid economic expansion was not being utilised to anything like its full potential. 'In a situation in which economics and politics are inextricably entwined, the required spark of business and consumer confidence is still missing,' he said.⁰ In particular, the confidence of foreign investors was lacking. In Dr De Kock's opinion, 'misinformed as foreign investors, bankers, and businessmen undoubtedly are, they are clearly plagued by uncertainty and concern about the nature, extent, and possible consequences of South Africa's domestic political problems'.¹ For this reason, Dr De Kock said, they had been withdrawing capital and credits from South Africa for more than a year and a half." Similarly, in the governor's view, the reason why local enterprises were not risking funds in new investment 'is basically their uncertainty about the interrelated political and economic future of South Africa'.³ Dr De Kock believed that 'government now has every right to expect the private sector to show more confidence in the future'.²

Information Trust Corporation recorded that company liquidations fell by about 11% from 3 061 in 1985 to 2 733 in 1986.¹¹ Mr Ivor Jones, managing director of Kreditinform, noted that the number of summonses issued against businesses was down by 30% in 1986, compared with 1985. In his opinion this indicated that fewer companies were renegeing on their commitments, 'which is a sure sign of renewed liquidity and confidence in the business sector'. However, private

individual insolvencies rose to 400 a month in June 1986, compared with 100 a month in 1983.⁶

According to Mr Paul Edwards, managing director of Information Trust Corporation, many families had been taken by surprise by the duration of the recession and the big cash squeeze. 'The problem has been compounded by the failure of average wages and salaries to keep pace with increases in the consumer price index for five years in succession,' he said.¹⁷ Mr Edwards added that debt summonses were being issued at 68 000 a month, the worst rate on record.^m

Mining

The president of the Chamber of Mines of South Africa, Mr C G Knobbs, said in June that a major crisis of confidence had developed in late 1985 as a result of South Africa's seeming inability to get to grips with its fundamental political and economic problems. 'This might have proved calamitous, were it not for the excellent performance of the mining sector. Fortunately, the mining industry's earnings, aided by a depreciating, image-battered rand, increased by 36% to a record R26bn' (in 1985).¹⁹

The vast bulk of mining production continued to be exported. Mining exports earned R22,5bn in 1985 compared with R16,1bn in 1984. Of this gold accounted for R15,3bn. Exports in 1985 were 87% of total mineral sales., Gold production has become increasingly centralised. A single mine, Vaal Reefs, produced one eighth of all South African output. It produced more gold than the whole of the US, and in 1985 it produced only 4,7 tons less than all of Canada.¹ The trend to larger mining companies continued during

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the year under review with the formation of Free State Consolidated from a number of adjoining Orange Free State mines. In 1986 the seven largest goldmining companies in South Africa produced more than half of the 638 tons of gold output.⁶²

Similarly, uranium production has become highly concentrated. The largest three producers accounted for over two thirds of all uranium output of 4 799 tons, and Vaal Reefs, the largest producer, accounted for 40% of the total.⁶

During 1986 limited sanctions were instituted against South African coal exports (see below). France and Denmark banned purchases of South African coal and the US planned a similar ban from 1 January 1987. The Financial Mail estimated a loss of 25% of the coal export market. The largest percentage of coal exports in 1985 went to Japan, for steel-making. Mr Michael Hawarden, chairman of the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association, explained that the French and the Danes purchased steam coal which was a by-product of the metallurgical coal for Japan. 'We are still producing steaming coal, which is piling up at the mines and finding its way into the inland market to the detriment of collieries geared for domestic supply.'⁶⁴ Mr Hawarden warned of rationalisation and a curtailed level of mining. At the end of 1986 the Financial Mail reported that most mining houses were believed to be considering scaling down operations and that warnings of retrenchments had been sounded.⁶ However, coal sales statistics showed that both exports and local use held up well throughout 1986.⁶⁶

During 1986 a White Paper on the mineral policy of South Africa was issued, setting out detailed strategies for exploration, resource management, exploitation, environmental protection, manpower, beneficiation, export promotion, investment, co-operation, and self-sufficiency. The White Paper noted that 'mineral export sales account for no less than two thirds of the country's total foreign exchange earnings, a contribution which is significantly increased if the various process minerals such as steel, ferro-alloys, and polished diamonds are included'.⁶⁷ The White Paper remarked that it had been realised that continued export of unprocessed minerals was not in the country's best interest.⁶

Agriculture

The drought of 1982 to 1984 continued over large parts of the summer rainfall area in 1984/85, and in 1985/86, except in Natal, water levels of dams remained unsatisfactory.⁶⁹ Maize production increased from the revised 1984/85 figure of 7,7m tons to 7,8m, an increase also being recorded for soya beans. All other crop production, however, declined in 1985/86 compared with 1984/85.⁷⁰

The decline in the numbers of larger livestock in previous years continued in 1985/86. Cattle declined by a quarter of a million to 7 995 000 head, while sheep fell by 975 400 to 25 624 000.⁷¹

Net farming income increased by 10,3% of the 1984/85 figure to R2,5bn.⁷¹ This was below the inflation rate, so real net farming income declined in 1985/86.

Total farming debt at 31 December 1985 was R11,1bn, or 17,1% higher than in 1984.⁷¹

Rainfall in the second half of 1986 broke the drought in many areas, and the maize harvest for 1986/87 was forecast at between 10m and 12m tons.

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Barclays' Business Brief observed, 'This year's rain is probably going to be the single most important factor in actually causing some economic growth.'⁷⁴

In response to the deteriorating security position in the northern and northwestern Transvaal border areas, and to the financial straits of farmers there, aid measures were instituted by the government for those living in the designated areas. These included:⁷"

- * a Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa subsidy reducing interest rates on farmers' loans to 4%;

- * a means-tested allowance of R500 a month to farmers living permanently in the area;

- * borehole drilling;

- 0 70% stockfeed subsidies and 70% transport subsidies;

- * mine-resistant vehicle purchase subsidies of 80%;

- 0 farm-fortification subsidies at 50% of cost;

- * the light paving of 400km of road;

- * a land purchase and waterworks loan scheme; and

- * a subsidy of R820 000 to the Noord Transvaal Koöperasie to keep open nine branches in the area.

International Links

Foreign investment in South Africa

In the years from 1981 to 1985 the swing away from direct foreign investment to indirect foreign investment in South Africa accelerated, as is shown by the following:⁷⁶

Foreign liabilities of South Africa by type

Year	Direct investment		Indirect investment		Total
Rm	Proportion of total	Rm	Proportion of total	Rm	
1981	14 905	46%	17 585	54%	32 490
1982	17 360	44%	22 503	56%	39 863
1983	19 319	42%	26 673	58%	45 992
1984	26 224	39%	40 764	61%	66 988
1985	27 927	34%	53 493	66%	81 420

Pressure continued during 1986 for disinvestment from South Africa. The Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre reported that 40 United States (US) companies sold up or shut down operations in South Africa in 1985, while 48 more did so in 1986.² It was reported in August that the state of California had decided to sell R25bn worth of South African-related stocks, bringing to 20 the number of states in the US which had sold stocks allegedly connected with apartheid. US states, cities, and universities continued to sell South African-related stocks valued at over R55bn.⁷⁸

Among US firms to disinvest from South Africa in one way or another were Bell and Howell, Carnation, Coca-Cola, Eastman Kodak, Exxon, General Motors (GM), International Business Machines (IBM), International Playtex, Microsoft, Pepsico, Proctor and Gamble, Revlon, Sara Lee, Dun and Bradstreet, Warner Communications, and Honeywell.

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The methods of disinvestment differed considerably. Some companies simply sold to existing managements in South Africa, while others planned to involve blacks as shareholders in new structures to distribute their products in South Africa after disinvesting. Many were criticised for their methods of leaving, being accused of doing so in such a way that they 'continued to make profits from the apartheid system'.¹⁹ Kodak, whose 1985 South African sales were less than 1% of worldwide sales, said it would withdraw from South Africa completely, and that no Kodak products would be sold in the country after 30 April 1987.^o

The US congress passed public law 99-440, the Comprehensive AntiApartheid Act of 1986, in October, aimed at pressurising South Africa to introduce reforms leading to the establishment of a nonracial democracy.^{8'} The US would work towards this goal by encouraging the South African government to:

- * repeal the state of emergency (imposed on 12 June);
- * release the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and all political prisoners;
- * permit the free exercise of political rights by South Africans of all races;
- * set a timetable for the scrapping of apartheid laws;
- * negotiate concerning the future political system; and
- * end military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring states., Pressure would take economic, political, and diplomatic form. Economic measures

included the prohibition on the importation from South Africa of Krugerrands,⁸³ arms, ammunition,¹⁴ or any product of a South African parastatal organisation,⁸ which was defined as a corporation or partnership owned, controlled, or subsidised by the South African government, excluding those now privately owned which the Industrial Development Corporation had helped to start. Uranium ore, uranium oxide, coal, and textiles became prohibited imports from South Africa 90 days after the enactment." Other prohibited imports included agricultural products, food, and iron and steel. Agricultural goods were exempt for the first 12 months, and certain strategic minerals were exempt, as were imports under existing contracts.⁹

Computer exports were prohibited to the South African military, police, prisons, security agencies, the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armascor), the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), movement control authorities, and apartheid-enforcing agencies.^{1°}

Loans to the South African government or parastatals were prohibited, except where the loan was for education, housing, or humanitarian benefit on a non-discriminatory basis.⁹¹ No US bank might accept South African government deposits except for diplomatic or consular purposes.² New investment was prohibited, except in firms owned by black South Africans.⁹ Apart from existing contracts, crude oil and petroleum products could not be exported to South Africa.⁹

The act also ended air links with South Africa.⁹ Nuclear trade with South Africa was prohibited until the country joined the non-proliferation treaty or maintained acceptable safeguards.⁹

The US president could suspend or modify the above in the event of progress being made in specific ways, including the repeal of the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Population Registration Act of 1950, towards the

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dismantling of the apartheid system.'

An economist of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM) commented on the US measures, 'Sanctions are not new to us and there are people in the business of evading sanctions that seem to do it pretty effectively. The business community with its ingenuity will try to beat them.'" The European Coal and Steel Community banned imports of certain iron and steel products in September.⁹ In August the United Kingdom (UK) government listed the following measures which it already applied to South Africa: 10

- * the mandatory United Nations (UN) embargo on arms and paramilitary equipment exports;
- * an embargo on arms and paramilitary equipment imports; "
- a prohibition on military co-operation;
- * active discouragement of sporting links;
- * a ban on new loans to the South African government or its agencies;
- * a ban on the import of Krugerrands and other South African-minted gold coins;
- * a ban on government funding for trade missions or participation in trade

fairs in South Africa;

" a ban on the export of sensitive equipment capable of use by the South African armed forces or police;

* a ban on collaboration in South Africa's nuclear development;

* a ban on the sale of oil to South Africa; and " discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contributed to the ending of apartheid or had no possible role in promoting it.

The British government agreed further to a voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism and on new investment, and to the implementation of any decision by the European Economic Community (EEC) to ban coal, and iron and steel imports.¹⁰ (In the event the EEC did not ban coal imports.)", Following the introduction of an EEC-wide ban on imports of South African gold coins, in November the UK prohibited imports not only of such coins consigned directly from South Africa but also of such coins consigned from other countries. ¹⁰

Barclays Bank in the UK sold its final 40% holding in Barclays National Bank in South Africa in November. The shares were sold for R527m to the Anglo American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, and the Southern Life Association.¹⁴ However, other British companies announced their intention not to leave South Africa. For example, the chairman of British Petroleum South Africa, Mr I J Sims, said in November that involvement in the South African economy offered a better alternative to disinvestment.⁰⁵ Mr Sims announced a R100m programme to work for change towards a nonracial society.

No agreement was reached in 1986 on an EEC ban on South African coal imports, after sustained opposition to the ban from west Germany and Portugal. ^{1°} West German corporations did not follow the example of US companies in disinvesting from South Africa. Some 300 west German firms have South African operations. A spokesman for the Federal Association of German Industry, Mr Dieter Rath, said, 'We have no information that any

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large west German company plans to leave South Africa."

In June the Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, Mr Joe Clark, quoted the report of the Commonwealth fact-finding mission to South Africa (the eminent persons group) as follows, 'We point to the fact that the government of South Africa had itself used economic measures against its neighbours and that such measures are patently instruments of its own national policy.'¹⁸ Canada then ended government procurement of South African products, banned the promotion in Canada of tourism in South Africa, and ended the accreditation of the South African science, mining, labour, and agricultural attachés.⁰⁹ In July Canada served notice that tollprocessing of Namibian uranium would end with current contracts, tightened the arms embargo to include computers, abrogated double taxation agreements, and ended the programme of assistance to exporters to South Africa.^{°10}

In September Canada introduced voluntary bans on loans to the South African government, on the sale of Krugerrands, and on the sale of crude oil and refined

products. In the same month it embargoed air transport to and from South Africa." (The two countries had no air links anyway.)

With effect from 1 October, agricultural products, uranium, coal, iron, and steel of South African origin were placed on Canada's import control list. This meant that import permits were required, and 'permits will not normally be granted', said Mr Clark." In November it was announced that the Canadian embassy in Pretoria would no longer issue visas to applicants wishing to visit Canada."³

In September Japan banned imports from South Africa of pig iron and steel, stopped issuing tourist visas to South Africans, prohibited South African flights to Japan, and called on Japanese citizens not to visit South Africa. Japan had already banned computer exports to the South African military and police; restricted sporting, cultural, and academic ties; reduced diplomatic relations to consular level; and discouraged South African gold coin imports." However, Japan decided not to ban the import of coal or iron ore because of their importance to home industry, and the fear that a ban would adversely affect African miners."⁵ It was reported in August that the South African government and business leaders had agreed to secrecy about trade information in order to circumvent sanctions. This would not involve restrictive press legislation, however.¹⁶ The monthly trade statistics were no longer published as fully as before, and government officials were reported to be reluctant to comment on trade matters, on grounds that 'we are fighting an economic war now'.¹⁷

The chief economist of Econometrix, Dr Azar Jammie, estimated in December that the maximum loss of export earnings under the existing sanctions was 'a mere R4m a year when all items are counted. What is abundantly clear is that the international community is picking on those goods which are in surplus on world markets, especially iron and steel, agricultural products, and textiles'.⁸ Dr Jammie continued, 'They are certainly not picking on essential minerals such as platinum and chromium, and they are too scared to tamper with gold.'⁹ Dr Jammie did not welcome sanctions in any form. However, the current trade boycotts were in his opinion not as detrimental to South Africa's long-

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term future as the moves to disinvest or, more importantly, the reluctance to invest.¹²⁰

Trade

South African imports and exports in 1985 and 1986, according to world zones, were as follows:"

South African imports and exports: 1985 and 1986

	Imports		Exports	
	1985	1986	1985	1986
	Rm	Rm	Rm	Rm
Europe			10 885,1	12 157,6
America			3 886,1	3 758,4
Asia			3 413,5	4 846,4
Africa			456,8	631,2
Oceania			281,0	290,0
			9 293,3	10 351,2
			1 577,9	1 786,7
			277,9	311,0

Unclassified goods and BOP*

adjustments	4 157,6	3 079,4	16 671,3	11 726,9
Ships/aircraft stores	-	-	55,6	35,1
Total	22 690,6	26 893,7	36 311,9	41 796,7

* Balance of payments

Budgets

In his budget speech on 17 March, the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said that the economy needed moderate stimulation by the authorities - 'with the accent on moderate'¹²² The country would be constrained by the obligation to repay part of the foreign debt without the prospect of significant new loans from that quarter, but even after that there would be room for increased expenditure in the following fields: order and stability, constitutional development, and economic and social development. The needs of the security services would 'again make heavy demands on the available funds'.²³ High priority would be given to expenditure aimed at work creation and the upgrading of skills, 'working capacity', and the quality of life. Programmes for the upliftment of African and other groups would be instituted, but would not be financed in a manner that fuelled inflation.¹²⁴

In 1985/86, as excess demand was reduced, monetary and fiscal policy became less restrictive. Mr Du Plessis described the monetary and fiscal strategy for 1986/87 as moderately expansionary. The aim was to encourage investment and consumer spending in order to ensure a growth rate of 3% or more in gross domestic product (GDP). However, excess demand would be prevented from emerging, in order to avoid demand inflation, and in order to maintain a large surplus on the current account of the balance of payments, which was needed to deal with the foreign debt situation.²⁵

According to the printed estimates tabled in Parliament at the time of the budget speech, total estimated expenditure for 1986/87 was R37,44bn, an increase of 19% on the 1985/86 budget and of 13,6% on the revised figure of R32,97bn for 1985/86.¹⁶ The estimated revenue for 1986/87 was R34,43bn.

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This was an increase of 15,8% on the revised estimate of R29,73bn for 1985/86.¹²⁷

However, once additional proposals in the budget speech itself were taken into account, total estimated expenditure would be R37,57bn. This adjusted expenditure level represented an increase of 13,9% on the revised figure for 1985/86. ¹² Similarly, once taxation changes were included, the adjusted total for revenue was R33,62bn, giving a final deficit before borrowing of R3,94bn. This excess of expenditure over revenue before borrowing was estimated by Mr Du Plessis at 2,7% of GDP.²⁹

The budgeted allocations of expenditure to the various government departments was as follows:¹³⁰

The national budget*

1985/86 1986/87

Vote Rm Rm

State president	11,17	11,90
Parliament	31,77	33,22
Bureau for information	12,78	28,85
Transport	480,53	752,81
Constitutional development and planning	5 897,97	4 483,80
Foreign affairs	1 165,54	1 318,11
National education	107,93	122,26
Police	954,71	1 071,24
Public works and land affairs	1 067,48	1 246,29
Development aid	1 887,92	2 196,61
Education and training	920,94	1 157,83
Defence	4 274,11	5 123,28
Manpower	128,12	104,61
Trade and industry	954,14	1 044,96
Justice	186,45	211,64
Prisons	358,80	408,19
Agricultural economics and marketing	578,96	421,42
Water affairs	248,03	289,94
Mineral and energy affairs	627,55	871,48
Finance	5 471,74	6 385,11
Audit	11,99	13,35
Environment affairs	145,74	187,50
Home affairs	46,17	72,39
Commission for administration	72,50	153,17
Improvement of conditions of service	235,00	1 077,00
Central statistical services	36,19	11,61
Central economic advisory service	1,33	1,27
Administration: house of assembly	2 313,78	4 498,01
Administration: house of representatives	1 331,88	1 659,75
Administration: house of delegates	560,19	668,54
National health and population development	1 338,57	1 821,06
Total	31 459,98	37 447,19

* The figures for 1985/86 are final estimates; the 1986/87 figures are those given at the time of the budget speech.

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Expenditure on defence increased in 1986/87 by 19,9% on the figure for 1985/86.31 Educational expenditure for all race groups excluding the 'independent' homelands increased by 19,3% over the previous year to reach R6,08bn in 1986/87,132 or 16,2% of the total budget. Expenditure on police, defence, justice, and prisons rose from R5,77bn in 1985/86 to R6,81bn in 1986/87, which was 18,2% of the total budget'3 (see also Education, and Security).

The votes in the main budget for the three 'own affairs' houses may be broken down as follows:34

House of assembly budget*

Health services and water Agriculture and water supply Education and culture
 Local government, housing, and works Budgetary and auxiliary services
 Improvement of conditions of service
 1985/86 Rm
 679,97 571,56 996,36 81,43 18,46
 2,54
 1986/87
 Rm
 716,64 529,20 3 069,29 271,49 24,34 225,77
 Total 2 350,32 4 836,73

House of representatives budget*

1985/86 1986/87

Rm Rm

Budgetary and auxiliary services	8,88	18,68
Education and culture	726,26	869,50
Local government, housing, and agriculture	205,79	342,52
Health services and welfare	403,95	442,55
Improvement of conditions of service	13,56	64,22
Total	1 358,44	1 737,47

House of delegates budget*

1985/86 1986/87

Rm Rm

Budgetary and auxiliary services	8,63	8,80
Local government, housing, and agriculture	126,15	184,02
Education and culture	321,82	365,10
Health services and welfare	105,51	112,68
Improvement of conditions of service	5,09	26,64
Total	567,20	697,24

* The figures for 1986/87 are not strictly comparable with those for 1985/86, which are the final revised estimates. The 1986/87 figures differ from those given in the main budget as slight adjustments were made to the figures between the budget speech and the printing of the estimates. 135

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The budgets of the ten homelands for 1986/87 were as follows:"

Homelands budgets: 1986/87

Rm*

Bophuthatswana	1 006,99
Ciskei	615,72
Gazankulu	268,98
KaNgwane	143,91
KwaNdebele	100,76
KwaZulu	1 039,56
Lebowa	550,17
QwaQwa	178,80
Transkei	1 312,72

Venda 373,14

* These figures include allocations from the central government in the national budget as well as revenue raised by homeland administrations from within the homelands.

Further details of the homeland budgets are provided in the chapter on The Homelands.

Revenue allocated to the various legislatures from the national budget for 1986/87 is as follows:137

Grants from national budget to various legislatures 1986/87*

Rm

Assembly	4 498,01
Delegates	668,54
Representatives	1 659,75
Bophuthatswana	370,30
Ciskei	375,30
Gazankulu	171,17
KaNgwane	98,57
KwaNdebele	74,76
KwaZulu	669,53
Lebowa	385,53
QwaQwa	70,76
Transkei	589,68
Venda	140,00

* Homeland figures exclude tax transfers from the central government and loans.

Taxation

Answering a question in the house of assembly, the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, replied that the total number of individual taxpayers in 1984/85 was 1 575 399, of whom 7% or 110 973 were African, 84 838 Indian, 160 613 coloured, and 1 218 975 white. In 1984/85 companies were assessed for R2,88bn in income taxation and individuals for R5,32bn.138

Mr J J B van Zyl MP (Conservate Party) claimed in the house of assembly that in 1984/85, whites paid 95% of direct taxation but did not receive a corresponding amount of expenditure; the budget thus represented an

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'inequitable redistribution of income'." To this the deputy minister of finance, Mr Kent Durr, replied that strictly speaking there was no white tax base, but that the country had been built by collective action. There was no farm, no 'so called white-owned factory' or mine that could function without the contribution of 'people of colour'. Therefore, the general wealth and the 'final tax cake' was the result of a team effort by all South Africans.11° Mr James Cunningham MP (National Party) added that, according to the department of inland revenue's statistics, 82% of white taxpayers did 'not even pay enough personal income tax to keep one or two children at high school'. 4

In his reply to the budget debate Mr Du Plessis said in response to suggestions that whites were paying for the education of Africans that a white family with one

child at school and one at university had to have a taxable income of R35 500 before they paid for the education of those two children, without paying for anything else. He said that 89,6% of all white families with one child at school and one at university did not pay enough tax to cover their children's education; and 94% where they had two children at school and one at university.⁴² Quoting Professor J Sadie of the University of Stellenbosch, he said that English-speaking whites paid 60% of all personal income tax. Moreover, 78% of all companies were under the control of English-speaking people, and this group paid 75% of company tax via their companies.

Mr Du Plessis estimated the revenue for the 1986/87 financial year at R34,43bn, of which customs and excise would provide R2,55bn, and inland revenue R31,88bn. The portion of inland revenue from gold mining was estimated to be R2,82bn, a fall of 7,7% on the previous year, while nonmining companies would yield an increase in taxation of 10,7% over 1985/86. General sales tax would yield 16,2% more than in 1985/86, while the taxation of individuals would yield 33,8% more. The yield from individual income taxation was expected to be R1,4bn.¹³

The Margo commission

The commission of inquiry into the tax structure of the Republic of South Africa under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Cecil Margo completed its draft final report in June 1986.¹⁴ However, in September 1986 it was reported that the outcome of the commission's work would not be made public until the end of 1986.¹⁵ In December 1986 the commission's report was signed and handed to the government.¹⁶

Judge Margo refused to discuss his recommendations. However, he did comment that 'redistribution of the tax burden can do a great deal to alleviate the present perception that tax is too heavy. The burden is perceived differently in our mixed economy and our mixed society. A big percentage of our national purchasing power is earned by people who pay very little or no tax because their earnings are too small'.¹⁷ Judge Margo explained that the source of delay in the commission's reporting was differences of opinion, some raised at a very late stage. In essence, tax reform in his view focused on getting as broad a tax base as possible, as low a rate as possible, and as wide a distribution as possible. The commission's report had not been published by the end of 1986, and neither the report nor the government's White Paper commenting on the report were expected to

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appear before mid-1987.

General sales tax (GST)

Speaking at the Orange Free State congress of the NP in September, Mr Du Plessis said that general sales tax (GST) no longer served its intended purpose because there were so many exceptions and the only solution would be to reintroduce it over the full range of goods at a lower rate. He said that on the exemption of fresh foods the exchequer immediately lost R1,8bn in revenue. 'It doesn't help to subsidise general items. It is a mistake that every hotel as well as affluent people can buy subsidised bread,' said Mr Du Plessis. GST had also failed

in a second objective: it had not succeeded in bringing about a reduction in income tax, according to Mr Du Plessis.⁴ In August, the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM) opposed the possible replacement of GST with a value added tax (VAT) system.⁴⁹ Mr Du Plessis stressed that GST was not to be scrapped, but that its present form was unacceptable. However, he refused to comment on the possibility that VAT might be introduced, because the Margo commission had not yet reported.¹

In 1985/86, according to the revised estimates, GST yielded R8,13bn, or 27,4% of the total revised estimate for revenue. In 1986/87 it was expected that GST would produce R9,45bn or 31,8% of the total printed estimate for revenue at the time of the budget speech.⁵¹

Regional levies

In his budget speech Mr Du Plessis said there was uncertainty as to when regional levies in terms of the Regional Services Councils Act of 1985 would be imposed, but that it was unlikely that they would be widely collected before September 1986. It was agreed that the regional establishment levy should not exceed 0,1% of a business's turnover, while the regional services levy would be limited to a maximum of 0,25% of its total payroll.¹⁵² An unauthorised printing of the regulations for the levies occurred in the Government Gazette in September,⁵³ but in fact the levies were not implemented in 1986, and continued to attract strong criticism from tax experts and business (see Government and Constitution).

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GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION

The First Tier

Structure of government

State of the parties

As at 31 December 1985 there were 2 978 559 registered white voters in white-designated South Africa. There were 1 481 776 coloured and 589 464 Indian voters.' The state of the parliamentary parties at the opening of Parliament on 31 January is given below.

House of assembly (white) (178 members)

The National Party (NP) had 127 representatives, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) 27, the Conservative Party (CP) 18, the New Republic Party (NRP) five, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) one. There were no vacancies.²

House of delegates (Indian) (45 members)

The National People's Party (NPP) had 26 representatives, Solidarity 15, and the Progressive Independent Party (PIP) one. There were three independent members of parliament (MPs), and no vacancies.³

House of representatives (coloured) (85 members)

The Labour Party (LP) had 80 representatives, the Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) three, and the Freedom Party (FP) two. There were no vacancies."

Parliament

In 1986 Parliament sat twice, the first session lasting from 31 January until 20 June, and the second from 18 August until 5 September. The main reasons advanced for holding the second session were that certain legislation already dealt with by the relevant standing committees could not be passed during the first session because of a lack of time, that some of the standing committees could deal with other bills during the recess in readiness for a second session, and that the bill on the proposed national council would, by then, have been considered by the standing committee on constitutional affairs (see below).

During the two sessions, 112 bills on general affairs were submitted to the three houses for consideration (ie after they had been processed by the relevant standing committees). Of these, 95 were passed, including two which were referred to the president's council (PC). In addition, eight 'own affairs' bills were passed by the white house, four by the coloured house, and four by the Indian house. These included the various 'own affairs' budgets.'

In August it was announced that the system of parliamentary sessions was

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to be investigated. In the past Parliament had sat once a year, for about six months, to consider both the budget and other legislation. Some political parties had suggested that there should be two sittings. The minister of national education, Mr F W de Klerk, said that the movement of public servants from Pretoria to Cape Town, and back again, would have to be considered if two sittings were introduced.

Opening Parliament on 31 January, the state president, Mr P W Botha, said that the proposed legislative programme for the session confirmed the government's commitment to the creation of a framework for equal opportunities.⁶ Speaking in

the no-confidence debate in February, Mr Botha said that any drastic decisions regarding South Africa's constitutional future would be tested in a referendum.⁷ The Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills (near Durban) in the house of delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam, accused white cabinet ministers of showing 'gross discourtesy' to his party's leader, Dr J N Reddy, by not being in the house when Dr Reddy made his opening speech in the no-confidence debate. It was obvious to him, he said, that the white ministers had thought it more important to be in their own house. Their attitude was that 'these coolies don't count', he said.⁸ Speaking in the coloured house, Mr Peter Hendrickse

(LP) accused the government of 'white arrogance' on the grounds that no white cabinet ministers or NP MPs were present when a motion dealing with the constitutional future of the country was being debated.'

The chairman of the ministers' council in the house of delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said in February that he would lead the house out of the tricameral Parliament if its demands were not met. One day the house would refuse to administer anything that was discriminatory, he said.⁰

Professor Nic Olivier, PFP spokesman on constitutional affairs, introduced a motion in the assembly in March stating that all references to 'own affairs' should be removed from the constitution. The concept was not even acceptable to the members of the coloured and Indian houses. They had entered the tricameral system to participate in the joint decision-making process, and not because they supported the concept of political separation, he said. He maintained that the 'own affairs' concept was in fact being used to maintain apartheid."

KwaZulu's minister of works, Chief Simon Gumede, said in Ulundi in May that Africans would not serve on any government-proposed national council (see below) to discuss the country's future unless the tricameral Parliament was scrapped. This would be seen as a sincere negotiating gesture, he said.²

The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, told the house of assembly in August that the existing system of Parliament had given members of all three houses a greater knowledge of the needs and aspirations of other population groups. The system had created better intergroup relations, he said.³

The leader of the PFP and of the opposition in the house of assembly, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from Parliament at the end of the noconfidence debate.

The reasons he gave included the following: " the government either did not understand the principles of negotiation or did not abide by them. The dismantling of apartheid had nothing to do with negotiation, it was simply the first step towards negotiation;

* reform or constitutional change would never be successful as long as the

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government insisted that it took place on the basis of compulsory group membership;

* the tricameral Parliament was a hopelessly flawed and failed constitutional experiment. It did not solve the problem of political domination and had nothing to do with effective power sharing; and

" he was an 'incurable democrat' and believed in a nonracial, united South Africa where all people could participate voluntarily in government institutions.¹⁴

Dr Alex Boraine MP (PFP) subsequently resigned from Parliament as well. He said that while he believed in the constitutional process, Parliament, and the opposition, there were other ways and means of bringing about change. 'There are people and organisations who would like to take part in the constitutional process but who can't be in this house, who can't participate in this debate,' he said. Dr Boraine added that in his view the racially entrenched tricameral system was a disservice to Parliament.⁵

In separate interviews in Leadership magazine, Dr Slabbert and Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP) differed in their views on participation in the parliamentary process. Dr Slabbert said that he had been a 'reluctant participant' in the tricameral system but had been prepared to give it a chance for a limited period. Mrs Suzman maintained that while the PFP strongly disapproved of the system on the grounds that it had fundamental flaws, notably that it was based on apartheid and excluded Africans, she believed that Parliament had an important role to play. It was a unique institution where the government could be held to account for its actions.¹⁶

The deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel, claimed that Dr Slabbert's statements showed 'complete ignorance', not only of the role of Parliament, but also of constitutional reform, which could be effected only by Parliament. He added that while the government was prepared to negotiate with African political leaders involved in extra-parliamentary politics who renounced violence, this did not negate the role of Parliament.⁷

A commission of inquiry into remuneration and conditions of service for all parliamentarians, headed by the former vice state president, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, and appointed by the state president in March 1985, proposed in February that MPs should receive increases of 42% and cabinet ministers, 106%.¹¹ The bureau for information announced on 20 March that MPs of all three houses and members of the PC would receive increases of 10% from 1 April, in line with increases to be given to other state employees. It said that the government had accepted the Schlebusch commission's proposals in principle but would consider them at a more economically favourable time. Mr Botha said that he would not accept any increase in his salary and allowances.¹⁹

Byelections

Three byelections were held during the year under review. Byelections were held on 3 September in the Claremont and Pinelands constituencies, both in Cape Town, following the resignation from Parliament of Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine. In Claremont the PFP's candidate, Mr J van Eck, won 4 689 votes to the 885 of the NRP candidate, Mr A Leisegang, who lost his deposit. In Pinelands the PFP's majority was 1 804, its candidate, Mr J Walsh, receiving 5 422 votes, and Mr N Barrett of the NRP, 3 618.

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In a separate byelection held a week later in the Natal constituency of Klip River, the NP, represented by Mr J Maree, won 5 863 votes against the 2 830 received by Mr C Wolmarans (HNP).²⁰

Joint sittings

In August the house of assembly approved joint debates on certain issues by members of all three houses. The system was planned to come into operation after extensions to Parliament (in the form of a new chamber) had been completed in 1987. A number of budget votes, among them that of the state president, would be discussed at full joint sittings in the new chamber. Each year some other budget votes would be debated jointly, on a basis to be decided by the three houses. Mr De Klerk said that voting would still be conducted separately by each house. The feasibility of debates on various bills at the same time but in different houses was to be investigated. A joint committee was to be set up to examine this as well as rules for joint sittings.

Mr Heunis described the move as a message of optimism for the whole of South Africa. The new system would be merely an extension of the accepted principle of joint decision making and shared power on matters of common interest, he said. The PFP's chief whip, Mr Brian Bamford, called on the government to move 'boldly and honestly' to bring about joint sittings on all matters of general affairs as soon as possible. The CP and the HNP opposed the proposal.²¹

Standing committees

According to the PFP, the standing committee system functioned satisfactorily but was more time-consuming than previous legislative procedures. It believed that the new system led to better legislation, and that the representatives of the coloured and Indian houses had become better acquainted with the system and had become more independent than was the case in 1985.

Draft legislation is referred to the committees after it has been introduced in Parliament.'

Separate facilities

The speaker of Parliament, Mr J Greeff, said in February that he viewed repeated demonstrations by members of the house of representatives in the private coffee room of the assembly as 'an assault on the dignity of Parliament'. All five ministers in the house of representatives had been among LP members involved in 'sit-ins' at the coffee room, reserved exclusively for use by members of the house of assembly. Mr Greeff said that the protesters should have made representations through existing channels to the standing committee on rules and orders. He added that while the dining room in the house of assembly had been opened to all MPs in 1985, the coffee room was regarded as a private place for members of the assembly.

Both the LP and the DWP in the coloured house claimed that the reservation of the coffee room for assembly members made it a 'whites-only' preserve. The DWP leader, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, called for all parliamentary facilities to be opened to all MPs.²³ The coffee room was subsequently opened.'

THE CABINET AND DEPUTY MINISTERS

The executive

The state president

The Transfer of Powers and Duties of the State President Bill, assented to on 12 September, was designed to relieve the state president of numerous administrative functions. It amended certain laws so as to transfer powers assigned to the state president to the cabinet ministers responsible for the administration of those laws. These ministers were empowered to publish notices in the Government Gazette without requiring the approval and signature of the state president on such issues as abattoirs, national parks, sea fisheries, company registrations, insolvencies, unemployment insurance, and a number of agricultural matters.^Y

In determining which powers, duties, and functions were to be transferred, all state departments, the office of the postmaster general, and the South African Transport Services were consulted. Powers and functions not transferred included:

- * prerogative powers of the state president since they vested exclusively in him as head of state;
- * the functions of the state president with regard to the administration of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983; and
- * other statutory powers which vested constitutionally in the head of state.,

The state security council (SSC)

The minister of defence, Mr Magnus Malan, said on 8 April that as at that date 13 inter-departmental committees had been established to assist the secretariat of the state security council (SSC). These committees gave national security-related advice on manpower, civil defence, transport, security, national supplies and resources, government funding, the economy, telecommunications and electrical power supply, science and technology, community services, culture, and political affairs.⁷

In reply to a question in Parliament on 11 March, Mr Malan revealed the existence of 12 joint management centres (JMCs), which 'co-ordinated joint government action at regional level' and whose chairmen reported to the secretary of the SSC. Mr Malan said that all government institutions which had an interest in the JMCs were represented on them and that where necessary liaison took place with community organisations. All JMC members are civil servants. There were JMCs (headed by senior South African Defence Force and South African Police personnel) in Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Nelspruit, Oudtshoorn, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and Walvis Bay.,

In an interview with Mr Malan in The Star in March, it emerged that the JMCs acted as the government's 'warning system' for internal threats to state security and as a mechanism to defuse unrest. The JMCs and their components (sub-JMCs and mini-JMCs) represented a decentralisation at regional and local level of the SSC. They did not have any authority to enforce decisions." There were 60 sub-JMCs and 354 mini-JMCs.^o

The cabinet and deputy ministers

Changes to the cabinet came into effect on 1 December. The former vice state president, Mr Alwyn Schibusch, was appointed minister in the office of the state president responsible for the commission for administration and the

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South African Broadcasting Corporation. The former deputy minister of defence and of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, became minister of law and order. The former minister of mineral and energy affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, became minister of economic affairs and technology. This new department was to handle trade and industry, mineral and energy affairs, and tourism. The former minister for administration and economic advisory services in the office of the state president, Mr Eli Louw, became minister of transport affairs. The minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, also assumed responsibility for the department of public works and land affairs. The minister of agricultural economics and of water affairs, Mr Greyling Wentzel, was given overall control of agriculture in 'own' and general affairs. The minister of national health and population development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, also assumed responsibility for 'own' and general affairs. The minister of environment affairs and tourism, Mr John Wiley, relinquished control of tourism and became minister of environment affairs and of water affairs. The minister of home affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, became the minister of home affairs and of communications."

A number of deputy ministers were appointed. Dr Stoffel van der Merwe became deputy minister of information, Mr Wynand Breytenbach became deputy minister of defence, Mr Kobus Meiring became deputy minister of foreign affairs (along with Mr Ron Miller), and Mr Roelf Meyer became deputy minister of law and order. Dr Org Marais became deputy minister of finance (along with Mr Kent Durr), Mr H J Tempel became deputy minister of development aid, Dr André van Niekerk became deputy minister of agriculture and of agriculture and water supply (along with Mr Gert Kotzd), and Mr George Bartlett became deputy minister of economic affairs and technology. Mr Jacobus van Wyk became deputy minister of water affairs, Mr D Streicher became deputy minister of transport affairs, and Dr M-H Veldman became deputy minister of national health and deputy minister of health services in the house of assembly.³²

Four ministers retired or took up posts outside the cabinet. The former minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange, became the NP candidate for speaker in the house of assembly. The former minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, and the former minister of communications and of public works, Dr L A P A Munnik, retired. The former minister of trade and industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, became minister of the budget in the house of assembly.³³

In May Mr Heunis announced that executive powers affecting the administration of African affairs would be transferred to the four provincial administrations (see below). In October this came into effect, along with the transfer of other functions, mostly affecting Africans, to other government departments, bringing about a substantial reduction in his department's staff from 1 720 to 445.

The following functions were transferred: the 'sojourn control' of African non-South African citizens to the department of home affairs, the certification of import requirements for African labour and the registration of recruiting and employment agencies to the department of manpower, claims from the South African Development Trust fund to the department of development aid, land

surveying services associated with African local authorities and the registration of deeds regarding Africans in the

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Johannesburg area to the department of public works and land affairs, and matters associated with occupational illnesses contracted by Africans to the department of national health and population development.

In a statement issued in Cape Town on 2 October, Mr Heunis said that his department's predominant role would be that of 'macro-planning and development' - as had been the case before its takeover of executive functions from the old department of co-operation and development.³⁴

Ministers' councils

On 10 February Mr P W Botha announced that the minister of health services and welfare in the house of delegates, Dr M S Padayachy (NPP), had been replaced by Mr Ismael Kathrada of the opposition Solidarity party. In addition the leader of the opposition, Dr J N Reddy, was appointed minister of the budget in place of Mr Boetie Abramjee, who had been sacked by Mr Botha in November 1985 (see 1985 Survey p30). Mr Poovalingam said that a situation in which two members of the opposition sat among the majority party as ministers was unparalleled in the world.³⁵

The minister of health services and welfare, Dr George Morrison, and the minister of agriculture and water supply, Mr Sarel Hayward, in the house of assembly, retired. The minister of trade and industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, became minister of the budget in the house-6

Mr F W de Klerk announced in March that the cabinet had approved the transfer (from the provinces) of control over resorts, museums, and library and auxiliary services identified as white 'own affairs' to the white administration. He said that these services would be transferred as soon as possible after 1 April. The transfer of education from provincial control to the white department of education and culture would take place on 1 April as planned.³⁷

President's council (PC)

Three members of the house of representatives, Mr E D Jackson, Mr W N Ross, and Mr A Stowman, were nominated by that house to sit on the president's council (PC). Vacancies had arisen following the appointment of some members to the new provincial executives. A nomination from the house of delegates was awaited.⁸

The Public Safety Amendment Bill, which provided for the declaration of 'unrest areas', and the Internal Security Amendment Bill (see Security), which provided for 180-day detention, were referred to the committee for social affairs of the PC, which is dominated by the NP, for a decision in June. The two bills had been rejected by the coloured and Indian houses, but passed by the assembly. In all, 159 MPs voted against the bills and 146 for them. Exercising its constitutional powers to resolve deadlocks between the three houses, the PC endorsed the bills by 35 votes to 21 and 35 to 22 and passed them to the state president for his assent. Mr Poovalingam said that the PC had simply overridden the unanimous view of two houses of parliament. The chairman of the ministers' council in the

coloured house, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, expressed his 'disappointment and disillusionment' at the PC's decision.³⁹

The three committees of the PC were engaged in various investigations during the year under review.

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The committee for social affairs was investigating two matters. Firstly, it was looking at ways in which South African youth could be equipped and motivated for responsible citizenship. Secondly, it was considering the problems that would arise as a result of the increasing proportion of aged people in South Africa. The committee for economic affairs investigated the devising of a strategy for the creation of employment opportunities and for the development of labour-intensive industrial and business enterprises. Its report was expected to be tabled early in 1987.

The committee for constitutional affairs had produced a draft report on the possibility of bringing Africans on to the PC, including an examination of the future structure and functions of the PC.⁴⁰ In addition, the committee had been asked in 1985 to review the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 (see 1985 Survey pp55-56). The secretary of the PC, Mr J S Bauermeester, said in a statement on 20 November that the PC's steering committee had referred a draft report on these matters back to the constitutional affairs committee for further details.⁴¹

Widespread allegations that the government had forced the PC to suppress the draft report, which was to have been released in November, were denounced by the NP, LP, and NPP, the majority parties in each of the three houses of parliament. PFP calls for a full PC debate on the matter were rejected by the steering committee and the PFP withdrew from all activities of the PC as a result.⁴² The chairman of the PC, Dr Piet Koornhof, was replaced and given the ambassadorship to the United States.

The chief minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, addressed the PC in April. He said that the inclusion of the African population, in a natural way, in the mainstream of the country's constitutional and socioeconomic development as equal partners was essential.⁴³

Financial matters

The Appropriation Bill, introduced in April, made provision for expenditure by the central state of R37,5bn for the 1986/87 financial year, an increase of almost R6bn over the 1985/86 figure. The budgets for the three houses, the so-called 'own affairs' budgets, were as follows: house of assembly, R4,5bn; house of representatives, R1,7bn; and house of delegates, R669m (see also The Economy). The assembly budget was almost double that of 1985/86 because education expenditure was reflected in this budget (instead of in the provincial budgets) for the first time.⁴⁴

Electoral and constitutional legislation

The Constitutional Laws Amendment Bill, published in October but not passed during the year under review, was designed to amend, inter alia, the following laws:

* the Black Administration Act of 1927. The bill extended the existing legal capacity of African women to include ownership rights, while the fines chiefs and headmen could impose were increased from R40 to R200;
" the Promotion of Black Self-government Act of 1959. The bill amended the act to refer specifically to the non-independent homelands (it had previously referred to the north Sotho, south Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, south Ndebele, and Zulu units: the government said that it was no longer feasible to promote African self-government on the basis of national units

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only). The powers of commissioners general in these areas would be restricted and they would no longer be required to obtain the approval of the state president when appointing representatives with respect to urban areas only;

* the Black Affairs Act of 1959. The bill changed the name of the commission for co-operation and development to the commission for constitutional development;

* the National States Constitution Act of 1971. The bill restricted consultation with a non-independent homeland to cases where land was excised from that homeland, and it empowered a chief minister to appoint deputy ministers. It also empowered the state president to withhold his assent from a legislative assembly bill if he was satisfied that the bill was inconsistent with the act or related to any matter for which the legislative assembly could not make laws. It amended the schedule of the act to remove any doubt as to whether non-independent homelands could legislate in relation to pension funds (ie they could);

* the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982. The bill amended the designation of African town secretaries to town clerks, and empowered the minister of constitutional development and planning to make regulations about the misconduct and discipline of African law enforcement officers;

* the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act of 1983. The bill made provision for the general assignment of functions by local authorities. The provision had been removed from the Provincial Affairs Act of 1965;

* the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983. The bill empowered the state president to appoint assistant ministers;

* the Black Communities Development Act of 1984. The bill made minor adjustments to the registration and alienation of leaseholds and repealed provisions relating to employers and accommodation managers; and

* the Provincial Government Act of 1986. In terms of the bill, section 10(5) and (5A) of the Interpretation Act of 1957 was made applicable to the former act, facilitating the administration of laws assigned to the administrator.

In addition the bill made provision for the temporary representation of nonelected management bodies on regional services councils. Parliamentary discussion on the bill was postponed to the 1987 parliamentary session.⁴

African political rights

Constitutional policy

Opening Parliament in January, the state president, Mr P W Botha, outlined his government's framework for constitutional development. The following guidelines were laid down:

- " the government accepted the notion of an undivided South Africa (excluding the 'independent' homelands) where all regions and communities within its boundaries formed part of the South African state, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively;
- * it accepted one citizenship for all South Africans;
- * it believed in the sovereignty of the law, access to the courts, and equality before the law;
- * human dignity, life, liberty, and property of all had to be protected,

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regardless of colour, race, creed, or religion;

- * a democratic system of government, which accommodated all legitimate political aspirations of all the South African communities, had to be negotiated; and

0 all South Africans had to be able to participate in government through their elected representatives.

Mr Botha said that South Africa had outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism and the outdated concept of apartheid. South Africa was a multicultural society, he said, and there needed to be the sharing of power between its different communities. He committed the government to the protection of minority rights, without one group dominating another. Mr Botha also announced that he intended to negotiate for the establishment of a national council (NC) allowing Africans to participate in government at the executive level, and which he would chair (see below).⁴⁶

Mr Botha indicated that the following matters would be translated into legislation: the restoration of South African citizenship to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei (TBVC) citizens, who had lost their South African citizenship when their homelands became 'independent' and who were permanently resident in South Africa (excluding the TBVC areas); the extension of the powers of the non-independent homelands; the involvement of African communities in decision making; the granting of freehold property rights to Africans; the introduction of a uniform identity document for all population groups; the repeal of discriminatory provisions in immigration selection policy; the restructuring of provincial government to include all communities; the suspension or amendment of unnecessary restrictions on entrepreneurship, especially regarding the informal sector; and the removal of influx control as applied to 'South African' citizens in South Africa (ie excluding the 'independent' homelands).⁷

The minister of foreign affairs, Mr Roelof Botha, said in February that provided agreement was reached on protecting the rights of minorities, South Africa could be ruled by an African president in the future. 'If blacks share in the power of this country, that to me becomes an inevitable result,' he said.⁴⁸ Mr Botha was subsequently reprimanded by the state president, who said that any speculation

about the future presidency was hypothetical and confusing, and did not represent his party's policy. No minister had the right to compromise the party, he added.⁴⁹ Speaking in the house of delegates in March, the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, rejected the possibility of a nonracial society in South Africa. South Africa was multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multiracial, he said. 'If we think we can have a people's democracy as in western Europe, there will be no democracy left,' he said.'

Mr P W Botha told an NP rally in April that political rights would have to be given to all those who did not have them so that leaders could be identified for negotiation. 'We must practise our leadership so as to ensure a place in South Africa for our own people and a place for minority groups,' said Mr Botha."

Mr Heunis said in May that successful political change had to satisfy three conditions. Firstly, there had to be an analysis which focused on the nature and the causes of the problems in a society. Secondly, there had to be a prescriptive component which broadly sketched how the reformed society

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should look. Thirdly, there had to be a strategic element which dealt with the change process itself, the strategy and tactics for moving from the existing to the new society. Mr Heunis maintained that the government's programme for reform satisfied these conditions.²

The NP's constitutional policy had broken down, said the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, in July. He gave the following reasons: the NP could not get moderate Africans to the negotiating table; NP plans for racially segregated local authorities and regional services councils (see below) had met with resistance; the proposed NC (see below) had not materialised; the NP was encountering resistance from the coloured and Indian houses of parliament; and the NP was deeply divided and its supporters had become increasingly edgy. Mr Eglin said that the government's constitutional guidelines made it impossible for even moderate African leaders and organisations to take part in the negotiation process."

At the NP's federal congress in August Mr P W Botha said that taking into consideration the government's viewpoints on the sharing, distribution, and devolution of power, and its commitment to negotiation, clarity on these issues would have to be reached through negotiation. Thus, self-government and autonomy for the large concentrations of African communities close to metropolitan areas would have to be negotiated. He maintained that structures would have to be created and developed at all levels to accommodate negotiation and decision making on the basis of consensus. Mr Botha stressed that he and his government were irrevocably committed to dialogue as part of the process of the broadening of participatory democratic institutions.'

At the federal congress Mr Heunis listed four basic principles for a framework for development: everyone should participate in political processes at all levels on an equal footing; reformed political institutions should eliminate domination by one group over another; there should be power sharing up to the highest level regarding affairs of common interest between all groups; and groups should have

the opportunity to choose their own legislative and executive institutions for self-determination at all levels."

Mr P W Botha said at the NP's Transvaal congress in September that the government was realising the goals set out in the 12-point plan he had outlined seven years previously. As evidence of this he cited the creation of African local government bodies, discussions and negotiations with African community leaders, changes- in provincial executive committees, discussions and negotiations on the proposed NC (see below), the repeal of restrictive and discriminatory practices in the social and labour fields, the removal of government prescriptions and discrimination in sport, and the government's involvement in the promotion of white and black entrepreneurship, particularly through the creation of the Small Business Development Corporation (see Business). Mr Botha claimed that over the previous eight years there had been more fruitful negotiations and consultations between leaders of various population groups than previously. However, he also noted that although there were those who were prepared to negotiate with the government, and were in fact doing so, there were also others who appeared to be against reform via negotiation and dialogue.'

Mr Heunis said at the congress that the preconditions for any constitutional dispensation would be fairness, acceptability to all communities, functionality,

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and democracy.⁷ In summary, the NP's provincial congresses committed the government to reform and endorsed the following principles: a commitment to democratic values and institutions and a willingness to negotiate for such institutions; the protection of minority rights and cultural diversity; the right to 'own' community life through self-determination within 'own' power bases, maximum devolution of power, co-operation in joint decision making, and non-domination of one group over another; the acceptance of the 'independence' of the TBVC areas, and a commitment to autonomy for African communities in metropolitan areas; and the upholding of Christian values and 'civilised' norms. The minister of national education, Mr F W de Klerk, said in September that the NP was seeking acceptance of its constitutional blueprint through negotiation, coupled with a willingness to look at alternatives with an open mind. Mr Heunis said that the difficulty in identifying leaders among the various communities and the fact that some people had chosen violence as a means of taking over power had been important hampering factors in working out solutions for South Africa. These solutions had to be negotiated.

Mr Roelof Botha said in the same month that the key to South Africa's future was a commitment on the part of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and others to abandon violence. He said that the government wished to end violence and negotiate with leaders of all communities.⁹

Special cabinet committee investigating the constitutional position of Africans
The state president said in reply to a question in Parliament in June that the special cabinet committee (SCC) appointed on 3 February 1983 to consider the position of Africans outside the non-independent homelands was still in existence. He said that it had discussed various subjects, resulting in bills before Parliament,

in legislation already passed, and in a number of administrative steps already taken. The establishment of an NC (see below) was a result of the SCC's discussions with Africans, he said. The SCC consisted of Mr Heunis (chairman); Mr De Klerk; Mr Roelof Botha; the minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange; the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen; the minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee; the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis; and the minister of home affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.⁶ Mr Heunis said in March that the SCC had held 47 meetings and discussions with African leaders and interest groups since 1983.⁶¹

Non-statutory forum

In 1985 the government announced that an 'informal, non-statutory forum' to supplement the activities of the SCC, in which interest groups and representatives of government bodies could participate on an ad-hoc basis and by invitation, was to be established. It was intended to promote discussion on a range of constitutional and related matters between the government and African communities.⁶² The non-statutory forum does not appear to have got off the ground.

National council (NC)

At the opening of Parliament on 31 January, Mr P W Botha announced that

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he intended to negotiate with African leaders for the establishment of a national council (NC) to meet under his chairmanship. The council would advise him on matters of common concern to all communities in South Africa, including proposed legislation, prior to the creation of constitutional structures for Africans to be agreed to jointly.⁶

A bill to establish the council was published in May. Mr Heunis said that the National Council Bill made it clear that the council was to serve as an instrument for the negotiation of a new constitution, and was an interim measure. Until such a constitution was negotiated, it would also provide Africans with the opportunity to participate in government at executive level. The bill provided that the NC would consist of the chief ministers of the six non-independent homelands, ten representatives of Africans permanently resident in the white-designated areas appointed by the state president from nominations submitted to him, such members of the cabinet as the state president thought fit, the chairmen of the three ministers' councils, and not more than ten other people nominated by the state president. The state president would chair the council and determine when and where it met. The council would have the power to consider legislation and make

recommendations to the government.⁶

The president of Inkatha and chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said that an 'absolute prerequisite' for the council's success was the unconditional release of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela. The chief minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, welcomed the bill, while KaNgwane's chief minister, Mr Enos Mabuza, called for the banning orders on political organisations and leaders to be lifted as preconditions for his participation. The

United Democratic Front (UDF) said that the council would be as unsuccessful as other government-created structures for Africans.⁶ Opposition MPs said that the proposed council would not succeed without adequate African representation from a wide spectrum of political opinion.⁶ The leader of the opposition in the house of assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, said in September that no African leader with a sizeable constituency would take part in negotiations designed to promote the modernisation of apartheid.⁶

At the NP's federal congress in Durban in August, Mr Heunis said that if African communities outside the homelands wished to elect representatives to the council, the government would assist them with the division of the country into electoral regions and the compilation of lists of voters.⁶ Mr Heunis also said, 'With the national council as a forerunner, a joint council of state may be developed in which leaders and other representatives of all the political entities may participate in policy formulation over common interest by means of consensus decision making.' The state president spoke of the possibility of urban African communities close to metropolitan areas receiving full autonomy as city states.⁹ In August the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) (see below) rejected participation in the council until Mr Mandela was unconditionally released.⁷

On 29 August Mr Heunis announced that the bill would not be introduced in Parliament during the second session because of delicate negotiations which were in progress. The government had held 190 discussions at

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ministerial and official level, he said, and 120 memoranda had been received." Mr Heunis said in October that while the government had received a positive reaction by many African leaders to the proposed NC, distrust and intimidation had hampered negotiations." The two presidents of the United Christian Conciliation Party, Mr Thamsanqa Linda and Bishop Isaac Mokoena, indicated that they would possibly sit on the proposed council.⁷

Mr De Klerk said in Zurich (Switzerland) in October that the government proposed for urban Africans the creation of 'own' legislative assemblies and executive ministerial councils with full autonomy on a wide range of subjects. The proposed NC was an interim measure for power sharing and negotiation, he said. The final outcome would be a number of high-level authorities with full decision-making powers in respect of 'subjects of interest to the groups' ⁴

Mr De Klerk added that there would be joint government institutions in which all groups would be represented and that decisions in respect of matters affecting all groups would be taken jointly, on the basis of power sharing and non-domination.⁷⁵

Other policy matters

In January the state president said that the government intended restoring South African citizenship to Africans who resided permanently in 'South Africa' (ie excluding the 'independent' homelands) and who had lost it when the TBVC homelands had become 'independent', granting freehold property rights to Africans, drafting legislation to remove costly and obsolete influx control

measures applicable to South African citizens in 'South Africa', and formulating a clear and workable strategy in relation to urbanisation (see Urbanisation and Housing, and Population).⁷⁶

Citizenship

In terms of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, passed in June, South African citizenship was granted to citizens of the TBVC areas on certain conditions. TBVC citizens who were born in 'South Africa' prior to their homelands' 'independence' and who resided in South Africa permanently had to inform the director general of home affairs that they wanted to regain their South African citizenship. Other TBVC citizens could apply for South African citizenship, but five years of previous or future permanent residence in 'South Africa' was required if their applications were to be granted.'

In terms of a clause inserted into the bill after its tabling in Parliament, no provision of any homeland 'independence' act could be used to determine the citizenship of a person born in 'South Africa' (ie excluding the 'independent' homelands) after 1 July 1986, nor might such an act be used to deprive such a person of his/her South African citizenship. The clause also stated that on becoming South African citizens, TBVC citizens would cease to be citizens of the 'independent' homelands. In addition, the act provided for the granting of citizenship to the wives and minor children of persons whose South African citizenship was restored.

The department of home affairs subsequently outlined the procedure to be followed by TBVC citizens when applying for South African citizenship. A limited number of TBVC citizens would be able to regain South African citizenship automatically. These were people who were born in 'South Africa'

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before the 'independence' of their homelands and who had lived in 'South Africa' permanently ever since. They merely had to confirm that they wanted to regain their South African citizenship with the director general of home affairs. The minister of home affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in Parliament on 23 June that 1 751 400 TBVC citizens were estimated to be affected by the act. Other TBVC citizens would regain their South African citizenship (on application) if they were born in 'South Africa' or moved there after their homelands' 'independence', and had been living there lawfully and permanently for at least five years prior to 1 July 1986.⁷⁷ TBVC citizens who remained in white-designated South Africa temporarily while seeking employment, while they worked or studied there, or visited family and friends or stayed with them temporarily, and whose permanent home was one of the TBVC areas, could not be or become South African citizens, but would remain temporary 'aliens'.'

Mr P W Botha said in July that 'due to allegations in the press to the effect that the new act does not extend far enough, and that the government is in breach of faith, I reiterate the assurance I gave in Parliament that the South African government does not grant citizenship unilaterally to the citizens of other independent states'." The government was accused by opposition groups of a breach of faith in not restoring South African citizenship to more TBVC citizens. As only about 1,75m

Africans would qualify to regain South African citizenship, the rest (about 7,5m, according to the Black Sash) would be affected by legislation governing 'aliens'. Discussions between Pretoria and TBVC leaders on dual citizenship were being held, however.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP) said that the requirements laid down by the department of home affairs would come as a great disappointment to many Africans.⁸² A past president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said that the act did not restore citizenship to those from whom it had been taken away. It provided, she said, for a limited granting of citizenship on stringent conditions to only some of those who had been denationalised.

Freehold rights

The Black Communities Development Amendment Act granted freehold rights in urban areas in white-designated South Africa to Africans who were South African citizens or, if they were from one of the 'independent' homelands, were legally resident in 'South Africa' (ie outside these homelands). Ninety-nine-year leasehold was retained as an alternative form of tenure. The act also provided for developers and employers to become more involved in housing schemes (see Urbanisation and Housing)-'

The Urban Foundation welcomed the act and the facilitative role it would play in private sector involvement in township development. However, it called for a radical reconsideration of the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Black Land Act of 1913.⁸⁵ Professor Nic Olivier MP (PFP) noted that it did not address the important issue of African land ownership in rural areas.^m

A month later the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, announced that from 23 July Africans in proclaimed townships in the non-independent homelands and on trust land would also be granted full property rights. The existing system of deed of grant and right of leasehold could be retained or replaced by full title.⁸

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In a related development, regulations governing land use in urban areas and township establishment came into effect on 15 September. Mr Heunis said that the regulations (in terms of the Black Communities Development Act) covered township development, land usage, leasehold, and other relevant matters (see Urbanisation and Housing)."

The Constitutional Laws Amendment Bill, published in October, if passed, would amend the Black Administration Act of 1927 to extend the legal capacity of African women to include ownership.⁹

Pass laws

In February Mr P W Botha announced in a full-page newspaper advertisement that the pass system would be scrapped by 1 July. Common identity documents would be issued to everybody, he added.⁹

A White Paper on Urbanisation was tabled in Parliament on 23 April and a moratorium declared on pass arrests (see Urbanisation and Housing). Mr Heunis said that the government's new policy on urbanisation rested on two main pillars: firstly, urbanisation was necessary for the development of the country; and

secondly, all South African citizens had the right to equal opportunities and treatment.⁹¹

The Abolition of Influx Control Act, assented to in June with retroactive effect to 23 April, abolished influx control by repealing the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and amending and repealing related laws, and also introduced measures to combat disorderly squatting and slums (see Urbanisation and Housing).⁹²

Mrs Suzman called the act the most important reform the government had ever introduced.⁹³ The South African Institute of Race Relations called it the most important reform since World War II, along with the statutory recognition of African trade unions in 1979. However, it said that the powers given to Mr Heunis to prevent illegal squatting were unacceptably wide.⁹⁴

An editorial in the Sowetan said that whatever anyone might say, the axing of the pass laws would have an impact on 'the person who matters most the man in the street'.⁹⁵ However, the ANC's deputy representative in the United States, Mr S Simelane, said that if the scrapping of the pass laws was calculated to destroy the national liberation movement in South Africa, it was a miscalculation. The struggle had gone beyond that, he said.⁹⁶

Mr Albertus Nothnagel MP (NP) said in an NP caucus debate in May that a 'dramatic redistribution of land in South Africa' was needed. He said that this plea had to be seen in the light of government decisions to desegregate some trade and industrial areas, allow Africans to own land in townships, scrap influx control and allow orderly squatting, stop removals, move towards a system of allowing people to live closer to their jobs rather than be burdened with transport subsidies, promote the informal business sector, upgrade neglected areas, and establish fully-fledged African local authorities linked to the new regional services councils. Each of these decisions called for a dramatic new dispensation with regard to land occupation and utilisation by the different groups in South Africa, Mr Nothnagel said.⁹⁷

Other proposals and comments

Mr Harald Pakendorf, who resigned in May as editor of the Transvaal Nationalist newspaper Die Vaderland said in Cape Town in June that there

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should be no illusions about the fact that the way South Africa was going amounted to a 'regression of democracy'. He called for a broadening of the country's democratic base and for the rallying of what he termed the 'moderate centre' of all sections of the country's population."⁹⁸

Chief Buthelezi told the annual Inkatha conference in July that while there was more hope for negotiation than ever before in the country's history, the NP was under-achieving in mobilising white goodwill for the negotiations necessary to bring about power sharing. The negotiating task would be to harmonise white and black values into a single political system. Chief Buthelezi said that it had become patently clear to black and white that apartheid was destructive to the economy, to sound relationships with other countries, and to justice.⁹⁹

In August the editor of City Press, Mr Percy Qoboza, said that he did not believe that the South African government was going to collapse or that the liberation of Africans was around the corner. The State had not unleashed the full force of its security apparatus and the fight for peace and freedom would last a long time, despite sanctions.¹⁰⁰

In the same month Mr Pat Poovalingam MP (Solidarity) gave notice of a motion he intended to move in the house of delegates in September. The government would be asked to terminate the state of emergency (declared on 12 June) and call a representative, national conference to appoint a constituent assembly. The motion would also call on the government to release political prisoners and detainees, and to institute a government of national reconciliation consisting of all political groups regardless of those who were not prepared to participate.¹⁰¹ Mr Poovalingam was prevented from moving the motion because of time and other considerations, and intended re-introducing it in May 1987.¹⁰²

In August the South African Law Commission announced that it was conducting an investigation into group and human rights and called for suggestions, inter alia, on a bill or bills of human and group rights. The chairman of the commission's task group, Mr Justice P J J Olivier, said that about 600 organisations would also be invited to submit recommendations to it.¹⁰³ However, a professor of law at the University of Pretoria, Professor J van der Westhuizen, said that it was inconceivable that a credible and effective bill of rights could exist and be applied while there were so many apartheid laws on the statute book.¹⁰⁴

The Second Tier

Phasing out of provincial councils

The state president, Mr P W Botha, confirmed at the opening of Parliament that he intended restructuring the system of (whites-only) provincial government to involve all communities.¹⁰⁵ This was followed by an announcement on 7 February by the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that multiracial provincial administrations dealing with general affairs would come into being on 1 July. ¹ In 1985 Mr Heunis had outlined the government's plans for the phasing out of the provincial council system (see 1985 Survey p67).

In terms of the Provincial Government Act, passed in June, all four

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provincial councils ceased to exist at the end of that month. The act made no stipulation as to the race of the provincial administrators and members of the executive committees to be appointed by the state president in their place. A memorandum on the bill explained that this was because the new provincial authorities would deal with general affairs.

The act empowered these authorities, which were financially and politically responsible to Parliament, to handle general affairs matters assigned to them by Parliament or the state president. Provision was made in the act for the subdivision of provinces. In addition the act empowered the state president to provide for the joint exercise of powers by provincial authorities and nonindependent homelands."⁷

Mr Heunis said in May that he had received instructions from the government to devolve to provincial level as soon as possible all those executive functions under his control which directly affected Africans (ie housing, welfare, and socio-economic development).¹¹ These functions would be placed under the direct control of African decision makers.

All 13 development boards were abolished on 1 July (see below) and their staff (numbering 27 000) transferred on an interim basis to the new provincial authorities.

The state president announced that the administrators of the four provinces, Mr E Louw (Cape), Mr L J Botha (Orange Free State), Mr W A Cruywagen (Transvaal), and Mr R M Cadman (Natal), would retain their posts after 1 July. However, four New Republic Party (NRP) members of the executive committee (MECs) of the Natal provincial council (which was involved in the KwaZulu Natal indaba), including the senior MEC, Mr Frank Martin, were told that their services would be terminated.¹⁰

Those appointed by the state president as members of the new executives were: Cape - Mr D Adams, Mr T W Nyati, Mr J W Theron, Mr A J van Wyk, and Mr P J Schoeman; Natal - Mr A G Joosub, Mr P M Miller, Mr S Naidoo, Mr C J Pierce, and Mr V A Volker; Orange Free State - Mr R P G Dreyer, Mr C C Henney, Mr R J Mokotjo, and Mr H J R Simes; Transvaal - Mr J M Griffiths, Mr D P Kirstein, Mr I F H Mayet, Mr J S Mavuso, Mr S J Schoeman, and Dr W R Hoods.⁰

The first Indian to be appointed by the government to serve on the Transvaal executive committee, Mr Mayet, said that he was determined to make use of all 'legal' channels to fight for equality in South Africa. Mr Mavuso, the first African on the Transvaal executive committee, said that he was pleased to be making a contribution. He was expelled from Inkatha's central committee for accepting the appointment."¹ No African was appointed in Natal.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Mr Colin Eglin, said that the changes - which he described as 'empire-building' - would end popular representation at the second tier of government and give bureaucrats increased powers over matters such as education, township planning, and housing. Mr Martin said that nobody should be fooled by government references to devolution, as the new system meant a centralisation of power. The key decision makers would owe allegiance to the state president rather than the electorate. This was happening at a time when the need for democratic government was more urgent than ever, he said.²

PROVINCIAL AND REGIONAL PROPOSALS

Mr David Curry, a member of the coloured ministers' council and deputy leader of the Labour Party (LP), said that his party could pride itself on having helped bring Africans into the decision-making process."¹

In a statement issued in Cape Town on 2 October, Mr Heunis announced that the executive powers held by him in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, the Black Communities Development Act of 1984, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, and the Group Areas Act of 1966 (with regard to the issuing of permits) had been transferred to the four provincial administrators as

from 1 October. This constituted an important step in the furthering of the devolution of power, and would be followed by the transfer of other functions and powers to the provinces, such as those affecting certain guide plans and welfare matters, Mr Heunis said. His department would, however, retain responsibility for overall policy making and co-ordination in respect of the functions devolved to the provinces.¹¹⁴

A few days later Mr Heunis said that elected provincial councils with lawmaking functions could be re-introduced in the provinces if this fitted into the pattern of constitutional development. He added that he would have accepted the introduction of more representative political legislatures had it been appropriate in the light of the government's wider programme of reform and constitutional development."⁵

The changes to provincial government meant that the provinces would have responsibility for local government in African communities; control African community and township development, as well as leasehold and freehold projects; and decide when to grant permits for exemption from the restrictions of the Group Areas Act.¹¹⁶ The major objection to these changes came from the PFP, which said that the control of Parliament over African affairs had been seriously hampered and decreased. A further objection by the PFP and the NRP was that Natal had no African representatives on the province's executive committee, leaving coloured people, Indians, and whites to administer African affairs.⁷ The minister of national health and population development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, announced on 14 August the formation of a national health policy council to co-ordinate health policy. It had been the government's intention, when the new provincial authorities came into existence on 1 July, to transfer provincial health and hospital services to the respective 'own affairs' ministers of health. However, the government backed down on this proposal and agreed that control of hospital and medical services would go to the new multiracial provincial authorities."⁸

Provincial and regional proposals

Introducing the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Bill in June, Mr Heunis said that it would provide for joint decision making on a regional level and that it was an important step towards real power sharing between black and white in South Africa.¹⁹

The bill, introduced following a request by the KwaZulu legislative assembly and the Natal provincial council that statutory status be given to their informal co-operative structures (see below), provided for co-ordination in the performing of certain executive functions by the authorities of KwaZulu and Natal. The Natal provincial council had in 1985 passed a resolution calling on the government to establish a statutory body to provide

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a link between the Natal and KwaZulu administrations to deal with matters of common concern (see 1985 Survey p72). The joint executive authority (JEA) would perform duties and functions designated by the state president, although he could give it the power only to perform functions that the two administrations

already had. The JEA was also empowered to make recommendations to the Natal administrator and to KwaZulu, and to act as an agent of the two administrations.¹²¹ The bill was passed in August without any amendments. The act aroused vehement right-wing protest in the house of assembly. Mr Casper Uys (Conservative Party) said that it was an experiment, at the cost of Natal, with a view to extending it to the rest of the country. The sole Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, said that the government was using Natal as a guinea pig for its plans to extend full power sharing to Africans in the whole of South Africa. The NRP and the PFP supported the act."

Non-government initiatives

KwaZulu/Natal indaba

Following an agreement in principle in 1985 to set up a joint executive committee to oversee KwaZulu and Natal (see 1985 Survey p72), the KwaZulu administration and the Natal provincial council convened the KwaZulu Natal indaba with a view to reaching consensus on proposals to be put to the government for the creation of a single legislative body to govern the combined area of KwaZulu and Natal as part of South Africa.¹²

Representatives of 39 organisations (35 as full members and four as observer members) took part in the indaba, which started proceedings in Durban on 3 April. The 35 full members were: Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (Natal region), Black Allied Workers' Union, borough of Pinetown, Durban city council, Durban metropolitan chamber of commerce, Durbanse Afrikaanse sakekamer, Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, indaba co-convenor (formerly Natal provincial council), Inkatha, Inyanda chamber of commerce, Islamic Council of South Africa, junior rapportryers-beweging, Kwaloga (KwaZulu local government association), KwaZulu administration, KwaZulu cane growers' association, Labour Party, Metrocom, Natal agricultural union, Natal association of local affairs committees, Natal chamber of industries, Natal consultative ad-hoc committee, National Council of African Women, National People's Party, New Republic Party, People's Congress Party, Pietermaritzburg city council, Pietermaritzburg chamber of commerce, Progressive Federal Party, Reform Party, regional development advisory committee (region E), Solidarity, South African Hindu Maha Sabha, South African Sugar Association, Trade Union Council of South Africa (Natal area), and Women's Bureau. The four observer members were: Catholic Women's League, Natal law society, Natal municipal association, and the National Party (NP). The NP's observer delegation was headed by the chairman of the NP in Natal, Mr V A Volker. The leader of the NP in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, said that because the NP in Natal was directly involved in central government, it would not be appropriate to participate in the indaba.¹² Nine groups - the African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Conservative Party (CP), the Council of Unions of South Africa,

KWAZULU NATAL INDABA

the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the PanAfricanist Congress, and the United Democratic Front -- refused to participate.¹²

In his opening address the chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, invited the nine organisations to change their minds. He said that the success of the indaba would be the result of the determination of the participants to reach out and find each other in debate, putting behind them fears, prejudices, and distrust which they might have had in the past. Professor Clarence said that he was disappointed that the nine organisations had refused invitations to join the indaba as their presence would have widened its base.²⁵ The director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, was appointed deputy chairman of the indaba.

The chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said that the indaba was a message to the whole world that South Africans had not exhausted all the means for peaceful change.' He warned the participating organisations that they could be subject to intimidation, including violence, to prevent the indaba from being a success.¹²⁷

It was announced in April that the participants in the indaba had reached unanimity on six points of departure:

- * the KwaZulu/Natal region was a single unit and its second-tier government should reflect this reality in its political structure;
- * the indaba was aware of the economic and strategic interdependence between the KwaZulu/Natal region and the rest of South Africa and of the patriotism of its people to its fatherland, South Africa, and had no desire to be sovereignly independent of South Africa;
- * all people of the region had a right to full political participation and effective representation;
- " the indaba accepted the democratic principles of freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, and access to the law. Legislation based on racial discrimination must be abolished;
- " society in KwaZulu/Natal should be founded on a free economic system and the provision of equal opportunities for all. Provision should also be made for the protection of the rights of individuals and groups; and
- * legislative and administrative power should be devolved as much as possible.¹

Mr P W Botha said on 18 April that while a joint KwaZulu/Natal administration had been accepted in principle by the government, the decision had nothing to do with the indaba concerning a joint legislative body for KwaZulu and Natal, which was a completely different matter and held deep political implications.¹²⁹

On 10 July the indaba adopted a bill of rights which would be entrenched in the provincial constitution. Among its main provisions were:

- * all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; " everyone is equal before the law, and shall be entitled to equal protection of the law, without any distinction on the basis of race, colour, language, sex, religion, ethnic or social origin, property, birth, political or other opinion, or economic or other status;
- * no one shall be subject to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- * no one shall be subject to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family,

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home, or communications, nor to attacks upon his honour or reputation;

* everyone has the right to lawfully own and occupy property anywhere in the province;

* a person belonging to an ethnic, religious, or linguistic group shall not be denied the right to enjoy his own culture, to profess and practise his own religion, or to use his own language;

* everyone shall be entitled to freedom of opinion and expression, which includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas;

* everyone shall be entitled to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests, and no one may be compelled to belong to an association;

* everyone shall be free to form or to join political parties in order to participate in periodic and free elections, which shall be held by secret ballot or by equivalent free voting procedures;

* everyone shall be entitled to equal work opportunities and to free choice of employment; and

* the rights and freedoms protected in this bill of rights are binding on the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and all government institutions in the province insofar as they fall within the purview of and flow from the powers and functions devolved on the province and any person may forthwith apply to the supreme court or to other competent authorities provided for in the constitution by appropriate proceedings or by petition to enforce these rights and freedoms.

The indaba decided on 28 November on a nonracial constitution for the government of KwaZulu and Natal as a single unit within South Africa. In addition to the bill of rights, the proposed constitution provided for the following:

" a 100-member first legislative chamber elected by universal adult suffrage through a system of multi-member, constituency-based proportional representation. The percentage vote captured by any group would be directly reflected in membership of the chamber;

* a 50-member second chamber equally representing African, Afrikaans, Asian, and English background groups as well as a South African group representing voters who preferred not to vote according to 'background';

* a prime minister responsible to the first chamber and a cabinet of ten;

* a titular governor, appointed by the state president on the advice of the provincial legislature;

* constitutionally recognised cultural councils for the protection and promotion of the cultural rights and interests of groups representing the principal segments of the Natal population. The councils would have the 'locus standi' to apply to the supreme court for judgment on the validity of legislation affecting language, religion, traditions, customs, and culture;

* proportionally elected standing committees drawn from both chambers of

the legislature to consider and amend legislation after first reading;

* constitutional entrenchment of local government powers; and

* traditional authorities (in KwaZulu) to be treated as part of the system of local government, with provision made for a council of chiefs.

The prime minister would be the leader of the party which secured an

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overall majority in the first chamber in an election, or, if no party or coalition of parties secured an overall majority, would be elected by the first chamber. The prime minister would have the right to appoint half the cabinet (if his party secured an overall majority), the other half being chosen by an electoral college consisting of members of all other parties represented in both chambers. Each group represented in the second chamber would be guaranteed a seat in the cabinet.

The first chamber would be able to force the resignation of the prime minister by a two-thirds majority vote.

Legislation would have to be ratified by the relevant standing committee and passed by both chambers before becoming law. Standing committees would proportionally represent all parties in the legislature. Legislation affecting language, religion, or cultural rights would require the support of a majority of that particular 'background group' in the second chamber.

The proposals were due to be presented to Mr Heunis on 13 January 1987. The indaba also called for a referendum to test the views of the people of KwaZulu and Natal on the proposals.¹⁰

The proposals were endorsed by 82% of the full delegates and rejected by 9%, while 9% abstained.

The indaba's proposals would give wide powers and a high degree of autonomy to the new province, most of them already enjoyed by the existing KwaZulu administration. Among the functions which would be allocated to the provincial government were:

* housing;

* revenue collection;

" education;

* economic, social, and financial planning;

* health services, including social welfare; " agriculture, forestry, and veterinary and conservation services;

* physical and land-use planning;

" tourism; and

* local government (including tribal authorities). Among functions that would remain with the central government would be:

* foreign affairs;

" defence;

* national intelligence;

* police;

* prisons;

* posts and telecommunications;

- " railways and harbours;
- " commissioner of inland revenue;
- * customs and excise; and
- * labour union and arbitration matters.

The indaba further proposed that all laws applicable in Natal and KwaZulu at the time of commencement of the new constitution should remain in force until they were repealed by the competent authority, which could be the provincial legislature or the South African parliament. The constitution should also contain a provision to deal with possible conflict where three sets of laws (parliamentary legislation, KwaZulu legislation, and Natal provincial

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ordinances) applied to various parts of the same region and could even in cases overlap.

In respect of matters entrusted to the competency of the provincial legislature, it should have the power to amend or repeal any act of the South African parliament. No act of the South African parliament which dealt with a matter entrusted to the legislative competency of the provincial legislature and made after the commencement of the new constitution should apply to Natal. The Natal legislature would have full powers to make laws for the province within the functions of government entrusted to it.

The publicity secretary of AZAPO, Mr Muntu Myeza, said that AZAPO rejected the indaba completely. 'This is a process which we believe will further alienate the great majority of our people. We believe in one unitary state with a common boundary.' The NIC said that there could not and should not be a separate dispensation for Natal for the resolution of the country's common problems.³ The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, reiterated the party's 'complete rejection' of the indaba. He said that it had no mandate from the people of Natal and that the CP rejected the concept of African majority rule which, he said, the indaba promoted 'in spite of their smokescreen slogans which talk of bills of rights and power sharing'.¹³² The United States (US) secretary of state, Mr George Shultz, indicated in December that the US administration approved of the indaba. 'It has shown that South Africans are capable of difficult mutual accommodation to advance the cause of racial justice and representative government when they are challenged,' he said.³³

In November Mr Stoffel Botha rejected the indaba's proposals. He said that one of his main reasons for doing so was that they did not accommodate the political rights of minorities, only their cultural rights. The model gave no indication of effective and equal power sharing, he said, and would lead to domination. Mr Botha maintained that there were groups in the region who wanted to participate in political processes and structures on a group basis.¹⁴ The South African ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, said in London on 3 December that Pretoria had not rejected the indaba's proposals and that Mr Stoffel Botha had not been speaking on behalf of the government, but in his capacity as leader of the NP in Natal.³⁵

Mr Heunis said that while he had received no official submissions from the indaba, the government would consider the proposals and test them against the general guidelines which it had outlined for the constitutional participation of African communities. If they were found to be acceptable, attention would have to be given to the possible testing of the various communities about the proposals.³⁶ The PFP candidate for the north Rand (Transvaal) parliamentary seat, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said that the indaba proposals were a glimmer of hope on a bleak political horizon. To reject the KwaZulu/Natal plan as the NP did without having participated in the eight-month period of negotiation which had led to its acceptance was 'a spectacular instance of arrogant folly', he said. He added that in his opinion the indaba was the sort of 'constitutional laboratory' South Africa needed.³⁷

The secretary general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said in December that the indaba had proved that negotiation politics was 'alive and well' in South Africa at a time when the country was being written off as politically

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'incorrigible' and on the brink of violent revolution.¹³

The Third Tier

Regional services councils (RSCs)

During the year under review the government remained committed to the establishment of regional services councils (RSCs) to bring together representatives (including Africans) of racially exclusive local authorities in certain defined areas for certain purposes, mainly the bulk provision of services (see 1985 Survey pp72-76). RSCs were to be financed through a regional services levy (a payroll tax) and a regional establishment levy (a turnover tax) imposed on all enterprises in a region. The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said during the debate on the Regional Services Councils Amendment Bill, passed in June, that RSCs should have been introduced two years previously because opportunities for industrial development had been lost. He denied that they were an embodiment of an ideology, saying that apartheid and ethnicity were not synonymous¹³

Legislation

The Regional Services Councils Amendment Act provided more precise definitions of who was to be drawn into the tax net. The principal act had provided that the regional establishment levy would be based on a percentage of general sales tax collected. Because this was considered to be too narrow a base, as a large number of sales and services were exempted, the definition was replaced by a general provision imposing the levy on all enterprises. Such enterprises would be any trade, business, profession, or other 'ongoing' activity - whether or not profit-orientated - but excluding the work of religious, charitable, or educational institutions of a public character. Examples of non-profit operations include municipal bus services and the Post Office's telephone service. In addition the amendment act brought the principal act into line with the new provincial arrangements, laid down preparatory steps for the establishment of an RSC, empowered local bodies which performed an RSC function to claim a levy

on behalf of the RSC from enterprises under the RSC's jurisdiction, and provided for the establishment of committees to perform certain RSC duties. It also empowered the minister of finance to determine the circumstances in which an employee would be deemed to be employed, or what constituted an enterprise within a region. He could determine how the regional establishment levy should be calculated, exempt any employer or person from either levy, and make any provision to enable an RSC to impose or claim a levy.⁴⁰

Commenting on the amendment act, Mr Ken Warren, the legal manager of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM), said that it granted the minister of finance the power to impose levies at his discretion, without reference to the legislature. A senior official of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), Mr Arthur Hammond Tooke, maintained that if the levies were expanded, this would harm the income and employment-generating capability of some regions. However, the FCI welcomed the greater clarification of the functions and methods of RSCs.¹⁴¹

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In terms of the Second Regional Services Councils Amendment Bill, published on 11 July, the administrator of the Cape was empowered to establish RSCs where divisional councils existed and assign such councils' functions to the RSCs. In addition, the demarcation of RSCs could be carried out by the provincial administrator without conforming to the requirements laid down in the principal act. The divisions which become RSCs would be deemed to be regions demarcated in terms of section 2 of the principal act.¹⁴

The Despatch, Port Elizabeth, and Uitenhage local authorities indicated in July that they were opposed to the bill, which was not enacted during the year under review. The Port Elizabeth town clerk, Mr Paul Botha, said that to revert to delimitation based on boundaries which had no greater justification than the historic fact of their existence would be a retrograde step. The effect of the bill would be to delimit RSCs on a rational and consultative basis in the rest of the country, while in the Cape (the only province with divisional councils) historic boundaries would be retained, he said.¹⁴³

Introduction of RSCs

The government had hoped to have the first RSC operating by 1 January but subsequently set the target date at 1 July, which was also not met. The chairman of Johannesburg's central business district association, Mr Nigel Mandy, called on the government in June to delay plans for the introduction of RSCs. He said that they would fail because there would be no meaningful African participation, adding that the United Democratic Front (UDF), Inkatha, and many African councillors distrusted and rejected the system."

The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said on 30 October that the first RSCs could be established by 1 January 1987. With regard to the Transvaal, he said that investigations into the Pretoria and Witwatersrand areas had been completed, the possibility of RSCs in the eastern Transvaal and the Vereeniging/Vanderbijlpark regions had been investigated, while consultation meetings had been held in the western Transvaal and were to

be held in the northern Transvaal. In the Cape the administrator's approval was awaited on RSCs for the Cape metropolitan and Port Elizabeth regions, and investigations into the southern and northern regions were to take place shortly. In the Orange Free State approval was awaited on an RSC for the Bloemfontein region.⁴⁵ The minister of housing, local government and agriculture in the house of delegates, Mr Baldeo Dookie, said in Durban in November that the KwaZulu government's 'unwillingness' to take part in RSCs was complicating the question of RSCs being established in Natal.¹⁴

The first three RSCs for the Transvaal were announced on 10 December, although they were due to come into operation only in 1987. The largest (on the east Rand) would incorporate 31 towns and cities, including Alberton, Boksburg, Germiston, Katlehong, Kempton Park, KwaThema, and Springs. The RSC for the central Rand area would incorporate 13 towns and cities, including Alexandra, Dobsonville, Johannesburg, Randburg, Roodepoort, Sandton, and Soweto. The RSC for the west Rand would represent 17 towns, including Carletonville, Kagiso, Krugersdorp, Mohlakeng, and Randfontein.¹⁴⁷

Cape Town city councillors voiced anger over a decision by the Cape

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provincial administration on how large Cape Town's RSC would be. The chairman of the city's planning committee, Mr Clive Keegan, said that the MEC for local government had simply read out a statement indicating that the RSC would cover the entire Cape, Paarl, and Stellenbosch divisional council areas, an area much larger than the demarcation board had recommended. Mr Keegan said that the city council had been 'ignored, rejected, and treated with contempt at every turn', and that the result of imposing RSCs would be 'civic dissension on a vast scale'.⁴

The administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, warned local authorities not to inflate staffing numbers following the creation of RSCs. As far as possible RSC functions would have to be carried out with the available expertise and personnel, he said. He added that RSCs would have to determine whether the higher standards of living envisaged by the legislation actually improved the quality of life for residents of their towns or whether it was money wasted 'for show'.¹⁴⁹

Mr Heunis said in November that the implementation of RSCs provided a golden opportunity for liaison and co-operation between all race groups at local government level. He stressed that RSCs were not a new government level but simply a 'horizontal extension of local government'. The implementation of RSCs had three goals: political participation, effective rendering of services, and the gathering and distribution of additional sources of income.'

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) decided to allow its members to serve on RSCs. Its federal congress, held in November, voted against barring members from participation, but noted the party's opposition to the apartheid-based nature of the councils.^{5'}

Other comments and proposas

The Cape Town city council's executive committee chairman, Mr John Muir, said in May that the region's RSC was destined to fail because the bodies through which 'so-called persons of colour' would be represented on the RSC (management committees and community councils) were not acceptable to the majority of Cape Town's people. He said that central control over local government was being strengthened and that decisions were being made without consulting those likely to be most affected.⁵²

At its annual congress the Cape province municipal association (CPMA) accepted RSC legislation as the point of departure for evolutionary reform at local government level. A motion from Queenstown expressing grave reservations about RSCs was withdrawn.¹⁵³

The PFP's Transvaal chairman, Mr Douglas Gibson, said in June that the introduction of RSCs would push the total wage and salary bill for provincial and local government workers above R5bn a year. He said that the replacement of existing coloured and Indian management committees with town councils would mean that even in relatively small communities there would be coloured, Indian, and white town councils operating side by side. He maintained that several thousand more workers would have to be employed in the coloured and Indian local authorities created under the new system. ⁵

Mobil Oil South Africa said in a newspaper advertisement in August that RSCs were not based on the principle of freedom of political association, but

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on apartheid. 'They will reinforce apartheid in local government at precisely the time when popular demands for multiracial and integrated municipalities are growing.' The company called on the government to stand back and allow black and white leaders in Natal, the western Cape, and elsewhere to negotiate new regional and metropolitan forms of government that responded to the wishes of people living there.¹⁵

The South African Property Owners' Association (SAPOA) said at an RSC workshop it organised in August that levies on wages and turnover would discourage job creation and trade in an already hard-pressed economy. It said that the government had pressed ahead with its proposals despite widespread black rejection of segregated municipalities and fears that RSCs could become another layer of bureaucracy for the already over-burdened private sector. -'

Speaking in September at a symposium on RSCs organised in Johannesburg by the South African Institute of Race Relations, Professor Nic Olivier MP (PFP) said that RSCs were unacceptable because they were based on racially-separate local authorities and enforced through the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1966. In addition, Africans were still excluded from participation in central government, which dictated developments at local government level. The Chinese community and small coloured and Indian communities who did not live within the area of jurisdiction of established management committees or local affairs committees had no municipal vote and representation. They would thus not be directly represented on RSCs. Professor Olivier also said that the basis of representation on, and the

voting procedures for, RSCs cast doubt on whether redistribution of wealth would in fact occur in a region, despite the requirement in the principal act that preference should be given to the establishment, improvement, and maintenance of infrastructural services and facilities in areas where the greatest need existed. At the same symposium, the chairman of the Sandton town council's management committee, Mr Ricky Valente, criticised the fact that local bodies in a region would have to make use of RSC services, whether they wished to or not. He stressed that different areas had different needs and that what was needed was 'logical metropolitanism' whereby a negotiated and appropriate metropolitan arrangement could be set up. Mr Keegan criticised RSCs on the grounds that they were the product of little political consultation, represented a centralisation of power, and were weighted in favour of the wealthy. He said that Cape Town should be allowed to work out its own nonracial democratic local government system.

Another issue discussed at the Institute's symposium was whether RSCs would remain viable if they had to bear the cost of the transport subsidy which the government was considering withdrawing. Mr Olaus van Zyl, a member of Randburg's management committee (and also of the president's council), admitted that the transport subsidy question was unresolved but said that a White Paper on the issue was awaited. He maintained that RSCs were potentially viable and that their flexibility was the key to their success. The department of finance's chief executive director of financial institutions, treasury, and public finance, Mr Gerhard Croeser, said that RSCs would raise living standards in spite of being partly inflationary. He emphasised that

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the redistributive function of RSCs depended on the bona fides of the local bodies involved.

The town clerk of Atteridgeville, Mr Solly Rammala, noted that RSCs had serious shortcomings but said that they seemed to be the only practicable solution to the rendering of services to communities on a regional basis. Their success, he said, would depend on how effectively they were allowed to utilise their new sources of revenue, on their attitude towards intra-regional relationships, and on their ability to bring about visible, perceptible change in underdeveloped areas.¹⁵⁷ A Transvaal member of the provincial executive committee, Mr John Griffiths, said at the Transvaal municipal association congress in October that acceptance of RSCs by other races was vital. He said that his main concern was the principle of self-determination and co-responsibility within the existing structures of management committees, community councils, and African local authorities as an 'own' power base.'

Regionale vies

In his budget speech on 17 March, Mr Du Plessis announced the government's intention to introduce the RSC levies later in the year. They would not be collected before September, he said, adding that regulations governing the levies would appear in the Government Gazette shortly. He also disclosed that it had been agreed that the regional establishment levy should not exceed 0,1% of the

turnover of a business, while the regional services levy would be limited to a maximum of 0,25% of its total payroll.¹⁵⁹

The regulations were inadvertently gazetted at the end of August. The minister of finance said in September that they had been neither approved nor signed by him. He called for comments on the draft regulations, which had spelled out a complex system of tax collection mechanisms.¹⁶⁰

As noted above, legislation amending the regional levies and broadening their base was passed during the year under review. The levies were not, however, introduced in 1986.

A past president of ASSOCOM, Mr W S Yeoward, said in March that since the South African business community was not really persuaded that the finances and assets of the country had been effectively managed, it could be forgiven for viewing with concern another set of taxes, to be administered by the RSCs. He questioned the wisdom of introducing a payroll tax at a time of considerable unemployment. He also said that the inequity of taxing turnover should be questioned - noting that some businesses existed on high turnovers and low profit margins.¹⁶¹ Objections to the levies raised at the SAPOA workshop were that raising taxes on wages and turnovers would discourage job-creation and trade in an already hard-pressed economy, and that the private sector would probably have to bear the brunt of financing a project regarded as unsuccessful.¹⁶²

The chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, said that the levies would encourage development outside metropolitan areas. They would do the work of implementing the government's decentralisation policies to enhance rural growth points at the expense of large cities, he said.¹⁶³

Other local government legislation

The Declaration of Local Government Areas Ordinance was passed by the

GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION

Cape provincial council on 28 May. In terms of the ordinance, group areas for coloured and Indian population groups situated within the jurisdiction of a white local authority or divisional council would be a local government or 'own affairs' area for those groups. All other areas, except African areas, would be white local government areas. The move was attacked by PFP members as an entrenchment of apartheid and a reconfirmation of the Group Areas Act. ⁶⁴

When a similar ordinance was passed by the Natal provincial council, a New Republic Party (NRP) council member, Mr Adrian Rall, accused the government of trying to sneak legislation through the back door. The government saw great difficulty in getting such legislation through Parliament, he said, and sought to get the provincial councils to do its work for it. He said that when provincial councils were scrapped all ordinances would become acts of parliament. He maintained that while the ordinance would not create separate, racially-based local authorities, it would lay the foundation for their creation.⁶⁵

The Local Government Bodies Electoral Bill was introduced as a result of recommendations by the council for the co-ordination of local government affairs on the need for a uniform electoral system for local government bodies of all

population groups. The bill regulated the registration of voters and the election of members of coloured, Indian, and white local authorities.¹⁶⁶

The Black Local Authorities Second Amendment Bill amended the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 to bring the elections for African local authorities in line with those for other population groups. The bill was also a result of recommendations of the council for the co-ordination of local government affairs. According to the government, because the Local Government Bodies Franchise Act of 1984 did not apply to African local authorities, it was not possible to make the Local Government Bodies Electoral Bill as a whole applicable to African local authorities - hence the separate amendment bill.¹⁶⁷

Both bills encountered opposition from coloured and Indian MPs who argued that they entrenched ethnicity at local government level and bolstered the concept of 'own affairs'. They were due to be tabled before the standing committee on constitutional development and planning on 20 October.⁶ They were not passed during the year under review.

The department of constitutional development and planning announced that on 30 October the municipal associations of all population groups would have equal representation for the first time on the council for the coordination of local government affairs. Inter alia, the council was to discuss the devolution of powers to local authorities, regional services, the drafting of uniform local government legislation, and the participation of officials in municipal elections on a party-political basis.⁶⁹

Non-government initiatives

The administrator of the Cape, Mr Eugene Louw, said in April that the striving by certain local authorities for racially-mixed local executive councils based on a qualified or unqualified vote was not government policy. He said that local authorities were an 'own affair' in terms of schedule 1 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983.¹⁷⁰

COLOURED, INDIAN, AND WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

During the year under review a small but growing number of local authorities expressed themselves in favour of multiracial local government. The mayor and town clerk of George in the Cape called for a racially-mixed town council. In Natal, Pietermaritzburg's city council voted in favour of a multiracial council to run the city, while the Stanger town council decided in May to approach the administrator of Natal to allow it to become what would be the first fully multiracial local authority in South Africa.¹⁷¹

No such permission was received by the end of the year. The Sandton town council (Transvaal) agreed in August to petition the state president to amend legislation to allow the Indian community of Marlboro Gardens to become a ward of Sandton.¹⁷² The mayor of Cape Town, Mr Leon Markowitz, reported that a survey of attitudes to the municipal franchise had found no support for the existing system of racially-separate voters' rolls.¹⁷³

Political developments in coloured, Indian, and white local government A statement issued in January by the deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said that new directives to promote intergroup

relations had been sent to relations committees throughout the country. The directives stipulated that each committee had to be as representative as possible of the entire local community. According to the government, relations committees bring the various groups in local communities together with the aim of 'acquiring the art of negotiation and the philosophy of give and take'. The relations system was a network of about 200 committees comprising about 400 coloured people and whites who met at least every three months to improve race relations. It was proposed that Indians, and possibly Africans, would be invited to join. Members usually included church ministers, teachers, and mayors.

Among the functions of the committees were liaison with leading individuals in local communities to motivate them to promote sound intergroup relations, the obtaining of speakers on topical matters to promote good relations at meetings attended by community leaders, the supply of information on the various communities and on sound human relations, and the attending to local practices which were discriminatory and could cause friction. The committees could also give guidance and advice discreetly and make any necessary representations; hold conferences and gatherings to enable people to exchange ideas and identify problems requiring joint action; and present joint cultural and other activities such as plays, films, songs, art, and debating competitions.

In the statement, Mr Badenhorst said that the relations committees had already broken ground by identifying problems at local level and working together on possible solutions.¹⁷⁴

Mr Heunis told the united municipal executive (UME) in March that South Africa was to be divided into thousands of racially- and geographically-specific local authorities that would replace existing municipalities under the government's new system of local government. He said that the boundaries of municipalities and divisional councils would be redrawn in a 'scientific' way to create individual local authorities for the different race groups. ¹⁷⁵

Opening the 13th annual congress of the Association of Management Committees (ASSOMAC) in September, the president, the Rev Edward Mannikam, said that ASSOMAC believed that the principle of nonracial

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local government should be accepted. Where in a particular region local authorities opted for this principle, they should be allowed to establish structures which would make it a reality.¹⁷⁶

ASSOMAC voted in September by 219 votes to 19 to rescind a 1985 decision in terms of which the association would have disbanded in September if the government had not agreed to direct representation for local authorities.¹⁷⁷

Cape

Legislation affecting three local government ordinances and aimed at giving the administrator more power to force a local council to comply with a particular regulation was opposed by the PFP in the Cape provincial council. According to the member of the executive committee (MEC) for local government, Mr Willem Bouwer, the ordinances were necessary for 'orderly government' and would give the administrator, Mr Eugene Louw, 'some teeth' and 'more effective power'. A

number of local authorities in the Cape had been apathetic in establishing management committees, he said. Both the administrator and Mr Bouwer made it clear that the legislation was aimed at forcing local authorities to co-operate more closely with coloured and Indian management committees. A PFP provincial councillor, Mr Jan van Gend, said that the move ran counter to the government's professed intention of devolving power to the third tier.⁷¹

A proposal that representations be made to the State for legislation to allow coloured people representation on municipal councils in proportion to their financial contribution to the maintenance and development of their towns, was dropped by the CPMA congress in April. The mayor of Swellendam (western Cape), Mr A S Powell, said that the motion was political and should not be taken further.⁷

The chairman of the Port Elizabeth Indian management committee, Mr Raman Bhana, said in August that the committee wanted direct representation on the city's (white) council. The city council held powers which the committee needed to exercise, said Mr Bhana. These included the allocation of houses, and of residential, business, industrial, and institutional services; civil defence; awarding of contracts; and the holding of inquiries.¹⁰

Natal

The southern Durban (Indian) local affairs committee decided in January to remain prorogued until the Durban city council met its demands on several issues, such as the provision of facilities in Chatsworth and the selling of land in the Chatsworth town centre by public auction.¹⁸

In May the Cato Manor (Durban) residents' association (CMRA) called on the house of delegates to scrap proposals for a statutory consultative body for the area and to recognise the CMRA as the community's only representative in place of the Cato Manor ratepayers' co-ordinating council.⁸²

In July a move by the Pietermaritzburg city council to grant nominees of the (coloured and Indian) local affairs committees voting rights on the council was thwarted for a second time by the Natal municipal association (NMA). The UME had earlier in the year dismissed an NMA resolution calling for voting rights for coloured and Indian committees on the grounds that local government was an 'own affair' and could not, therefore, include all races.,"

Pietermaritzburg's mayor, Mr Mark Cornell, said in September that

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separate racially-based local authorities had not worked in ten years in South West Africa/Namibia and would not work in South Africa. Mr Cornell called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, which move, he said, would allow local authorities to develop options for the future.TM

Transvaal

Residents of the coloured township of Ennerdale (near Johannesburg) won a battle to remain under the jurisdiction of the Transvaal peri-urban areas board instead of becoming autonomous. The Ennerdale residents' and ratepayers' association, which had fought autonomy, said that it had not been consulted and that the Ennerdale management committee had been unable to give satisfactory

answers to questions it had raised - especially with regard to how an autonomous local authority for Ennerdale would be financed.",

The southeast Lenasia (near Johannesburg) management committee decided in May to suspend its activities until greater co-operation was forthcoming from the house of delegates. The committee's chairman, Mr M S Shah, said that 'so-called Indian parliamentarians are supposed to be familiar with the problems of the Indian community and to address issues raised by us as a matter of urgency, but this has not been the case. The lacklustre performance by Lenasia MPs in addressing issues affecting the people they are supposed to represent has been disappointing.' Mr Shah said that the management committee would stand prorogued until the minister of local government, housing and agriculture in the Indian house, Mr Baldeo Dookie, was prepared to meet the committee.⁸⁶ Addressing the local government and housing conference of the Transvaal association of management committees in August, the chief executive of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM), Mr Raymond Parsons, said that to implement a federal philosophy, true devolution of political power from the central or regional government to local authorities was of cardinal importance. He maintained that there was a real need to develop an autonomous system of local government capable of responding not only to problems of wider regional concern, but especially to those at the neighbourhood community level."⁸⁷

African local government

During the year under review various political groupings continued to oppose African local authorities. Councillors were put under pressure, including violence or the threat thereof, to resign and some were forced to move out of the townships. Township administration broke down in some instances and, in some cases, white administrators took over.

Policy and proposals

A department of constitutional development and planning spokesman, Mr P de Beer, said in April that if the 'chaotic atmosphere' prevalent in African local authorities made it impossible for them to hold byelections, whites would replace councillors who resigned. According to Mr De Beer, at least four councils around the country had collapsed (see below). He blamed 'radical elements' such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) 'for the demise of the local authority system'. The mayor of Daveyton, Mr Tom Boya, said that he totally disapproved of white officials taking over townships' administration. 1s

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The administrator of the Cape, Mr Eugene Louw, said in June that about 40% of African local government bodies had totally collapsed 'because of intimidation and victimisation'. He said that he foresaw that the government would have to introduce a new approach as regards the handling of African interests. Mr Louw added that the recovery of African local government authorities and the re-establishment of confidence in, and co-operation with, the system was an important and essential challenge to the new provincial arrangements (see above)."⁸⁸

During the debate on the Black Local Authorities Amendment Bill (see below), the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that unless something was done to 'restore the balance', the African National Congress (ANC) would succeed in its plan to make parts of the country ungovernable. As a result the government had decided to introduce the bill, which would provide for uniform legislation for all authorities. I"

Addressing the east Rand urban councils' association (ERUCA) in June, the deputy minister of education and development aid, Mr Sam de Beer, praised African local councillors for their positive role in a changing South Africa. He said that local authorities formed part of the reform programme to create improved circumstances for all South Africans. He added that the prime target of South Africa's 'enemies' was grassroots democracy, namely local government.⁹

The Black Local Authorities Amendment Act, passed in June, was aimed at the establishment of town committees as a form of local government in addition to city and town councils. Powers and duties were to be conferred upon town committees in the same way as in the case of village councils. The latter would become known as town councils. Town committees, which would replace community councils, would be able to make bylaws on matters within their powers and enjoy the same status as village councils. All existing community councils were deemed to be town committees. According to a memorandum on the Black Local Authorities Amendment Bill there was no further justification for the existence of two distinct systems of African local government (ie community councils versus city and town councils), as laid down in the Community Councils Act of 1977 and the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982.

Because of considerable dissatisfaction among Africans about the title 'village councils', the act designated the following titles for local government structures: greater city council, city council, town council, town committee, and local authority committee.

The act also provided for a local authority to increase the tariffs for services rendered by it if the supplier of bulk services to the local authority altered its tariffs. A clause in the bill empowering the local authority to recover charges for rent and services from the employer of a debtor was dropped after criticism by opposition parties and commerce and industry. The requirement that financial statements of a local authority be tabled in Parliament was abolished.

The authority of the minister of constitutional development and planning, the director of local government, and the provincial administrator to delegate

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powers, as well as the power of the minister to make regulations, was extended. Finally, the appointment and powers of law enforcement officers were further regulated by the act.

The Abolition of Development Bodies Act, assented to by the state president on 1 July, abolished the 13 development boards and the Transvaal board for the development of peri-urban areas, and placed the boards' employees, numbering some 27 000, under the control of provincial administrators on an interim basis.

All board property was to be transferred to African local authorities. Mr Heunis said that this was part of a move to place African political decision makers in control of all matters affecting African interests.⁹³

The department of constitutional development and planning said that while the activities of the boards would in effect continue, the places of their chairmen and members would be taken by provincial administrators and executive committees. The statement also said that the act provided for a 'transition' period of six months, during which time the administrators would act as 'executors of the estate' of the abolished boards and administer them as separate units. The development boards' functions and personnel would eventually be placed with one of five authorities: a government department; a provincial administration; an RSC; an African, coloured, Indian, or white local authority; or the Industrial Development Corporation.

Provision was also made in the act for the possible future abolition of other development bodies such as the divisional councils in the Cape, and the regional water service corporations and services boards in Natal. ¹⁹

The development boards were originally called 'bantú affairs administration boards' and were set up by the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971. They took over from white local authorities the administration of African townships in white-designated areas. With the subsequent establishment of African local authorities their functions gradually diminished and with the Abolition of Influx Control Act of 1986 (see Urbanisation and Housing) one of their major remaining functions, pass law administration, disappeared. Since their inception, the boards were repeatedly criticised by Africans. Development board property in the townships was a major target of arson in riots in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 and 1977. Professor Nic Olivier MP (PFP) said that abolishing the boards would be 'useless' if Africans still encountered their officials elsewhere.¹⁹⁵

The mayor of Katlehong (east Rand) said that he was pleased about the move as in his view the boards had retarded progress for many years. 'We will be able to do our own planning, appoint our own advisers and technicians and run our townships the way we want them,' he said.¹⁹⁶

Finance

Mr Heunis announced in Parliament that each development board had invested the following total amounts as at 28 February of the year under review: central Transvaal, R7,5m; east Rand, R3,2m; eastern Cape, R9,5m; eastern Transvaal, R2,5m; Highveld, R5,9m; Natalia, R20,1m; northern Cape, R6,3m; northern Transvaal, R7,4m; Orange Vaal, R16,3m; southern Orange Free State (OFS), R1,6m; west Rand, R12,8m; western Cape, R6,2m; and western Transvaal, R7,4m.¹⁹⁷

According to the government the total amount by which African local

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authorities were subsidised was R25,2m in 1983/84, R51,3m in 1984/85, and R63,3m in 1985/86.^{1%}

The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, announced in April that the government had set aside an amount of R320m to improve infrastructure in underdeveloped black towns and villages over the following three years." According to the department of constitutional development and planning's annual report for 1985, a project to upgrade 120 African townships involving 15 000 stands and 1,2m people had already been started. The report, tabled in Parliament on 9 May, said that the department's resources would be taxed because new extensions had to be developed for families living in overcrowded towns, as well as for squatters settled in open spaces, buffer zones, and parks. The 120 towns had not been developed in 20 years, the report said."

According to Mr Heunis the eastern Cape development board (ECDB) was voted amounts of R39 252 933 and R1 998 676 for housing and infrastructural development respectively for the 1985/86 financial year'

The director of the ECDB, Mr Louis Koch, said in April that the state president had announced that region D of the government's decentralisation scheme (ie the eastern Cape) would have R1bn made available to it over the following five years to improve the quality of life in the area." The ECDB approved a R148m capital budget in the same month, to be spent on upgrading infrastructure and the provision of housing and services in the board's area. The chairman of the board, Dr Jannie Wessels, said that the board, or its successors, would have to recover R20,2m a year in interest and redemption charges from African communities to repay its loans.³ The ECDB was owed more than R5m in rent and service charges as at 30 June 1985, the auditor general revealed.'

The Natal development board announced in January that it would spend R1,6m during the year under review to create job opportunities and improve living conditions in African townships. The projects would include improving streets, upgrading hostel complexes, and repairs to communal areas and roads.m

In the same month the department of constitutional development and planning announced projects worth nearly R8m in 29 African areas under the jurisdiction of the Orange Vaai development board (OVDB). The projects would be for improved streets, housing, and infrastructure, and would provide jobs for 6 785 people in the 29 areas administered by 23 community councils and two town councils. The regional representative of the department in the OFS, Mr Hennie Kriel, said that the funds handed over 'show we are not just window dressing but these councils make their own decisions'."

A spokesman for the department of finance said that African local authorities on the east and west Rand would receive R24,6m from the government to create jobs for many unemployed people in their areas.,

Rent defaulters

Mr Du Plessis said in Parliament in February that the poor financial position of development boards was being aggravated by the 'high incidence' of rent and service charge defaulters. To meet shortfalls, a sum of R94m had been included in the 1986 budget vote of the department of constitutional

TOWNSHIP ADMINISTRATION

development and planning as bridging finance."

According to a community research group at the University of the Witwatersrand, rent boycotts were taking place in 28 townships across the country as at July. The group said that the economic recession, rising inflation, and increased unemployment formed the background to the boycotts. It said that they were not the product of a co-ordinated national campaign but began at different times in response to local conditions. In many cases the boycotts were called by civic organisations affiliated to the UDF, the group said.'

It was disclosed in January that Atteridgeville (Pretoria) residents were in rent arrears of more than R1m. The town council promised to take 'drastic steps' if the situation did not improve. The council said that the rents were necessary to improve and upgrade the township.²¹⁰

Warrants were served in June on two residents of Tumahole (Parys) to settle rent owed to the OVDB. Residents in the board's area of jurisdiction had been refusing to pay rent for nearly two years.²¹¹

The Soweto city council's director of housing, Mrs Del Kevan, warned Soweto residents in July that if they did not pay their rent by the middle of that month, they would be evicted from their homes. Mrs Kevan argued that rents were Soweto's only source of income and that they paid for important services, such as electricity, water, refuse removal, and ambulances. Residents had apparently been encouraged not to pay their rents by various political organisations.²¹² In September Mrs Kevan's home in Craighall Park (Johannesburg) was damaged by an explosion after more than 23 people were shot in conflict over rent evictions in Soweto (see Political Developments).²³

The Soweto city council decided in July that all councillors would form vigilante groups to protect residents who wanted to pay rent.¹⁴

Other town councils in the Transvaal and the OFS which threatened to evict rent defaulters included Tembisa (east Rand), Dobsonville (west Rand), and Tumahole.²¹⁵ The Lekoa (Vaal Triangle) town council started evictions in Vaal Triangle townships on 8 August.²¹⁶

Misappropriation of funds

Two senior employees of the KwaThema (Springs) town council were suspended in September for allegedly being involved in the 'disappearance' of R30 000 from council funds. The mayor, Mr Sam Ngema, said that the matter had been handed over to the police.²¹⁷

General developments

Township administration

Among the findings of the commission of inquiry conducted by the rector of Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, into the causes of the Vaal Triangle unrest which had broken out on 3 September 1984 was that there was a lack of communication by the government with Africans about local government and widespread ignorance among them on this topic. 'If they refrain from participating in elections, they should not be too quick to complain about the quality of councillors eventually placed in power by the handful who did exercise their franchise,' he said. Once a situation had become untenable and an African town council found itself unable to communicate normally with voters, the commission

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recommended that the councillors should resign en bloc and declare themselves immediately re-eligible for election.²¹

Mr Heunis said in reply to a question in Parliament in April that 245 community councillors, or about 20% of the 1 277 councillors, had been armed with guns by the government since 1984. Mr Heunis said that this was for reasons of self-defence. Weapons issued to them included 9mm parabelum pistols and 0.25, 0.32, and 0.38 pistols and revolvers.²¹⁹ The arms had been licensed in the name of eight former development boards and six community councils.²²⁰

Mr Heunis said in Parliament on 7 May that 192 community councils, 23 town councils, and 19 village councils had been constituted as at 16 April. Of these 41 did not have a quorum. Mr Heunis added that provision had been made for the continuation of functions in the absence of a quorum.²¹

The Sowetan maintained in July that four town and 37 community councils had collapsed. The four town councils which had collapsed were KwaNobuhle (Uitenhage), Lingelihle (Cradock), Nonzwakazi (De Aar) - all in the eastern Cape - and Alexandra (Johannesburg) in the Transvaal.² The town clerk of Tembisa (east Rand), Mr P Harmse, confirmed on 4 August that the town council had collapsed. It was possible that an administrator would be appointed to run the township, he said.³

The vice president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA), Mr Tom Boya, said in July that a number of white officials who had served on the defunct development boards (see above) and had been seconded to African local authorities had applied for permanent posts with African councils. Mr Boya said white officials would be appointed if no suitable African replacements could be found.²²⁴

Mr Andrew Savage MP (Progressive Federal Party) said in January that a virtual breakdown of township administration in the eastern Cape could force the government to negotiate with the true leaders of the African community on matters of local government. Mr Savage said that facts revealed by the ECDB pointed to a collapse in township administration. He said that only 17 of the 45 community councils in the eastern Cape were still functioning, and that white administrators had taken over the duties of two African local authorities, the KwaNobuhle and the Lingelihle town councils. Outstanding rent in four areas amounted to several million rand, he said. ²²

A call in January by the town clerk of KwaNobuhle, Mr Eddie Coetzee, for a referendum to test African opinion on the community council system was opposed by community organisations in the eastern Cape. The vice president of the UDF in the eastern Cape, Mr Henry Fazzie, said that such a call was too late and that too many lives had already been lost because of the system. He called on the government to introduce one nonracial municipality for each town.²²⁶

The existence of street committees in the eastern Cape was publicly revealed in Port Elizabeth in January. It was claimed that township residents had elected area committee members - all church and civic leaders - from the ranks of the street committees at a prayer meeting on 16 December 1985. African spokesmen said

that street committees had emerged in Cradock, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, and other eastern Cape communities following the detention of political activists in terms of the state of emergency (introduced on 21 July 1985) (see Security).

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An ex-Ibayi (near Port Elizabeth) town councillor, Mr A Peter, told the prayer meeting that each street would be represented by five elected members. He said that the street committees would take action to wipe out criminals and vandals who were terrorising residents.²²⁷ Mr Fazzie said that the committees were the first step towards replacing official administrative structures. 'We do not want community councils,' he argued.ⁿ

The chairman of the Duncan Village (East London) community council, Mr Edison Makeba, claimed in January that the council had the support of the 'vast majority' of residents and challenged anyone to prove otherwise. Mr Makeba was reacting to comments by the chairman of the East London city council's action committee, Mr Donald Card, that the community council was living in 'exile' and did not have the support of the residents., Mr Makeba said that his council would not give up its independence.² Mr Heunis turned down a request in July by the East London city council to take over the administration of Duncan Village and for the Duncan Village residents' association to be recognised. The leader of the council's delegation, Mr Card, said that he had been instructed to say that 'certain moves' with regard to the upgrading of the township were in the process of being worked out, and that steps would be taken as well with regard to the political situation. The Weekly Mail claimed that the Duncan Village community council had 'practically ceased to exist' and that its members 'lived in exile' in a city hotel.^o

The chief director of the Natalia development board (NDB), Mr H A du Plessis, announced on 7 January that the Nhlalakahle (Greytown) township was set to become the first Natal township to be run independently by its community council. Until trained African personnel were available, white NDB staff would be seconded to the council.³¹ The mayor of Thokoza (Alberton) in the Transvaal, Mr Gerald Mamabolo, warned the government in January that African local authorities, even if they were generally accepted, could never satisfy African political aspirations. He said that the deliberate omission of the African majority from the decision-making process of the country was regarded by many as an open invitation to the African majority to resist African local authorities.²³² The chief director of community administration in the department of constitutional development and planning, Mr John Hitge, said in April that the government was unlikely to acknowledge the Alexandra action committee as the legal representative of residents in the township. The government had provided mechanisms and structures for communities to elect representatives to deal with the development of their towns, Mr Hitge said. The committee had claimed a few days earlier that it had established administrative control of Alexandra because residents could no longer accept that outside authorities could deal with their problems.²³¹

In terms of a notice in the Government Gazette in May, Mr Jacobus Steve Burger was appointed to take over the Alexandra town council's duties. Mr Burger was director of housing and community services of the west Rand development board at the time.

The Atteridgeville town council said in June that it supported any organisation which sought to bring an end to the unjust political system in the country. It added, however, that it did not believe that the rendering of essential services and healthy community life should come to an end before

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the necessary political changes were made. 'We also fail to see how destruction of the community's own property can further the aims of any organisation or advance the liberation struggle.'²³⁵

Zithobeni township (near Bronkhorstspuit, east of Pretoria) inaugurated its five-member community council in June. The council's first mayor, Mr Godfrey Mothibe, said that the council's priorities would be to establish a secondary school, provide housing, electrify all the houses, tar roads, and enlighten the residents about the local authority.²³⁶

The Mohlakeng (Randfontein) village council announced in June that an R8m electrification project was to be launched in the township. The mayor, Mr Alfred Tekwane, said that the loan to finance the project had come from the national housing commission.²³⁷

The chief executive director of the department of constitutional development and planning, Dr C F Scheepers, transferred land within the Soweto (Johannesburg) city council's area of jurisdiction to the council on 26 March. He said that this demonstrated the central government's commitment towards African local authorities throughout South Africa. Dr Scheepers said that with the transfer, the Soweto city council had reached the final stage in becoming a fully autonomous local authority. This paved the way for other African local authorities to follow suit and to become 'fully independent and to manage their valuable land assets to the benefit of their own people'.³

The Soweto council laid charges in June against its mayor, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, and placed an indefinite suspension on him. The council was acting against Mr Tshabalala's erection of shacks in Mofolo. Mr Tshabalala had been charged for contravening the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951.²³⁹ Six African administrators were appointed on 18 August to run the affairs of Tembisa on the east Rand. They were all former councillors and were appointed following the resignation of their colleagues, leaving the council without a quorum. The chairman of the group, Mr Solomon More, said that the administrators had more powers than town and community councils and that any decisions would be discussed with township residents.²⁴⁰

Code of conduct

In June a circular dealing with 'ethical conduct' of councillors was sent by the director of local government to all local authorities. The director stated in the circular that numerous reports about alleged malpractices and unethical conduct of councils and individual councillors had been received. He pointed out that

punitive measures to curb misdemeanours were provided for in the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 and could be extended should they be insufficient. A code of conduct would be available in the near future and each councillor would have to take an oath of allegiance, he said. 24 The code, regulating bribery, nepotism, and other activities, had been introduced for the first time in 1985 (see 1985 Survey p87).

The president of the Urban Councils Association of South (UCASA), Mr Steve Kgame, and four councillors of the Dobsonville (Roodepoort) town council, appeared in the Roodepoort regional court on 11 September on charges of corruption and/or theft.²⁴ No convictions had been secured by the end of the year under review.

RESIGNATION OF COUNCILLORS

Resignation of councillors

Opposition to the local authority system for Africans led to further resignations by town and community councillors during the year under review. There had been widespread resignations in 1985 (see 1985 Survey pp88-90).

An Atteridgeville (Pretoria) councillor resigned in March because of 'illhealth and family pressure'.²⁴³ Another resigned within a few days, citing family pressure.^{2"} Mr J B Kekana, a Mamelodi (Pretoria) town councillor, resigned from the council from 1 April, citing 'business pressure'.²⁴⁵ The mayor and councillors of Pretoria's Atteridgeville/Saulsville town council said in May that they would not give in to threats to resign. The mayor, Mr S M Mahlangu, said that the policy and beliefs of the council had been expressed in a newsletter to every family in the township and that criticisms and suggestions on how to improve residents' standard of living were welcomed by the council. Certain groups were busy with a malicious campaign against the council, but their efforts to make the township ungovernable were hitting the residents themselves, he said.²

The entire Alexandra (Sandton) junior town council resigned in April after continued threats to the lives of their families by youth groups in the township. The junior mayor, Mr Harvey Phalatse, said that their resignation was not a comment on the junior town council system and that they intended meeting with the youth groups to discuss the political future of Alexandra.²⁷ Alexandra township's local authority collapsed in April following the resignation of four more councillors, including the mayor, the Rev Sam Buti. Five other members had resigned in the previous two months. Mr Buti denied that he and other councillors had been intimidated, saying that it was rather a question of people making it difficult for development to take place.^{2"}

A Soweto city councillor, Mr Sydney Mkhwanazi, was attacked and killed in August as a result of clashes over threatened rent evictions in White City Jabavu.²⁹ At least 27 councillors left the township and moved to the Johannesburg suburb of Fordsburg for security."³ More than 5 000 people at a meeting at the Eyethu cinema in Soweto in September called on all councillors to resign. The meeting resolved that political and civic bodies be contacted to form an interim committee to administer Soweto, and mandated the former mayor, Mr

Ephraim Tshabalala, to go to Pretoria to tell the government to dissolve the council."

In March the UDF's Vaal branch called on community councillors to resign. A pamphlet issued by the organisation said that 'instead of meeting our legitimate demands, the government is trying to use apartheid courts to stifle the resistance of our people.' In the same month the Katlehong (Germiston) residents' committee called on members of the Katlehong town council to resign.²¹ Wattville (Benoni) residents passed a vote of no confidence in the Wattville town council at a meeting on 14 March." The council collapsed in June after the death of a councillor in that month had left the council without a quorum. The minister of development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was to be asked to appoint an administrator to run the affairs of the township. ²⁵

Two Vosloorus (Boksburg) town council members resigned on 5 May, leaving the nine-member council with seven members. They cited 'family

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pressure' as the reason for their decision.²¹ Another council member said that he would resign on 19 May. He was bowing out because of 'family pressure' and other demanding commitments, he said.⁷ A councillor each from Thokoza and Vosloorus resigned on 2 June, citing, respectively, family and work pressure as reasons.'

Two Tembisa councillors resigned in June. One said that he had found the local authority to be a 'toothless body', the other that he had resigned because of the 'insensitive manner' in which the council had handled striking town council workers' grievances (see Labour Relations).⁹ The mayor of Tembisa, Mr Lucas Mothiba, announced his resignation on 31 July, saying that the African local authorities had no political or economic power. Several attempts had been made on Mr Mothiba's life in the previous three years. His house and business had also been damaged."

An Ikageng (Potchefstroom, western Transvaal) community councillor resigned in May, saying that he had become disillusioned with the local authorities. He said that during his eight years as a councillor he had seen that the councils had achieved nothing and had received only hatred from the communities.²¹

Mothotlung (Brits) residents called on their local town council in July to resign because, they said, they were tired of waiting for amenities to be established in the township. The residents said that the councillors were incompetent, lacked initiative, and looked after their own interests only. ²

Three councillors on the KwaGuqa (Witbank) town council said in May that they had resigned following a realisation that 'our objectives and those of the white officials are different and cannot be reconciled'. ⁶

All the members of the government-nominated advisory board of the Vleifontein (Louis Trichardt) township resigned in May after calls by residents to do so. The resignations came in the wake of resistance by the township's 3 000 residents to government plans to incorporate the township into Venda.²⁶

The Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA)

The national organiser of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA), Mr B Ndlazi, said in his report to UCASA's annual conference in Bloemfontein in April that the English press was biased against African local councils. 'They would like to see councils go down the drain, and I'm not afraid to say that,' he said. Mr Ndlazi emphasised that the councillors had been elected democratically and claimed that they were still supported by most of those who voted for them.²⁰

UCASA was given a mandate at its conference to raise money overseas for a loan of R500m to upgrade African townships. The president of UCASA, Mr Steve Kgame, said that appalling conditions faced Africans in townships at Bekkersdal, Delmas, Devon, and Hendrina (all in the Transvaal), where residents had to collect water from communal taps. He criticised the government for pumping money into homelands instead of providing money for debt-ridden councils. Councils could not raise extra money by increasing rents because people could not afford to pay, Mr Kgame said.²

In August UCASA rejected participation in the government's proposed national council until the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, was unconditionally released. It also rejected the creation of 'city states', as it did

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not want to see homelands created in urban areas. UCASA told Mr Heunis that 'blacks want full participation in the decision-making organ Parliament - and are not interested in making decisions at black local authority level'.²⁶⁷

Municipal police forces

The department of constitutional development and planning said in March that additional law enforcement officers for African local authorities were to assume duties at the end of April. All municipal police were to have greater powers, including the power of arrest. Of the more than 8 000 men and women being trained, 4 846 were allocated to town and village councils and 3 500 were to guard the homes of community councillors. Training was to take place in ten centres, six operated by development boards on behalf of the department of constitutional development and planning, one by the South African Defence Force at Lenz (near Johannesburg), one by the South African Police (SAP) at Hammanskraal (north of Pretoria), one by the South African Railways Police at Slagboom (near Kirkwood, in the eastern Cape), and another by the Soweto city council at Tladi.²⁶

Mr Heunis announced at a passing-out parade in Soweto in April that the municipal police (sometimes known as 'blackjacks') were to be given powers to investigate any offence or alleged offence within the area of the local authority which appointed them. He said that certain powers normally vested in members of the SAP had been conferred on African municipal police by government proclamation in January. Regulations made in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 would also shortly be enforceable by municipal policemen, he said. The law and order spokesman for the PFP, Mrs Helen Suzman, said that she hoped the municipal police were properly trained and disciplined.²⁶⁹

Mr Heunis said in Parliament in August that 429 municipal police had been appointed by the eastern Cape development board to enforce municipal laws in African townships. He said that one of the aims of community councils was to promote order and stability; municipal police were thus provided for to preserve the safety of residents and maintain law and order.²⁷⁰

Policemen of the Lekoa (Vaal Triangle) town council were ordered by the supreme court on 20 June to stop assaulting or arresting the chairman of the Vaal parents' crisis committee, Mr Richard Mokolo. Mr Mokolo claimed that Lekoa police had abducted, assaulted, and harassed residents, and had damaged and destroyed private property.⁷¹ Two pupils alleged in the same month that they had been abducted and assaulted by police of the Lekoa and Evaton town councils. The accusations were denied by Sergeant Joseph Mokoena of the Lekoa town council police.⁷²

Mr Heunis said in reply to a question in Parliament on 20 May that two constables of the Orange Vaal development board had on 30 April fired at a suspect being pursued by the SAP and had fatally wounded a six-year-old girl. An SAP investigation was under way, he said.²⁷³

The general secretary of the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union (SABMAWU), Mr Philip Dlamini, said that African local authorities wanted to use 'blackjacks' to 'bludgeon black political opponents for the system of apartheid' .²⁷⁴

It was confirmed in September that special constables, who were to

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undergo a shortened course in police work, were being trained in batches of 1 000 (see Security). The chief of the SAP's public relations directorate, Brigadier Jaap Venter, said that one of the main reasons for training the special constables (who fell under the SAP) was to give a greater visible presence of policemen on the beat in African townships. They would be deployed in groups of eight to ten and would have the normal powers of arrest given to police, but would not undertake the specialised tasks normally allocated to the different branches of the police.⁷⁵ Mrs Suzman said that this was unlikely to produce a disciplined force that would be able to exercise 'good judgement in unrest situations, which call for experience and self-control'.⁶

SABMAWU said in April that it would contest the sacking of 400 Soweto council policemen. They had apparently been fired for refusing to sign forms undertaking not to strike, indicating their acceptance of the salaries they were receiving, and giving the council the right to retrench or dismiss workers at any time. Mr Dlamini said that the union would try to secure a court order compelling the council to reinstate the employees.⁷⁷ Following an agreement between SABMAWU and the city council the 400 policemen were reinstated unconditionally two weeks later.²⁷⁸

In Tembisa about 300 policemen and general workers went on strike for 11 weeks between May and August. Some of them were detained, but the matter was ultimately resolved and the strikers were not only allowed to continue in their jobs but were also paid for the entire period, including the days they spent in detention.

More than 100 Katlehong municipal policemen went on strike for higher wages in October. Tyres were burned and vehicles stoned when they went on a March after negotiations with the Katlehong council had broken down. Altogether 115 policemen were being held in terms of the emergency regulations.²⁹ The entire force of 100 policemen at Kagiso on the west Rand went on strike for an unspecified time in November for higher wages.^o

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African National Congress (ANC)

The African National Congress (ANC) declared 1986, the 74th anniversary of its founding, the year of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Calls were made for the 'intensification of the military assault on apartheid to meet the violent counter-offensive from Pretoria.'

According to the ANC, prior to 1960, when it was banned, it followed a strategy of non-violence. Thereafter, it reluctantly turned to violence,² during the early years of which a distinction was made between 'hard' and 'soft' targets. 'Hard' targets were generally considered to be government personnel and military installations and 'soft' targets were considered to be civilian targets. The ANC said in a Radio Freedom broadcast in January that it had never been its policy to destroy civilians but it was finding it very difficult to differentiate between civilian targets and enemy personnel because the South African regime had mobilised whites and had organised them into paramilitary units and was giving them combat training.³ Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC's acting president, was quoted as saying that the use of landmines in white farming areas along South Africa's borders was justified because the government had made them military zones, where white farmers were obliged by law to be part of the state security system, and were, therefore, provided with the tools of war.⁴

In a Radio Freedom broadcast in October, Mr Chris Hani, a member of the national executive committee of the ANC and commissar of Umkhonto, said that 'the earlier forms of armed struggle were characterised by armed propaganda... Umkhonto we Sizwe attacked installations and personnel in order to push the ANC before the people of South Africa... We are all convinced that Umkhonto achieved this objective... The next step forward is the transformation of armed propaganda into a people's war.'

He said that a characteristic of a people's war 'is the participation, simply stated, of the people in the struggle... by getting organised in trade unions... in mass community organisations... in youth and student organisations... so that they can respond to the extreme repression that the enemy is meting out to people on a daily basis'.⁶ Another feature of the people's war, Mr Hani said, is that people begin to embrace the armed struggle. The masses were beginning to play that role by providing recruits for Umkhonto, shelter to its cadres, vital information, and by participating in the ANC's underground movement, he added.⁷

Mr Hani said that 'the workers must use revolutionary violence, they must plant mines, they must deal with all managers, directors, and captains of industries who display hostility to workers' demands'. He continued, 'Workers must not feel that without TNT, plastic explosives, without the

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limpet, without an AK, there are no other ways of breaking down (industrial) machinery."

Professor Mike Hough, head of the institute for strategic studies at the University of Pretoria, said in January that the ANC was using neighbouring countries to infiltrate South Africa. There were many possibilities: guerrillas could infiltrate South Africa without the knowledge of neighbouring governments; South Africa's neighbours could adopt a policy of tacit approval for the ANC's military actions; and it was possible that the ANC's political missions would give logistical support to guerrillas on their way to South Africa. He said that small or 'short-lived transit camps or houses' could be established which could be used for weekend training sessions. Neighbouring governments would not necessarily be aware of their existence, and refugees there could be used to provide support for guerrillas on their way to South Africa.⁹

Professor Hough said that between 1 January and 30 November, the South African Police (SAP) had caught or killed 160 alleged ANC insurgents and that there had been 228 'terror' attacks during that period. In December two people had been killed and a small number injured in attacks by ANC insurgents, he said.¹⁰ Regarding economic sanctions, the ANC said that 'the only way this government can be impelled to change its position without undue loss of life is if the flow of support from the outside is stopped.'" ILO Information reported in June that the ANC had called on the world trade union movement to impose sanctions against South Africa. The ANC also called on employers' organisations to join in the campaign for sanctions.²

In October the United States (US) congress decided to override President Ronald Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which imposed sanctions against South Africa (see The Economy). The ANC said in October that this would encourage other countries, for instance Britain and west Germany, to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa, thereby accelerating the process of dismantling apartheid. It said that sanctions were not sufficient to bring apartheid to an end, and that they should be accompanied by intensive armed struggle. Their importance lay in their capacity to reduce the violent combat

necessary for the introduction of a government representing the majority of people in the country.³

A further component of ANC strategy is the creation of alternative structures of government to replace official structures such as black town councils and community councils. One such structure is the street committee.

In Harare in March, talks took place between the ANC and a delegation from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) (see below and Labour Relations). Two months previously the ANC's national executive committee had expressed strong support for COSATU and called on unions not in its ranks to join it.' In a radio broadcast in November, Mr Jacob Zuma, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said, 'We would like to see workers organised in one powerful federation in our country... You cannot divorce workers from the problems they face politically. "I

The ANC gave its support to consumer boycotts as a means of ending apartheid. In a radio broadcast in April, it pleaded for the consumer boycott of white shops, which was to be held in the eastern Cape and Transvaal, to

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be spread nationwide. The broadcast also called for a rent and a tax boycott.⁶ In June the ANC came out in 'full support' of a call by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and COSATU for a stayaway and other mass actions on 16 June to commemorate the anniversary of the June 1976 Soweto riots. It said that the movement expected 'a lot of activity between 16 and 26 June' - the anniversary of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter.⁷

During the year under review the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) summarised 100 broadcasts made in English on the ANC's Radio Freedom. Seventy-four of the broadcasts were made from Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), and the remainder were made from Dakar (Senegal), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Lusaka (Zambia), and Maputo (Mozambique). The broadcasts were made by prominent members of the ANC hierarchy, and took the form of addresses on ANC policy and strategy, comment on events in South Africa, and interviews and discussions. The ANC also produces publications and leaflets. Its publications include *Sechaba*; *Dawn*, the journal of Umkhonto; and *Voice of Woman*, the journal of the women's section of the ANC.¹⁸

Dr Tom Lodge of the department of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand said that the ANC's popularity was growing stronger by the day. 'Its following is increasingly organised, increasingly able to control people through (other) organisations,' he said.⁹ The number of formally trained guerrillas in Umkhonto at the end of 1984 was estimated at 7 000, but now 'the number in the ANC guerrilla army is far higher', he said.³⁰ Dr Lodge added that the number of guerrillas had been increased by 'a massive exodus of black militants over the past 18 months. The outflow is said by ANC sources to have been larger than that in 1976.'²¹

The Commonwealth eminent persons' group (EPG), which visited South Africa between February and May to seek a solution to the South African crisis, concluded in its report that 'the open identification with the ANC through banners

and songs, in funerals and in churches throughout the country, despite the risks involved, supports the widely-held belief that if an election were held today on the basis of universal franchise, the ANC would win it."

The ANC received help from a number of sources during the year under review. A former Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) chief of operations said that there was a possibility that some of ZIPRA's guerrillas could be helping ANC members plant landmines in South Africa.?

In May the deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel, claimed that ANC guerrillas were mainly trained in Angola, east Germany, Libya, and Russia, and that the organisation was dependent on arms from the Eastern Bloc. Close ties existed between the ANC and Libya.²⁴ He also alleged that the ANC was making use of the communications facilities of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in Zimbabwe.²⁵ In September, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, leader of the Revolutionary Command Council of Libya, disclosed in Harare in a speech to the non-aligned movement that he had been co-operating with the ANC on South Africa.²⁶

Sweden gave a total of R66m to the ANC, humanitarian organisations inside South Africa, and the frontline states.²⁷ The aid would be stopped if it was used for violence, Swedish officials said. In October an ANC office was set up in Oslo (Norway) and was headed by Mr Raymond Mokoena. The

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ANC usually receives US \$5,5m (about R12m) in support from Norway.

It was reported in April that leaders of the People's Republic of China had told the visiting ANC general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, that they supported the ANC in its struggle against apartheid.) ANC representatives indicated that China had supplied the organisation with aid, as well as diplomatic support.³¹ On 16 June the prime minister of the Sudan, Mr Sadiq el Mahdi, said that the Sudanese government would open an office in Khartoum for the ANC.³²

It was reported in October that the World Council of Churches (WCC) had granted R480 000 to the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). The ANC received R178 000, which would be used to help refugees.³³

During the year under review the ANC held talks with delegations from a number of South African organisations. These talks usually took place in Lusaka (Zambia), headquarters of the ANC's external mission.

In January the South African Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) held informal talks with the ANC prior to the drafting of the FCI's business charter. Details of the talks were not divulged.³⁴ Also in January, after returning from a visit abroad, the bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said that he had met officials of both the ANC and the PAC.³⁵ In the same month, talks were held in Lusaka between Mr Tambo and the convenor of the national convention movement (NCM), Mr Jules Browde, to discuss a proposal by the NCM for a loose alliance between anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa (see Political Developments). The ANC later rejected the idea of a formal body. Y6

Talks were held in March between the ANC and a 21-person delegation representing the Inyandza movement of the KaNgwane homeland and headed by the homeland's chief minister, Mr Enos Mabuza. Mr Mabuza said that his Inyandza movement, which claimed a membership of 100 000, had requested that he hold talks with the ANC. It was reported that Mr Mabuza and the ANC reached agreement on a number of issues. In response to a question as to how he reconciled his position as chief minister of a homeland with the ANC's rejection of such structures, Mr Mabuza said that the ANC had not pressed him to resign because it understood the position of Inyandza, and Inyandza understood its position.³⁷

Talks were also held between the ANC and COSATU in March. Included in the COSATU delegation were the federation's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, who led the delegation; Mr Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary; and the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. The ANC delegation included its information officer, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Mr Hani and Mr Joe Slovo, both members of the ANC's executive committee.

In April a National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) delegation held talks with the ANC in Harare.³⁸ The president of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Manas Buthelezi, said in June that prominent South African church leaders had met members of the ANC in Harare. Details were not divulged.³⁹ In May a delegation of 12 National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC) members met ANC officials. The president of NAFCOC, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said that the policies of his organisation had an 'astonishing degree of acceptability to the

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ANC'.⁴⁰ The rector of Rand Afrikaans University and chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange, had an informal discussion with ANC members during a conference organised by the American Ford Foundation at Glen Cove on Long Island in the US on 1 June.⁴¹ It was reported that this was believed to be the first-ever meeting between representatives of the two organisations.⁴² Professor De Lange stressed that the aim of the conference was not to bring the ANC and the Broederbond closer together.⁴³

A delegation of academics from the universities of Cape Town (UCT) and the Western Cape (UWC) met the ANC in November. The delegation included the vice chancellor of UCT, Dr S J Saunders, and the rector-designate of UWC, Professor G J Gerwel. Professor Gerwel said that the delegation had found the ANC representatives to be 'without exception very warm and human persons, seeking the best for their country and driven by an ideal for it.' A Lutheran Church delegation from the northern Transvaal diocese, led by Dean Simon Farisani, also held talks with an ANC delegation in November.⁴³

In June the South African government's bureau for information published a booklet entitled Talking with the ANC. The publication was based on alleged excerpts from ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) documents. The ANC claimed that most of the material quoted in the document had been distorted

and twisted to serve the government's own ends." The bureau for information said that the publication of the booklet was prompted by the endless 'safari tours' to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.⁴⁷

Opening Parliament in January, the state president, Mr P W Botha, offered to release Mr Nelson Mandela in return for the release of a South African Defence Force (SADF) officer, Capt Wynand du Toit, by the Angolan government, and of two Jewish dissidents, Dr Andrei Sakharov and Mr Anatoly Shcharansky, by the Soviet Union. The ANC said Mr Botha had ignored the popular demand for the lifting of the ban on it."

According to a report issued by NUSAS after its discussions with the ANC in Harare (see above), the ANC would attend a national convention to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa only if Mr Botha resigned as state president and was democratically elected by the people to that convention."

Mr Botha said in April that it was clear to him that there were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware that they were being manipulated by hardened communists. A few days later he said that no responsible government could unconditionally release people who were publicly committed to the violent overthrow of the government. It was not unreasonable to expect people who desired to rejoin the South African community to renounce violence."

With regard to the ANC in exile, Mr Botha said that those who did not believe in communism should return to South Africa and take part in the constitutional process. He said that while the ANC, under the control of the SACP, openly advocated violence, no one could expect him to deal with it."

Dr Lodge estimated that of the 30 members of the national executive committee of the ANC, six were definitely members of the SACP, a further

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13 could possibly be members, while the remainder were ANC members only.¹² It was reported that ANC officials had stressed in interviews that the movement was united in not being ready to contemplate a ceasefire until well into any process of negotiations.³

In late 1985 Inkatha, the cultural and political movement led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, proposed peace talks with the ANC. The two organisations had been in conflict with one another for some time (see 1985 Survey pp 20-21). In an address in early 1986 in Lusaka, Mr Tambo said that 'the ANC by the very nature of its formation is committed to a united struggle of our people, all of them'. He continued: 'We believe that our people are basically united behind the ANC in the struggle. We accept that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is the chief minister of KwaZulu. He has a position of authority, he can tell people where to go because he has been given authority by the (Pretoria) regime. He can tell people he is governing. But we do not accept that our people in that part of South Africa (KwaZulu) have turned their eyes away from the struggle. We do not accept that they agree with these ravings (by Chief Buthelezi) against the ANC, rantings against the ANC.M In September Chief Buthelezi called for unity talks with Mr Tambo. It was reported that the ANC was prepared

to hear what Chief Buthelezi had to say. However, if an approach was made by him for talks, it would be weighed against his recent statements and actions, which, the ANC claimed, did not accord with a desire for black unity. Chief Buthelezi's support of the formation of a trade union federation to rival COSATU was seen by the ANC as divisive (see Labour Relations).

On 20 August the UDF celebrated the third anniversary of its founding. The ANC referred to the UDF as a force against apartheid and said that 'for us to maintain the offensive and to rout the racists from their defensive positions and seize power, we must intensify our actions in unity'.⁵

According to Brigadier Wambu Chimondo of the Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA), the ANC was fighting alongside the Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) in Angola. He claimed that three battalions of between 200 and 300 men each were involved and that they were concentrated in the northern parts of Angola.¹⁶

In January the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Roelof Botha, threatened that the South African government would 'take the necessary action' against ANC bases in Botswana." The president of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, said that his government did not allow its territory to be used as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa.⁸ In February it was reported that the Botswana government was asked by the South African government to expel ANC activists following a number of landmine explosions in the northeastern Transvaal in which civilians were killed.⁹ On 19 May the SADF launched three cross-border raids into Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe during which alleged ANC targets were attacked. A statement issued by the chief of the army, Lieutenant General A J Liebenberg, said that 'small elements of the army attacked ANC targets in Zimbabwe and Botswana.. the operations were successfully completed. Information from the South African Police played a vital role in this connection. The South African forces acted with the utmost caution to prevent citizens of our neighbouring states being injured or suffering damage.

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The following targets were attacked: the operational centre at 16 Angwa Street in the centre of Harare; a terrorist transit facility at 19 Eve's Crescent, Ashdown Park, Harare; and a terrorist transit facility situated at Mogaditsane, outside Gaborone'.

The raids into Zimbabwe and Botswana were accompanied by the dropping of pamphlets which carried the SADF logo and stressed that 'the strikes were aimed at ANC gangsters and not the local civilian or military communities'.⁶⁰ Mr P W Botha said after the raids that 'South Africa would continue to strike ANC targets in other countries in accordance with our legal right... We have only delivered the first instalment, and if necessary we will strike again... South Africa has the will and the capacity to break the ANC... We desire peace and we are prepared to protect that peace' .⁶¹

Government sources in Botswana speculated that several people could have been abducted from the scene of the raid. President Masire said that South African government information that the Mogaditsane settlement complex was an ANC

transit camp might have been wrong. He said that this was indicated by the fact that the only four known casualties were Botswana residents. At least one person was known to have died in the attack and three were injured. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia called for an emergency summit of the six frontline states, and Zimbabwe's prime minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, announced that four suspects had been arrested in connection with the attack on the ANC office in Harare. The raids led to an international outcry, and brought to an end the EPG's attempt to mediate between the South African government and the ANC.⁶

In September Dr Masire invited the South African government to produce proof that there were ANC bases in Botswana.⁶³

In January the South African government imposed a blockade on goods entering Lesotho. It was speculated that 'behind South Africa's contentious "blockade" of Lesotho lies Pretoria's unshakable belief that the mountain kingdom has become the ANC's main operations base against South Africa.'

In the same month Lesotho's prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, was toppled in a military coup and shortly thereafter it was reported that ANC activists had been detained in Lesotho.⁶ It was later reported that a deal had been made between the new Lesotho government and the South African government whereby the Lesotho authorities ordered the ANC out of Maseru in exchange for the lifting of the blockade. A chartered Air Zimbabwe aircraft flew from Maseru to Lusaka with 60 ANC activists on board, including several women and children.⁶

Subsequently, a further two groups of ANC activists were airlifted from Lesotho to Zambia.⁶⁷

In October the minister of defence, Mr Magnus Malan, said that 'identifiable' ANC targets existed within Mozambique which could be 'taken out' in any South African raid. He claimed that intelligence reports had confirmed the presence in the Mozambican capital of a large number of ANC 'permanents' - people who had been permitted by the Maputo regime to remain in the country. He further claimed that they were behind a series of alleged ANC attacks in the eastern Transvaal." Swaziland police reported in July that they had found ANC arms and literature in a car at the University of Swaziland.⁶⁹ Since 1984 Swaziland has had a non-aggression pact with the South African government which is intended to curb the activities of the ANC (see 1985 Survey p6). It was also

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reported that Swaziland 'has rounded up scores of the movement's supporters and deported them'.⁰

As a consequence of alleged ANC activities in Swaziland, the Swaziland government sent a strongly-worded protest to the ANC. It was reported in August that about 12 people had raided the Mankayane Police Station and freed three political prisoners who were believed to be ANC members. A senior Swaziland government official said that this was the third time that the ANC had attacked Swazi installations to free its members.⁷¹

Another report said that 'the ANC has been smuggling landmines and other weapons into South Africa from Mozambique via Swaziland'. It said that the smuggling seemed to have taken place despite vigorous attempts by the

Swaziland government to prevent the ANC from using its territory as a base or channel for insurgency in South Africa.⁷²

It was reported during the year under review that the ANC had a 3 300acre farm called Chongella Estates near Lusaka (Zambia). The farm was run by Mr Aaron Mafuzi and a labour force of about 80 people, 30 of them ANC members and the remainder Zambians. The ANC workers received free accommodation, food, welfare, and health care, and in addition each worker received 14 kwacha (R5,25) a month pocket money. Maize, vegetables, and other crops were grown on the farm, and pigs and cattle were raised to feed the more than 300 ANC members who lived in and around Lusaka. The farm was bought for the ANC in 1978 by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).⁷³

A report published in Soviet Review by the institute for the study of Marxism at the University of Stellenbosch said that the Soviet Union had provided the ANC with military assistance since 1964, even though there was evidence that the Russians did not always support the ANC in everything.⁷⁴

In November it was reported that Mr Tambo had set up a permanent mission while in the Soviet Union. He was also reported to have met the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and other senior officials. The same report said that Soviet support for the ANC was in the form of 'weapons, food, medicine, transport, and clothing'. The ANC said that it had been forced to turn to the Eastern Bloc countries for arms because the West would not supply them.⁷¹

In June a meeting took place between a representative of the ANC and Mrs Lynda Chalker, minister of state at the British foreign and Commonwealth office. This was the first official meeting to have taken place between the ANC and the Conservative Party government at ministerial level.⁷⁶ Mrs Chalker described the talks as 'serious, candid, and useful'.⁷

In September Sir Geoffrey Howe, the foreign secretary, met Mr Tambo for talks in Kent (England).⁷⁸

In July it was reported that a shift in US policy was taking place towards greater and more open contact with the ANC. An official said that lines had already been opened to certain leaders, including Mr Tambo.⁷⁹

This change in US policy was followed by a meeting between the US ambassador to Zambia and ANC officials in Lusaka in July. An American state department official said that 'elevating the level of our dialogue with the ANC is part of our effort to promote negotiations among all the parties concerned with a peaceful outcome in South Africa'.^o

The American Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (see above and The

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Economy), which imposed selected economic sanctions against South Africa, also provided for an investigation into communist influence in the ANC. A report was to be submitted to congress within 90 days.⁸ The ANC described the investigation as 'stupid' and said that it had never denied that some of its members were communists. Subsequently ANC representatives met the US assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.²

Afrikaner Broederbond (AB)

The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) was formed in June 1918 'to defend and promote the Afrikaner'.³

In a secret document produced and circulated during the year under review, the AB outlined the basic political preconditions for the 'continued existence of the Afrikaner', stressing that the exclusion of African participation in political processes up to the highest level was a threat to white survival. The document raised the possibility of having an African as head of government even though the state president, Mr P W Botha, had dismissed the idea as not being National Party (NP) policy (see Government and Constitution).

The document said: 'The abolition of statutory discriminatory measures should not be seen as concessions yielded to under pressure, but as a precondition for continued existence. An overriding political objective and thus also one of the most important political conditions must be effective participation of all, individually and in a group context, in any proposed process. This means at all levels of decision making and in all processes which may have a bearing on their interests. There must be power sharing and not domination of any group so that there can no longer be a whiteentrenched government, nor a black-entrenched government nor, for example, a Zulu-entrenched government. The majority government members may well be black, but the system and procedure must work in such a way that all groups may effectively participate and not be dominated by one group,' the document said.⁵

In October the AB, which had as a member the new moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), Professor Johan Heyns, told the NGK that it was not prepared to abandon the secrecy of the organisation and its activities. The decision to remain secret was taken by the AB's executive council after a request from the NGK that the matter be given serious attention. Reasons given for the organisation's remaining secret included:

- * members were invited to join because of the service they had rendered to the Afrikaner cause in their personal capacity; and
- * confidentiality enabled members to exchange opinions 'more openheartedly' and ensured that they would not be labelled or ridiculed outside the organisation.⁸⁶

The chairman of the AB, Professor J P de Lange, who was also the rector of the Johannesburg-based Rand Afrikaans University, announced in November that he would retire as rector in June 1987.⁸⁷ In an address to a Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer dinner, Professor De Lange said that South African society was in the midst of probably the most important and far-reaching change in its history. He said that South Africa needed a deed or a series of

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deeds which would prompt moderates to action. It was necessary to fix a time within which negotiated change could be taken far enough.^m

Afrikaner Volkswag (AV)

The Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) was formed in May 1984 (see 1984 Survey pp41-42). In July it announced at a meeting in Pretoria that it was organising a three-

year-long campaign to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the great trek with the hope of uniting and consolidating 'true Afrikaners'.⁹

Professor F J M Potgieter, the organisation's patron, told the gathering that South Africa would achieve peace only if it followed a policy of separation of the races. Quoting from the scriptures to justify separate development, he claimed that Christians in South Africa were falling prey to communist propaganda and that, as a result, they were developing a 'guilty conscience' about African people. There were parallels, he said, between the crossroads faced by the Afrikaners 150 years previously which led to the great trek and what present-day Afrikaners were facing.⁹ Earlier in the year the AV dissociated itself from any great trek commemorative celebrations organised by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) because it no longer saw the FAK as the 'representative body' for Afrikaner culture.⁹¹

Evaluating political change in South Africa in an article in Rapport, Professor Boshoff claimed that whites were in danger of falling under African domination.⁹ Professor Boshoff condemned the proposed establishment of an African township - Norweto - north of Johannesburg, saying that the government had broken past assurances that whites would not be suppressed and dominated in their own country. 'A white area with a white future', he argued, 'is to be transformed into a black area for black development.' He warned that mixed development, which would result in white suppression, disruption, and impoverishment, could be expected everywhere if the proposed African township were established.⁹³ Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was founded in 1974 (see 1979 Survey p16). The AWB and its political wing, the Blanke Volkstaat Party, advocated the creation of a 'one-party dictatorship and the nationalisation of industries controlled by 'aliens' (see 1981 Survey p11). It believed in the creation of an exclusive 'boerestaat', a homeland for Afrikaners in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State (OFS), and northern Natal.

Angered by the government's 'reform' policy, the AWB not only broke up two National Party public meetings during the year under review, but also said that the state president, Mr P W Botha, had betrayed the Afrikaner. The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, claimed in February that when Mr Botha said that he wanted power sharing, he was saying in effect that he would destroy the Afrikaner's way of life. Mr TerreBlanche warned, 'Afrikaners have a wonderful loyalty to their government, albeit to a point. But just as they have been loyal, so will they fight it now.'"¹

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In an interview in May Mr TerreBlanche said, 'My people, the boeremense, are entitled to their land in South Africa. They are entitled to what is theirs the old boere republics of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and northern Natal.'⁹ Mr TerreBlanche said that Jews, Indians, or any non-Christians could be permitted residence within the boundaries of the 'boerestaat', but would be excluded from government. An AWB government would nationalise multinational companies and the gold mines, he said.⁶

In April the AWB disrupted a public meeting addressed by the deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel, at Brits (central Transvaal). In May AWB supporters disrupted a National Party rally addressed by the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Roelof Botha, in Pietersburg (northern Transvaal)."

According to an article in The Star, the AWB had said that it was not a political party. The Star said that it had hidden neither its militarism nor the fact that it was run on lines similar to the defunct Ossewa-Brandwag, which became involved in subversive actions in World War II.⁹¹

The organisation established its own 'brandwag', a commando, in February, to 'protect white interests' in case there were not enough police available.⁹⁹ At the end of August the AWB threatened to form a special commando to 'protect farmers' in the eastern Transvaal from attacks by the African National Congress (ANC). There had been a series of landmine explosions in the area.¹ In July the AWB leadership announced in an interview with Rapport that the organisation would train children from the age of ten in the use of firearms. ¹⁰¹

At the end of May the AWB's supporters attended Republic Day celebrations at the Voortrekker Monument just outside Pretoria. In a press interview, the head of the politics department at the University of South Africa, Professor Willem Kleynhans, estimated the crowd at about 50 000, saying that 'it was the biggest gathering of Afrikaners at the monument since the 1960 celebrations of the republic referendum'.¹⁰²

The government forbade members of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force to join the 'AWB'.¹⁰³ The Labour Party called for the banning of the organisation.⁴

Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was formed in 1978 after key black consciousness organisations were banned (see 1985 Survey pp12-13).

In January AZAPO refused to meet six members of the United States (US) congress who were visiting South Africa. AZAPO's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, explained: 'Our official policy is to have no truck with the United States administration. The American administration, particularly under Mr Ronald Reagan, is obnoxious to say the least. It always frustrates moves to facilitate change in South Africa, treating this country as if it were its backyard.'¹⁰

Commenting on reports that Mr Mpho Lodi, secretary of AZAPO in GaRankuwa (Bophuthatswana), had joined the Bophuthatswana Police Force, AZAPO's acting president, Mr Patrick Molala, said in October that Mr Lodi had done 'irreparable damage' to the organisation. 'AZAPO', he said, 'will have to implement stringent methods to process members.'¹

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Earlier in October it was revealed that AZAPO's president, Mr Saths Cooper, had resigned in order to take up a two-year scholarship at Boston University in the US.¹⁰⁷ Explaining his decision, Mr Cooper, a clinical psychologist, said in a press interview: 'By associating with whites, you don't give up any bit of your blackness. It is only an inferior half-baked BC (black consciousness) person who has that fear. BC says don't be afraid of any person.'"¹ When Mr Cooper was

reminded by the interviewer that it was 'a bit of a contradiction' that he had decided to study in the US when AZAPO was 'virulently' anti-American, he said: 'We can never be against a people, we can be against a system. Even in its most virulent moments, the Kremlin never lapses into anti the American people; it is rather anti the American administration, the American system. We have made our position clear. We are against a system that has exercised its influence in various ways throughout the world through imperialism.'"

At AZAPO's seventh annual congress in Port Elizabeth in December, Mr Molala was elected president. He told delegates that South Africa was 'a regional imperial power in the process of destabilising its neighbours'. Faced with international sanctions and resistance from internal anti-apartheid forces, South Africa, he added, had chosen brutal and overt aggression and oppression. Mr Molala attacked the press curbs imposed during the state of emergency (see Security) as a plot calculated not only 'to make people sleep', but also to facilitate the abduction by the State of political opponents 'without anybody raising a whimper'. Mr Molala also claimed that western imperialists had interfered with AZAPO's overseas funding and now 'threatened to subvert the organisation with the ultimate aim of destroying it'.¹¹⁰

In March AZAPO rejected the use of African nurses in white hospitals. Dr Abu-Baker Asvat of AZAPO's health secretariat said, 'Only when discrimination has been totally eliminated from our health services will we be prepared to give such a move our blessing.' Dr Asvat was responding to an announcement that the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria had hired African nurses, a trend started by the white Johannesburg Hospital when it hired 36 senior African nurses, 16 of whom were 'borrowed' from Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto.¹¹¹

AZAPO expressed its opposition to the Johannesburg centenary celebrations, and, through its community support committee (COSCO), actively campaigned against them. Mr Kehla Mthembu, COSCO's project coordinator, explained: 'Blacks have no cause to rejoice. To celebrate the centenary is to celebrate oppression and exploitation. We get no benefits from the city's existence because we have to pay costly transport to work; we are not allowed to trade in its central business district; and we cannot send our children to schools of our choice.'¹² AZAPO and its members were subjected to harassment by the authorities during the year under review. About 1 100 detainees out of 24 000 were AZAPO members."³

A newspaper reporter, Mr Lucky Kutumela, an AZAPO member who worked for the Lebowa Times in Pietersburg, died in detention at Mahwelereng Police Station in Potgietersrus (northern Transvaal) early in March. He had been detained by the Lebowa homeland police with five northern Transvaal leaders of AZAPO.¹⁴ In September Mr Molala said that

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he had been blinded permanently in one eye when police had fired teargas to disperse mourners at a funeral."⁵ In October the damaged eye was removed at St John's Eye Hospital."⁶

In February, the Soweto branch of AZAPO criticised youths who stopped motorists and demanded transport in the name of the struggle. Following complaints by motorists that 'student-comrades' were harassing them and robbing them of their cars, the branch warned the youths in question to stop this before 'the struggle catches up with them'.¹¹⁸

At a planning congress in Durban at the end of March, AZAPO pledged solidarity with Libya and commended the solidarity of Arab states against imperialist aggression. Mr Myeza said at a press conference in Johannesburg that some 'reactionary, irredentist, and opportunistic' organisations had resolved to harass, maim, or kill members. Mr Myeza said that AZAPO was faced with a 'Stalinistic and sectarian tendency' both internally and externally. He accused City Press of 'journalistic buccaneering' and distorting information about black consciousness.¹¹⁸

In June AZAPO officials condemned necklacing and its advocates. Necklaces, they said, were 'only used by our ideological opponents against us and other blacks. Which one among the oppressors has ever been necklaced?' The officials were speaking at the funeral of an AZAPO member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Martin Mohau, who, they said, had been killed by ideological opponents of AZAPO and black consciousness. According to *The Sunday Star*, a 'national organisation and its Soweto-based affiliate catering for students' were named by several speakers as having been totally responsible for Mr Mohau's death.⁹

Following the necklacing of two of its members in the eastern Cape in August AZAPO said: 'AZAPO has always condemned black-on-black violence, and its leadership has invited the UDF (United Democratic Front) leadership to go jointly to the trouble spots and quell the internecine warfare. We have also urged the black community to refrain from wanton activities like the hijacking of cars, killings, and lootings. Our plea still stands.'¹¹⁹

Speaking at a Steve Biko commemoration service in Johannesburg in September, Mr Cooper said that the necklace was a crime against black people.¹²¹

Whether or not internecine violence existed within the black community was a focus of controversy between AZAPO and other organisations. Mr Myeza said in November that 'a regrettable situation of internecine political violence exists'. However, the national treasurer of the UDF, Mr Azhar Cachalia, said that his organisation rejected the notion that there was such violence: 'I am not denying that there is an element of conflict, but I do not think this is impeding our progress towards liberation. We actually believe the forces of apartheid are actively directing this violence and it is unfortunate that some of the organisations have fallen into this trap.' These comments were made in newspaper interviews after the home of Mr George Wauchope, general secretary of AZAPO, had been petrol-bombed by 40 youths.²²

Fana Mhlongo, aged 15 years, who had been cleaning the house together with Mr Wauchope's nephew, Vusiyile, when the 40 youths launched the attack, was kidnapped. Commenting on the attack, Mr Myeza claimed that it and the kidnapping were carried out by 'a rival organisation' which, he said, was opposed to AZAPO's 'socialist' stand.²³ Fana's body was

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found at the government mortuary two weeks after the kidnapping. He had been shot between the eyes.²⁰

Subsequently, in a letter to the Sowetan, Mr Myeza accused the UDF and its affiliates of being 'directly implicated in the violence that is causing so much strife, anguish, and anxiety among our people in particular and the general degradation of our liberation struggle'. He claimed that AZAPO and its sister organisations had unequivocally rejected black-on-black violence and taken action to stop it, but that the UDF was 'either unable or unwilling to join others in condemning it'.

At the same time the UDF 'categorically' denied responsibility for a leaflet on a UDF letterhead in Soweto labelling AZAPO as a reactionary third force and calling for every AZAPO member to be 'hunted down'.¹²⁶

Mr Myeza said 'We want to believe very hard that these pamphlets are not the work of the UDF, but saying the provocation is the work of the system is not enough. The UDF must unequivocally condemn the violence of the necklace and the petrol-bombings now being unleashed on us by its members.' Mr Wauchope, who had earlier obtained a supreme court order restraining four members of UDF affiliates from attacking him and his house, said that black newsmen were paralysed by fear when it came to naming the organisations responsible for the violent and sometimes fatal attacks on AZAPO members. 'Every time UDF supporters attack us and our homes, even when there is proof of where the attacks originate, the journalists merely ascribe the violence to "rival" organisations or "militant bands of youths".'

Mr Molala said in December that 30 AZAPO members had been killed and 100 injured, and that 30 houses belonging to members of the organisation had been burnt down as a result of the violent rivalry among African activist groups.¹²⁷ In a press interview in August, Mr Cooper had claimed, however, that feuding black organisations had healed their differences while their members were in detention under the state of emergency. (The first state of emergency, which came into effect on 21 July 1985, was lifted on 7 March; the second, which lasted beyond the end of the year, came into effect on 12 June.) 'By forcing detainees to live cheek-by-jowl in the cells, the State is providing them with an unparalleled opportunity to discuss their differences and hammer out common principles and tactics. In a perverse sense, the state of emergency has been a blessing. It has forced a common ground between different factions. They have had to acknowledge that they have got something in common and that the luxury of attacking each other - even verbally - cannot continue,' he said.²¹

Mr James Mndaweni, president of the Council of Unions of South Africa Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA-AZACTU), addressing AZAPO's seventh annual congress in December, called for the black consciousness movement to join 'in principled, united action' with the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). He described the formation of both union federations (ie CUSA-AZACTU and COSATU) as a gain for the anti-apartheid movement.

Criticising internal political feuding between the UDF and AZAPO, Mr Mndaweni said workers had been able to 'move forward collectively'.¹²⁹

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Cape Action League (CAL)

The Cape Action League (CAL) was based primarily in the western Cape and had 40 affiliates. It was affiliated to the National Forum Committee (NFC) (see 1985 Survey p13).

In several posters, news bills, fact sheets, and bulletins issued during the year under review, the CAL rejected the regional services councils (see Government and Constitution) and the idea of holding a national convention, claiming that the 'new deal' was merely intended to co-opt 'middle class' elements in African, Asian, and coloured communities into the apartheid system. It also warned Asians and coloured people not to enlist in the army.

Conservative Party (CP)

The Conservative Party (CP) was formed in March 1982 after a number of MPs under the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht had broken away from the National Party (NP) (see 1985 Survey p15). In June it held 18 of the 178 seats in Parliament. ¹³⁰

In January Mr J J B van Zyl, the CP's finance spokesman, said in a press interview that integration, and thus an integrated government and a political system which included Africans, would not bring about political and social stability - 'not here, just as it has not happened in the rest of Africa'. Political integration, he added, would also not open the door for international loans or investment. He claimed that South Africa had enjoyed economic stability for years under the system of separate development. But since the policy of power sharing had gained momentum, he argued, the country had experienced increasing political and social instability, coupled with economic decline.¹³¹

Addressing a gathering in the Durban city hall in April, Dr Connie Mulder, a CP representative in the president's council, said: 'Black people are not by nature democratic. If a black majority ruled, South Africa would not be a western democratic country. If South Africa were a unitary state, there would have to be a common citizenship and universal suffrage... No matter what checks and balances were imposed, there would be majority rule.'¹³²

At its congress in Bloemfontein in August, the CP warned that if it came to power it would reverse 'constitutional reform' and return South Africa to 'strict Verwoerdian apartheid', remove rights given to 'non-whites', and eject Indians from the Orange Free State as well as from northern Natal. Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, the CP's deputy leader, said the party would also stop multiracial decision making at provincial and local government levels. The CP, he added, would not negotiate with the African National Congress (ANC), even if the ANC renounced violence¹³³

In February Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP) told the house of assembly that to reject apartheid (as the NP was apparently doing) was to 'reject the past, future, and the very existence of the Afrikaner people'. He said that the dilemma of the

NP was that it was unable to say what its policy was. It had, he added, 'methodically and recklessly' rejected the established principles of the old NP.¹³⁴

DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY

Dr Willie Snyman MP (CP) accused the government in August during the debate on the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Bill of planning to hand Natal over to Zulu domination.³⁵

Dr Treurnicht warned in October that he would prepare 'a resistance movement' among his own people if the state president brought Africans into Parliament. 'Bringing blacks (Africans) into Parliament would be a revolutionary move, and I don't think the state president realises the implications. We must resist this with all the strength possible,' he said. ¹⁶

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a Johannesburg businessman and CP member, told a CP meeting of about 80 people in Grahamstown (eastern Cape) at the end of July that resistance in South Africa would cease if the CP took power. He said that he had seen the present government 'go from bad to worse' since the new constitution had been implemented. The government had allowed the formation of black trade unions whose purpose was 'to take political power'. "I

Opening the CP's Transvaal congress in Pretoria in August, Dr Treurnicht attacked leaders of member churches of the South African Council of Churches, saying that they supported 'revolution' against South Africa. On sanctions, Dr Treurnicht said that South Africa had the power to bring neighbouring African states to their knees within a week. He also questioned the moral right of the US to support sanctions against South Africa when it was prepared to trade with communist countries.¹⁷"

Democratic Workers' Party (DWP)

The Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) was formed in January 1985 as a result of a breakaway from the People's Congress Party (PCP) (see 1985 Survey p15). As at June it held three of the 85 seats in the house of representatives.

The leader of the DWP in the house of representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said in the no-confidence debate in February that the African National Congress (ANC) was a democratic organisation which wanted to advance the interests of blacks and that his party, in principle, supported it. 'The fact that the ANC has become violent is part of an interactive process between itself and the National Party (NP) government; it is part of its response to the government. One could easily ask oneself whether one should support the (central) government when it sends troops into our townships to shoot our children,' he said. Arguing that the ANC was fighting white minority rule and not South Africa, Mr De la Cruz further said that the tricameral constitution had been designed according to the NP's ideology of apartheid in order to entrench white political domination."¹⁸

Mr De la Cruz said that the tricameral Parliament had proved to be unsuccessful because the government was still dominated by the NP. The contention of the state president, Mr P W Botha, that the NP did not stand for group domination was 'a fallacy' because 'the apartheid-based system which comes from the drawing board of the white ruling class ensures that the four-to-two-to-one ratio (relating to white, coloured, and Indian representation in Parliament) exists,' he added."¹⁹

At its first annual congress in Cape Town in January, the DWP adopted

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resolutions calling for the scrapping of discriminatory laws and the unconditional release of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela. Mr De la Cruz told the congress that the Labour Party (LP) was no longer an opponent of the government, but had become its 'collaborator and prisoner' as a result of the presence of its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, in the cabinet.'

In September Mr Anwar Essop MP defected from the DWP to the LP, leaving the DWP with only two members - Mr De la Cruz and Mr Yusuf Rhoda - in the house of representatives.⁴¹

Freedom Party (FP)

The Freedom Party (FP) had been known as the Federal Party until 1978 (see 1978 Survey p12). As at June it held two of the 85 seats in the house of representatives.

The FP was left with only one member, Mrs Soheir Hoosen, in the house of representatives when the party leader, Mr Arthur Booysen, died in Johannesburg in October.⁴³ Mrs Hoosen, MP for Tafelberg, had joined Mr Booysen in Parliament at the end of January after Mr M D Arendse MP

-(Labour Party) was stripped of his seat by a Cape Town supreme court ruling (see 1985 Survey p25).¹⁴

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) was formed in October 1969, and two former National Party (NP) MPs, Dr Albert Hertzog and Mr Jaap Marais, were elected as leader and deputy leader. Mr Marais succeeded Dr Hertzog as leader. In the general election in April 1970 the HNP lost all four of its seats in Parliament (see 1970 Survey p4, 1969 Survey p5), but it gained its first parliamentary seat in 16 years when its candidate, Mr Louis Stofberg (also its general secretary), won the Sasolburg byelection in 1985 (see 1985 Survey p16).

Speaking in the house of assembly in February, Mr Stofberg said that the Sasolburg result had shown clearly that, unlike the government, the white electorate had not betrayed the principle of segregation. 'Those who call apartheid outmoded or claim it has fallen on evil days - for them the bell tolls and it tolls loudly. If the government is honest about apartheid being obsolete, then it must say today that the Group Areas Act (of 1966), separate schools, and the Population Registration Act (of 1950) will go,' he said."

Mr Stofberg said in an article in The Sunday Star in January that the NP had been moving towards the left since the death of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966 and, consequently, had lost support on the right. The NP's policy of reform, which really meant the destruction of apartheid, had not brought racial peace, progress, or prosperity to South Africa, as had been promised, he wrote. 'On the contrary, the economy is in a state of crisis unparalleled by anything previously, the African National Congress's war against the country is escalating, and steps to move away from discrimination have not appeased either our communist enemies or the outside world and never will.' Mr Stofberg also said that South Africa would not win the 'communist terrorist

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onslaught' unless it was prepared 'to go over the borders continually' to destroy 'terrorist' groups and their bases in the border states wherever they might be located. 146

Mr Marais said in an interview in Rapport in January that there were only two philosophies in South Africa: a nationalist philosophy and a liberal philosophy. 'We stand for the nationalist philosophy. The liberal philosophy has failed throughout Africa and is patently failing at the moment in South Africa. We are sitting with an economic dilemma... external isolation, and...internal violence, all of which bear witness to the failure of this (integrationist) policy.' He said that the homeland development policy pursued by Dr Verwoerd had not succeeded because, after his death, the NP had killed it. Dr Verwoerd had said that the flow of Africans to white-designated areas would cease by 1987 and that by the year 2000 there should be no more Africans than whites in these areas. The African population would commute from its own areas to work in the white-designated areas. Mr Marais claimed that the unrest in the country had its origins in the rising expectations created by the 'constant concessions and reforms and adjustments' made by the NP in an effort to please the outside world.147

Mr Marais said in May that the KwaZulu Natal indaba (see Government and Constitution) was a 'sell-out' and that if its objectives were a success then, inevitably, Natal would be ruled by an African majority government.148 Speaking in the house of assembly during a debate on a bill which removed chapter 33 of the old Orange Free State Law Book prohibiting Indians from living in the province, Mr Stofberg Warned that Indians had better not buy property in the Orange Free State as they stood to lose money when the right-wing took over the government. They would have to sell their property and businesses at their own cost. 'This is holy Voortrekker (pioneer) land, and, therefore, we are not prepared to allow Indians on it, now or in the future,' he said.149

Mr Marais told a party meeting in Pretoria in October that the Afrikaner Broederbond had become a mouthpiece for communism and liberalism. Quoting from a Broederbond document which, he said, was a memorandum for South Africa's constitutional future, he said Afrikaners were being told that the exclusion of Africans from the government process was a threat to the future of whites in the country. He denounced the document as misleading."°

The HNP said that Afrikaans should be promoted until it eventually became the only official language in the country and a symbol to bind together whites in South Africa.5'

In January Mr Attie Loock, the Port Elizabeth regional organiser of the HNP, said in a press statement that the HNP in the region had decided to monitor beaches set aside for whites to make sure that Africans and coloured people did not go there. Legal steps would be taken, he added, against the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the Labour Party's leader, as soon as the HNP had received sufficient evidence from eyewitnesses of his swimming at the whitesonly King's Beach (Port Elizabeth).5 Mr Marais also said after his re-election in Pretoria as party leader in October that the United States (US) had 'imperialist goals' in South Africa just as Britain had

had in the previous centuries. Although the HNP did not underestimate the threat from the outside world, a positive feature of the

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sanctions imposed by the US (see The Economy) was that it was now out in the open that the US was an enemy.

At its congress in October the HNP resolved to urge the state president, Mr P W Botha, to stop all sales of the strategic platinum group metals to the US within 30 days. Imports of platinum group metals from South Africa, delegates said, were very important to the US and stopping the sales would hit that country hard.⁵³

Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe

Inkatha was formed in 1975 by the chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also the organisation's president, and was the majority party in the KwaZulu legislative assembly. Its membership is not restricted to Zulus. In December it claimed that it had 1 300 000 members, of whom 410 000 belonged to its youth brigade. Chief Buthelezi said that the youth brigade had grown more vigorously than ever in the past three years and represented the largest single element in Inkatha's membership.¹⁴ According to *Clarion Call*, a magazine published by the KwaZulu administration, the Inkatha women's brigade had 392 732 members in June 1985.¹⁵⁵

The Inkatha structure is based on a network of branches which are grouped into regions at the second level. Regions and affiliated organisations are represented in the national council, which meets once or twice a year, and also includes members of the KwaZulu legislative assembly who are members of Inkatha. In addition, there is a general conference which meets annually. This consists of all national council members as well as two or three delegates from each branch, and has the power to change policy and amend the administration's constitution. Finally, the executive body of Inkatha is the central committee, which has about 100 members.¹⁶

Chief Buthelezi said in a speech to European parliamentarians in Strasbourg (France) in January that the tricameral constitution had further polarised South Africa, deepened African anger, and radicalised African politics. In September Chief Buthelezi told businessmen in Johannesburg that the prime cause of the unrest in the country was the tricameral constitution.¹⁷ Inkatha's central committee accused the government early in the year under review of being responsible for the 'tragic events' sweeping through the country. It called for an immediate programme of meaningful reform. The committee deplored 'the violence with which the State has forced apartheid' on the majority of the people and 'the extent to which it has tried to crush the democratic process' by banning and jailing black leaders, and by using intimidatory measures in attempts to manipulate African politics. It urged African political groupings to recognise that unity between them was 'a prerequisite to meaningful change in the foreseeable future' and that such unity was possible only through the acceptance of a 'multi-strategy approach'.¹⁸ Speaking at a conference in February in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi said that because of the degree of violence which would be needed to bring about a one-

person, one-vote system in a unitary state, he had to think in terms of alternatives. Although one-person, one-vote remained his ideal, he

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felt it was a workable ideal only if it incorporated the rule of law, a bill of rights, and an independent judiciary. He warned that if a federal or other alternative system was not available to Africans, or if there could not be movement towards a one-person, one-vote system 'in phases acceptable to whites', there would be nothing left but to destroy the country.⁵⁹

Chief Buthelezi said in a press interview at the end of January that he would reconsider participating in the proposed national council (NC) (see Government and Constitution) only if it worked openly and not behind closed doors.⁶⁰ In February Chief Buthelezi said Africans would be gravely suspicious of the proposed council unless it was an interim body fulfilling a transitional need until the tricameral constitution was scrapped.⁶¹

The proposed council would not have legitimacy for as long as Mr Mandela and others like him were in jail, Chief Buthelezi told the west German foreign minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in Bonn in February. He said that there was enough consensus in South Africa to provide a mandate for the kind of freedom which would gain national acclaim and international acceptance. The bottleneck in the reform process was the state president's dependence on his Afrikaner constituency.¹⁶²

Unless the tricameral Parliament was 'sentenced to death' the NC would not be supported by black leaders.¹⁶³ Speaking at a rally in the Jabulani stadium in Soweto in June, Chief Buthelezi told the 15 000 to 20 000 people present that if the NC were composed of yes-men and -women chosen by the state president suit his agenda, it would be a talking shop worth no more than the special cabinet committee or the non-statutory negotiating forum, which had never even got off the ground. 'I have said that I will not go into the council unless I get a massive mandate from blacks to do so,' he said.¹⁶⁴

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club in October, Chief Buthelezi said that despite claims to the contrary by the state president, there were simply no negotiations taking place.¹⁶⁵ He said that he was often accused of being unwilling to negotiate with Mr Botha, and that he was even blamed for the fact that no negotiations were taking place.

However, Chief Buthelezi said, it was not he who was blocking negotiations, but the state president, who did not have the courage to fulfil the prerequisites. 'I say very bluntly that I will have nothing to do with the national council unless it is given teeth, unless it orchestrates a transition to a new constitution after the death sentence has been pronounced on the present constitution, and unless it is made possible for all blacks to participate in it by releasing political prisoners.'¹⁶⁶ Chief Buthelezi said that blacks would unite to negotiate after Mr Mandela and other political prisoners were released, even if the former detainees subsequently set their faces against negotiations.¹⁶⁷

At the launching of the KwaZulu Natal indaba in April (see Government and Constitution), Chief Buthelezi said that it provided a platform which could serve

as a basis for future peace and harmony between all race groups in South Africa. He said that although the indaba was not representative of all the people, the time had come for such a representative voice to emerge. 'None of us believes that apartheid can last. Everyone knows that change is in the air. This indaba is poignantly timely.'⁶⁸

Chief Buthelezi said in January that the state president should commit himself to scrapping the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1966.¹⁶⁹

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In May Chief Buthelezi said that it appeared that Mr Botha's concept of white self-determination meant that whites would remain the dominant decision-making group. He added: 'This statement (of minority selfdetermination) sounds so innocent to a great many white ears. Blacks, however, see it as an ominous statement. Whites now dictate to blacks in such things as the Group Areas Act in 87% of the country. Whites will continue to dictate to blacks if white self-determination empowers them to maintain such acts as the Population Registration Act.'¹⁷

Chief Buthelezi warned in August that there would be an onslaught on the Group Areas Act and that blacks were not going to be satisfied with being shunted into white-created ghettos. They would not wait until the act was scrapped before doing what they could to improve their environment. His people had been 'brutally robbed' of title deeds by successive National Party governments.'⁷ Chief Buthelezi said that universal adult franchise was an essential and that democracy could not work in South Africa unless all its people had a common stake in one Parliament.'⁷¹ Speaking to tribesmen in the Enseleni village in Natal, Chief Buthelezi said: 'We can negotiate about the form which democracy should be given in South Africa, but unless the state president accepts that South Africa is one country with one people who will share one destiny and must be ruled by one Parliament, meaningful negotiations between black and white will not get off the ground.'¹⁷³

Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha saw that apartheid was crumbling, and that it was therefore committed to the absolute priority of educating black youngsters to take their place in the free South Africa. The call 'Liberation now, education later' was an unsound slogan coined by the ANC mission in exile. It had come from people who had not had to abandon their own education, and was being used by those whose children were being educated in white schools abroad. He told the youth brigade's annual conference in Ulundi in September that blacks needed to seize every opportunity for education.¹⁷⁴

In February Chief Buthelezi attacked COSATU for what he described as 'political poaching', saying that what the federation's president, Mr Elijah Barayi, said was the policy of his organisation 'is the policy of the external mission of the ANC. Inkatha takes strong exception to its members in the trade union being carried on Mr Barayi's back for handing over to SACTU and automatically to the external mission of the ANC'. (The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) is the labour wing of the ANC.)¹⁷⁵

On May Day a new union federation, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), to be affiliated to Inkatha, was launched at King's Park (Durban) under Inkatha's auspices. The launching was attended by an estimated crowd of 70 000 people (see Labour Relations).¹⁷⁶

In a broadcast on Radio Freedom from Addis Ababa, a senior SACTU official said: 'It is clear that this puppet Gatsha is being groomed by the West and the racist regime to become a Savimbi in a future free South Africa. The onus is on the people of South Africa to neutralise the Gatsha snake, which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head.'¹⁷⁷

The secretary general of Inkatha and KwaZulu minister of education and culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, told the South Africa Britain Trade Association in Cape Town in July that Chief Buthelezi enjoyed so much power and

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support both from within and without Inkatha and KwaZulu that he virtually had the future of the external mission of the ANC and its leadership in his hands. If he chose, he could adopt policies that would seal the fate of the ANC and keep its leadership perpetually in exile, and, as a leader of the largest ethnic group, he could easily form an 'invincible coalition' with the state president. This coalition could win instant majority support from all sectors of the South African population as well as internationally. ¹

Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of the assassinated civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King, visited South Africa in September. During her visit she cancelled meetings that had been scheduled with the state president and with Chief Buthelezi. After Mrs King had telephoned to apologise for cancelling the meeting with him, Chief Buthelezi accused the archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, and one of the patrons of the UDF, Dr Allan Boesak, of pressurising Mrs King into cancelling the meeting. He said they had placed her in an invidious position, and that it was mean and unbecoming for them to do so. 'As Mrs King spoke to me over the phone to apologise for not seeing me, my heart bled for her as the widow of a figure we revere, Dr Martin Luther King,' Chief Buthelezi said. He added that it was tragic that the memory of Dr King had now been tainted by the action of black South Africans who were using him as a party political weapon in seeking advantage in the political feuding which was dividing South African blacks. ¹¹⁹

Conflict between Inkatha and other organisations, especially the ANC, COSATU, and the UDF, intensified after the second state of emergency was declared on 12 June, resulting in deaths, house burnings, and kidnappings, mainly in Durban (Natal), as rival groups attacked one another (see Political Developments).

Addressing the Jabulani rally in Soweto in June, Chief Buthelezi said that in the struggle for black liberation blacks found themselves beaten up on street corners and at bus stops when they did not obey the dictates of petty political bosses with no mandate to do what they are doing. ⁸⁰

Shortly after the rally, three people died and 48 were injured when youths threw petrol bombs and stones at buses carrying Inkatha supporters.⁸¹ Speaking in August after Mrs Evelyn Sabelo, wife of a KwaZulu legislative assembly

member, Mr Winnington Sabelo, had been killed in a hand-grenade and AK-47 attack on their home in Umlazi (Durban), Chief Buthelezi said that the civil war he had warned the country about had begun. Three of Mrs Sabelo's children were also injured in the attack. Mrs Sabelo was reported to have died instantly when she and her children were sprayed with bullets.'²

Chief Buthelezi told the youth brigade's annual conference in Ulundi in September that world-wide propaganda depicted Inkatha as the perpetrator of violence, but that no one bothered to ask how it was that in places like the eastern Cape, where it had few supporters, more blacks were killed in conflicts than anywhere else. ¹³

Addressing boy scouts and girl guides at Ondini in September, Chief Buthelezi alleged that the ANC secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, had 'openly blessed the execution of blacks by blacks through the necklace'. This, he said, clashed with a recent assurance by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, that he regretted the use of the necklace, because it had put the ANC in a bad light.¹¹

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Speaking in San Francisco in September, Chief Buthelezi said that if he used his power to back violent revolution, it would tear South Africa apart and bring about rapid change, but because he wanted to do what was right for South Africa and accordingly opted for negotiation, there was an outcry against him in some quarters.'^S

Chief Buthelezi claimed in September that more than 100 Inkatha officials and members had been killed in the past three years in a bitter feud with the ANC and the UDF. The most recent victim, he said, was Mrs Sabelo.

Chief Buthelezi also alleged that church leaders had 'spread poison' about him, which had led to the 'bestial necklacing' of many of his followers. Over the same weekend in August when Mrs Sabelo was attacked, Siphokazi Kweyama, the five-week-old daughter of an Inkatha member, was killed in a hand-grenade attack on her parents' home in Pietermaritzburg.',,

Chief Buthelezi said that human frailty being what it was, Inkatha members had inevitably been drawn into township violence. Inkatha members had been hacked to death and necklaced, and their houses had been destroyed. Faced with what amounted to butchery, he said one could expect violent reaction to violent onslaught, and it was impossible for him to discipline every single Inkatha member into pacifist behaviour in a climate in which, he claimed, violence had been so vigorously stimulated."⁸⁷

Towards the end of the year two Inkatha officials were convicted of being part of a mob which committed public violence at KwaMashu in April, and each was given two years' imprisonment. They were, however, released on bail pending appeal.""

Inkatha officials denied allegations that they were involved in a desperate struggle to eliminate opposition by the UDF in Natal. They said conflict between the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was far older and more ferocious than the UDF/Inkatha conflict, and that Inkatha had co-existed quite

peacefully with the Black People's Convention and AZAPO not only in Natal, but in the whole of South Africa before the advent of the UDF.¹⁸⁹

Despite the conflict, Chief Buthelezi reiterated calls for the release of Mr Mandela from Pollsmoor Prison on several occasions during the year. He said: 'I hope that I will be able to work with Mr Mandela on the same political platform, but I and all my people say, "Release him unconditionally and release him now".'¹⁹ If a free Mr Mandela and himself worked shoulderto-shoulder the country would make great strides forward, Chief Buthelezi said. He also called for the release of Mr Zeph Mothopeng of the PanAfricanist Congress (PAC) and other political prisoners.⁹¹

Dr Dhlomo said that Inkatha was trying to explore all possibilities for the release of Mr Mandela and other political leaders. One possibility was to separate the questions of Mandela's release and the lifting of the ban on the ANC, Dr Dhlomo said. If Mr Mandela and other leaders were released unconditionally, they would be able to negotiate the lifting of the ban on their organisations as a second step. 'With his undoubted political diplomatic capabilities, he would be in a position to negotiate the unbanning of organisations,' Dr Dhlomo said. The third phase would be for these political figures to begin negotiations on the future.¹

There were conflicting reports regarding relations between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

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A letter from Mr Mandela to Chief Buthelezi was made public by the latter in January. It read: 'Your warm message of goodwill and support contributed tremendously to my speedy and complete recovery, and gave me much strength. I shake your hands very warmly.'⁹³ Later in the year, according to an attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, Mr Mandela had 'flatly rejected' a suggestion by Inkatha that Chief Buthelezi should visit Mr Mandela. Mr Ayob said he had sent Chief Buthelezi a telex on Mr Mandela's behalf, which suggested that a meeting between the two should rather take place after Mr Mandela's release from prison.⁹⁴

Testifying before the select committee on foreign affairs of the house of commons in January, Chief Buthelezi said that if the people of South Africa elected Mr Mandela as their leader he would be happy to serve under him. However, he said, 'As much warmth as I feel for him, I would reject his being imposed on us.'⁹⁵ The Sunday Times claimed after Mr Mandela's letter had been published that 'radical blacks have been quick to suggest that Mr Mandela is out of touch with what is going on inside the ANC', and that Mr Mandela's letter must have embarrassed the more militant elements in the UDF, COSATU, and the ANC.⁹⁶ After a visit to South Africa in June, the former British foreign secretary, Mr Denis Healey, claimed the ANC officials in Lusaka were worried that Mr Mandela did not realise how Chief Buthelezi's attitude had changed in recent years, and that he was trying to extend his own power base at the cost of others.¹⁹⁷

Chief Buthelezi claimed that the ANC mission in exile was exploiting Mr Mandela and added that there was 'every indication' that it wanted him kept in jail. 'It is my wish that we do not add to Mr Mandela's burdens and increase his

suffering by involving him in a wrangle with his colleagues in the ANC mission in exile about me and Inkatha."98 Chief Buthelezi said in July that the external mission of the ANC was trying to renounce Mr Mandela because Mr Mandela was telling people who visited him in jail that he regarded Chief Buthelezi as an essential participant in government after the eradication of apartheid. The external mission was trying to claim that Mr Mandela was ignorant and out of touch with what was going on, he said.199

After visiting South Africa earlier in the year as a member of the Commonwealth eminent persons' group, the former Australian prime minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, said: 'Buthelezi told us in the plainest terms he would work for Mandela and one of the things that emerged from discussions with Mandela was the likelihood of a united black leadership, because he made it quite plain he respected Buthelezi.' Mr Fraser said that Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi, and Mr Tambo were likely to form the first black coalition government.'

In May Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP) said after a visit to Mr Mandela that he had said that all groups across the political spectrum should be included in negotiations. Mrs Suzman added that it was significant that Mr Mandela felt that Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha should also be involved in this. 'He had no hard things to say about Inkatha,' she said."

In October Chief Buthelezi told the Institute of Management Consultants of South Africa in Johannesburg, which had nominated him 'Man of the Year', that South Africa was on the road to a Beirut-style anarchy. African politics, he said, was rapidly being radicalised and black/white polarisation

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was deepening. Unless urgent steps were taken to 'unshackle African democracy', the country would soon reach the point beyond which there would be widespread bloodshed. The root of the violence was the government's refusal to negotiate a deal meaningful to Africans, he said.202 Addressing heads of state, ministers, and other representatives of African, American, Asian, and European countries at a seminar in Bonn, west Germany, in November, Chief Buthelezi said that the overthrow of the present South African government by African military violence would lead only to an opposing military force taking over a new government. For the next South African government to work, he said, it was an absolute prerequisite that Africans and whites co-operated in replacing apartheid with an open democracy.203

Chief Buthelezi said that he was aware that there were even important Inkatha members who were intimidated by the mission in exile, who believed he should soften his approach and that 'we too should be trotting off to Lusaka, making subservient noises'. He knew, however, that the external organisation could not win; if it ever did come to power through force, it would be shattered out of existence by a joint black/white backlash. It simply could not produce democracy by the methods it was using.204

Addressing 5 000 delegates at Inkatha's 11th annual congress in Ulundi in July, Chief Buthelezi said that black South Africans had never given the ANC's mission in exile a mandate to plant bombs on street corners where blacks would

be killed, nor had they asked it to attempt to destroy the economy and create vast unemployment and underemployment.⁵

Earlier, Chief Buthelezi had said that attempts to produce a conflagration of all-consuming violence would fail. He told the central committee of Inkatha in June that the failure of attempts by the ANC mission in exile to produce such an explosion would be to the gain of Inkatha's policy of negotiation. The effect on ordinary black people of intimidatory and coercive 'starvation-making and community-destroying' violence would sooner rather than later cause total disgust among black people, who would increasingly question the external mission's strategies. When disgusted people started counting the cost of futile violence, they would swing to Inkatha, as had happened in 1977 and 1978. Inkatha would be the natural home for such people when the mission in exile floundered and was rejected in disillusioned anger, he said.²¹⁰

On several occasions during the year Chief Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders reiterated their opposition to disinvestment. In September Chief Buthelezi told an Inkatha youth rally in Ulundi that sanctions were 'a matter of life and death' in South Africa. The fact was that the economic recession had cost thousands of workers their jobs and sanctions would mean that more and more young people would have no jobs, he said.²⁰⁷

Chief Buthelezi told the Japanese consul general in Ulundi in October that Japan should not impose sanctions on South Africa 'in callous disregard of the poorest of the poor', who were apartheid's victims. What for politicians were limited sanctions, he said, were the forces of annihilation for blacks. 'When a man loses his job and his family faces starvation, he does not experience sanctions as being 'limited', Chief Buthelezi said.²¹⁰

In the last week of September it was reported from Washington that Chief Buthelezi was to visit the US the following week for a meeting with President

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Ronald Reagan as part of an attempt by the US administration to stave off sanctions. However, Chief Buthelezi denied that any such trip was planned. He said that his views on sanctions were already well known in Washington, and that he had no intention of becoming involved in American 'political faction fighting' on the issue. The American sanctions package was enacted on 2 October, when congress overrode President Reagan's veto. Chief Buthelezi visited Washington towards the end of November, when he had talks with President Reagan, as well as with the vice president, Mr George Bush, and the secretary of state, Mr George Shultz. He said during his visit that 'sanctions and divestment can only benefit those who believe that violence is the answer in South Africa. More desperation will be created by escalating poverty'.⁹

Speaking at Fort Worth in Texas, Chief Buthelezi said he would like to know what contribution 'protectionist thinking' had made to the decision by the US to apply sanctions. 'How many senators and congressmen proclaimed the morality of sanctions against South Africa because they had been got at by protectionist lobbies?' he asked. 'To what extent do threatened profits in South Africa in the

depressed economic circumstances which prevail actually motivate withdrawals of capital and involvement, which are passed off as moral political action?'²¹⁰ Dr Dhlomo said in Atteridgeville (Pretoria) in November that companies which had decided to stay in South Africa were 'our comrades in the struggle to dismantle apartheid. It is our deeply held view that it is only through massive injections of funds in specifically targeted socio-economic areas that apartheid will be rendered unworkable,' he said. With regard to companies that had decided to withdraw from South Africa, he said he hoped they would not be welcome in the post-apartheid era. Apartheid had been the goose that had laid the golden egg for such companies, but they were now packing their golden eggs and pulling out of South Africa. 'The problems of South Africa will not be solved by the faint-hearted or those who are so eager to cut and run,' he said. Dr Dhlomo added that working-class blacks would be hardest hit by disinvestment, because most companies that had disinvested were simply handing over to South African or other business concerns, some of whom had already warned that they would not regard themselves as duty-bound to honour the social obligations of their departing predecessors.²¹¹

In his new year message at the end of December, Chief Buthelezi said that never in the history of South Africa had the whole country waited so anxiously for a word of hope. 'As we close 1986, we are all aware that the mechanisms of consultation are too vague and too far in the background. The national council is not yet a reality and unless the state president in the forthcoming parliamentary session makes it the kind of hopeful reality which all population groups can accept, another year will pass without hope,' Chief Buthelezi said.²¹²

During the year under review Chief Buthelezi received apologies and damages from a number of publications against which he initiated legal proceedings. The Sunday Tribune withdrew certain allegations made against him and apologised to him. The Sunday Times also withdrew certain statements and expressed its regrets about having made them. Pace magazine made an out-

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of-court financial settlement and published an apology for 'factually incorrect allegations' it had published, while City Press withdrew what it referred to as 'unsubstantiated statements', and also expressed its regrets at having made them.'" The editor, owner, and distributor of the defunct Rand Daily Mail also made a payment in court to Chief Buthelezi in respect of his claim that a Rand Daily Mail report about the alleged involvement of Inkatha in disturbances at the University of Zululand was defamatory.²¹⁴

A commission of inquiry into the violent disturbances at the university on 29 October 1983, in which five people had been killed and more than 100 injured, published its report in January. The sole commissioner, Professor John Middleton of the department of criminal law at the University of South Africa, said that the violence followed a pamphlet war on the campus between anonymous groups after Chief Buthelezi, who was chancellor of the university, had been billed as a speaker at an Inkatha cultural society ceremony to commemorate the centenary of the death of King Cetshwayo.

The commission's report said: 'On the one hand, there were pamphlets which, in highly emotive language, urged the student body to protest against the impending visit to the campus by Chief Minister Buthelezi.' Most contained hints of violence. 'On the other hand, in equally emotive language, there were pamphlets in favour of the impending visit.' The report continued: 'At about 6am on the day of the clash, a group of students had gathered near the men's hostels, shouting slogans denigrating Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha. At about 7.30am several hundred members of the Inkatha youth brigade, among whom were many "young girls and some very young children", were proceeding on the campus to escort female students to the women's hostels, when a group of male students was encountered and fighting broke out. From this moment, the violence on the campus escalated out of control.'

Professor Middleton said that the rector's action in granting permission to the Inkatha students for use of a campus hall for their ceremony was justified. Neither Inkatha nor the university authorities could be faulted for failing to cancel the ceremony when the threatening pamphlets appeared. However, Professor Middleton said in his report that he was shocked that the university authorities had not reacted sharply and promptly to the appearance of pamphlets denigrating the chancellor, inciting the student body to violence, and seeking to intimidate students who did not co-operate. Professor Middleton also criticised the South African Police for not ensuring that those attending the Inkatha ceremony stood near the hall. It was, he said, the duty of the police to control access to the campus. They had failed in that duty, so that much of the responsibility for what subsequently occurred rested on their shoulders.

Labour Party (LP)

The Labour Party (LP) is the governing party in the house of representatives. As at June it held 79 of the 85 seats. The leader of the LP, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, was chairman of the ministers' council in the coloured house and a cabinet minister without portfolio (see 1985 Survey p23).

Mr Hendrickse said in January that federation was the only feasible .constitutional possibility for South Africa and that any federation should be

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strictly along geographic, and not ethnic, lines. Speaking at the party's annual congress in East London in January, Mr Hendrickse also proposed that a system of proportional representation should be introduced in each of the geographic units.²¹⁵ Mr Ismail Richards MP (LP) told the congress that all discriminatory laws, especially the Group Areas Act of 1966, should be repealed. A motion urging the government to repeal the Population Registration Act of 1950 and to 'create a democratic, nonracial South Africa' was subsequently adopted by the congress.²¹⁶ Mr Desmond Lockey, a nominated MP, said that the maintenance of the Group Areas Act in an era of reform was 'paradoxical' because it thrived on 'group conflict', while Mr David Curry, minister of local government, housing and agriculture in the house of representatives, said that the scrapping of the act was the 'one Rubicon which still has to be crossed'.²¹⁷

In February the house of representatives unanimously passed a motion by Mr Jac Rabie (LP) that the relations committees established by the department of constitutional development and planning should be scrapped. Mr Rabie told the house that 'race relations committees do nothing to help. After the committee meetings, it is invariably apartheid as usual'. It would be better, he said, to open to all races other institutions such as the rapportryers, youth and school committees, and chambers of commerce.²¹⁸

Mr F G Backman (LP), speaking on a motion on unrest, told the president's council in February that he was happy that the reforms taking place in South Africa were 'real and relevant. There is nothing cosmetic about this. These reforms have generated a force which not only creates demands for more reforms, but also for equality in all respects', he said.²¹⁹

In June, when the National Party (NP) forced two contentious security bills through Parliament (see Security), the LP announced that it would decide whether to continue its participation in the tricameral Parliament at its annual congress in Port Elizabeth in January 1987.²⁰

In a speech at the party's eastern Cape congress in October Mr Hendrickse called for an eastern Cape indaba along the lines of that in KwaZulu/Natal. What was happening there, he said, should be happening throughout the country (see Government and Constitution).²²¹

When the Cape Teachers' Professional Association decided at its congress in June to break all ties with the LP-run ministers' council in the house of representatives and all government committees dealing with 'own affairs', Mr Hendrickse announced that the council had decided to cut off the stop-order facilities enjoyed by the professional association in respect of about 30 000 teachers. He said that the association could not expect handouts from the LP and at the same time 'kick us in the face'. The association argued that the new constitutional structures perpetuated separate education systems, while it was committed to a single, nonracial educational system under a single ministry.²²²

Three LP MPs in the house of representatives, Mr Peter Hendrickse, Mr Rabie, and Mr Arthur Stanley, were part of an official party of 19 MPs who were sent by the department of foreign affairs in 1985 to the United States to meet policy makers there in an attempt to counter the disinvestment campaign being conducted against South Africa.²²³

Mr Curry claimed in the house of representatives in March that white farmers in east Griqualand were farming and even selling land to which they

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did not have title. The land, he said, still belonged to Griquas who had been dispossessed, and was situated in east and west Griqualand and around Vredendal on the west coast. Mr Curry was speaking in the debate on a motion by Mr Eddy Dunn (LP) calling on the government to return to the Griquas the land originally owned by them or to compensate them for it. Mr Petrus Meyer (LP) (Vredendal) said that the Griquas now occupied only a quarter of the land that had originally belonged to them.²²⁴

The coffee room for members of the house of assembly, from which coloured and Indian MPs were barred, was eventually integrated in March. The decision to open the coffee room to all MPs irrespective of colour was taken at a joint session of the committees on standing rules and orders of the three houses in Parliament. Earlier in the session, members of the house of representatives had staged protest sit-ins in the coffee room.²²⁵

Mr Hendrickse congratulated the managing director of General Motors South African, Mr Bob White, when the latter promised to give financial and legal aid to any of his employees arrested for using 'whites only' beaches in Port Elizabeth.²⁶ At the party's western Cape congress in November Mr Hendrickse appealed to the state president, Mr P W Botha, to accept the offer by British Petroleum (BP) South Africa to develop District Six in Cape Town as the first 'grey residential area' open to all. He described BP's offer as a 'golden opportunity' for Mr Botha to prove his sincerity about reform.² He also repeated the party's call for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and all other apartheid laws.²²

Mr A W 'Albie' Stowman, the LP leader in Natal, took up an appointment on the president's council in July.²⁹ Mr Anwar Essop MP (Democratic Workers' Party) announced in November that he had applied to join the LP. He said that he saw no future in his own party nor in the other opposition party in the house of representatives, the Freedom Party.⁰

Natal Indian Congress (NIC)

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was revived in 1972 (see 1972 Survey p19, 1982 Survey p32). It is an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF). In January the NIC refused an invitation from the United States (US) consulate in Durban to attend a commemoration service in honour of the black American civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King, whose birthday, 15 January, had been declared a public holiday in the US. The acting president of the NIC, Dr Farouk Meer, said in a letter to the consulate that the organisation wished to place on record its highest admiration for the great civil rights leader 'who has been an inspiration to millions' both in America and elsewhere. It was because it held him in such high esteem, he said, that it was compelled to dissociate itself from the service. Dr Meer explained: 'King opposed racism, political oppression, and exploitation. He stood for democracy and the full participation of all people, regardless of colour, in democratic institutions. Your government and your president defy the very ideals King stood for. Through your policy of "constructive engagement" you support racism and are opposed to the democratic demands of the majority of South Africans. We suggest that your government could best remember

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King through the implementation of policies that favour democracy and the establishment of a government in South Africa based on the will of the people.

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In June the NIC supported a call by Mr Pat Samuels of the Teachers' Association of South Africa (TASA) for the scrapping of the tricameral parliamentary system. The NIC said that two security bills - the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the

Internal Security Amendment Bill - had been passed despite stiff opposition from both the house of delegates and the house of representatives .32 The government had not only overridden the two houses, but it had also introduced the second state of emergency on 12 June.

In May the NIC criticised a proposal by Dr J N Reddy, minister of the budget in the house of delegates and former chairman of the South African Indian council (SAIC), that the house of delegates should upgrade pensions of 17 former members of the SAIC who were now MPs. The president of the NIC, Mr George Sewpersadh, said, 'The public rejected the Indian council and it is steadfast in not accepting the tricameral system. We are not going to pay for something which we did not want in the first place. This is a naked waste of money which hardpressed taxpayers cannot afford.' Former members of the SAIC received a pension equal to that of provincial councillors, but Dr Reddy wanted the pensions of the 17 to be upgraded to those of MPs.²³³ Subsequently the NIC said that parliamentarians should be fired and not rewarded."

National Forum Committee (NFC)

The National Forum Committee (NFC) was formed in 1983 at a meeting of 200 organisations to discuss a 'manifesto of the Azanian People', which is the organisation's policy document. It claimed an affiliated membership of 600 000. Its two major affiliates were the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the Cape Action League (CAL) (see 1985 Survey p26). In a statement issued by the Johannesburg office of the NFC in March, it was stated that membership of the organisation was open only to blacks and not to whites. The statement denied claims that representatives of white organisations had been invited to the third annual congress held in Durban in March." At the congress the NFC rejected the idea of a national convention on South Africa's future and decided that it would call stayaways from 1 to 4 May and from 16 to 24 June. The convenor of the NFC, Mr Saths Cooper, said that the stayaways were the only alternative to violent confrontation in bringing about change. He also said that both the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) had not responded to invitations to the conference and that the NFC had also not sent delegates to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference, which was also held in Durban in March.²³⁶

Opening the conference, Mr Cooper called on groups affiliated to the NFC to commit themselves to setting up a socialist society, saying that the time had come for the organisation to stop regarding itself as an 'anti-apartheid' organisation, but rather as a group dedicated to the complete restructuring of society.²³⁷ The co-convenor of the NFC, Mr Mandla Nkosi, became acting convenor when Mr Cooper left South Africa to take up a scholarship in the

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United States.

At the congress Mr Cooper launched an attack on the increasing contacts between the African National Congress (ANC) in exile and various internal organisations. He highlighted what he said was the sudden gain in political status of Mr Enos

Mabuza, chief minister of KaNgwane, resulting from a visit to the ANC in Lusaka.

Papers presented at the conference attacked the idea of a national convention as an attempt to smuggle whites and township liberals through the back door into the black struggle for liberation. A national convention was also seen as 'intended to save capitalism from the floodwaters of the rising anti-capitalist black revolutionary forces who are now in control of the black revolutionary struggle.'³⁸

In a statement to the NECC at its conference in Durban over the same weekend, the NFC said that 457 organisations adhered to its platform, and that 1 600 representatives of national, regional, and local groups attending the third NFC conference had decided that they could not allow themselves to participate fully in the discussions of the NECC conference. The statement said that the NECC conference had been constituted in an 'extremely sectarian, undemocratic, and manipulative process'. It further alleged that the Soweto parents' crisis committee had decided to delegate status on groups and organisations in an 'arbitrary, tendentious, and sectarian manner'.

Among the resolutions passed by the NFC at its conference were the following: to facilitate the co-ordination of a national rent boycott from May 1986; and to embark on consumer boycott action only after proper consultation and full and free discussion with community members, thereby eliminating the emergence of committees with no mandates from the community.

City Press reported that the conference had called for a total shutdown of South Africa's industrial, educational, and social structures in an effort to force the government to resign. This included a labour boycott, a rent boycott, an education boycott, a consumer boycott, intensification of the disinvestment campaign, and a moratorium on all sports and social activities. 'The intention is to give the government the opportunity to resign and relinquish power,' Mr Cooper said. The boycott would start on 16 June and last for ten days, he added.²³⁹

National Party (NP)

The National Party (NP) was the ruling party in South Africa. As at June it held 127 of the 178 seats in the house of assembly.²⁴

The NP said that the year under review had started well, and that compared to 1985 South Africa's economic future was brighter, unrest had declined, the drought had largely been broken, and important reform steps were on the way.⁴¹

When the state president, Mr P W Botha, opened Parliament at the end of January, he said that the government would give Africans freehold property rights, introduce a uniform identity document for all races, and restore South African citizenship to Africans who lived permanently within the country but had forfeited their citizenship when the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei had gained

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'independence'.

Proposed legislation was designed to extend the democratic process and promote free enterprise, he added. It would amend the immigration selection policy to

remove the discriminatory preference provisions and restructure the system of provincial government to involve all communities (see Government and Constitution). Proposed legislation would also provide for the lifting of restrictions on the informal business sector. 2

Mr Botha said, 'We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid.' He stated, too, his commitment to a negotiated form of power sharing that would include Africans and said it was his intention to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council pending the creation of constitutional structures to be agreed upon jointly. The new body would, however, act only in an advisory capacity. 'Those who oppose this approach of evolutionary reform know that the alternative is revolutionary chaos,' Mr Botha told Parliament.²⁴³

The government's advertising of its new reform initiatives in Sunday newspapers in January was criticised by Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party (CP). Dr Treurnicht said that he objected to the spending of public money 'to advertise a political speech'. His party, he said, disapproved of the content of the advertisement. ²⁴⁴

The NP leader in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk, said in February that the NP stood by its policy of separate residential areas, separate schools, and separate institutions for different race groups. Referring to remarks by Mr Botha about group protection, he said that they meant that the NP believed that recognition of the importance of group existence was not in itself discriminatory but, was, in fact, a prerequisite for peaceful co-existence. Each group had to have its own community life and that included own residential areas, own schools, own institutions, and systems within which the group could maintain its own character and handle its own group interests. His interpretation of the government's reform initiatives drew immediate condemnation from the official opposition in the house of assembly, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP) said that Mr De Klerk had not begun to understand that there was a fundamental difference between freedom of association and restrictions imposed by law. Nowhere else in the world, he said, was there a law which prevented people from associating with whom they pleased.²⁴⁵

In February the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Roelof Botha, said that a black president in South Africa was possible in terms of government policy. Speaking in Parliament in the no-confidence debate, Mr P W Botha, rejecting Mr Roelof Botha's statement, said that no minister had the right to compromise the government. He said that he wished to state unequivocally that any speculation or discussion regarding future constitutional situations was purely hypothetical and in no way represented official policy. Mr De Klerk, he explained, had correctly interpreted his presidential speech on the protection of minority rights, but he could not allow any member of the cabinet to compromise the government in the way the minister of foreign affairs had done.²⁴⁶ The PFP challenged Mr P W Botha to say whether his rejection of Mr Roelof Botha's statement meant that in the new constitutional set-up there would be a prohibition on a black's being

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president.⁴⁷

It was revealed in February that Mr P W Botha had told the leader of the opposition in the assembly, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, in a clandestinely recorded conversation between them on 25 November 1985 that under his leadership 'whites have accepted a great deal in South Africa and I think that 80% of whites are with me and I think that the other 20% are shared by you and Andries Treurnicht (Conservative Party) and Jaap Marais (HerStigte Nasionale Party). But 80% of whites are with me and this is shown by our byelections'.²⁴ Early in March Mr Botha said in an interview that he did not regard the right wing as an obstacle to faster or further reform. 'But if there is unfair, unreasonable reaction to all the goodwill shown by responsible white leaders in South Africa, I would not be surprised if my own people turned to the right, because we are not going to abdicate our existence,' he said.⁴⁹

Amid reports of a possible right-wing backlash over reform initiatives, the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) broke up an NP meeting at Brits (central Transvaal) towards the end of April and another in Pietersburg (northern Transvaal) in May. Police were present in large numbers to protect the state president when he addressed an NP rally in Potgietersrus (northern Transvaal) in October. A few blocks away members of the AWB also held a meeting."

Opposition leaders subsequently criticised the 'war-footing security' deployed by Mr Botha to defend his Potgietersrus meeting.²⁵²

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote in the assembly in April, Mr P W Botha said that the ANC was under the influence of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and that his considered opinion was that the ANC need not be an essential factor in an internationally acceptable settlement. He also said that the government had never said that all ANC members were communists. There were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware that they were being manipulated by the communists, he added.³⁵

In its official newspaper, *The Nationalist*, in June, the NP said that violence was the enemy of reform."³ Two days later, on 12 June, Mr Botha declared a state of emergency (see Political Developments). He said that he had been advised by security experts that the 'entire Republic is a target area and that the security of the State could be at stake'.²⁵⁵

In July Mr Botha called on Africans to 'come forward and join me in negotiations and peace'. He said that the government would relentlessly pursue and punish those who sowed terror."⁶

The NP openly admitted that influx control had been a mistake and a failure. Speaking in the house of assembly's debate on the Abolition of Influx Control Bill, Mr Andries van der Walt (NP) said that influx control measures had failed to stem the tide of African people moving to urban areas for purely economic reasons. Action taken against Africans under influx control measures had become 'an evil cycle of prosecution, indictment, conviction, and release', he said.⁷

Following a promise made by the state president earlier in the year, the pass laws were comprehensively repealed in June in a major reform initiative (see Urbanisation and Housing).

In a speech at the NP federal congress in Durban in August, Mr Botha said that the principle of the Group Areas Act of 1966 had always been

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difficult to apply. 'I say let us make it more flexible so that it may be applied with more understanding,' he said.⁸

At the NP's Bloemfontein congress in September, Mr Botha said that joint parliamentary debate involving all three houses 'holds no danger of domination', but some people were trying to 'make political mischief out of the proposal for such debates (see Government and Constitution).²⁵⁹

During a visit to France in November to inaugurate a South African national war memorial museum at Delville Wood, Mr Botha told an international press conference that South Africa would fight back like 'a little tiger' if its back were forced against the wall by sanctions. 'Let the world be warned,' he said, 'South Africa is going to fight back.'²

In December the leader of the NP in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, who was also minister of -home affairs, rejected the constitutional proposals put forward by the KwaZulu Natal indaba, saying that if they implemented they would lead to domination and one-person, one-vote.²⁶ The NP had refused an invitation to participate in the KwaZulu Natal indaba as a full delegation, opting instead to have observer status only.

Mr Botha announced in his 1987 new year's message that a white general election for the house of assembly would be held early in the year.²⁶²

National People's Party (NPP)

The National People's Party (NPP) was formed in August 1981 and was the governing body in the house of delegates (see 1985 Survey p29). In June 1986 it held 26 of the 45 seats.

In November Mr Abdulla Khan, a retired businessman, won the house of delegates Brickfield byelection in Durban for the NPP. He beat the only other candidate, Mr Reuben John (Solidarity), by 1 167 votes.⁶³

In an article in Post Natal in January, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the leader of the NPP, said that the main challenge facing the house was to take a 'bolder stand on the reform process to include Africans'. Africans, he said, were not interested in any token representation or starting with small structures which to them might be meaningless. 'The NPP is of the view that in 1986 South Africa must see a guideline for all-rce participation at a very high level,' Mr Rajbansi said.²⁶

On the issue of Indian and coloured conscription, Mr Rajbansi said that the NPP opposed it. He said that the use of the army in the townships was 'unfortunate'. 'To curb real lawlessness, it would be better to use more members of the police force. In a situation where one accepts the police as part of society, as an institution of social control, I think the use of troops is looked on negatively if it is used on a continuous basis.' Mr Rajbansi said that he believed the imposition on 21 July 1985 of a state of emergency in parts of the country had been necessary and that 'very strong representations' had been made by the NPP to the state president to curb violence. He did not think that the African National Congress (ANC) would succeed in South Africa. 'Historical development, the political divisions, and the

geography of South Africa will not suit the ANC. I think the battle for South Africa will be won or lost with internal forces.'²⁶⁵

Speaking in February in the no-confidence debate, Mr Kassie Ramduth,

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minister of education and culture in the house of delegates, said that the address by the state president, Mr P W Botha, at the opening of Parliament was 'a wind of change'. The speech brought new hope for South Africa and he was optimistic that Mr Botha's plans would be put into practical form. 'All traces of apartheid, including the Group Areas Act (of 1966), have to be removed. Mr Botha is a bold man and all South Africans must help him to implement his plans,' Mr Ramduth said. But Mr Nizam Khan (NPP) said during the no-confidence debate that the house of delegates talked 'petty politics' while the country was burning. He said that to remove discriminatory laws from the statute book, the government would first have to be removed. ²⁶⁷

Mr Rajbansi supported the principle of 'group rights'. Speaking in the noconfidence debate in the house of delegates, he said, 'You can't run away from the fact that you belong to a group. Self-determination is based on groups. '²⁶ Addressing the house of assembly in May during the debate on the Matters Concerning Admission to and Residence in the Republic Amendment Bill, in terms of which Indians would be allowed to live in the Orange Free State, Mr Rajbansi said: 'If Mahatma Gandhi were alive today this would have been his proud day because the discriminatory measures (which forbade Indians from residing in the Orange Free State) are being removed peacefully, through constitutional means, through a process of evolution and, most important, through a process of negotiation.'²⁶⁹ In motivating the repeal of the law, Mr Rajbansi became the first black to address the (white) house of assembly.²⁷⁰

Mr M Thaver (NPP), speaking during the debate on the health services and welfare vote in the house of delegates in June, said that the house should take control of all social workers to check their political activities. He said that he was surprised that some social workers, particularly in child and family welfare societies, had openly identified themselves with the United Democratic Front (UDF) and had taken strike action against their employers.²⁷¹

When the parliamentary session ended, MPs in the house of delegates did not hold public report-back meetings in their constituencies on the grounds that they feared 'intimidation' by extra-parliamentary organisations such as the UDF. Instead they concentrated on house meetings and distributed newsletters explaining their achievements.²"

New Republic Party (NRP)

The New Republic Party (NRP) was formed in 1977 after the disbanding of the United Party and the Democratic Party (see 1978 Survey p8). As at June it held five of the 178 seats in the house of assembly.

In January the federal council of the NRP called on the government to announce its intention to repeal apartheid laws. Mr Bill Sutton, the NRP leader, said that the government's announcement should be made during the parliamentary session and that it should negotiate with African leaders concerning their representation in

government. He stated that his party appreciated the co-operation and interest shown by the KwaZulu

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administration in seeking joint administrative structures for Natal, saying that 'the African National Congress, with a strong communist presence' was unable to participate in such negotiations and would take the country back to the one-person, one-vote, one-party principle espoused by communism. 13

In an article he wrote for *The Daily News*, Mr Sutton said that the government's apartheid policy had alienated the population of South Africa. 'Virtually the entire African, Indian, and coloured population and a significant proportion of the white population are increasingly in revolt against what is seen as a society that is unjust and discriminatory.' This policy, he said, was the greatest failure in the history of western democracy. Not one of its major objectives had been achieved. Mr Sutton stressed that the inclusion of Africans in Parliament would be a fundamental watershed in South African politics. The NRP had, since 1977, proposed a four-chamber Parliament, but the government had repeatedly stated that there would be no African chamber, he said.⁷⁴

Mr Peter McKenzie, the NRP's member of the provincial council (MPC) for Berea (Durban), said that he hoped the National Party (NP) would not close the door on the indaba talks between the provincial administration and KwaZulu over the joint running of Natal (see *Government and Constitution*). Mr McKenzie had moved a motion at a provincial council meeting calling on the executive committee to investigate the creation of a regional authority with legislative powers to handle matters of common concern in KwaZulu/Natal.²⁷¹

Mr Sutton said early in September that the NRP would continue 'urgently' to seek to broaden the negotiation process 'in active association' with other parties in all sections of the population. His statement followed a crisis party meeting after the severe defeats the party had suffered at the hands of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in the Claremont and Pinelands byelections in Cape Town (see *Government and Constitution*).⁷⁶

Addressing a meeting in Pietermaritzburg in October, the NRP leader said that there was 'no basic merit in the majority'. In fact, he argued, the recent experience of the world had brought about a profound distrust of the majority and its capability to cope effectively with political and economic problems. A proposal for a majority system in the KwaZulu Natal indaba (see *Government and Constitution*) would result in its becoming 'merely another academic exercise', he added.² The NRP saw the KwaZulu Natal indaba as the last hope for the survival of the party. Its survival, the Pietermaritzburg meeting was told by Mr Derrick Watterson, the NRP's Natal leader, depended on forming an alliance of moderates across racial and party lines using the indaba as a base.²⁷⁸ Mr Frank Martin, a senior NRP member and former member of the Natal provincial executive committee, said at a PFP report-back meeting in Durban that whites-only opposition parties such as the PFP and the NRP would be irrelevant in the future. 'Future opposition to the South African government will have to be in the form of a broadly based nonracial alliance of moderates,' he said. He said too that time

had run out for the NP, which he believed was unable to get South Africa out of the mess it had created over 38 years.²⁷⁹

When the Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha, rejected the KwaZulu Natal indaba proposals for a single provincial legislature for the region, Mr Sutton challenged the government to hold a referendum in Natal on the

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issue. There were also suggestions that political organisations that supported the indaba proposals should form a coalition or united front to oppose the NP on this issue in Natal in the 1987 general election.

The NRP supported South African Defence Force raids into neighbouring countries. Speaking in a special debate on the raids in the house of assembly in May, Mr Vause Raw (NRP) said that the NRP supported 'pre-emptive' strikes to check 'terrorism'. But the government, he added, should justify such actions, telling the country about them."¹

New Unity Movement (NUM)

The New Unity Movement (NUM), a revival of the Unity Movement of South Africa (formerly known as the Non-European Unity Movement), was officially launched in April 1985. Its chief affiliates were the Federation of Cape Civic Associations and the Natal-based African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) (see 1985 Survey p32).

In a statement issued in January by its president, Mr R O Dudley, the NUM said that those who used catch phrases such as 'liberation before education' did not understand the struggle and were creating anarchy. Claims that freedom was around the corner, he said, had been used by opportunists to mislead students and to spread chaos in schools and colleges in an endless boycott. 'Students, teachers, and parents have acted resolutely against the whole segregated school system. They have courageously resisted the vicious assaults upon our schools by a ruling class and its henchmen determined to bully everyone into accepting the segregated school systems. But it is clear that a continued school boycott until various demands are met can only prove disastrous for the political movement as a whole,' he said."²

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), formed in 1959 after a breakaway from the ANC, was banned in 1960. It operates in exile and is committed to the armed overthrow of the State (see 1985 Survey p32).

The PAC called on the international community to ignore the promises of reform made by the state president, Mr P W Botha. It denounced the reforms as 'empty, irrelevant, and a further proof of the government's arrogance' and accused Mr Botha and the National Party (NP) of treating the plight of black people lightly.³⁸³

In March the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, bishop of Johannesburg, in an open letter in New York, urged the anti-apartheid movement in the United States to drop its bias against the PAC and supporters of black consciousness. 'These black South Africans represent a legitimate and popular trend in our just struggle against apartheid. Denying them equal access to public forums in South Africa or

humanitarian assistance does not serve the best interests of our struggle. We are, therefore, calling upon the anti-apartheid movement to give our struggle moral, humanitarian, and political assistance in a nonsectarian and principled manner,' the letter said.²⁴

In an interview in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) which was subsequently

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published in Johannesburg in July, Mr Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's head of mission at the United Nations (UN), said that the PAC wanted a nonracial society and would not guarantee any group rights. 'We will guarantee individual rights. Secondly, we will establish a democratic society where we will have a one-person, one-vote unitary parliament,' he said.²⁵

A London publisher decided in May not to publish a book giving details of 'the collapse of the PAC' because of threats of legal action from senior PAC officials. The book, entitled *Struggles within the struggle: An inside view of the PAC of South Africa*, was written by the PAC's former foreign affairs director, Mr Henry Isaacs.²⁸⁶ A lawyer and one-time president of the outlawed South African Students' Organisation (SASO), Mr Isaacs joined the PAC after going into exile in the 1970s.

About 16 PAC refugees, including two widows and five children, were expelled from Lesotho in January after a military coup toppled Chief Jonathan Leabua's government. The PAC mission at the UN in New York appealed to the international community to help refugees deported from Lesotho by granting them political asylum.²¹⁷

In April the deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel, accused Libya of training and sending 150 PAC 'terrorists' to South Africa 'to murder' prominent African leaders and mobilise students at black universities. Two of the guerrillas had been killed over the Easter weekend, Mr Nel said, but he did not know where the other 148 were.²⁸ Mr Ebrahim denied that the 150 were trained in Libya and sent to South Africa to kill black leaders. 'There is no reason for us to want to do that. It has never been our policy and it is not the policy now,' he said.²⁸⁹

Five PAC guerrillas were arrested by the Bophuthatswana police in April.²⁹⁰ Mr Zephania Mothopeng, aged 73, a founder member of the PAC, succeeded Mr Robert Sobukwe, who died in 1978, as president of the organisation. The PAC had been led by a central committee since 1978, but at a meeting in Tanzania in August, the committee appointed Mr Mothopeng as president in recognition of 'his commitment to the liberation struggle'.²⁹¹ Mr Mothopeng was serving a 15-year jail sentence.

The administrative secretary of the PAC, Mr Joe Mkwanazi, escaped death in December when he handed a parcel sent to him from Swaziland to police in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania). The parcel contained a bomb which was subsequently defused by the police. They said that Mr Mkwanazi would have died if he had opened the parcel.⁹²

According to the Iranian national news agency, Irna, a five-man PAC delegation arrived in Tehran on an official visit during the fourth week of April. The delegation, led by Mr Johnson Mlambo, was due to have talks with Iranian

officials.²⁹³ Mr Ebrahim visited Argentina in November. During the week-long visit, he was expected to hold talks with Argentinian government officials.²⁹⁴
People's Congress Party (PCP)

The People's Congress Party (PCP) was formed in January 1983. It was previously called the Congress of the People (see 1983 Survey p34).

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Mr Peter Marais, the leader of the PCP and a member of the president's council (PC), told a PCP meeting in Wentworth (Durban) in September that moderates, and not extremists, were going to decide the future of South Africa. The role of moderate leadership, he added, was not to whip up anger and hatred, but to serve as a bridge over troubled waters. 'In South Africa today those who are angry are lashing out at this bridge and some are even wishing it to collapse. But if the bridge of moderation were to crumble, we may never be able to cross into a new South Africa. People will be swept away in angry currents of anarchy and rebellion with minimal chances of survival,' Mr Marais said. He added that moderation was not a weakness, but an inner strength born out of a strong conviction that man was basically good and that the evil in him could best be conquered by love.¹⁹¹

Progressive Federal Party (PFP)

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was the official opposition in the house of assembly and as at 22 August held 25 of the 178 seats.

In an interview in January the Natal leader of the party, Mr Ray Swart, said that the PFP was to extend membership to all races. (The repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968 in 1985 made it possible for political parties to have racially-mixed memberships - see 1985 Survey p35.) A new Natal coastal region director, Mr Roy Ainslie, he said, had been appointed to push the all-race membership drive in Natal. Mr Ainslie had already worked on the campaign in the western Cape.²

Soon after Parliament opened the leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from his position both as leader of the party and as an MP because, he said, he had reached the end of his tether in trying to promote negotiation politics with the National Party (NP).²⁹ 'I have decided the time has come for me to go,' Dr Slabbert said. 'What I have heard and seen from government ministers, including the state president, is simply not good enough. It is a false start,' he said. Another reason why he felt that it was time for him to go, he added, was that he realised that he was being taken for granted not only by others, but also by himself. 'Political leadership is a proactive career; not a safe route to a retirement gratuity and pension. I have done my share and I believe that it is time for someone else to have a go at it.'^{29s} On 12 February Dr Alex Boraine MP (PFP) also announced his resignation from Parliament.²⁹

The PFP caucus elected Mr Colin Eglin, who had been party leader prior to Dr Slabbert, to lead the party." After his election as leader, Mr Eglin told a press conference that he would talk to the ANC if it rejected violence. He said that he saw the PFP's role in Parliament as 'taking the fight to the NP' which, he said, was in 'deep, deep trouble'.¹⁰ In an interview with the British Broadcasting

Corporation he said that the state president, Mr P W Botha, was moving towards some form of power sharing. He was, he added, desperately concerned that white South Africans, while they wanted to share power, were doing it so slowly that one day when they were willing to do this, Africans might not be prepared to share power with them.⁰

Dr Slabbert met the president of Mozambique, Mr Samora Machel, in Maputo early in January. Dr Slabbert said after the meeting that he had been

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disturbed by allegations by the Mozambique authorities that South Africa was violating the Nkomati accord. He came away, he said, with clear impressions that there was no doubt in the Mozambique government's mind about the South African Defence Force's and the government's violation of the accord while it was being planned and after it had been signed.⁹³

In response to a threat by the African National Congress (ANC) leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, to intensify the organisation's guerrilla campaign, the PFP called on the government to lift the banning order on the ANC. Dr Slabbert said that the government could deny the ANC justification for resorting to armed struggle by lifting the banning order and introducing a package of fundamental reforms.⁰

After a visit to London where he said he had had talks with ANC representatives, Mr Graham McIntosh MP (PFP) told a lunchtime forum in Durban that 'apartheid is synonymous with violence' and that in South Africa there was political violence from the State and its opponents. He also said that the PFP supported both non-violent protest politics and constitutional changes.⁰

At her own request, Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP) had a two-hour meeting with the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, in Pollsmoor Prison (near Cape Town) early in May. After the visit she said that she was convinced of Mr Mandela's sincerity in wishing to create a climate for negotiation. 'He is a very impressive man. He talks without rancour and, to my mind, is most reasonable,' she said.⁰

In January the PFP called on the government to lift the state of emergency which had been declared on 21 July 1985.⁷ (The emergency was lifted on 7 March, but reimposed on 12 June.)

The PFP member of the Cape provincial council for Groote Schuur, Mr Jan van Eck, called in February for the resignation of the chief magistrate of Robertson (Cape Peninsula) for his extreme views on 'justice' towards Africans accused of public violence during the unrest. The magistrate, Mr Jan Lategan, allegedly told Mr Van Eck when the PFP unrest monitoring group visited Robertson that Africans 'only understand the law of the kierie'."

While visiting the United Kingdom in March, Mrs Suzman said that the 'false impression' that transfer of power to Africans was imminent had kept unrest in the country at fever point and had caused over 1 000 deaths in 16 months.³⁰⁹

Speaking at a lunchtime meeting on the Durban campus of the University of Natal in March, Mr Eglin said that the future of South Africa and the prospects for peace were being determined as much in African townships as in Parliament. The pressures being generated outside Parliament, he explained, did not find direct

expression in Parliament. Instead, they dammed up around and against its walls. 'If they don't find an understanding response from inside Parliament, there will result a cycle of confrontation, repression, violence, and counter-violence, but certainly not reform,' he said.¹

The PFP expressed concern at the government's failure to halt unrest in the country. Addressing the party's caucus meeting in Cape Town in March, Mr Eglin said that the government was putting the country's future at risk in failing to deal with the fundamental causes of the unrest.³¹ Mrs Suzman expressed fear that unless dramatic action was taken by Parliament when it resumed after the Easter recess to scrap discriminatory laws, there would be

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the danger of total isolation of the country.³¹²

Mr Eglin said that the report of the Van der Walt commission of inquiry which had examined the unrest in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 (see 1985 Survey p86) was a 'massive indictment of the government for having allowed the country to slide into conditions which made revolt against the authorities and the system they stood for inevitable'. Speaking in the house of assembly in April, he said that the commission's report pointed to the direct link between education and socio-economic conditions, and politics and revolution. If these problems were to be resolved in a meaningful way, Mr Botha had to make it clear that his government was not locked into the concept that constitutional development could take place only within the framework of racially-based structures founded on statutory race classification and compulsory group membership. Apartheid was not an option for a future constitution for South Africa, he said.³¹³

In April the PFP warned that only reform would end unrest in the country and that South Africa needed stability in order to attract investment from abroad.³¹⁴

Mr Ray Swart MP (PFP), speaking in Parliament in June on the state of emergency and the clampdown on individual rights and press freedom, said that the government was outdoing the Kremlin when it came to denying rights to individuals in a democratic country.³⁵

In an interview in July Mr Peter Soal MP (PFP) said that the government's expenditure of R388 000 on weapons for African town councillors was an indictment of apartheid. 'If there was no apartheid, there would be no need to arm councillors against their constituents,' he said.³¹⁶

In July Mrs Suzman, speaking to foreign and local pressmen after she and Mr Eglin had held talks with the visiting British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said that they had urged him to heed the voice of moderate Africans and whites in the quest for a solution to the country's problems.³¹⁷

Speaking in the house of assembly in May, Professor Nic Olivier (PFP) said that South Africans were not prepared to negotiate about the takeover of power by black militants.³¹

Mr Eglin warned the government in the same month that its proposed national council would fail if Mr Mandela were not freed.¹⁹ He also urged Mr Botha to reshuffle the cabinet and appoint a new crisis cabinet composed of people with sensitivity and management skills and a vision for the future.

Professor Olivier said in an interview early in August that the constitutional 'indaba' hung by a thread because government efforts to draw moderate African leaders into the central government were failing. He said that these leaders would only be drawn in if Mr Mandela were released.²⁰ Mr Eglin, speaking at a byelection meeting in the Pinelands (Cape Town) civic hall in August, claimed that the NP federal congress had merely rearranged and spring-cleaned the 'existing apartheid furniture'.³²¹

Mrs Suzman, addressing a press club meeting in Cape Town in September, said that the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, archbishop of Cape Town, had overlooked the vital role which Parliament could play in achieving the nonviolent dismantling of apartheid. 'There is nothing irrelevant about Parliament,' she stated.³²²

In October Mr Andrew Savage MP (PFP) said that the government's talk of reform was 'dishonest gobbledygook' which had no chance of succeeding.

SOLIDARITY

The days of white prescription were over and unless both sides recognised each other's power, they would 'smash the country to pieces'.³²³

In an article in a Sunday newspaper in November, Mr Eglin said that a universal franchise and nonracial constitutional structures could solve the political problems facing the country.³²⁴

While on a visit to the United States in November, Mr Eglin appealed to the American government to help break the racial logjam that was keeping Africans and whites away from the negotiating table.³²⁵ He warned Americans that economic punitive measures would not destroy the South African government, but would weaken African economic muscle and delay the process of change.³²⁶

Mr Alf Widman (PFP), speaking in Parliament in February, rejected the government's plan for regional services councils on the grounds that it was based on the apartheid concept of forced group membership and that proposals for financing the system were unacceptable.³²⁷ The PFP also attacked the concept of racially-based 'own affairs'. Mr Widman said that Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the NP in the Transvaal, had made it clear that separate schools and residential areas, separate voters' rolls, and the tricameral system would remain."

Mr Pieter Schoeman, a PFP member on the president's council, said in December that the proposals made at the KwaZulu Natal indaba (see Government and Constitution) were 'a glimmer of hope on an otherwise bleak political horizon'. 'To reject the KwaZulu/Natal plan as the NP has done without having participated in the eight-month period of negotiation which led to its acceptance is a spectacular instance of arrogant folly,' he said.³²⁹

Speaking in Parliament in June, Mr Eglin also said that South Africa could not dismiss the West. 'The government should not accept that sanctions are inevitable. It should face the issue head-on, not by posturing or battening down the hatches, but by realising that steps must be taken to resolve the situation.'³³

The PFP, in line with all other political parties in the house of assembly, accepted a plan to set up a parliamentary committee to report on the implications of sanctions against the country. The committee would also examine and report on

the adequacy or otherwise of any steps taken to deal with sanctions and boycotts, and on any further steps to be taken.³³¹

Mr T van der Merwe MP (PFP) urged the government to restore citizenship to all, including all those who had lost it when the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei (the TBVC areas) became 'independent'.³³²

At a meeting of the national executive of young PFP members in Port Elizabeth in March, the Young Progs said that the primary role of the PFP was to educate whites about the inevitability and the desirability of government which granted to all the same right to vote. They said that they were committed to 'using public protest methods to visibly show our opposition to apartheid rule'.³³³ At the end of September the Young Progs launched a countrywide

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protest campaign against government restrictions on the free flow of news.
Solidarity

Solidarity was formed in January 1984. At the time of writing it held 15 of the 45 seats in the house of delegates, where it was the official opposition.³³⁵

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Dr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, said in January that Solidarity and the National People's Party (NPP) were in the tricameral Parliament to seek an end to apartheid and to improve the lot of the Indian people.³³⁶

Proposing a motion of no confidence in the house of delegates in February, Dr Reddy said that the problem in South Africa was not only of minorities. Vast disparities, he said, existed between the economic development of various groups and regions. He said that these disparities had to be addressed if the country's ills were to be solved. Political detentions prejudiced the government's reform process, he added, saying that the credibility of those negotiating with the government was questioned and that it became extremely difficult and embarrassing for those who wished to identify with reform to become actively involved. All political detainees, including the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela, should be released to lead their people, he said.³³⁷

Mr Pat Poovalingam MP (Solidarity), commenting on the opening speech to Parliament by the state president, Mr P W Botha, in January, said that while it had offered hope for reconciliation between the races, this hope had been dashed by Mr F W de Klerk, minister of national education, who had reiterated that apartheid would not be dismantled.³³⁸

Mr Botha paid his first visit to the Indian house during a debate on a private member's motion calling on him to enter into immediate negotiations with representative leaders to draw up a new constitution. Mr Ahmed Arbee (Solidarity), who introduced the motion, called on Mr Botha to establish a climate for negotiation by releasing all political prisoners and detainees, by lifting the banning orders on all outlawed organisations, by repealing the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Population Registration Act of 1950, and by abolishing the concept of 'own affairs'. Apartheid, he added, would be killed only by the repeal of the laws which enforced it.³³⁹

Mr Poovalingam said in May in a debate on the South African Defence Force raids into Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe that a country could commit an act of war without declaring war. If these countries had been able to retaliate after the raids, South Africa would have been at war, he said. He also said that the ANC and other organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress were not foreigners. 'They are South Africans and are not enemies of the country, but are enemies of the government.' Another Solidarity MP, Mr M Rajab, said that the ANC was an important organisation and would have to be included in any negotiations over the future of South Africa. He said that the raids would not assist the negotiation process.³⁴⁰

Speaking in the constitutional development and planning budget vote debate, Mr Poovalingam said that the government's obsession with ethnicity was bound to promote conflict. One could understand that a 'white tribe' did not want to give up what it had attained after decades of striving, he added, but continued emphasis on ethnicity or race was harmful.³⁴¹

In October Solidarity condemned the government's declaration of the United Democratic Front (UDF) as 'an affected organisation'. Mr Ismail Omar, the party's national chairman and a member of the president's council, said in Durban that he hoped that the government's action would not be a forerunner to the silencing of the UDF.³⁴²

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the NPP, announced that the two parties were forming a coalition, but this was opposed by some members of

SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU FOR RACIAL AFFAIRS

Solidarity. The coalition agreement between Solidarity and the NPP finally failed when Dr Reddy's legal representative gave an undertaking in the Durban supreme court that it would not be implemented. This was after the judge had ordered Dr Reddy and the other respondents in the application to show cause within six days why the agreement Dr Reddy had signed in his capacity as leader of Solidarity with Mr Rajbansi should not be declared null and void.⁴³

In February the state president appointed two members of Solidarity - Dr Reddy and Mr Ismail Kathrada - respectively as ministers of the budget and of health services and welfare in the house of delegates.' In March Mr Poovalingam made a call in a private member's motion in the house of delegates for the holding of joint sittings of all three houses of Parliament in all debates. He argued that Parliament would be run more effectively and economically if the 'present cumbersome system' of separate sittings was replaced by joint sittings."

South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA)

Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA), said in February that the government's attempts to bring Africans into the president's council had failed. The fundamental weakness in the political system and the basic cause of all the 'failures and set-backs' was the government's premise that South Africa was one country with one nation, one citizenship, and one constitution. As long as this premise was held, Professor Boshoff said, Africans would continue to ask why political power was not in their hands. Africans were not interested in the protection of minorities. Their choice was

one-person, one-vote, and all other arrangements were interim ones. 'As a separate people, entitled to selfdetermination and with a historic right to our own state, we, as Afrikaners, demand that the principle of partition, which underlay the creation of separate states for the African peoples, be extended without delay for the creation of an own, exclusive state for the Afrikaner and those whites who identify themselves with the Afrikaner's aspirations for freedom in an own land under an own authority,' Professor Boshoff stated.³⁶

At a SABRA congress in Pretoria in September, Professor Hercules Booysen of the University of South Africa warned delegates that Afrikaners were caught up in 'a process of reform' which they had not voted for. The only reform the Afrikaner could support, he said, was one which subscribed to the principles of freedom in one's 'own country', under one's 'own government'. Delegates were also told that partition was the only solution. The new Afrikaner territory would have to be sovereign, unified, have a firstworld economy, and be based on Afrikaner Calvinistic principles and traditions. It would have to be able to provide enough water and agricultural land, but should not be so big that Afrikaners could not manage it on their own or it would eventually culminate in a multiracial state.³⁴⁷ A delegate, Mr Dirk Viljoen, said that Afrikaners had to be realistic in their expectations for their own territory. The new whites-only Afrikaner South Africa would have Pretoria as its capital, but metropolitan areas such as the Cape Peninsula, Durban/Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and the

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Witwatersrand would have no place in the new state because racial mixing was 'already too far advanced' in these areas. Delegates were also told that the new state would be for whites only and would not rely on black labour in any way, and would have to be self-sufficient.³"

In an interview, Professor Boshoff later explained that while SABRA mirrored the traditional viewpoint and stand of the Afrikaner, anybody from another white group would be welcome in SABRA and they would not be a 'second class member' if they subscribed to its principles. He said that areas to be considered to make up the new state were the white portions of the central Cape as far as Port Elizabeth, the northern Cape, Transvaal, northern Natal, and the southern part of South West Africa/Namibia. ⁴⁹

South African Communist Party (SACP)

The South African Communist Party (SACP) was formed in Cape Town in July 1921.³⁵⁰ It was banned in 1950 and works in exile in close co-operation with the African National Congress (ANC).

A report in the British Communist Party newspaper Morning Star disclosed in April that Mr Joe Slovo was the new chairman of the SACP. According to the report, Mr Slovo had attended the funeral of Mr Moses Mabhida, former secretary general of the SACP, in March in his capacity as SACP chairman. It also stated that Mr Slovo was based in Lusaka (Zambia) and that he was a member of the ANC's 30-member national executive.^{15'}

As a justification for its declaration of a second state of emergency on 12 June, the government released a document which, it claimed, originated from a

politburo meeting of the central committee of the SACP in March. In the document the SACP allegedly said that its strategy for South Africa was the revolutionary seizure of power. 'Our liberation front is becoming increasingly accepted as more than an agitational opposition. It is regarded by a large slice of the world and, more importantly, by the majority of our people, as the immediate alternative power. In the past 12 months, the reputation and status of the ANC-led liberation alliance has grown. In addition, the struggle in our country is creating a situation in which the white power bloc is beginning to lose its cohesion... The main thrust of our present strategy remains a revolutionary seizure of power. We must continue to make clear that our bottom line for negotiation is the transfer of political power to the majority in one united, democratic South Africa. The objective should, however, not divert us from creating the broadest possible front of struggle around immediate basic demands such as the release of political prisoners, troops out of townships, the dismantling of apartheid, and the legalising of the ANC,' the document stated.³⁵²

The SACP marked its 65th birthday with a public meeting in London at which demands for the ANC to abandon violence were condemned. The meeting was attended by British and Irish communists as well as by representatives of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South West African People's Organisation.³⁵³

According to The Guardian Weekly, the SACP said that it had always been and continued to be an influential part of the struggle in South Africa. The SACP had pioneered much of what the nationalist movement now stood for.

UNITED CHRISTIAN CONCILIATION PARTY

It had, the SACP claimed, been the only nonracial political party in South Africa until 1985, when the ANC had opened its top ranks to whites, and it had been first with the concept of majority rule in the slogan of 'a black republic' as far back as 1929.¹¹ An SACP spokesman said on Radio Freedom on 31 July that the SACP had played an important role over the years in support of the present stage of the revolution to create a national democracy in South Africa. The national democracy would work towards the elimination of the foundations of racism, which was economic exploitation.

Mr Peter Hudson, a lecturer in the department of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in an article that although the SACP acknowledged that the Freedom Charter was not a socialist document, it was able to endorse it because it identified the model of society outlined there as a 'national democracy', ie as a non-capitalist transitional form of society. 'The theory of national democracy and of national democratic revolution is at the heart of the current strategy of the SACP. Furthermore, the adhesion of the SACP to this theory is a sine qua non condition of the ANC/SACP alliance. Its political importance cannot, therefore, be underestimated,' he wrote.⁵

Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) was revived in 1982, and in 1984 it became an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (see 1984 Survey p38).

In June the TIC mounted a campaign in an attempt to stop two security bills, the Public Safety Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill, which it described as 'Le Grange's gestapo bills', from becoming law. The organisation circulated posters urging mainly African, Indian, and coloured communities to protest against the bills. The TIC warned that once they became law, Mr Louis Le Grange, the minister of law and order, would have the power to:

- " impose a permanent state of emergency;
- * declare any area in the country an unrest area;
- * detain people for 180 days;
- * ban news coverage of unrest areas; and
- * make arbitrary decisions that neither Parliament nor the courts could challenge (see Security).

The TIC said that the state president and his government had realised that their 'reform policies' were unacceptable to the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. Their answer to the 'political and economic crisis' was to turn South Africa into a police state. 'Congress, together with all peace-loving democrats in this country, believes that the only solution is the complete dismantling of apartheid and the handing over of political power to the people. Otherwise, there can be no peace under apartheid,' it said.

In August the TIC's treasurer, Mr Ashwin Shah, was released from detention following indications by his legal representative to the minister of law and order that his detention would be challenged in court.³⁵⁶

United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP)

The United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) was launched by a group of

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African churchmen and community councillors in Johannesburg early in October to 'promote Christian values, multiparty democracy, free enterprise without exploitation, and the welfare of the needy'. Its presidents are Bishop Isaac Mokoena of the Reformed Independent Churches Association and Mr Thamsanqa Linda, chairman of the Ibhayi town council in the eastern Cape.³⁵⁷

Mr Linda had had to flee from his home and business at Ibhayi in 1985 after they were petrol-bombed and gutted by opponents who regarded him as a 'sell-out'. A member of the party's executive, Mr Edward Kunene, a former chairman of the Soweto city council, had also been a victim of antiapartheid activists. His house had been petrol-bombed in July 1985 when he was still chairman of the council. Bishop Mokoena said that the UCCP rejected 'all forms of violence, whether individual or collective, and regardless of political motives'. He said that the party stood for a free enterprise system, but that 'the new South African state shall ensure that distributive justice brings the benefit of free enterprise within the reach of everyone, in particular to those who are underprivileged'.³⁵⁸

Speaking in October in London where he was seeking funds for his party, Bishop Mokoena welcomed news that the United Democratic Front (UDF) had been declared an affected organisation. 'It is encouraging that they (the UDF) have been cut off from the outside world because they have been carrying a lot of outside influence which has resulted in incalculable damage to the cause of

Africans. I think the government took too long to take this action,' he said.⁹ However, on his return from London Bishop Mokoena said in a press interview that it would be unfortunate if the government banned the UDF. 'The United Democratic Front has an important role to play. It has a lot to contribute to the unity and freedom of South Africa.'³⁶

United Democratic Front (UDF)

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in 1983. It is an alliance of political, local, student, and trade union organisations. The UDF claimed 650 affiliates with 2,5m members (see 1985 Survey p38).

The UDF started the year under review with 'great optimism and confidence' as the elimination of the apartheid system had never seemed so certain in South Africa's history, according to Mr Murphy Morobe, the UDF's acting national publicity secretary. Giving his new year's message he said: 'We must intensify the struggle against the apartheid State. We have, through our efforts, rendered the constitution and dummy government structures unworkable. The democratic movement has made tremendous strides in the march to freedom and democracy, but in the process the toll in blood, sweat, and tears has been phenomenal.' Mr Morobe called on the white community to abandon support for the state president, Mr P W Botha, and join the democratic movement in the struggle for a just and peaceful South Africa."

Speaking in January at a prayer meeting in Atlantis near Cape Town, Dr Allan Boesak, a UDF patron and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said that unless Mr Botha addressed himself to the

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demands of the people for a nonracial, democratic South Africa when opening the parliamentary session, his 'second Rubicon' speech would be an even worse failure than the 1985 one (see 1985 Survey p28). Dr Boesak told a 2 000-strong ecumenical service in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Athlone (Cape Town) in February that Mr Botha had failed to address the 'very basic demands' of the people in South Africa when he opened Parliament at the end of January. 'We have to say that this government cannot do what history demands of it,' he said.⁶

On 20 August the UDF issued a statement announcing its third anniversary. In it Mr Morobe claimed the following achievements over the previous two years:

- * successful campaigns against the black local authorities and the tricameral elections which had resulted in low polling;
- * intensification of the rent boycotts;
- * stronger links between the UDF and trade unions; and
- * the growth of Congress of South African Students (COSAS) - a UDF affiliate - between 1984 and 1985. (COSAS was banned in 1985.)

He claimed that Mr Botha was attempting to 'reverse the tide of history, to prevent the old order from dying and a new South Africa from being born'. As with the defeat of fascism in Europe, he said, it was only the maximum united action of all democratic forces which would prevent the forces of repression from destroying everything in their desperate attempts to cling to power. The UDF claimed that more than 70% of the estimated 12 000 people detained since the second state of

emergency was declared on 12 June were members of UDF affiliates and that there had been mounting attacks on the organisation by the government, which, UDF leaders believed, were intended to 'criminalise' the movement.

In its journal *Isizwe* the UDF said that the 1986 state of emergency declared on 12 June had been more vicious than that of 1960 declared soon after the Sharpeville shootings. 'In 1960 the emergency was imposed so that the State could implement its apartheid policies. In 1986 the emergency came because the State no longer had any clear long-term political strategy to defend. Today, many of Mr Botha's closest friends have been forced to call on him to reverse the process his party started in 1960. They are now calling for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners, and for the unbanning of the ANC,' said the article.³⁶ Claiming that the government had consistently ignored opposition parties, the UDF called on the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in September to withdraw completely from Parliament.³⁶⁵

When the recommendations of the KwaZulu Natal indaba were announced, Mr Morobe said: 'The whole indaba initiative was completely undemocratic. When we see proposals such as proportional representation according to race, that is completely against the grain of what the UDF stands for - a nonracial, democratic, united South Africa.'³⁶⁶ Both the UDF and the National Forum Committee had refused to participate in the indaba.

The UDF organised and participated in a number of campaigns during the year under review.

About 200 people attended an all-day fast organised in February by the UDF, the Transvaal Indian Congress, and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee at Tolstoy Farm (near Johannesburg), which was built by

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Mahatma Gandhi at the turn of the century. The fast was reportedly in solidarity with 50 emergency detainees allegedly on a hunger strike at the Diepkloof Prison outside Johannesburg.^{s7}

The UDF and Congress of South African Trade Unions held a joint meeting during February to discuss the 'worsening' political and economic crisis. In a joint statement after the meeting, the two organisations said that among the issues discussed were the release of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, the boycott of the Johannesburg centenary celebrations, and an expression of solidarity with township residents affected by the unrest. They had decided, they said, not only to boycott the centenary celebrations, but also actively to oppose them.

In March hundreds of UDF posters advertising a 'free Mandela' meeting which was to be held at the Claremont (Cape Town) civic centre were pulled down. Said a UDF organiser, 'Not a vestige of the posters remains. This looks like a carefully planned operation by a group with many resources.'⁹

When the bureau for information announced that it was producing a 'peace song', the UDF appealed to musicians participating in it to withdraw. 'This move (producing a peace song) is clearly part of the government's campaign to win the hearts and minds of people. No artist worth his mettle can allow his or her career

to be blemished by such a shallow political gimmick. We strongly urge our artists not to fall for this ruse,' a UDF spokesman said.⁷⁰ The UDF mounted - through its affiliates - numerous campaigns mainly in the eastern Cape and the Transvaal in which residents were called upon not to pay rentals and to boycott white businesses. By September 54 townships, including Soweto, were involved in the rent boycott (see Political Developments).³⁷ Areas involved in consumer boycotts included Alexandra, Burgersfort, Duduza, Duiwelskloof, Phalaborwa, Pietersburg, and Potgietersrus, all in the Transvaal; and Port Elizabeth in the eastern Cape. Street committees were also established in Alexandra, Tembisa, and Soweto.

When Mrs Molly Blackburn, a Black Sash campaigner and PFP member of the provincial council for Walmer, was buried in January (after her death in a car accident), the UDF conveyed nearly 20 000 black mourners in buses to her funeral in Port Elizabeth. The mourners, demonstrating their acceptance of a 'white democrat', stood for hours singing and chanting freedom songs during the funeral service.³⁷²

Mr Tom Waspe, a spokesman for a national workshop of UDF affiliates and area committees in the white community, said in January that 'more and more whites' were turning to the UDF for solutions to South Africa's present crisis.³⁷³

Appearing on a UDF platform in Johannesburg in April, the former leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, said that historically apartheid came before violence and that the violence of apartheid had created the violence that opposed apartheid. He stressed that the only way to break the cycle of violence was to destroy apartheid. The meeting was interrupted twice by bomb scares. Dr Slabbert called on whites to persuade other whites to come to terms with the idea of a nonracial, democratic South Africa.⁷⁴

Mr Moegsien Abrahams, a former member of the South African Defence Force, was murdered by a crowd after he had been thrown out of a UDF rally at Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town in May.³

UDF members and premises were subject to attack during the year under

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review, while state action against the organisation continued. In January Chief Ampie Mayisa, a member of the UDF's executive in Leandra (eastern Transvaal), was murdered by local vigilantes.³⁷⁶ The western Cape secretary of the UDF, Miss Cheryl Carolus, and the UDF's Kroonstad branch chairman, Mr Dennis Bloem, were among several UDF members detained by the police in January.³⁷⁷ Mrs Joyce Mabhudafasi, northern Transvaal branch secretary of the UDF, was seriously injured in a petrol-bomb attack on her home outside the University of the North,³⁷⁸ and the homes of UDF members Mr Arthur Mkhwanazi and Mr Andrew Phala, both of Atteridgeville (Pretoria) were petrol-bombed.³⁷⁹ The UDF paraded several victims of alleged police actions at GaRankuwa, Mabopane, Winterveld (all near Pretoria), Alexandra (Johannesburg), Leandra and Ermelo (eastern Transvaal), and Moutse (KwaNdebele) at a press conference in Pretoria in February. Most of the victims displayed scars and wounds from beatings and shootings.m

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, co-ordinator of the Port Elizabeth consumer boycott committee, and Mr Henry Fazzie, eastern Cape vice president of the UDF, two of the most influential UDF personalities in the eastern Cape, were served with banning orders in March.⁸

Several leaders of organisations affiliated to the UDF were served with restriction orders early in December. They included Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF; Mr Ashwin Shah and Miss Shenaaz Bulbulia of the Transvaal Indian Congress; and Mrs Vesta Smith, vice president of the Federation of the Transvaal Women.³⁸²

The organisation's offices in St Andrews Street (Durban) were gutted in April when arsonists set them alight. Damage was estimated at R50 000.³⁸³

On 9 October the government declared the UDF an 'affected' organisation, which meant that it would no longer be allowed to receive funds from abroad.¹¹⁴ The Star's political correspondent, Mr David Braun, wrote: 'The declaration of the UDF as an affected organisation comes after three years of growing confrontation between it and the State. At the core of this confrontation has been the UDF's massive and detailed organisation of resistance to State authority and the government's insistence that the organisation is violent and a front for the ANC.'³⁸⁵ In response to speculation that the next step was likely to be the banning of the organisation, UDF sources said that any banning would force the movement to 'go underground and join forces with other banned organisations such as the ANC'.

In January the UDF refused to meet the United States assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, who was visiting South Africa, and criticised American policy towards the country as misleading. In a statement, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, the UDF's interim publicity secretary, said that the UDF considered 'constructive engagement' to be misleading and said that it provided political support to the apartheid regime and sought to undermine the struggle for liberation. 'As Dr Crocker is the author of the policy of constructive engagement, there is very little reason why we should meet him,' he said.^{Y8}

On 23 January the UDF released a statement saying that at the request of the ANC, a four-person UDF delegation visiting Sweden had held talks with representatives of the banned organisation.³⁸ Early in March, the UDF met the seven-member Commonwealth eminent persons group.'

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During the year under review, the conflict between the UDF and other organisations, particularly Inkatha and the Azanian People's Organisation, worsened. The intensified conflict resulted in numerous violent deaths, house burnings, and kidnappings, especially in Natal. According to a University of Natal report of the unrest in KwaZulu/Natal during the year under review, at least 81 people died, 88% of whom were murdered in unrest incidents initiated by the rival groups. In February five youths belonging to the Azanian National Youth Union, a black consciousness group, were killed as violence between rival groups swept through Port Elizabeth and other African townships in the eastern Cape (see Political Developments).m

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Policy

National transport policy study

The national transport policy study (NTPS), instituted in 1982 by the national transport commission (NTC) to make recommendations on national transport policy, concluded its investigation on 31 March at a cost of more than R7m. A government White Paper on the investigation as well as draft legislation arising from it would be tabled in the 1987 parliamentary session.' The minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said that by 1991 all NTPS recommendations acceptable to the government would have been instituted. He said that he agreed with the NTPS's recommendations in principle.

The major NTPS proposals on passenger transport

The NTPS identified the major problems in passenger transport as the dissatisfaction of users, operators, and the government with the status quo; long

travel times, crime, and crowding; the unsuitable siting of termini and halts from a commuter point of view; and rapidly escalating government subsidies.

Furthermore, existing passenger transport policy did not accommodate new national policy developments and government goals such as encouraging private initiative and effective competition. The basic principles of the new passenger transport policy, as outlined by the NTPS, were that:

- * the payment of passenger subsidies should be rationalised, with the longterm goal of phasing them out;

- " where such subsidies were deemed necessary, the 'lowest level of government possible' should be responsible for their payment;

- * passenger transport policy decisions should be devolved to 'the lowest level of government possible';

- " a transport tribunal should be responsible for independent judicial monitoring and the settling of disputes;

- " national guidelines should be developed to assist local government with passenger transport policy;

- * public road passenger operators should be required to obtain an operating licence from the 'lowest level of government possible'; and

- " a road passenger quality system should be developed at national level concerning safety standards and enforcement.

The term 'lowest level of government possible' refers in general to regional services councils (RSCs). These bodies would be required, in terms of the NTPS proposals, to establish a regional transportation plan, issue and withdraw operating licences to and from public transport operators, allocate subsidies to bus services, negotiate with the South African Transport Services

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(SATS) on commuter rail subsidies, decide on the maximum number of taxis they wished to accommodate in their areas, and enter into contracts with transport suppliers to operate routes in their respective regions. (Operators would probably have to tender on a competitive basis for routes.)

The NTPS proposed that the central government, through the department of transport, should oversee traffic regulation (through the proposed Road Traffic Act - see below) and establish national policy guidelines for RSCs on transport. The central government would also enforce a safety and quality system in terms of which operators would acquire operating licences if they complied with technical safety and quality requirements. The national guidelines, the NTPS recommended, should set a minimum number of taxis that RSCs would have to allow so that a realistic number would be in operation. The guidelines would also set norms and standards for the subsidisation of bus services. It was also expected that as RSCs would probably be unable to subsidise operators at existing levels without central government assistance, some means of channelling funds between the central government and RSCs would have to be established. The extent of such central government funding was unclear.²

Proposals regarding SA TS and the permit system

The NTPS recommended that SATS be relieved of its statutory obligations to carry passengers and certain mining and agricultural products below cost and that cross subsidisation be eliminated. It proposed that SATS charge cost-related harbour, freight, and pipeline tariffs. SATS has set such tariffs well above cost and used profits made to cover losses on its sub-economic services (see 1985 Survey pp218-219). Because it would no longer be able to subsidise its sub-economic services from these profits, additional funds to compensate SATS would have to come either from the treasury or the RSCs, or through increased passenger fares. (Cost recovery on all SATS's passenger services through fares was only 31%.) The NTPS also proposed that the permit system for road freight hauliers, which costs the country R60m annually, be abolished. (This system has shielded SATS from private-sector competition in the past enabling SATS to charge tariffs well over cost for carrying certain freight in order to cross-subsidise sub-economic services.) The NTPS recommended that the permit system be replaced by quality and safety requirements and that private sector freight hauliers be made to contribute more towards the costs of road infrastructure (as SATS pays for rail infrastructure itself). Implementation of this proposal was expected to raise an additional R253m annually.'

The assistant general manager of SATS, Mr Barry Lessing, said in August that increased levels of cross subsidisation within SATS could not be tolerated. It was essential that SATS be properly compensated for losses on rail commuter services. He said that SATS's opinion was that it should operate commuter services only as an agent on behalf of some other authority. SATS would quote its price in advance and the authority would compensate it for the difference between quoted cost and revenue earned from fares. This authority would specify fares, frequencies, and running times. Ideally the sources of funds to compensate SATS would lie within those areas that benefited most from the provision of those services.⁴

The NTPS proposed that a liaison unit be established between SATS and

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the department of transport to co-ordinate strategic planning of physical transport infrastructure.

Proposed implementation

The director general of transport affairs, Mr Adriaan Eksteen, said in October that the White Paper on the NTPS's proposals would be tabled at the start of the 1987 parliamentary session. It would be followed by the Transport Act (see below), which would deregulate the transport system, establish a transport advisory council, and abolish the national transport commission; a National Roads Act, which would bring the planning and construction of all roads under one body and would institute a more equitable method of raising money for road construction; and a Road Traffic Act (see below). The proposal that RSCs should carry the costs of passenger transport was still under consideration, Mr Eksteen said., Government indecision on this was reportedly one factor delaying the introduction of RSCs.⁶ The permit system was to be phased out gradually once financial inequities in the transport sector had been removed.⁷

According to a paper presented at an annual transportation convention in August, there would be an interim stage of implementation during which SATS would negotiate directly with the department of transport for compensation; interim three-year contracts, broadly based on present operations, would be made between the department and existing bus companies holding permits; and local road transportation boards would be asked to consider applications for kombitaxis more favourably leading to a doubling in the number of legal operators. After expiry of bus companies' interim contracts, they would have to negotiate new contracts with RSCs. RSCs would not be obliged to renew existing contracts.⁸

Reaction to the proposals
Government reaction was to be set out in a White Paper which would be available only in 1987. The minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said, however, that he agreed with the NTPS's recommendations in principle. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) spokesman on transport, Mr John Malcomess, said that the NTPS's basic recommendations were 'good'. Regulations and licensing in the transport sector 'had to go' and everyone was agreed on this, except for those with vested interests, he said.⁹

The NTPS proposals to hand over much of the responsibility for passenger transport to RSCs caused considerable anxiety among employers and bus companies. The Cape Town chamber of commerce said in July that the economy of the western Cape was 'delicately poised' and would be hit badly if the burden of subsidising transport was shifted to employers through RSC levies. RSC levies in the Cape metropolitan area would raise R146m at the most, while the extent of the transport subsidy burden in the Cape Peninsula was R140m in 1985. 'To shift the cost of financing this subsidy, or a portion of it, onto the region would be to undermine further its prospects for economic growth,' the chamber said. The central government had an obligation to accept responsibility for the additional transport costs caused by its residential policies, it added.¹⁰

In Natal the former senior member of the executive committee (MEC) of the Natal provincial council, Mr Frank Martin, warned in August that if the third tier of government had to take over transport subsidies, the necessary

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taxes could 'cripple' commerce and industry in some areas.

It was reported in October that two major private bus companies, Tollgate Holdings and Putco, saw RSCs as holding 'terrific practical problems' for them. Tollgate Holdings proposed that RSCs for areas where it operated should buy its operations and depots (worth about R100m). It proposed that the bus services could then be operated on a non-profit basis by public utility companies. This would allow for the retention of the present management expertise, and the companies' non-profit-making nature would help to depoliticise the passenger industry. Tollgate Holdings said that investment in passenger transport was long term and it would be uneconomical for operators to invest in buses and depots over the period of a short-term contract. It was essential that if the proposed short-term contract system was entered into, RSCs should make the major investment in fixed assets." Putco had frozen all new investment in rolling stock until there was

greater clarity on RSCs, and was also considering selling its operations to RSCs. (Its assets were worth R271m.) The interim NTPS proposal that the present system be converted into three-year contracts between operators and the department of transport was considered unacceptable. Putco was demanding guarantees of at least ten years. The Financial Mail reported in November that Tollgate Holdings and Putco had submitted proposals to the government which would ensure their continued operation after the establishment of RSCs. The proposals were apparently that RSCs should buy their assets through a government capital grant and then appoint the companies to manage the services on their behalf. The managing director of Putco, Mr A Carleo, said that it was impossible to operate bus services profitably without subsidies because of long distances to work, township unrest, and the uncontrolled increase in the number of kombitaxis. He believed that RSCs might eventually have to choose between 'killing' either the bus or the taxi industry.²

Port Elizabeth's city engineer, Mr Arthur Clayton, said in a report to the city council's works and traffic committee in May that changes in transport legislation as a result of the NTPS's recommendations could cause chaos unless they were introduced in a planned way. Therefore, consulting engineers would undertake a R100 000 regional transport study to determine how these changes would be implemented in the Port Elizabeth area. Mr Clayton added that the importance of planning on a regional basis had been recognised in the proposed legislation.¹³

Legislation arising from NTPS proposals

Transport Advisory Council Draft Bill
The Transport Advisory Council Draft Bill, based on NTPS recommendations, was published at the beginning of August.⁴ The transport advisory council and proposed transport tribunal (see below and 1985 Survey p218) were aimed at rationalising South Africa's transport administration. In terms of the draft bill the council would be a forum for consultation between the private and the public sectors and would make national transport policy recommendations to the minister of transport affairs and Parliament. The state president would choose the council's chairman and vice chairman, and the minister of transport affairs would select seven public sector representatives (from the departments of transport and finance, SATS, and

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provincial and local government) and 15 private sector bodies which would nominate candidates for him to select (one from each) as members. In selecting these members he would have to consider the interests of all population groups, and all users and operators. The council would replace the national marine advisory council, the South African shipping board, and the civil aviation advisory committee, which, the bill proposed, should be abolished."

Transport Tribunal Draft Bill

This draft bill proposed the establishment of a transport tribunal with a legal professional as president, two deputy presidents, and any number of members, all chosen by the state president. The tribunal would have an ombudsman function, acting as a check on administrators in the transport sector, and would monitor the

implementation of the new national transport policy. It would also be able to act as a tribunal of inquiry and the bill provided that in some cases the provisions of the Commissions Act of 1947 could be made applicable to such inquiries. It would act as an arbitrator in disputes, arising, for example, from new contractual arrangements between RSCs and transport operators, and hear appeals against the granting or refusal of applications for operating licences submitted by transport operators. It would, in general, act as a court and set precedents on transport-related matters. Its decisions would be subject to common law review by the supreme court.⁶

The Transport Tribunal Draft Bill and Transport Advisory Council Draft Bill were to be incorporated into a single Transport Act.⁷

Road Traffic Draft Bill

This bill aimed to unify the road traffic ordinances of the four provinces, set out a road passenger and road freight quality system, draft national road traffic legislation, and serve as a basis for achieving more uniformity in transport legislation between the ten homelands and the rest of South Africa. (The non-independent homelands have full legislative powers regarding road traffic, and 'independent' homelands over all transport matters. This had given rise to a lack of co-ordination and uniformity.) Because transport is a general affair, the NTPS believed that it should be dealt with in uniform, national legislation. The bill aimed at placing more emphasis on quality control rather than quantitative or economic control. The quality systems for passenger and freight traffic would be set out in the final version of the bill in the form of a strict set of standards regarding vehicles and drivers and an effective enforcement programme. Vehicles and operators complying with the quality requirements would acquire operating licences in place of the controversial permit system, through which quantitative control had been enforced in the past (see 1985 Survey pp218-219 and p234).¹⁸

White Paper on Urbanisation

The government's White Paper on Urbanisation, published on 23 April, outlined, inter alia, the government's response to the 1985 report on an urbanisation strategy for the Republic of South Africa, prepared by the constitutional affairs committee of the president's council (see Urbanisation and Housing and 1985 Survey pp212-215 and p217). The White Paper contained various policy statements regarding transport. In it the government

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It acknowledged that transport was an integral part of any urbanisation strategy and could play an important role in making 'ordered urbanisation' possible.⁹ It stated that the relationship between the use of land and transport planning should be noted with a view to placing residential areas and places of employment as close as possible to minimise travelling distances and times. ² The White Paper instructed the department of transport to investigate ways of reducing workers' commuting times, the phasing out of transport subsidies where commuting times had been reduced, the possible repeal of regulations which caused bus routes to be too long, the more efficient siting of termini and halts, the possibility of improved

utilisation of kombitaxis, improved coordination of different modes of transport, and measures to promote the use of public transport.²¹

The White Paper recommended higher residential densities and the location of economic activity along existing development and transport axes to promote the optimal use of public transport.²² It also instructed government departments to involve SATS and the department of transport in planning any urban development which would necessitate large-scale commuting.²³

Privatisation

The department of transport's internal investigation into the financial and organisational structures of SATS was submitted to Mr Schoeman in various stages during the year under review. It investigated, inter alia, the merits of privatising any SATS-owned services (see 1985 Survey p219).²⁴

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on transport, Mr John Malcomess, claimed in March that the minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, was paying only 'lip service' to privatisation. 'It is no good asking the SATS to do it. They have an empire that they will defend tooth and nail. They have private interests and vested interests to protect,' he claimed.²⁵

Dissolution of the South African Railways Police Force

On 30 September the South African Railways Police Force was formally dissolved and its members transferred to the South African Police. Provision for this had been made in the Transfer of the South African Railways Police Force to the South African Police Act passed during the year under review. Mr Schoeman said that the transfer was desirable because the functions and rank structures of both forces were very similar. Overlapping would be eliminated and personnel utilised more effectively through amalgamation. Maintaining the railways police had been an additional financial burden on SATS which had adversely affected its competitiveness. Furthermore, it was essential that SATS operated under the same conditions as other carriers and the transfer would avoid SATS's being accused of discrimination when action was taken by the railways police against those contravening the Road Transportation Act of 1977.²⁶

Administrative changes

On 4 November the state president, Mr P W Botha, announced various cabinet changes, which took effect on 1 December. One of five ministers replaced was Mr Schoeman, who retired. He was replaced by Mr Eli Louw, up to then the minister for administration and economic advisory services in

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the office of the state president. Mr Myburgh Streicher became the deputy minister of transport affairs.²⁷

Finance

Transport costs of both bus and train passengers in South Africa are subsidised by the treasury; by the South African Transport Services (SATS), through its policy of cross subsidisation; and by employers, through compulsory contributions.

Bus passenger transport

During 1985/86 a total of R270,5m was paid out to bus companies in subsidies in terms of the Black Transport Services Act of 1957 and the Transport Services for

Coloured Persons and Indians Act of 1972. The amount of R270,5m was made up of R72,4m (27%) in employers' contributions and R198,1m (73%) in funds from the treasury. A total of R314,8m was collected in payments from employers under the Black Transport Services Act between July 1957 and March 1986.n

The department of transport budgeted a total of R752,8m for the 1986/87 financial year (compared with R480,5m in 1985/86) of which R256m was allocated to subsidising African, coloured, and Indian bus transport, compared with R210m in 1985/86. It also allocated R10m as 'compensation for losses of bus companies' in anticipation of paying Putco for losses it had incurred in the phasing out of its route between Mabopane/Soshanguve and Pretoria following the introduction of a train service (see 1984 Survey pp422423 and 1985 Survey p228).9

According to Major Reuben Sive, alternative Progressive Federal Party spokesman on transport, the average annual subsidy per bus commuter was R600 for workers commuting from African residential areas to work in Pretoria, R420 to Bloemfontein, R283 to Durban, R180 to Cape Town, R165 to the Witwatersrand, and R80 to Port Elizabeth. The further the distance travelled to work, the larger the proportion of the economic fare covered by the subsidy.'

Rail passenger transport

The following table shows SATS's total passenger losses and the recovery of these losses by cross subsidisation within SATS and compensation by the government:3

SA TS losses and recovery

	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87*
	Rm	Rm	Rm
Total passenger losses	767	891	1 100
Cross subsidy		362	333
Government compensation		405	558
			608

* Estimated.

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SATS's 1984/85 losses of R767m on passenger services were broken down as follows: *32

SA TS 1984/85 losses

Commuter losses Mainline losses

	Rm	Rm
First class	219	41
Second class	-i *	111
Third class	269	127
Total	488	279

* Commuter trains are ordinary suburban trains with no amenities, only seats, and with a high density of passengers, mostly travelling to and from work. Mainline journeys are generally longdistance journeys. Mainline trains have overnight facilities.33 ** There are no second-class commuter services.

Between 1980 and 1984 the proportion of actual costs of third-class commuter services covered by fares improved from 26% to 37%. That of first-class commuter journeys decreased from 23% to 22% resulting in an overall improvement in cost coverage of all commuter services by fares from 25% to 31%.³⁴

SATS's estimated revenue from all operations in 1986/87 was R9,32bn and estimated expenditure R9,42bn, leaving an anticipated deficit of about R100m. Its estimated capital budget for 1986/87 was R1,05bn compared with the revised 1985/86 estimate of R1,5bn.³⁵ SATS increased goods tariffs (road and rail) by 15% on 1 January. Passenger rail tariffs were increased by 12,5% on 1 April on commuter services and by 15% on mainline services. The additional revenue from these fare increases was estimated at R27m for 1986/87 and the minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said that this would lessen the magnitude of losses and cross subsidisation to a certain extent.

Despite the anticipated loss of R100m for 1986/87, SATS had made a net surplus of R94m in the six months to September during the year under review.³⁶ This was a sharp improvement on 1985/86 when SATS had a loss of R396m (the original estimate was R192m).³⁷

The department of transport allocated a sum of R300m to SATS in 1986/87, compared with R149m in 1985/86, for operating losses on its rail passenger services, as well as a grant of R48,5m.⁶ The State also compensates SATS through accepting liability for the interest on loans raised in the capital market for investment in rail passenger services. In 1985/86 the interest subsidy amounted to R132m. The Finance Act passed during the year under review gave effect to a decision of the department of finance to grant relief to SATS on a permanent basis. In terms of section 9 of the act, loans granted by the treasury to SATS in terms of the Exchequer and Audit Act of 1975 up to 31 March 1986, totalling R1 672m, were converted into permanent capital, thereby reducing the interest obligation of SATS to the treasury by R168m. Consequently the payment to SATS of the interest subsidy, which would have amounted to R168m in 1986/87, fell away.

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Utilisation and Provision Mass transport Statistical overview

The following table shows the number of passengers transported by bus by private undertakings:³⁹

Passengers on private buses

1983 1984 1985

Blacks Million

1 113,4 1 041,7 932,8

Whites Million

30,4 32,6

30,1

Total Million

1 143,8 1 074,3

962,9

(These figures and those in the following table differ from those in the 1985 Survey pp223-224 as they were subsequently revised.)

The following table shows the number of passengers transported by public undertakings:4°

Passengers of all races transported by public concerns

SA TS

road transport

Million

15,5

15,3 13,9

SA TS

rail transport

Million

702,6

703,5 668,6

Municipal transport Million

240,8 235,1 211,7

The national transport policy study (NTPS) gave the following statistics regarding the number of passenger vehicles in South Africa:41 Passenger vehicles in South Africa

Train coaches Buses Taxis - sedan

- kombi - pirate* Total taxis

1982/83

10909 22 363 4 093 9698 10 800

24591

1983/84

10 709 22 900 4 954 10 826 14600 30 380

1984/85

10 749 23 295

5 986 111982 18000 35 968

1983 1984 1985

* Estimated.

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The NTPS gave the following figures regarding the number of annual passenger trips:42

Annual passenger trips

1982/83 1983/84 1984/85

Million Million Million

Train 722 709 685

Bus 1358 1292 1260

Taxi 384 475 560

SATS's total rail passenger journeys (both mainline and commuter) decreased from 686,2m in 1984/85 to 658,7m in 1985/86. Commuter journeys decreased from 662,2m to 638,3m during the same period. Of these, thirdclass commuter

journeys decreased by 3% (by 17,2m) and first-class commuter journeys by 7% (by 6,7m).

Of the 638,3m commuter journeys, 548,4m were undertaken by third-class passengers. Third-class commuter journeys therefore constituted 86% of all commuter journeys and 83% of all rail passenger journeys (mainline and commuter).

SATS's rail services transported the following number of first- and thirdclass commuters in 1985/86 in the various metropolitan areas:3 SA TS rail commuter journeys in 1985/86

	First class Million	Third class Million
Cape Town	41,3	123,2
Durban	4,4	106,3
East London	0,04	7,8
Johannesburg	-39,7	222,7
Port Elizabeth	0,8	4,5
Pretoria	3,6	83,9
Total	89,84	548,4

Developments in particular areas

Cape province

In July SATS unveiled a R250m project to upgrade the Cape Flats commuter rail network. The main aims were to extend the rail links to Khayelitsha - a new African township some distance from Cape Town and controversial because of removals of Africans there - and to relieve congestion on the Mitchell's Plain line. Ten new stations and a number of bridges would be built or extended. Work had begun and would be completed by August 1989." Work on the 10,5km Khayelitsha rail line to Philippi began on 25 November 1985 and would be completed by December 1987 at a cost of R61,7m.⁴⁵

City Tramways, a major Tollgate Holdings subsidiary serving the Cape Peninsula, undertook 98m passenger journeys and covered 44m kilometres

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"during the year ending 30 June 1985. Its fleet totalled 800 buses.⁴⁶ Tollgate Holdings operated 1 496 buses throughout the eastern and western Cape.

The Port Elizabeth local road transportation board (LRTB) refused an application in March by the Bethelsdorp Minibus Service Company to run 100 51-seater buses from the coloured and Indian suburbs to town, in competition with PE Tramways (see 1985 Survey p225). No reasons were given. The application was opposed by PE Tramways and the Port Elizabeth city council. The city council said that the introduction of an additional bus service would set back its plans to introduce a light rail system in the city.⁴⁷ The company was planning to appeal to the LRTB. As a result of this unsuccessful application, another application - by the Inkqubela Bus Company - was temporarily withdrawn in April to allow lawyers to compile a more detailed case (see 1985 Survey p225).⁴

Homelands

The transport division of the South African Development Trust Corporation (SADTC) is responsible for the management of bus companies operating in the Ciskei, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, and QwaQwa. These companies are the Ciskei Transport Corporation, Gazankulu Transport, KwaZulu Transport, Lebowa Transport, and the QwaQwa Bus Service. The total number of passengers carried by all five companies in 1985/86 was 190m, the highest number since 1983. Various statistics for 1985/86 regarding each company are provided in the table below:⁴⁹

Homeland transport: 1985/86

Buses Kilometres Passengers Revenue Expenditure (000) (000) R(o00)
R(O00)

Ciskei Transport

Corporation 354 19 929 54 489 26 150 30 044

Gazankulu Transport 32 2 238 4 877 2 490 3 340

KwaZulu Transport 712 47 111 68 766 67 951 69 416 Lebowa

Transport 426 25 282 51 846 35 878 31 879

QwaQwa Bus Service 73 6 624 10 006 7 590 8 167

The department of development aid allocated R3,2m in 1986/87 to the South African Development Trust (SADT) for subsidising commuting within the non-independent homelands (compared with R2,6m in 1985/86).⁰

Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings (BTH), owned by the Bophuthatswana national development corporation (BNDC), reportedly had more than 900 buses, moved 120m passengers a year, and employed 4 000 people - the third largest number after Bophuthatswana's mining industry and Sun City, a pleasure resort in the homeland.¹ Putco announced on 25 February that it was to cease operating in Bophuthatswana as it had reached an agreement with BTH on a rationalisation of services. Some 42 Putco routes originating in Bophuthatswana - mainly from Erasmus, GaRankuwa, and Mabopane to Pretoria and its outskirts - were taken over by BTH, and Putco took over four BTH routes originating outside Bophuthatswana, mainly from Soshanguve, to Pretoria. BTH purchased 209 Putco buses and permits for its northern areas routes for R13m. Some 550 Putco employees were to be

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transferred to BTH but a number were unhappy with the move.¹²

During 1985/86, at the request of the KaNgwane administration, a detailed study of KaNgwane's transport system was undertaken. The confidential report was handed to the KaNgwane cabinet for consideration.³

The QwaQwa Bus Service introduced a daily service over a 300km route between QwaQwa and Botshabelo.⁴ It was reported in January that a commission of inquiry had been set up in the Transkei to investigate the introduction of minibuses carrying more than eight passengers. It was to sit at various centres to hear evidence from transport operators and associations.⁵

There were a number of serious bus accidents in the homelands during the year under review. Thirty people died and 65 were injured in a bus accident near Mount Frere in the Transkei on 12 May.¹ The following day a second bus crash in

the homeland - in the Engcobo district - killed 32 people and injured 145. The passengers were mostly school children.⁷ In June eight people were killed and 59 injured in a bus accident in QwaQwa.⁵⁸

Natal

Natal's first tollroad, built at a cost of R107m, was opened on 7 March between Paradise Valley and Key Ridge (part of the route between Durban and Pietermaritzburg), providing an alternative to Field's Hill (between Pinetown and Kloof)⁹

Mr Schoeman said that a new commuter rail link was being planned between Umgeni Station (Durban) and the Inanda settlement area, but no date had been set to start construction of the line.'

In early December Putco closed down its Durban south operations serving KwaMakuta, Umbumbulu, and Umlazi. On 24 October most of the 320 drivers in the division had not collected fares, costing the company R120 000, and, as a result, in November it fired 260 of them.⁶¹ Putco said that the drivers had refused to say why they had not charged fares. The general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Ms Jane Barrett, said, however, that the drivers had not taken fares in protest against disciplinary procedures they regarded as discriminatory. They had chosen to do this rather than engage in a strike. The union planned to mobilise community and international support to secure the drivers' reinstatement.² There had been labour problems in the Durban south division for a number of months.⁶³ Putco sought new drivers while running a skeleton service. On 20 November a Putco driver was shot dead in Umlazi by a passenger and another threatened at gunpoint on duty on 22 November. As a result the drivers refused to work and the service came to a standstill.⁶ Putco believed the two incidents to be connected with the dismissals. In early December Putco announced that it was to close down its Durban south services as a result of labour problems, intimidation of its drivers, and concern with its employees' safety.⁶⁵ Discussions would be held on retrenchments. The Umlazi town council was negotiating in late December with KwaZulu Transport to serve the area after Putco's withdrawal, while Putco was holding talks with the Southern Africa Bus and Taxi Association (SABTA) over a possible takeover of its Durban south operations.⁶⁶

South West Africa/Namibia

The first phase in the independence of the rail transport network in South West Africa/Namibia started on 1 April 1985 when SATS's assets were

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transferred to the Namibian administration (see 1985 Survey p227). The target date for completion of the takeover was 1 April 1987.⁶⁷

In 1984/85 railway services in Namibia ran at a loss of R50m (covered by the Namibian administration) and it was estimated that the figure for 1985/86 would be R41m of which SATS would bear R12,3m.M (More recent information was not available.)

In April the Namibian administrator general's transport advisory committee suggested various alterations to the transport system including the abolition of all

rail passenger services and the closure of three rail branch lines linking Gobabis, Luderitz, and Outjo to other centres. Cutting rail services would reduce annual losses from R50m to R13,8m, which could be eliminated completely by the introduction of cost-related tariffs over the next five years.⁶

Transvaal

From 1 July Putco took over the municipal African bus service in Germiston from the Germiston town council. It bought 120 buses and the permits for routes from Germiston to Eden Park, Katlehong, Palm Ridge, Reiger Park, Tokoza, and Vosloorus for R3,7m. The service carried about 10m passengers annually, and earned revenue of about R6,8m.⁷⁰ (Putco took over Alberton's municipal bus service on 1 July 1985.)

The Johannesburg chamber of commerce started talks with the Johannesburg city council in April aimed at the better provision of taxi ranks and bus routes for African commuters in the central business district (CBD). Restrictions and prohibitions on their location should be removed immediately, the chamber said. Passengers on African buses from the townships had to board or alight at termini on the CBD's outskirts and taxi ranks were confined to inconvenient points. Property owners in the CBD were allegedly the major obstacle to changes in sites, as they objected to taxi ranks and bus stops being situated near their buildings.⁷¹ As a result of these negotiations six bus stops for African commuters from the townships into Johannesburg were established in the CBD from 17 November, the first in 100 years.⁷

From 1 November Putco buses operating from Atteridgeville, Belle Ombre Station, Eersterus, and Mamelodi were allowed to enter the Pretoria CBD where additional bus stops were provided.⁷¹

Since the phasing in of the train service between Mabopane and Pretoria in August 1983, the number of passengers had increased steadily (see 1984 Survey pp422-423 and 1985 Survey p228). SATS conveyed 7m passengers between Mabopane and Pretoria in 1983 (from 22 August when the service was officially commissioned), 28m in 1984, and 33m in 1985.⁷ The number of passengers carried daily in one direction was 62 000 by August 1985.⁷¹

The average number of passengers carried daily by Putco between KwaNdebele and Pretoria decreased from 37 518 in August 1985 to 35 348 in August 1986.⁷⁶ The national institute of transport and road research (NITRR) of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) summarised the findings of its 14 separate studies of African commuting in the Pretoria area (see 1985 Survey pp227-228), and found that the two major areas of dissatisfaction were overcrowding on buses and trains and infrequent and unreliable services.

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Furthermore, the NITRR found widespread commuter dissatisfaction with fare levels. Long-distance commuters were more dissatisfied with almost every aspect of their journey than those taking short journeys. They were dissatisfied with transport aspects, the political basis for the long trips, and the personal problems resulting from their extensive commuting. In the worst cases, the report said, commuters spent more time travelling than sleeping.'

A new 33km tollroad was opened at Kranskop in the northern Transvaal on 17 July, connecting Nylstroom and Warmbaths.⁷

Fare increases and decreases, boycotts, and disturbances

Fare decreases

During the year under review oil prices rose once and were reduced twice. The price was increased on 2 January by between two and four cents a litre as a result of an increase in rail tariffs on 1 January, an increase in sales tax, and adjustments in pump readings because of rounding off.'

On 26 February the minister of mineral and energy affairs, Mr D W Steyn, announced, however, that there would be a reduction in the fuel price due to the improvement in the exchange rate of the rand against the United States dollar. The cumulative loss on fuel prices, which had been R211m when the fuel price had been increased in November 1985, had shrunk to R22m. The fuel price per litre was reduced by between eight and ten cents (depending on the grade of petrol and area) from 3 March." On 11 April Mr Steyn announced a further decrease in the fuel price of between six and eleven cents. This brought its overall reduction from the beginning of the year to 20%.⁸¹

Putco reduced the cost of monthly and weekly tickets in Durban from 7 March in response to the first decrease. Its Transvaal fares remained the same as a November 1985 price increase, which was not passed on to the consumer, had cost the company nearly R1,5m.¹² Putco also scrapped a proposed 1 April increase in fares for pupils in Durban.

The company reduced fares on weekly and monthly tickets by up to 7% from 1 May in Durban and 5 May in the Transvaal in response to the second fuel price decrease. Single-ticket fares in Durban costing 40 cents or more were reduced by five cents on 28 April. The decrease would save it R350 000 in the Transvaal and R120 000 in Durban each month.³ The Durban transport management board also passed on the benefit of the price cuts to its passengers by reducing cash fares on certain routes by five cents from 28 April. Other fares were not reduced as they had been reduced in March after the first fuel price decrease.⁴

A number of other bus companies also reduced fares or delayed fare increases.

City Tramways (Cape Town) reduced fares following the April fuel price cut. The Germiston (east Rand) municipal bus service decided in April not to implement a planned fare increase, as did the Phoenix Bus Association (Durban). PE

Tramways (Port Elizabeth) said in April that the fuel price decrease would lead to a reduction in its proposed increases.⁶

Even though the Johannesburg city council's transport department disclosed that the fuel price decreases would save it R1m in 1986/87, the city council approved an 18% increase in fares from 1 July." While the March reduction would save the South African Transport Services (SATS) R40m in 1986/87 and some MPs urged the government to reduce rail fares and tariffs,

FARE INCREASES

the minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said that SATS could not afford to do so.⁸¹

The Pietermaritzburg city council reduced bus fares on Indian and coloured services by 30% from 1 June to attract passengers away from taxi operators.' By August there had been an average passenger increase of 42% and a revenue increase of 40% on the coloured and Indian municipal buses.⁹⁰ In response, the northern suburbs taxi association dropped fares between Pietermaritzburg and Northdale (one of the city's northern suburbs) and was investigating decreasing them further.⁹¹ African commuters were unhappy that their fares had not been reduced.⁹²

Fare increases

SATS increased rail commuter passenger tariffs by 12,5% and mainline tariffs by 15% on 1 April, and said that rail passenger services would be run at an estimated R1,1bn loss during 1986/87.⁹¹

The Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) implemented fare increases from 3 March. The increase ranged from 50 to 80 cents for weekly tickets and between five and 15 cents for single tickets. The CTC's managing director, Mr Hans Kaiser, said that the CTC had lost R10m during the previous two financial years and that the projected loss for 1986/87 was R3,5m. The increases were necessary to save the company from collapse, he said.⁹⁴

The effects of the boycott of the bus service of the CTC by commuters between Mdantsane (Ciskei) and East London from July 1983 to March 1985 (see 1983 Survey pp335-340, 1984 Survey pp428-431, and 1985 Survey pp231232) are reflected in the following table on the CTC:

CTC operating statistics

1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	
Buses	319	345	258	265	354
Kilometres (000)	20 708	23 721	15 429	14 552	19 929
Passengers (000)	65 938	70 107	31 594	28 841	54 489
Revenue (R000)	18 946	23 348	13 993	4 698	26 150

Expenditure

(R000)	16 464	22 243	19 098	18 407	30 044
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The ending of the boycott necessitated a 33% increase in the bus fleet.⁹⁵

It was reported in March that the Ciskei authorities had agreed to hold an inquest into the 1983 shootings at Mount Ruth Station during the bus boycott, during which at least four people had died.⁹

Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings (BTH) increased bus fares by 21% on 1 April. On the previous evening, youths entered a bus depot at Maboloka Village (Odi district) and extensively damaged about 50 buses by either crashing them into each other, stoning them, or setting them alight. Damage was estimated at R500 000, and police arrested 51 people.⁹⁷ The managing director of BTH, Mr S T Prinsloo, said that services to the area had been suspended until assurances were received that the incident would not be repeated. He said that it was 'disappointing' that 'locals' had assisted in the attack on 'their own transport service'. Mr Prinsloo said that the incident was related to unrest and not to the fare increases.⁹⁸ Thousands of commuters between Maboloka Village and Erasmus - a connection point to Pretoria -

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were left stranded by the withdrawal of the service, and had to walk five kilometres each day to a station at Jericho. Services had been restored by 4 April .99

PE Tramways applied successfully to the LRTB in Port Elizabeth for an average 9% fare increase, to come into effect on 1 July. If the increase had not been granted, the company said that it would have lost R6,5m in 1986/1987. Despite its having been granted, the company would still lose R4m.¹⁰⁰

City Tramways applied for increases of up to 15% on its bus fares in June to cover escalating operating costs and proposed a change in the basis for calculating fares.¹⁰¹ The fares based on the new distance-related formula came into effect on 5 October in the Cape Peninsula. Some fares increased by up to 15%, while others remained unchanged, and halfprice fares were to be charged on Peninsula bus routes on at least two Sundays a month.¹⁰²

Jacaranda Bus Service, which conveys 1,6m passengers from Bloemfontein (Orange Free State) to Botshabelo and Thaba Nchu (both near Bloemfontein), and within Bloemfontein, increased single-ticket fares on 1 December and weekly and monthly fares from 1 January 1987. The last increase had been in March 1986 and fares had been reduced on 1 May 1986.¹⁰³

Putco increased its fares by 17,5% in the Transvaal on 1 November and fares in Natal were to be increased by 15% in February 1987 after the national transport commission (NTC) had approved Putco's application on 10 September. Putco officials said that attempts to involve 'action groups' in fare-hike discussions had been unsuccessful.¹⁰⁴ A Putco spokesman said that the company was 'keenly aware of the economic circumstances of the communities it serves, and regrets that its own financial position does not allow it to absorb increases other than by passing them on to the passenger'.¹⁰⁵ Putco's previous increases had been a 17,5% increase in the Transvaal in November 1985 and in Durban in February 1986.¹⁰⁶ Communities in Soweto and KwaNdebele protested against the increases. In Soweto a bus boycott was launched (see below). The price of tickets on KwaNdebele routes for 44 trips had increased from R45,75 to R52,80 and that for weekly tickets from R10,40 to R12. At Enkeldoorn (KwaNdebele), commuters smashed the windows of 150 to 200 buses on 30 October in anticipation of the 1 November increases. Putco suspended the bus-fare hikes in KwaNdebele following top-level talks between the homeland administration and the central government. The suspension was at the request of the central government. Putco presumed that the government was influenced by the 'special' commuter situation in KwaNdebele. Services in KwaNdebele had returned to normal the following day with no reports of disturbances. ⁰⁷

Bus boycotts

A boycott of the United Transport Holdings (UTH) subsidiary, Greyhound Bus Lines (GBL), began on 6 January in the west Rand townships of Bekkersdal (Westonaria), Kagiso and Munsieville (Krugersdorp), and Mohlakeng (Randfontein). A resolution to boycott the buses was taken at residents' meetings along with a resolution to extend indefinitely the consumer boycott of white

shops, already in force. Greyhound's general manager, Mr Robert Nesbitt, said that his company believed that it was

BUS BOYCOTIS

simply part of the general consumer boycott. A spokesman for various residents' organisations said that the company was being boycotted because of its 'insensitivity' to people's problems. He alleged that it allowed police to use its buses for carrying vigilantes who assaulted members of organisations, that it refused to hire out buses for unrest funerals, and that it did not give the communities educational facilities, bursaries, or bus shelters.⁹

During the boycott, commuters used taxis or walked 10km to work.⁹ Commuters' initial demands were that the chairman of the Kagiso residents' association, Mr Isaac Genu, be released from detention; that Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, be allowed to stay in her Soweto home; that the ban on the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) be lifted; that Greyhound provide free services for all unrest-related funerals; that it plough some of its profits into the community; that pupils be allowed to travel free; and that the company stop objecting to taxi operators' permit applications.

In a letter on 15 January Mr Nesbitt appealed to the boycott organisers to negotiate with him.¹⁰ The president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), Sister Bernard Ncube, told Mr Nesbitt that he would have to wait for the release of the boycott committee members arrested by police during the second week of the boycott."

Police took action against the boycott in a number of incidents. During the second week they dispersed with birdshot youths who were helping elderly people form queues for taxis at taxi ranks. Many were injured - one youth had more than 130 birdshot pellets lodged in his body - and a number were arrested."³ On 22 January the deputy minister of defence and of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, visited Krugersdorp to discuss the unrest and the consumer and bus boycotts with the local authorities."³ The day after his visit, traffic officers, police, soldiers, and local road transportation board (LRTB) officials carried out a blitz on taxis. Residents in Kagiso and Munsieville claimed that police and soldiers forced them to board buses. Many were forced to walk to work as taxis were stopped for overcrowding. Private-car owners who had been requested by 'comrades' at the start of the boycott to assist with transport were arrested by LRTB officials, residents said, and paid fines of up to R300. Referring to subsequent road blocks, the police said that they were aimed at crime prevention."⁴

On 29 January some 2 000 residents, mostly women, set off to the Krugersdorp Police Station on a protest march to demand the removal of troops from Kagiso and Munsieville and that those observing the bus boycott should not be harassed by security forces. Police stopped the march outside Munsieville, ordered people back to the township, and, on its outskirts, fired birdshot and teargas at the crowd. One youth was shot dead, five people were seriously injured, and many were arrested.⁵

At the end of February Mr Nesbitt appealed again to the boycott organisers to negotiate with the company with a view to ending the boycott. He said that 'malicious rumours' about his company were circulating in the townships.¹¹⁶ On 6 April a meeting of 5 000 residents at Kagiso decided to continue the bus boycott (and to resume the consumer boycott). Residents issued a set of demands which, if met, would end the boycott. These were that children should travel halfprice, decent bus shelters should be erected, the streets

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should be tarred, pensioners should travel free to pension pay-out points, buses should be provided free for unrest funerals and the needy, they should be racially integrated, fare increases should be negotiated with the Krugersdorp residents' committee, monthly tickets should be introduced, retrenched Greyhound workers should be re-employed, and Greyhound should make bursaries available to residents' children. The list also included demands regarding taxis. These were that the company's minibuses should be withdrawn from the townships, that Greyhound should not block applications by residents for taxi permits, and that the company should refund the taxi operators who were fined during the boycott by traffic officers for overloading and mechanical defects."⁷

Clampdowns on taxis and private vehicles continued, police saying that if roadblocks happened to be in a place where there was a bus boycott it was a 'coincidence'.¹¹⁸

In May the Mohlakeng crisis committee called on Greyhound to persuade a Randfontein magistrate, Mr P S McLeod, to allow them to hold a reportback meeting to seek ways of ending the boycott. Mr McLeod had refused permission when they requested it."⁹

On 30 June Mr Nesbitt announced in the press and in pamphlets distributed in the affected townships that Greyhound had agreed to meet most of the commuters' demands at a meeting with the Kagiso residents' association. These were that pensioners could travel at halfprice on local routes from Mondays to Thursdays and could still (as before) travel free to pension pay-out points; scholars in uniform could travel at halfprice on local routes; tariffs for funeral buses would be reviewed and in special cases a free bus would be provided for weekend funerals; Greyhound would not object to any permit applications for taxis as it wished to work with legal taxis, not against them; and it would encourage the authorities to provide shelters and improve roads. He said that the company would like to be more involved in community projects and asked community leaders to help Greyhound achieve this. Greyhound would offer a normal service from 1 July.¹²⁰ The agreement had been reached between the company and the association before the start of the state of emergency on 12 June (see Security), and the association had agreed that the boycott should be ended, Mr Nesbitt said. Residents, however, did not use the buses as a meeting planned for 14 June to get the residents' opinion could not be held because of the emergency regulations.²¹ Hundreds of workers still walked to and from work, while others used taxis or private cars. Mr Nesbitt said that some buses had carried about six passengers a journey since 1 July.¹²² A Mohlakeng crisis committee member said that people would use the

buses only after all community leaders had been released and were in a position, therefore, to hold talks with the company. 123

At the end of October Greyhound decided to withdraw from the west Rand townships almost completely, and ran only a token service from this date (one bus daily from each township).. The company's director, Mr Peter Davies, said that there had been 'no positive developments' in the ten-monthold boycott. It would continue running a normal service in Khutsong (Carletonville) where there was no boycott. Greyhound said that 108 workers had been retrenched due to the boycott. The Transport and Allied Workers' Union (TAWU) said, however, that at least 135 workers had been retrenched

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and that Greyhound had refused to negotiate retrenchment packages.14

A boycott of another UTH subsidiary, Western Bus Lines, began on 7 February in Klerksdorp, Orkney, and Stilfontein (all in the western Transvaal). Initially 100% effective, some passengers began using the buses from June onwards. By the end of the year under review, the boycott was still 100% effective at Orkney, 60% effective at Klerksdorp, and 20% effective at Stilfontein. The company was running only a token service at Orkney, and a reduced service in the other two areas. 125

On 26 May a bus boycott was launched, in conjunction with a general consumer boycott, by Duduza (Nigel) residents. They boycotted the Nigel municipal bus service, although the Brakpan municipal service, used by residents to get to Brakpan Station, was unaffected. Residents demanded the release of six Duduza civic association members, the installation of sewerage and electricity in Duduza, the withdrawal of charges against Duduza youths arising from hand-grenade blasts in 1985, the withdrawal of troops from Duduza, recreation facilities, and a decrease in bus fares.²⁶ From 25 August residents gradually began returning to the buses and by the end of September, the boycott was completely over. The Nigel municipality reduced single-ticket fares by 17% from 1 September although weekly-ticket fares remained unchanged.²⁷

A boycott of the services of Lebowa Transport in Sekhukhuneland was called by the Sekhukhuneland youth organisation in August. It demanded that fares be reduced by 20%, that the company stop transporting South African Defence Force members, that it give bursaries to needy students, that pensioners travel free, and that bus conditions be improved. It was called off a month later as the organisation said that police had harassed motorists providing alternative transport. A spokesman for Lebowa Transport said, however, that the company was unaware that there was a bus boycott, and knew only of a consumer boycott." On 3 November hundreds of Soweto commuters began boycotting Putco buses in protest against its Transvaal fare increases of 17,5% which affected about 600 000 commuters. The boycott was called by the Soweto Putco boycott committee. The United Democratic Front said that it supported the call to boycott Putco indefinitely but was not involved in the action.', A number of buses were attacked in Soweto on the weekend preceding the boycott and on 3 November they were running at 40% of capacity after thousands of pamphlets calling for a boycott had

been distributed.³⁰ On 3 November some buses were petrol-bombed (one was completely destroyed) and six others hijacked. Fifteen bus tyres were slashed and 100 windows broken.

On 4 November the attacks continued and one bus driver was seriously injured. Putco said that the number of passengers using the service had declined by 42 000 a day, and that a total of 500 windows had been broken in stonings.¹³¹

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) demanded a freeze on the tariff hikes. It met Putco representatives during the first week of the boycott but no agreement was reached.³² Putco said that while it would consider the demands sympathetically, it could not lower fares unless the government increased its subsidy.³³ Putco's public relations executive, Mr Pat Rogers, said that the government subsidy was too low (30% to 35% of the economic

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tariff) and that overseas transport was subsidised by about 60%. Putco could not lower fares because of its huge losses, Mr Rogers said. 'That is why we feel the government has to do something about this matter,' he added. The department of transport rejected the claim that it was not subsidising bus commuters to the same extent as European governments.

During the boycott's first week, taxis and private cars were stopped on two days by security forces, delaying thousands of commuters. The bureau for information denied that this was related to the boycott saying that the checks were for road safety.¹³⁴

Early on 10 November, explosions rocked two Putco depots in Soweto causing R10 000 worth of damage. No one was injured. Buses that day were reportedly 65% full.⁵

AZAPO demanded that Putco suspend the increase until the government agreed to a 65% subsidy, that it denounce the Group Areas Act of 1966, and that it call for the lifting of the state of emergency and for the release of all detainees. Thirteen organisations, including the Azanian Youth Organisation and the National Forum Committee, supported these demands.^z

By 10 November 856 Putco bus windows had been broken, 14 buses hijacked, five buses petrol-bombed and partially burnt, two completely destroyed, seven drivers robbed, and 18 tyres slashed. During the second week of the boycott, Putco said loads were 55% of capacity. During the third week Putco buses were carrying 25% of their normal loads.

The situation deteriorated on 5 November when an 11-year-old boy, Bongani Kheswa, was shot dead and five others injured, in Pimville, Soweto, by four uniformed white men in a Putco bus. Putco said that the bus used was a 'hijacked' bus. Both Putco and the police denied that they had been involved.³⁴ A police investigation was launched, and the divisional criminal investigation department officer for Soweto involved in the investigation, Brigadier J Beeslaar, said that police believed that it was possible that the 'hijackers' of the bus were South African Police members.¹³⁸ Some witnesses claimed that some children had stoned the bus just before the shooting, although there was doubt about whether those shot were among the stonethrowers.¹³⁹

Putco announced on 18 November that it was to retrench 270 employees at three Soweto depots by January 1987 because of the boycott.⁴

By the end of three weeks Putco had lost more than R500 000 in damage to property and lost revenue.¹⁴¹ By late November some 100 buses had been taken off the Soweto routes.⁴² By early December it appeared that an increasing number of people were using trains to get to work.⁴³ The boycott was called off in February 1987.

Disturbances

Attacks on buses - stonings, petrol-bombings, and hijackings - during unrest in numerous townships continued during the year under review. In May the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said that bus operators in South Africa had suffered estimated losses of R70m in the previous 18 months of unrest. South Africa's transport system had been identified as a target area for 'instigators', he claimed."⁵

Between 24 August 1984 and 31 March 1986 Putco lost R28m as a result of township unrest. A loss of R24m had been caused by a fall in passenger

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numbers - largely attributable to the unrest - and a loss of about R4m in damage to buses. Four drivers had been killed and 232 injured, some seriously. Some 120 passengers had been injured and one had died."⁵ Between September 1984 and January of the year under review some 20 buses had been completely destroyed, 83 partially burnt, 9 650 stoned, and 24 042 windows broken.¹⁶ The longest suspension of services had been in Tembisa (east Rand) - for nearly a year. It was reported that between September 1985 and April 1986 SATS's train windows in the Cape Peninsula had been shattered in stoning incidents at a rate of more than 500 a month.¹⁴⁷

In Cape Town, City Tramways ended its year-long suspension of services to certain areas by serving all Crossroads, Guguletu, and Nyanga routes on 22 September. In the previous year commuters had had to walk to temporary termini near the Guguletu Police Station and at the former western Cape development board offices near Old Crossroads. The service to the Nyanga bus terminus had been reinstated at the request of the Nyanga residents' organisation. ¹⁴¹ PE Tramways' services in Port Elizabeth's African townships were severely disrupted by unrest during the year under review when buses were frequently withdrawn due to arson attacks. Disruption was particularly severe in July and August following an increase in fares by 9% from 1 July. In April the managing director, Mr Carl Coetzer, said that the company had lost 62 buses and 14 other vehicles by fire in the previous 14 months. The replacement value of the buses was more than R9m. A further 300 buses had been damaged in Port Elizabeth townships in the same period. In the same month the company withdrew its KwaNobuhle (Uitenhage) service to the township's outskirts after a bus was completely gutted and a midibus damaged in petrolbomb attacks. Mr Coetzer said that KwaNobuhle community leaders had told him at a previous meeting that the buses would not be attacked but he said that these leaders could not be held responsible for the 'actions of elements' beyond their control.¹⁴⁹ In July it was

reported that services to KwaZakhele, New Brighton, and Zwide had been disrupted by unrest, and efforts by Mr Coetzer to locate township leaders for consultation on the situation had been fruitless. 150

In the first week of July alone, eight vehicles were destroyed. After a week's suspension, services were restored to some areas in mid-July but withdrawn two days later following the gutting of a bus in an arson attack. Mr Coetzer negotiated with African community leaders (from the UDF and the Port Elizabeth youth congress) who said, according to a company statement, that the services were essential, and called on community organisations to report any interference with the bus service. Services were reinstated on 29 July following negotiations.⁵ Mr Coetzer said that the organisations had requested him to attempt to establish from the authorities the possibility of the release from detention of a number of UDF leaders who, if released, could help in normalising the bus service. Services were suspended again after a bus was burnt in Zwide on 29 July.² Services to KwaNobuhle and Kabah (Uitenhage) were suspended in October following several arson attacks. 53

Between mid-September and mid-October, there were 23 incidents of armed robbery of bus drivers in the Port Elizabeth townships of

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KwaZakhele, New Brighton, Veeplaas, and Zwide.⁵⁴

Following a municipal bus fare increase of five cents a trip in Edendale (Pietermaritzburg) on 3 February and increases in the fares of Sizanani MaZulu Transport, a KwaZulu Transport subsidiary, two municipal buses were burnt out, others stoned, and a number of drivers injured - two seriously.⁵⁵ The Pietermaritzburg city transport department's director, Mr George Hichens, alleged that there was clear evidence that the unrest was the work of illegal taxi operators who were organising youths. The police had been asked to take action.⁵⁶ There was an outcry from kombitaxi operators at the statement. The department conceded that the statement was a generalisation, but said that they did have information which had been forwarded to the police.⁵⁷ There were reports that two youths stoning buses had been killed when a bus had run them over.¹⁵⁸ On 10 February more than 20 organisations - calling themselves the nucleus of twenty - met to discuss the increases. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) had called the meeting to attempt to resolve the continuing violence. Organisations forming the 'nucleus of twenty' included COSATU; AZAPO; the UDF; the Black Sash; various unions; youth bodies from Edendale, Imbali, and Ashdown; and Inkatha and its youth brigade. The meeting sent a delegation to meet the city transport department on 11 February to persuade it to reverse the increases and seek a government subsidy, and to pledge that it would urge the public and the youth to stop stoning buses.¹⁵⁹ The nucleus of twenty also approached Sizanani MaZulu Transport with a similar request, which agreed to forward the request to KwaZulu Transport.

The city council, however, rejected the request without debate on 27 February saying that 'for obvious reasons no consideration can be given to a reduction in

bus fares'. During February there were 44 stoning incidents involving municipal buses and four drivers were injured.¹⁶⁰

The nucleus of twenty continued to fight the fare increases. They warned stonethrowers that their actions jeopardised their case, criticising a bus stoning in Ashdown in early March.⁶¹

In March the nucleus of twenty barred Inkatha members from its meetings because of their 'apparent lack of concern' and marches by heavily-armed Inkatha members through Ashdown and Sobantu. Inkatha said that it was clear that the UDF and AZAPO did not want to sit with Inkatha on the action group, but Inkatha stood by the group's demand that fares be reduced.⁶² The request for a reduction in fares was unsuccessful.

In early April Putco withdrew its services in KwaMashu (outside Durban) after incidents of stonethrowing and injuries to drivers.⁶³

Putco services in Diepkloof (Soweto) were withdrawn on 2 June after two buses were burnt and 26 damaged, causing the company a loss of R258 000.1M Two Putco employees were seriously injured. Four drivers were robbed of their takings. 165

During disturbances in KwaNdebele between May and August, many Putco buses were hijacked. Between 12 and 14 May alone some 600 Putco buses were hijacked. On 12 May buses serving all KwaNdebele's northern areas were hijacked by youths at their starting points and rediverted, full of passengers, to a political meeting in Weltevrede (KwaNdebele), attended by 20 000 to 30 000 residents. The following day Putco's fleet serving

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KwaNdebele's southern settlements was hijacked by youths and diverted, with passengers, to the funeral of an Mbokotho (KwaNdebele vigilantes) victim. On the next day, 14 May, Putco's entire KwaNdebele fleet was hijacked at starting points and diverted, with passengers, to a meeting at Weltevrede. During the next two months there were up to 15 days of disrupted transport services, as the fleet was prevented from leaving KwaNdebele. Passenger loads on Putco's KwaNdebele operation declined by an average of 15% in these two months. According to Putco, buses were hijacked during the disturbances by various factions including chiefs, young activists, and Mbokotho members. Damage to the KwaNdebele fleet consisted mainly of broken windows (154 in May, four in June, and none in July). 166

Appeals to those attacking buses to stop doing so were issued by activists or community leaders in some areas. The Soweto parents' crisis committee (SPCC), for example, appealed to student leaders at a February meeting to persuade pupils to stop attacking Putco bus drivers and to ensure their safety in the township. 167 In March 13 political organisations jointly condemned the killing of a Putco bus driver, Mr Jerry Mothibedi. He was stoned to death by about 100 school children on the Soweto highway on 5 March. AZAPO released a statement, supported by numerous organisations, including the UDF and COSATU, appealing to 'those sections of the community involved in wanton activities hindering the process of the struggle under the guise of the struggle' to refrain from such activities. It

condemned the 'brutal killing' of black people by black people and expressed deep concern at Mr Mothibedi's 'unfortunate death'. The organisations 'recognised' that Putco drivers found themselves in a 'disadvantaged position' not out of choice but because of the socioeconomic system. Putco stopped services in Soweto for two hours to mark the mass funeral of Mr Mothibedi on 13 March.¹⁶ Ten political organisations and trade unions were represented. Following an agreement with Putco management, drivers of Putco's Dobsonville division stayed away from work on the day of the funeral leaving commuters stranded.¹⁶⁹

Private transport: kombitaxis

Policy

The minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, warned local road transportation boards (LRTBs) not to anticipate administratively any of the proposed policy changes on taxis (as a result of the national transport policy study's recommendations - see above) because this would negatively influence the impact and success of regional services councils (RSCs). 'Kombitaxis cannot be increased on a large scale without quantitative norms which still have to be laid down as well as qualitative control by both the transport tribunal and the impending RSCs,' Mr Schoeman said, and LRTBs should not, when considering applications for taxi permits, 'anticipate the function or objectives of the imminent RSCs in the light of this consideration...' ¹⁷⁰

During the transport budget debate in Parliament in April, Mr Schoeman said that LRTBs should license 16-seater kombis to carry 15 passengers, instead of limiting them to eight. He urged the boards, however, to consider such applications on merit. No legislative changes were required to allow the

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larger kombis to carry 15 passengers.⁷ This administrative reform appeared to have been based on requests to Mr Schoeman from the Southern Africa Bus and Taxi Association (SABTA).²

Mr N J Padiachy MP (Labour Party) called on Mr Schoeman in April to license all unlicensed taxis. Based on an estimate of 60 000 unlicensed taxis, this would raise R6m for the treasury, and safety would be improved as they would be more controlled.' Mr Schoeman said in reply, however, that he had to protect legal operators from competition. ¹⁷⁴

Referring to police checks on loads in taxis, and the confiscation of vehicles for overloading - as allowed by section 36 of the Road Transportation Act of 1977 - Mr Schoeman said that he found the application 'so impractical, because one makes enemies. Every time it is the man who applied the act who is hated. I say that this only leaves a bad taste. '175

Mr Schoeman launched SABTA's taxidriver of the year competition in July and said that it made sense to have a good taxi system as taxis did not need subsidies, and the competition was good for the community.⁷⁶ He also opened SABTA's annual meeting of 4 000 delegates at Sun City (Bophuthatswana) on 17 September. He said that the national transport policy study (NTPS) had recommended that the permit system be abolished and that the maximum number of taxis be determined by the RSCs. He warned, however, that

there would still be control measures to prevent the industry from becoming disorderly.⁷⁷ He said that taxis were playing an important and necessary role in South Africa's passenger transport industry and SABTA's establishment was a milestone in the taxi industry's development. He announced that a committee had been established where SABTA representatives would meet senior department of transport representatives and police representatives to discuss problems. This forum was a sign of the co-operation between the government and the taxi industry.¹⁷

Taxis and bus companies

The NTPS found that between 1982 and 1985, legal African taxis had increased by about 11% and pirate taxis by about 28%, while the national bus fleet had grown by only 4%.

The South African Bus Operators' Association (SABOA), which represents the interests of the major private bus companies, announced at a press conference on 27 February that its members were considering moving into the taxi market, and competing with kombitaxis. SABOA's executive director, Dr G C Prinsloo, said that SABOA and SABTA had to liaise and negotiate future co-operation and co-ordination of their services and various operational requirements. He invited SABTA to discuss co-ordination between the bus and taxi industries.¹⁷⁹ SABOA believed that there should be some form of control over the growing number of taxis.¹⁸⁰ Bus companies contended that while they had to submit route schedules and tariffs from which they could not deviate, illegal taxis could choose routes and tariffs of their choice. Nor did illegal taxis have roadworthy tests or pay taxes. Dr Prinsloo's assistant, Mr Braam de Jong, said, 'We have stated openly that there is a place for the kombitaxi in the transport industry, but we want some of the market share as well. This is what we want to sort out.'¹⁸¹

TAXIS AND BUS COMPANIES

In its interim report for the six months ending 31 December 1985, Putco said, 'The informal private-sector operators of kombis and illegal taxis are recognised as a serious threat and permanent competitors.'¹⁸² Putco's chairman, Mr D P S van Huyssteen, said in September that 'taxi services as a permanent force in the market place are acknowledged as a factor to be taken into account when planning future services. The financial realities of operating a commercial taxi service should, however, eventually limit their numbers. In any event, taxis cannot provide a viable mass worker transport facility'.¹⁸³

On 2 October SABTA announced a campaign to attract passengers from trains and buses. This was justified as being part of its 'target sanctions' campaign. SABTA said that a 'target' was anything associated with apartheid and SABTA 'fully' threw its weight behind sanctions, but only if they were targeted against the perpetrators of apartheid and not the victims of the system. In line with this, it was going to call on international companies in South Africa to buy taxi coupons from SABTA, which the firms would sell at a subsidised price to their staff members, thereby attracting passengers from 'government-owned trains and white-owned bus companies'. SABTA also planned to establish service stations countrywide and was urging international firms and black South Africans to support this

endeavour of 'rechannelling capital back to the black majority'. In this way SABTA was 'challenging international companies still operating in South Africa to stand up and be counted' 184

A number of bus companies and other sources continued to allege that taxidrivers or owners had had a hand in attacks on buses during unrest.⁸⁵ Claims in January that pirate taxidrivers were behind numerous attacks on City Tramways buses in Cape Town that month were supported by the company's managing director, Mr Nick Cronj6. He said that while he had no documented proof, reports that the drivers were behind the attacks had reached him. Taxi associations, however, dissociated themselves from the allegations saying that township residents would 'turn on them' if they attacked buses, and that they did not profit from unrest because the 'comrades' commandeered their vehicles without paying. ⁶ When City Tramways resumed operations in the greater Guguletu area in September after a year's suspension due to unrest, organised taxis in the area welcomed its return and said that they had no quarrel with the company. Their association had held talks with the company to iron out their differences.⁸⁷

In Edendale in February, the director of the Pietermaritzburg city council's transport department, Mr George Hichens, alleged that attacks on municipal buses were the work of illegal taxi operators who were organising youths. The allegation precipitated an outcry from taxi drivers.",

Bus companies continued to introduce their own versions of kombitaxis into the townships in competition with African operators. City Tramways ran minibuses in July in a pilot project in Crossroads, Khayelitsha, and Nyanga (Cape Town's African townships). On 9 July, one of these minibuses was gutted in a petrol-bomb attack.⁸⁹ The pilot project was evidently successful as it was reported in November that City Tramways had introduced several hundred minibuses into the townships. Township sources said that taxi owners were unhappy at the competition.

The national advisor of SABTA, Mr James Chapman, said that the

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association felt that there could be no equal competition while the bus companies received subsidies. SABTA believed that the subsidies should be paid to the commuter so that they could choose any form of transport and still benefit from the reduced fares.¹⁹⁰

Southern Africa Bus and Taxi Association (SABTA)

The Southern Africa Bus and Taxi Association (SABTA), formed in 1979 and representing most of South Africa's African legal taxi operators, announced that it was to open a chain of discount service stations in and around the townships under franchise from the oil companies to offer petrol, spares, tyres, and other accessories to SABTA's members, the black public, and non-members at a discount. Some 60 stations were to be opened over the next four years. In August SABTA announced that Shell South Africa was to support it in setting up service centres.¹⁹¹

Studies had indicated, it was reported, that there could be some 120 000 African taxis in South Africa, only 40 000 of them legal. SABTA claimed that its

members alone spent about R1bn each year on cars, fuel, spares, tyres, and insurance. Its members accounted for almost 10% of all retail petrol sales (800m litres a year), bought 300 minibuses each month and a million tyres or retreads and 3,5m litres of oil each year. The average taxi travelled 20 000km monthly. Mr Chapman said that the collective buying power of taxi owners had been severely underestimated.¹⁹²

SABTA's general manager, Mr L W Steenkamp, said in August that the taxi industry was now being recognised by the government, the motor industry, and banking institutions (which offered loans to operators). Taxi operators had emerged, despite the many obstacles and legal restrictions, as the most successful entrepreneurs in the black community, having established a viable industry that had to be reckoned with by the government and the motor industry. He said that operators' gross monthly incomes averaged more than R3 500 each.¹⁹³ SABTA's rival, the National Association of Taxi and Transport Organisations, dismissed the income figure as 'inflated' and 'ridiculous'.

Various companies were said to be 'clamouring' to do business with SABTA.

Toyota (South Africa), which claimed to have about 40% of the ten- to 16-seater taxi sales, saw SABTA as an important and growing market. Nissan South Africa claimed to hold the other 60%. In July Nissan donated 32 new minibuses to SABTA for use by its regional representatives to promote the vehicles in the townships. SABTA's national president, Mr James Ngcoya, said that Nissan had been part of SABTA's progress and that they had been 'bed fellows'.⁹⁴

Volkswagen, with only 5% of the market, had introduced a new 14-seater for use as a taxi, developed in conjunction with SABTA. It hoped to boost its share of the market to 20%. SAMCOR was collaborating with SABTA to develop a new Ford or Mitsubishi bus, while Shell had negotiated to set up a number of service stations. The oil companies, Castrol South Africa and Cera Oil SA, in a bid to boost their market share, were launching new oils designed specially for taxis, were using special SABTA packaging, and were to pay royalties to SABTA for the use of its name. In conjunction with SABTA, Wesbank was financing minibus purchases, and South African Eagle Insurance Company offered insurance discounts through the association.¹⁹⁵ SABTA provided Wesbank with

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adequate securities to facilitate a relaxation by Wesbank of their normal credit requirements." SABTA was also launching a travel scheme with a leading firm of travel agents.⁹⁷

In March SABTA changed its name from the South African Black Taxi Association to the Southern Africa Bus and Taxi Association to avoid the racial term and because changes due in transport legislation would make it easier for taxi operators to get bus permits."⁸

Other developments

There was dissension within a number of taxi associations during the year under review, particularly SABTA. A number of regions criticised a statement by Mr Ngcoya at the SABTA annual conference in which he denounced sanctions. Regions accused him of 'playing to the government gallery' at the conference and

said that he had had no mandate to do so.¹⁹ Mr Ngcoya later issued the statement on 'target sanctions' (see above).

There were a number of taxi feuds in Cape Town, Mdantsane (Ciskei), and Soweto (Johannesburg) during the year under review. Two drivers died in March in a feud between Mdantsane taxi associations over allegations of unfair competition and fare cutting.²⁰ Taxi operations in Mdantsane practically came to a halt as a result of the feud, commuters preferring to use buses.²¹

In November a taxi feud broke out in Cape Town between legal drivers and pirates in a bid to gain control of several key taxi routes and ranks. At least two drivers died, 20 were wounded, and more than ten kidnapped in skirmishes between armed groups of legal and pirate drivers and at least 50 taxis were smashed or hijacked. Many commuters were stranded when services ground to a halt.²⁰²

On 9 April the Pretoria supreme court granted the Pretoria united taxi association leave to appeal against its judgment in November 1985 in favour of the removal of the taxi rank from the city to Marabastad, 5km from the city centre (see 1985 Survey pp235-236). The matter would be heard in the appellate division of the supreme court in late 1987.²⁰³

In a clash between taxidrivers and security forces and youths in Soweto on 23 December 1985, four youths died. The Soweto civic association (SCA) convened a meeting to make peace between leaders of several Soweto youth groups and officials of the Soweto taxiowners' association on 2 January. Taxi officials condemned collaboration between some operators and the security forces, and pledged support for community struggles. The SCA said that hijacking taxis did not advance the liberation struggle, and pledged to bring an end to such actions. The association offered 100 taxis to transport mourners to the joint funeral of the youths, and condemned any action by drivers on 23 December.⁰¹

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SOCIAL SEGREGATION

Policy and attitudes

In January the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party (LP), chairman of the ministers' council in the house of representatives, and a cabinet minister without portfolio, said that all 'white s-oty'Lsignsshouldgo in 1986 and that public transport and amenities-shiould be opened to all the country's citizens. He said that the mandate he had received from the LP was that this was a 'minimum requirement' in reform measures and that the party would ask for the abolition of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953.¹

At the end of February Mr Desmond Lockey MP (LP) moved a private member's motion in the house of representatives in which he called for the repeal of all legislation which reserved public premises for the exclusive use of certain races and which barred people on the basis of race from entering and/or using any recreational facility, seashore, beach, cinema, hotel, restaurant, public transport, and public amenity and/or premise.²

Replying to Mr Lockey, the deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said that he was in favour of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act's being repealed. He said that Mr Lockey's motion dealt with two aspects: public amenities such as recreational facilities, the coastline,

beaches, and public transport; and facilities provided by the private sector such as cinemas, hotels, and restaurants. Public amenities under the jurisdiction of provincial and local authorities fell under the control of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, he said, while amenities provided by the private sector fell under the control of the Group Areas Act of 1966. Mr Badenhorst added that both these acts and related legislation were the subject of an investigation by the technical committee of inquiry into the Group Areas Act, Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, and related legislation (the Strydom committee - see 1984 Survey pp470ff). He said that some of the committee's recommendations, such as the introduction of 'free-trade areas', had been implemented (see Business) and that the rest of the committee's report was being considered by the committee for constitutional affairs of the president's council (PC). This committee was considering the Strydom committee's recommendation that the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and other related legislation be deleted and be replaced by a Land Affairs Act, he said. Mr Badenhorst added that the proposed act would contain two cardinal principles: the right of the owner or manager of an establishment to reserve admission to his/her premises; and the obligation of local authorities to provide enough amenities for everyone at beaches within their jurisdiction. Mr Badenhorst said that he could not say when the PC committee's report would be completed.³ At the time of writing the report had not been released.

HOTELS

In November the secretary of the PC, Mr J S Bauermeister, announced that the PC's committee for constitutional affairs' report on the Strydom committee's recommendations, which was to have been debated by the PC in November, had been referred back to the constitutional affairs committee for further details. The committee had been asked to consider in detail the implications of the abolition of discriminatory aspects of present legislation. It was expected that legislation flowing from the report would be passed only during the 1988 parliamentary session.⁴

According to the Strydom committee, the Group Areas Act was established for the purpose of instituting group areas for various population groups; control of the acquisition of immovable property between individuals or companies of the various population groups; and control over the occupation of land, buildings, and premises for specific purposes.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act provided for the reservation of public premises and vehicles for the exclusive use of persons of a particular race or class. Public premises included any land, enclosure, building, structure, hall, room, office, or convenience to which the public had access. Land also included the sea and seashore. Public vehicles included any train, tram, bus, vessel, or aircraft used for transporting members of the public for reward.'

Mr Badenhorst, in his speech to the house of representatives in February, also said that the racial restriction on accommodation in hotels was in terms of section 72 of the Liquor Act of 1977. (This section was repealed by the Liquor Amendment Act in March - see below.)⁶ With regard to restaurants, Mr Badenhorst said that a

new proclamation (R17) in terms of the Group Areas Act, which would come into effect on 21 April, would allow restaurant owners in free-trade areas to decide for themselves whom to serve (see 1984 Survey p212 and below). With regard to transport, Mr Badenhorst said that the South African Transport Services and Road Transportation Act of 1977 did not enforce any form of segregation of public transport services.⁷

In November the deputy leader of the LP, Mr Ismail Richards, made an application to the publications board to declare all 'whites-only' and 'non-whites only' signs undesirable in terms of section 47 of the Publications Act of 1959. The application mentioned specifically notice boards on trains and beaches.⁸ At the time of writing no further information was available.

Hotels, restaurants, and entertainment facilities

Hotels

In terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966 people 'disqualified' from a group area reserved for a specific race were allowed to reside in a hotel there for up to 90 days provided that that hotel did not fall under section 72 of the Liquor Act of 1977, ie providing the hotel did not serve liquor. Hotels could apply for exemption from this section, those which were successful being designated 'international hotels'. In March this section was repealed by the Liquor Amendment Act. As a result, it was no longer necessary for licensed hotels to seek permits to admit 'disqualified' people to their premises. 'Disqualified' people were still subject to the 90-day residence restriction in terms of the Group Areas Act, however.

According to a spokesman for the Federated Hotel, Liquor, and Catering Association of Southern Africa (FEDHASA), this meant that any person of

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any race could dance, eat, drink, swim, or make use of accommodation in hotels, subject to the normal right of admission (and the 90-day restriction).⁹

Commenting on whether a person could take legal action against a proprietor if he/she refused service, the minister of trade and industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said that the act was neutral and would not prescribe to the proprietor whom to serve."^o

FEDHASA had welcomed the amendment act prior to its being passed, saying that the organisation had been one of its main initiators. The president of the Association of South African Travel Agents, Mr Wally Thorne, said that although the amendment was a positive move, it would not attract overseas tourists but would open up the local tourism market to blacks. At the end of April FEDHASA said that since hotels and licensed restaurants had been opened to all races at the beginning of the month, there had been no reports of racial incidents nor had there been a sudden 'swamping of bars and hotels'.¹²

A survey carried out by The Citizen in Natal in August indicated that there was no financial improvement in the wake of the lifting of racial restrictions in the hotel industry. The survey showed that in the Natal midlands there was a decline in patronage because of resistance from the white clientele to the scrapping of the race bars.³

In November the president of FEDHASA, Mr Mike Kovensky, said that 87% of all hotels countrywide had indicated that they had opened their doors to blacks. He added that South African hoteliers had a potential black market of 5m.¹ A number of racial incidents occurred in hotels prior and subsequent to the amendment to the Liquor Act.

In March two coloured men were insulted by white patrons at the De Waal Hotel in Cape Town.⁵ In the same month two black doctors decided to boycott a conference at the San Lameer resort on the Natal south coast because the resort, which is owned by Sanlam and run by Protea Hotels and Inns, did not admit blacks. A spokesman for the resort said that they had recently received special permission to allow all races to be admitted only if they were participating in conferences.¹⁶

FEDHASA said in May that statutory discrimination had been abolished in the hotel industry and that it did not expect its members to reserve the right of admission on a racial basis. There were a number of reports of blacks and women being turned away from small hotels in Johannesburg and bars in rural areas.¹⁷ In September a bus load of supporters of the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) invaded a multiracial bar in Naboomspruit (northern Transvaal) and assaulted a black policeman and damaged property. They were returning from a rally addressed by the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in Pietersburg.¹⁸

Restaurants

In terms of Proclamation R228 of the Group Areas Act, 'disqualified' people could not eat in a restaurant outside their own group area, unless such restaurant had been granted a permit allowing it to serve people of all races. However, Proclamation R17 (in terms of the Group Areas Act) of 21 February replaced Proclamation R228. It retained the restriction on

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'disqualified' people eating in restaurants outside their group areas without a permit, but made an exception in the case of restaurants in free-trade zones. Commenting on the revised proclamation, the deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said, 'As more free-trading areas are established, more and more restaurants will be opened to all at the discretion of the owners.' He added that although only two freetrade areas had (at that stage) been proclaimed (the Johannesburg and Durban central business districts), already 97 cinemas, theatres, and drive-in theatres 'accommodate all South Africans'.⁹ During the year under review a total of 29 areas were declared free-trade zones (see Business).

In May Dr De Villiers said at a FEDHASA conference that one of the most important consequences of the amendment that removed racial definitions in the Liquor Act was the opening of all licensed liquor outlets to all race groups. As this applied to all premises, amendments would be made to the restrictive aspects of Proclamation R17, he said. He added, 'It is my intention to delete all discriminatory licensing conditions in terms of this authority.'²⁰

In March, after a number of sit-ins by members of the house of representatives and protests by members of the house of delegates, the government opened the coffee room of the house of assembly to members of all three houses of parliament.²¹ The CP said that it was opposed to this move.²²

In May an Indian couple decided to open a restaurant in a white suburb in Durban. Although they could not legally own a business in a white area outside the CBD, they intended leasing the premises through a 'white nominee'.²¹

Black students were barred from using the restaurant at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria by the lessee, who was allegedly associated with the paramilitary, all-white, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. He held the lease for the restaurant under contract from the monuments control council. The administrator of the Transvaal and chairman of the council, Mr Willem Cruywagen, said that the council would look into the matter. He also said that the Voortrekker Monument was open to all.²¹

Cinemas

The director of marketing and operations of Ster-Kinekor Theatres, Mr David Isaacs, said in January that since the admission of all races through exemptions from the Group Areas Act to certain cinemas and drive-in cinemas in November 1985, there had been no racial incidents and attendance figures had not been affected.

In February Mr Badenhorst signed the authority to open cinemas and drive-ins in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage (both in the eastern Cape). A spokesman for Ster-Kinekor said that he envisaged no problems. The United Democratic Front's vice president in the eastern Cape, Mr Henry Fazzie, said that he hoped this move would be the beginning of the 'doing away with apartheid'. A township resident said that he was not surprised that so few township dwellers had taken advantage of the move because the price of tickets was very high.²⁵

In March the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that in 1985, 78 cinemas had been given permission to

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open their doors to all races, 15 had been refused permission, and 65 were still awaiting government approval. Of the 78, 14 were in Durban, 16 in Johannesburg, nine in Port Elizabeth, and 21 in the western Cape. The remaining open cinemas were in Bloemfontein (4) and Welkom (3) (both in the Orange Free State), Pietermaritzburg (3) and Pinetown (2) (both in Natal), East London (eastern Cape) (2), Kimberley (northern Cape) (2), and Vanderbijlpark (southern Transvaal) (2).²⁶

In March the Krugersdorp city council decided that its two theatres in the Krugerrand centre would remain white.²⁷ Also in March the Sandton town council supported an application by the owners of cinemas in the Sandton area to have their premises opened to all races.²⁸ All cinema owners in Randburg (near Johannesburg) were given permission in March to desegregate their premises.²⁹ In April Mr Isaacs said that major international film companies were under pressure not to distribute films that would be shown in segregated cinemas.³⁰

At the end of April the department of constitutional development and planning sent applications submitted by Ster-Kinekor and UIP-Warner for the opening of cinemas in Pretoria to the Pretoria city council for comment. SterKinekor said that it would close down its cinemas if it did not receive permission to open them soon.³¹ In July the council allowed 12 of the 24 cinemas in Pretoria to be opened to all races.³²

The Alberton (east Rand) town council said in June that it would not open its cinemas despite the threat by Ster-Kinekor to close them down. Of all the reef towns, Alberton and Krugersdorp had the only two officially whites-only cinemas." In August Mr Badenhorst announced that the group areas board would be investigating the permit system in terms of the Group Areas Act. This move would affect cinemas and restaurants?"

In November Columbia Pictures, an American company, issued its major local distributor, Ster-Kinekor, with an ultimatum that if it did not stop supplying segregated cinemas with films, it would refuse to supply it with films. A spokesman for Ster-Kinekor said that 90% of its cinemas and drive-ins had been desegregated. UIP-Warner, which controls Metro theatres, said that only five of its theatres were segregated.³⁵

Beaches

Policy and incidents

In December 1985 the East London city council (eastern Cape) applied to the Cape provincial administration (CPA) to open its eastern beach to all races, but the CPA rejected the application. Subsequently 25 000 black bathers converged on the eastern beach, which led to a number of tourists' leaving the area. The mayor of East London, Mr Joe Yazbek, received a number of abusive telephone calls. In January a meeting was called by the independent rights association (IRA) at which it was decided to call for the resignation of Mr Yazbek and three other councillors. A petition with 492 signatures calling for their resignation was later presented to the town clerk's office. The councillors involved rejected the call.⁶ The chief engineer of the Dias divisional council reported to the council at the end of January that there had been no racial friction at the desegregated pay and 'free' beaches under its control during the previous summer season.⁷

BEACHES

In January Mr Peter Hendrickse MP (Labour Party) and friends swam at a 'whites-only' beach in Port Elizabeth.¹ Reacting to Mr Hendrickse's actions, Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) members called a meeting with city officials to discuss the matter. The HNP also decided to monitor the beaches.³⁹

In February the Port Elizabeth city council's community services committee authorised municipal officials to lay charges against people contravening beach race laws." The managing director of General Motors South African, Mr Robert White, said that the company would provide legal and financial help to any of its employees who defied the council by using beaches reserved for whites.⁴¹ At the end of February the Port Elizabeth city council overruled the decision by the community services committee authorising municipal officials to charge beach race offenders. The mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Ben Olivier, said the

authorisation was in 'bad taste' and harmed race relations. Mr Olivier had earlier defended segregated beaches.⁴²

In March the Midlands chamber of industries called on the Port Elizabeth city council to open all its beaches to all races, which the council decided to do at the end of that month.⁴³

In April an Indian family was asked to leave a swimming pool at King's beach, Port Elizabeth."

A referendum on the opening of beaches, held in Port Elizabeth in June after the Port Elizabeth city council had decided to open the beaches, had a poll of 16,66%. A total of 6 104 people voted against opening beaches, with 4 957 in favour.⁴⁴ At the end of June the Port Elizabeth city council, with an increased majority, reaffirmed its decision to open beaches.⁴⁵ By October the administrator of the Cape had still not approved its application to be allowed to give effect to the decision.⁴⁶

In Durban (Natal) in January clashes occurred between African and Indian bathers on the overcrowded Indian beach. One person died and ten others were injured. Police denied that the clashes were racially inspired and attributed the violence to a lack of facilities and overcrowding. There was no violence on the desegregated beaches.⁴⁷ A Durban city council official said that there were three white beaches (these were closest to the beachfront hotels), seven multiracial beaches, two African beaches, one Indian beach, and one coloured beach. He also confirmed that lifeguards had asked 'disqualified' people to leave the reserved beaches. The Durban beach manager, Mr Alan Pembroke, said that his office had been inundated with complaints from whites about blacks 'misbehaving'.⁴⁸ On the Natal south coast, Indian families left the beach at Winkelspruit when threatened by white families.?

In September two coloured school teachers from the Transvaal and their families were asked to leave a 'whites-only' Durban beach."

In October a coloured civic leader, Mr Morris Fynn, cut down a 'coloureds-only' sign at a beach in Durban and was charged with malicious damage to property. He said that it was a protest against apartheid.⁴⁹

In December a black Australian actor and his friends were ordered off a Durban beach, allegedly by municipal officials. Durban beach officials denied knowledge of the incident and were investigating the possibility that the municipal officials were imposters.⁵⁰

The Amanzimtoti town council decided in January to open beaches at this south coast holiday resort to all races." A petition of 200 signatures was

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collected in February calling for a referendum because 'one council does not have a mandate to integrate beaches'.⁵¹ The beaches remained open.

In January the western province surf lifesaving association gave its full support to a multiracial pay-beach experiment by the Cape Town city council (western Cape). It disassociated itself from the South African Life Saving Association's statement condemning pay beaches. The experiment was an attempt to control overcrowding.⁵²

There were no major incidents at the Cape Town beaches which had been desegregated.⁷ In February a survey of 3 400 people was carried out by the Cape Town city engineer's department which indicated an absence of racial friction.⁸ At the end of January the Fish Hoek town council decided to open its beach to all races and this was subsequently endorsed by a mass meeting of residents.⁵⁹ In March a poll conducted by the Camps Bay district civic association of the 790 residents of Camps Bay showed that 82% did not want fences, entry charges, or entry controls on the beaches.^{6°}

In February the administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, suggested that the privatisation of sections of the Cape's beaches would give the public a wider choice of beaches. He said that many beaches were underdeveloped and inaccessible to the public.⁶¹

In June the Cape divisional council canvassed nine municipalities on their attitude to open beaches. Cape Town and Simon's Town were in favour of open beaches; Bellville and Goodwood were against; and Durbanville, Fish Hoek, Milnerton, Parow, and Pinelands made no comment.⁶¹

In August the council voted to open beaches under its control.⁶ In October it delayed the opening of two beaches, Bloubergstrand and Melkbosstrand, because of resistance from residents and lack of funds.⁶⁴

Hospitals

The deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said in February that desegregating hospitals was an 'own affair' in terms of section 14 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983. The minister of national health and population development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, added in August that whether hospitals should be opened to all races would have to be decided by the national health policy council on which the ministers of health services in the various houses of Parliament would sit. He said that patients in hospitals would be polled as to whether they would want black or white doctors and nurses to treat them. 'Own affairs' hospitals would be those where 95% of patients were of a particular race group and general affairs hospitals those where fewer than 80% of patients were of one race group.⁶⁵ However, the government backed down on this proposal and agreed that control of hospital and medical services would go to the new multiracial provincial authorities (see Government and Constitution).⁶ Regarding applications from 'disqualified' people for admission to private hospitals and clinics in a particular group area, a concession had been made in terms of the Group Areas Act allowing such hospitals and clinics to admit people of all races.⁶⁷

Speaking in the house of assembly in May, Mr Graham McIntosh (Progressive Federal Party) said that 'own affairs' health services were a

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'scandalous waste of resources'.⁶

The Conservative Party (CP) spokesman on health, Dr Willem Snyman MP, said in January that the appointment of 30 African nursing sisters to the H F Verwoerd Hospital (Pretoria) was a calculated process of integration and the latest example of the total integration of hospital services.⁶⁹

In January the first multiracial private hospital, the Delmore Private Hospital, was opened on the east Rand. It could accommodate 88 people.⁷⁰

In February a pregnant coloured woman from Potchefstroom (western Transvaal) who was married to a white man was refused admission to the (white) Kalie de Haas Hospital. The director of the Transvaal department of hospital services, Dr Hennie van Wyk, said that the couple should have made application for admission to the hospital. He added that some hospitals had facilities for all people, while others, among them the Kalie de Haas Hospital, had separate facilities.⁷¹

The Transvaal provincial administration (TPA) issued a directive in February to the Coronation Hospital (Johannesburg) to treat only coloured patients to ease overcrowding in the hospital. African and Indian patients were to be transferred to hospitals in their 'own' areas. Doctors at the hospital formed a liaison committee in February to oppose the instruction. A meeting of community and health organisations, which included the federation of residents' associations of Lenasia, the health workers' association, the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), and the Transvaal regional council of the National Medical and Dental Association, resolved to call for the withdrawal of the directive and for the establishment of 'a just and equitable' health service for all South Africans. The meeting also resolved to 'affirm its strongest opposition to any attempts to replicate the tricameral system in health care'.⁷²

In March the doctors' liaison committee circulated a petition protesting against the directive. The petition stated that the committee believed in the nonracial organisation of health services on a regional basis and equal access by all to equitable health facilities.⁷³ It added that unless the TPA directive fulfilled these requirements, doctors felt that they would be unable to comply with it. According to the deputy leader of the Labour Party, Mr Ismail Richards, there was a very high bed occupancy rate at Coronation Hospital, at times as high as 106%, whereas two kilometres away at the J G Strijdom Hospital, which is reserved for whites, the occupancy rate varied between 34% and 49%.⁷⁴ Doctors later claimed that there had been a de facto suspension of the TPA directive. The TPA denied this, however.⁷⁵

Miss Fadila Lagadien suffered severe spine injuries in a car accident in March. She was refused admission to the H F Verwoerd Hospital's spinal unit. The director of the Transvaal department of hospital services said that the spinal unit was for whites only.⁷⁶ The member of the executive committee (MEC) for hospital services in the TPA, Mr Daan Kirstein, said that nobody could be refused admission to the white spinal unit on the basis of colour. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) provincial spokesman on hospital services, Mrs Irene Menell, said that Mr Kirstein should give an unequivocal assurance that the spinal unit operated on the basis of need and not colour.⁷⁷ Miss Lagadien was later moved to the unit.⁷⁸

Representations to Transvaal's provincial executive committee in November by members of the Lenasia and Eldorado Park management

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committees led to the transfer of a football player, Mr Kishore Kara, to the all-white Edenvale Hospital (east Rand). The hospital was one of the few provincial hospitals with a spinal unit.'

In Warden (Orange Free State) the ambulance service run by the municipality was for whites only. Mr Karel Klokow ran an ambulance service for blacks using two 'bakkies' which had no equipment or sleeping space. He was contracted to the department of hospital services of the Orange Free State provincial administration.⁸⁰

In a report published in March the Automobile Association said that ambulance services for blacks were inferior, some local authorities resisting the efforts of the provincial administration to give parity of treatment and facilities.'"

The medical superintendent working on the new computer-controlled ambulance service planned for the Transvaal, Dr Alan Hunter, said in April that the new service would be totally integrated. He said that in emergency cases every patient would be treated alike and would be attended to by the nearest ambulance available and transported to the nearest hospital. He added that black crews would continue to work in Soweto and white crews in the white areas of Johannesburg.²

In April African patients were transferred to the nearly empty Indian section of the Johannesburg Hospital as the African section of the hospital was overcrowded. The Indian section of the hospital had been established in 1985, a move which had been strongly opposed by various organisations, including the TIC and civic organisations in Lenasia, which labelled the hospital an 'apartheid hospital'. As a result the hospital was boycotted by Indian patients.

The cardiac unit of Baragwanath Hospital (Soweto) was relocated in April to the Johannesburg Hospital, where heart operations for all race groups would be performed. Dr Kirstein denied that the Johannesburg Hospital would have integrated wards. He said that, although there would be 80 African nurses working at the hospital, 'it is not a policy to make wards multiracial and there is no likelihood of this'.^Y Dr Kirstein later ordered that there be separate wards for black and white patients in the heart unit, because 'blacks are uncomfortable among whites'.⁸⁵

The PFP leader in the Transvaal provincial council, Mr Douglas Gibson, said in May that the provincial authorities were still 'in love with the idea of apartheid'. He pointed out that provincial hospitals, pleasure resorts, and even the provincial council's diningroom were still segregated!,

In April the Chamber of Mines of South Africa recommended to officials' associations in the mining industry that the Mines Benefit Society become a multiracial scheme. A spokesman for the chamber said that this step might be unacceptable to some white employees as it would mean the sharing of hospital and waiting-room facilities. The Mine Surface Officials' Association of South Africa and the Underground Officials' Association supported the proposal. The South African Technical Officials' Association referred the recommendation to its executive committee. In July the Mine Workers' Union opposed the idea.⁷ No further details were available at the time of writing.

TRAINS

Public Transport

Buses

In February the acting general manager of the Durban transport management board, Mr Alan Bray, said that the local road transportation board had agreed to allow buses reserved for Africans, coloured people, and Indians to be desegregated and to allow the use of trams for all races on the same routes. Buses for whites would remain segregated.⁸

In an address to the South African Bus Operators' Association in May, the chairman of the ministers' council in the coloured house and leader of the Labour Party (LP), the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said that the government was encouraging bus operators to desegregate their services where the need existed to 'counter the polarisation of population groups'. He also said that the cabinet had decided in 1979 that applications for the desegregation of bus services could be submitted to local transportation boards.⁹

In October the Johannesburg city council unanimously adopted a motion to investigate the phasing out of racial discrimination on the city's transport services. Preliminary steps which had to be carried out included: " the amendment of the road carrier permit of the Johannesburg municipality's transport department to remove references to race; and * the resolution of conflict with other carriers regarding routes in an integrated system.⁹

In September an African man was refused permission to board a Parktown (Johannesburg) bus which was not allowed to carry Africans.⁹¹

A similar incident was reported in November on the Judiths Paarl (Johannesburg) route when an African man was not allowed to board a 'nonAfrican' bus. In Johannesburg coloured, Indian, and white passengers were allowed to board buses on all routes.⁹²

At the beginning of December the Johannesburg city council desegregated buses to include Africans on three routes on a three-month trial basis. The general manager of transport of the Johannesburg city council, Mr Les Pettey, said that passengers were to be given an economic choice of travelling either on a higher or lower tariff bus.⁹³

In November the Johannesburg city council allowed busstops for private carriers of black commuters in the city centre for the first time. The president of the Johannesburg chamber of commerce, Mr Pat Corbin, said that the delay in introducing such stops had been caused by objections by property owners.⁹⁴

In October Greyhound Bus Lines introduced a multiracial bus service to Kimberley .⁹

In November the deputy leader of the National People's Party, Mr Boetie Abramjee, called on the Pretoria city council to desegregate its bus service.⁶

Trains

In September 1985 South African Transport Services (SATS) introduced mixed race or 'open' coaches on trains. This meant that first-class coaches for whites on commuter trains remained segregated and that first-class coaches for blacks became open coaches.⁹ The deputy minister of constitutional development and

planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said in February that the South African Transport Services and Road Transportation Act of 1977 did

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not enforce any form of segregation of public transport services. This was provided for in the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.⁹⁸

In the 12 months since the introduction of mixed railway coaches 460 coaches had been added in Cape Town to meet the additional demand. In the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area a further two had been added.

Speaking in the house of assembly in February, Mr Ray Swart (Progressive Federal Party) said that minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, should look at discriminatory practices in SATS and segregation on trains, because these were adding to the services' economic difficulties.⁹⁹ Mr Peter Mopp (LP) said in the house of representatives that his party would not pass the SATS budget for 1987 if the service remained discriminatory."^o

Mr Schoeman said that a survey had found that whites preferred segregated coaches and that African, coloured, and Indian workers wanted to travel on a mixed basis. He added that the necessary changes had been made (see above). 'Any person can buy a first-class ticket,' he said."

A train conductor was stabbed to death in February at the Westbury (Johannesburg) railway station by a coloured man after the conductor had told him not to get into a coach reserved for whites. 12

In a letter to the Sowetan in March a passenger complained that the Germiston station was divided into two sections, one for whites and the other for 'non-whites'. He added that when he had attempted to buy a first-class ticket on the white side, he had been told to 'go down to the "non-white" side'. 103

In March a white woman complained to SATS that two black passengers had been thrown off a moving train between Johannesburg and Randfontein. SATS said that such action was unacceptable and that it would investigate the matter."^m At the time of writing no further information was available.

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Trade Unions

Groupings and statistics

During the year under review, the nonracial Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which had 33 affiliates and claimed 250 000 paid-up and about 700 000 signed-up members, continued to be the largest trade union federation. The second largest was the nonracial Council of Unions of South Africa-Azania Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA-AZACTU), formed through a merger between CUSA and AZACTU, with 23 affiliates and claiming 248 000 paid-up and 420 000 signed-up members. The year under review saw the demise of the multiracial Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) - formed in 1954 - with a greatly reduced membership (signed-up) of about 170 000 in 32 affiliates, down from its 1983 peak of about 495 000 members in 57 affiliates. The all-white South African Confederation of Labour claimed 12 affiliated unions with a membership of about 110 000.

The numbers of registered trade unions and federations of trade unions for the years 1981 to 1985 are given below:

Registered trade unions: 1981-83

1981

1982

1983

Racially exclusive

White	77	71	54	
Asian and coloured		51	46	38
African	23	26	19	
Mixed unions				
White, coloured, and Asian		36	16	23
Coloured, Asian, and African		7	10	13
White and African		-	-	4
All races	6	30	43	
Unspecified	-	-		
Total	200	199	194	
Total membership	1 054 405	1 226 454	1 288 748	
Federations of trade unions		11	13	13

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Registered trade unions: 1984-85

1984 1985

Racially exclusive

White	59	46
Asian and coloured		34 24
African	19	26
Mixed unions		
White, coloured, and Asian	23	11
Coloured, Asian, and African	6	20
White and African	-	4
All races	52	53

Unspecified	-	12
Total	193	196
Total membership	1 406 302	1 391 423
Federations of trade unions	12	12

The minister of manpower said that between 1 January and 31 December 1986 four trade unions had applied for registration in respect of African workers, and 12 in respect of all races.' In 1985 three unions had applied for registration in respect of African workers, one in respect of white workers, and five in respect of workers of all race groups.'

According to the national manpower commission there were an estimated 68 unregistered unions at the end of 1985, with between 300 000 and 500 000 members.

If the higher estimate (500 000) for unregistered union members is used, then in 1985 the number of unionised workers (in both registered and unregistered unions) totalled 1 891 423 or 19,38% of the economically active population (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei; and agriculture, fisheries, central government, and provincial administrations). Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU)

In July the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) claimed that it had a membership of 80 000. In October the federation merged with the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) (see below).

Outlining the federation's policy in July, its spokesman, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said, 'We believe that black workers are the vanguard of the struggle in South Africa. They alone can hope to bring about fundamental change in the country. But they will have to co-operate with revolutionary and community organisations to do so. Such organisations must embrace the ideology of the working class.' He said that the federation would not affiliate to any political organisation. Mr Nefolovhodwe said that AZACTU supported disinvestment because this was a peaceful way to bring an end to the oppression of blacks. The federation envisaged a socialist society where there would be no oppression and exploitation and the interests of workers would be paramount.³

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

In line with a decision taken at the inaugural conference of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in November 1984 to form one union in each industry, various union amalgamations occurred during the year under review. In May the Transport and General Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union merged to form the 26 000-strong Transport and General Workers' Union. The new union planned to organise workers in the transport, cleaning and security, and building industries. Mr Jerry Ntombela was elected president and Ms Jane Barrett, general secretary.⁴

In June three food unions, the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU), and the Retail and Allied Workers' Union, merged to form the Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU). Combined membership was 60 000 drawn from 340 factories nationwide.' Mr

Chris Dlamini, president of the SFAWU and vice president of COSATU, was elected president, and Mr Jan Theron, general secretary of the FCWU, general secretary. Mr Theron said that the new union's aims were 'consolidation, and maintaining union policy and principles among members'.

In September the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) and the Plastic and Allied Workers' Union merged to form a new CWIU with a membership of 24 900.¹

At its first central executive committee (CEC) meeting in February, COSATU committed itself to establishing unions for farm, construction, and unemployed workers. In September it was reported that it had set up a coordinating committee to organise construction workers. The committee comprised representatives of affiliates which already had an organising presence in the industry. At its second CEC meeting in September, it approved an application for affiliation from the 8 000-strong Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union.¹

COSATU experienced various setbacks to its policy of one union, one industry. In July the national executive committee (NEC) of the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) - a COSATU affiliate - expelled its acting general secretary, Mr Isaac Ndlovu. The move came after tensions had emerged between two factions within the union: the one holding the view that the federation should support the political ends of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the other believing that priority should be given to shopfloor issues and independent political action by unions. Mr Ndlovu was reported as having been a supporter of the former viewpoint. Labour observers commented that these divisions were reflected within COSATU as a whole.⁹ In a sequel to the conflict Mr Ndlovu and his supporters formed a new textile union, the Textile and Allied Workers' Union, in August, and applied for affiliation to COSATU.¹⁰

A further setback to COSATU's policy of one union in each industry occurred in December with the formation of the National Union of Railway Workers (NURW). The launch came six weeks after the launch of COSATU's South African Railways and Harbours Workers' Union (SARHWU). The impetus for the formation of the NURW came from local workers' committees in East London and Port Elizabeth (eastern Cape). These committees believed that the SARHWU was too heavily dominated by officials at the expense of workers. Mr Sydney Mafumadi, COSATU's

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assistant general secretary, said that the formation of another railway workers' union was 'regrettable'."

At the end of March COSATU established its Witwatersrand region at a rally attended by about 3 000-4 000 people. The new region encompassed 18 trade unions representing 200 000 members. Mr Paul Nkuna, a member of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), was elected regional chairman.²

The launch of the western Cape region of COSATU also took place at the end of March at a rally attended by between 8 000-10 000 people. At the rally COSATU's president, Mr Elijah Barayi, called on workers and students to unite to bring down the government. The rally was marked by repeated calls for the

release from prison of the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of the banning order on the organisation. A campaign was launched for the release from prison of a 76-year-old Cape unionist, Mr Oscar Mpetha, who was serving a five-year sentence in Pollsmoor Prison (Cape Town).

In April COSATU launched its northern Transvaal region.³

In May the launch of COSATU's eastern Cape region was postponed after dissatisfaction by certain unions over the number of delegates allocated to them. A credentials committee had allocated delegates according to the number of membership receipts from each affiliate in the region. Four unions, the General and Allied Workers' Union, the General Workers' Union of South Africa, the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union, and the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), said that they were dissatisfied with the number of delegates allocated to them. COSATU's vice president, Mr Makhulu Ledwaba, announcing the conflict to a 20 000-strong rally held to herald the launch, accused the unionists of being 'directionless'. He said that he was disappointed to learn that there were still differences of viewpoint thought to have been resolved at COSATU's national launch in November 1985. This was the second postponement of the region's launch, the first having occurred in January when the meeting to hold it had been banned by the local magistrate."

Policy and campaigns

At a press conference in February, following the first meeting of its CEC, COSATU announced certain policy decisions. These included: " no direct affiliation to any political organisation inside or outside the country;

" the need to challenge the power of multinationals and 'to expose and clarify for everyone their manipulation of all aspects of workers' lives';

" demands for 1 May and 16 June as paid holidays and the possible sacrifice of 'racist' public holidays such as Republic Day and Kruger Day;

" strong opposition to the deregulation of the small business sector as deregulation would result in the exploitation of workers; and

* no affiliation to any of the major international trade union federations but a policy of forging 'fraternal links with progressive worker organisations in all countries'."

During the year under review, COSATU took up a number of broader political issues. In February the organisation condemned the reform proposals announced by the state president, Mr P W Botha, in Parliament in that month as 'another attempt to defuse the struggle'. The federation said that

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

the 'reforms' were aimed at perpetuating white domination. The general secretary of COSATU, Mr Jay Naidoo, said that Mr Botha's speech 'in no way creates a climate through which a free and democratic society can be created'.¹⁶

Also in February a meeting of the national executives of the UDF and COSATU decided to intensify the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners. The meeting also resolved that the

organisations should co-ordinate efforts and conduct a campaign against the 'racist' Johannesburg centenary celebrations. In a press release, they said that to the black majority the celebrations expressed 100 years of exploitation and oppression. They called not only for a boycott of the celebrations but for active opposition to them, and condemned the escalating violence that the 'State has directed against the democratic demands made by millions of oppressed people in South Africa' (see Political Developments).¹⁷

In April COSATU said that it fully supported the call by the archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, for punitive sanctions against South Africa. Mr Mafumadi said that the federation supported 'all forms of pressure exerted against the racist minority regime' and believed that sanctions were the only weapon which would bring about change in South Africa. He said that experience had shown that economic booms in South Africa did not necessarily generate employment. Workers had not reaped the benefits of the boom in the 1960s but had seen a 'bolstering of repressive political practices instead', he added.⁸

In April COSATU said that it had rejected an invitation to participate in the KwaZulu Natal indaba (see Government and Constitution). The federation said that it rejected the notion of 'KwaNatal' as a model for reform in South Africa. Instead, it said, fundamental change had to start with the lifting of the banning of all organisations and the release of all political prisoners. It also condemned the organisers of the indaba for giving the federation only two weeks in which to consult its members on whether to participate or not.⁹

One of the more successful campaigns embarked upon by COSATU was its call on workers - in conjunction with other union federations and organisations - to stay away from work on 1 May in support of its demand that that day be declared a public holiday (see below).

COSATU also joined other organisations in calling for a stayaway on 16 June, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto upheavals. More than 1,5m workers responded to the call (see Political Developments).

Less successful was its call for a 'day of action' on 14 July in protest against the state of emergency declared on 12 June (see below and Political Developments). The organisation said that it had been one of the chief targets of the emergency crackdown. Statistics at the time showed that 83% of union leaders in detention were from COSATU unions (see below). 'Our leaders are detained, scores are in hiding, many offices are closed, and our statements are censored,' said COSATU.¹⁰

On 11 July Mr Barayi was released after having been detained for two weeks. Strict conditions were placed on his right of movement and association (see below). Mr Barayi returned to work in October after a Rand supreme court ruling had set aside similar restrictions that had been placed

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on two CUSA officials.²

In July Mr Naidoo, elaborating on COSATU's policies, said that while it saw other anti-apartheid organisations as allies, it would not subordinate itself to any political organisation. He said that COSATU's involvement in the anti-apartheid

struggle had brought to the struggle more democratic forms of organisation - with accountability to general membership being emphasised. Among COSATU's immediate aims were:

- * the fight for a living wage, which would enable workers to feed, clothe, and educate their children, and to raise workers' general standard of living;

- * to organise unorganised and disorganised workers; and " to take part in community struggles being waged in the townships.²² In October COSATU joined the UDF and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in announcing a 'momentous campaign' for national unity against apartheid and the emergency (see Political Developments).

Relationship with other organisations

In March a COSATU delegation, led by Mr Naidoo, met representatives of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in Lusaka (Zambia). The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, attended the opening of the talks, while the SACTU delegation was led throughout by its general secretary, Mr John Nkadimeng.²³

A statement issued by the COSATU delegation after the meeting said that it had arisen from a common concern of all parties about 'the fundamental and deep-seated economic, social, and political crisis into which the Botha regime and the apartheid system of national oppression and class exploitation has plunged our country'. 'It was recognised that the fundamental problem facing our country - the question of political power - cannot be resolved without the full participation of the ANC which is regarded by the majority of the people of South Africa as the overall leader and general representative,' the statement said.

COSATU also held separate discussions with SACTU and a communique released by these two organisations after their meeting said that they had agreed that the unity of the trade union movement was the best weapon against apartheid.²⁴

The year under review was marked by increasing hostility between COSATU and Inkatha (see below). Commenting on Inkatha's announcement that it intended to form its own trade union (called the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA)) on 1 May, Mr Naidoo said in April that this was 'a deliberate attempt by employers and Inkatha to divide and weaken the trade union movement in Natal'. COSATU said that it had documented evidence that 'certain employers are openly and actively supporting UWUSA. The full machinery of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, and, it appears, the South African government has been thrown behind UWUSA,' it claimed.²⁵

For details of COSATU's involvement in other campaigns, see Political Developments.

Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)

During the year under review the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)

CUSA-AZACTU

gained a new affiliate, the 7 000-member National Union of Public Employees (NUPE), which was formed in February.² In October CUSA and AZACTU

merged to form one federation after lengthy discussions (see below). The two organisations had formed a subcommittee in 1985 to discuss matters of common interest (see 1985 Survey p182).

In March CUSA's president, Mr James Mndaweni, called on the government to release Mr Mandela and other political prisoners. He said that the government should lift the ban on the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and other organisations. He also condemned the government's intention of incorporating Moutse into KwaNdebele (see The Homelands) and criticised its policy of forced removals.²⁷

CUSA joined other unions and organisations in calling for a stayaway on 1 May in support of its being declared a public holiday (see below). It also supported calls for a stayaway on 16 June, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots (see Political Developments). CUSA officials and members were hard hit by the state of emergency, many, including its general secretary, Mr Phiroshaw Camay, being detained (see below).

In October two CUSA members successfully applied in the Rand supreme court for the lifting of restrictions which had been placed on their movements subsequent to their release from detention (see below).

The Council of Unions of South Africa-Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA-AZACTU)

In October a new union federation, the Council of Unions of South AfricaAzanian Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA-AZACTU), was formed out of 23 unions from CUSA and AZACTU. The new federation had a paid-up membership of 248 000 and a signed-up membership of 420 000.

Both organisations had withdrawn from the talks leading to the formation of COSATU in 1985 because they had objected to the latter's position on nonracialism in leadership positions, believing, instead, that these should be filled by blacks (see 1985 Survey pp180, 182, and 186). Both CUSA and AZACTU were viewed as supporting the black consciousness philosophy. Former CUSA leaders occupied the top leadership positions in the new organisation. Mr Mndaweni and Mr Camay retained the positions of president and general secretary respectively. Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary of the Black, Allied, Mining and Construction Workers' Union (BAMCWU), became first assistant general secretary and Mr Stewart Moletsane, head of AZACTU's Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union of South Africa shopstewards' committee, vice president. Messages of support were received from, among others, the ANC, the PAC, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the (British) Trades Union Congress (TUC).

A policy document issued after the merger said that the 'most oppressed and exploited' would transform South Africa 'armed with principles of anticapitalism, anti-racism, and anti-sexism'. It said that the federation stood for workers' control and black working class leadership. The federation would not affiliate to any international union grouping, the document said. As a result CUSA's affiliation to the ICFTU would have to be put under review, said Mr Mndaweni. He said that the federation would be independent of any political organisation and would be guided by its members regarding

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participation in political campaigns. Its relationship with other organisations would be based on principle and not convenience. 'On the question of independent trade unionism, our members on the factory floor are exposed to and subscribe to one or more of various political ideologies. Our membership consists of different schools of thought. For these reasons we will never force them into adopting any particular ideology,' said Mr Mndaweni. He added that the federation accepted that the people's struggle was political, economic, and social, and that 'our struggle must be directed on all fronts. The federation, therefore, urges its members to participate in the people's political, economic, and social struggle for liberation. However, our point of departure is that the federation is a workers' organisation first'.

The new federation was committed to the formation of industry-based unions. For this reason, three general AZACTU unions were accorded observer status only at the founding meeting. According to Mr Camay, they would disband and their members would be accommodated in unions catering for the industries in which they worked. Other principles were acceptance of white involvement at grassroots level and continued community involvement. The federation expressed itself in favour of a 'full sanctions programme for as long as the racist, capitalist, minority regime exists'. CUSA had previously supported selected sanctions. The change, according to Mr Camay, reflected the hardening of workers' attitudes over the past two years. In its policy document, the federation stated that it 'recognises the fact that the entire country, whether balkanised or not, belongs to the indigenous people'.

South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)

In June the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the labour wing of the ANC, pledged to step up its resistance against 'centuries of injustice, oppression, and exploitation despite the nationwide state of emergency (declared on 12 June) in South Africa'. A statement by its national executive committee released in Lusaka (Zambia) on 21 June said that the imposition of a nationwide state of emergency was a signal for intensified resistance because it exposed 'the weakness of the regime and the strength of united mass popular resistance'. The statement condemned the 'highhanded action' by Britain, the United States, and west Germany 'in collaborating with, and obstructing in every way, the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime'. Condemning the state of emergency, SACTU called on the international trade union movement, and antiapartheid and all anti-imperialist forces to mobilise active support to isolate the government. It also called for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners.²⁹

Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)

On 2 December the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) was formally dissolved at a special conference in Johannesburg. This followed a recommendation by TUCSA's national executive committee in October. Founded on 4 October 1954 with 223 741 members in 61 affiliates, TUCSA had experienced a steady decline in membership over the past three years from about

500 000 members in 57 affiliates in 1983 to fewer than 170 000 in 32 unions at the time of its dissolution. Twelve unions disaffiliated in 1986

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alone. These included some of TUCSA's largest affiliates, such as the 56 000-strong Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province (GWU-WP), the 20 000-strong National Union of Garment Workers (NUGW), the National Union of Leather Workers with 24 000 members, and the Textile Workers' Industrial Union (TWIU) with 19 000.

Among the reasons for TUCSA's decline was its failure to find a replacement for its general secretary, Mr Arthur Grobbelaar, who had died in 1984. In 1985 a prospective candidate, Mr Ron Marsden, had withdrawn his candidature because of opposition from within TUCSA ranks to his management background. In July Mr Fred Roux, former chief executive of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, who was appointed general secretary in April, resigned. Mrs Ruth Imrie, who had been appointed acting general secretary after Mr Grobbelaar's death, took over as administrative manager after Mr Roux's resignation. She resigned from TUCSA in September. She was replaced by Mr Don Maitland, an official of the Mine Surface Officials' Association of South Africa, who was given the title of 'organising executive'.

An important factor in the organisation's demise lay in the increasing polarisation within its ranks. After the introduction of the new labour dispensation in the late 1970s, a number of unions previously to the right of TUCSA had joined the organisation, having decided to throw their doors open to workers of all races. There was increasing conflict between these and less conservative unions within the organisation. Criticism made by the latter unions related to the fact that TUCSA's leadership was dominated by whites, to its allegedly poor stand on civil rights and some labour issues, and to the close links some people claimed it had with the government.

Announcing its disaffiliation in April, the Durban Integrated Municipal Employees' Society, one of TUCSA's oldest affiliates, said that the organisation no longer represented the views of the majority of workers and failed to identify with the aspirations of black people. It also did not address itself to the urgent problems facing the country^o The organisation also criticised the attitude adopted by certain leading TUCSA officials in the recent past regarding, for instance, matters such as the tricameral Parliament, and the organisation's participation in the KwaZulu Natal indaba.

Giving reasons for the disaffiliation of the TWIU at its annual congress in May, its general secretary, Mr Norman Daniels, said that TUCSA 'is very conservative, steers close to the government, and is not relevant in terms of the needs of our members'."

TUCSA's imminent demise was reflected in the postponement of its annual conference in September because so few delegates were planning to attend. The postponement was unprecedented in TUCSA's history.³²

In his presidential address on 2 December - when TUCSA's dissolution was announced - Mr Robbie Botha attacked the government, the emerging black

unions, and the 25 unions that had disaffiliated from TUCSA in the last three years, blaming them all for the organisation's demise. 'TUCSA has never failed anyone or anything - not South Africa, not the workers of South Africa, or its own affiliates. Rather TUCSA was let down, or failed, on all sides,' he told 46 delegates from 21 unions. He blamed the government for the existence of unregistered unions, 'which are permitted to operate without the constraints that TUCSA unions have'.³³

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Notes on particular unions

In February a new union, the National Union of Public Employees, was launched in Johannesburg."

In February the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA) announced that it had decided to sever all links with the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program (USSALEP) so that the union could 'once more become independent and do things for itself'. MWASA said that it had asked its members not to participate in the course for black journalists run by USSALEP since 1984 nor to apply for the prestige Nieman fellowship administered by the exchange programme. 'After a thorough investigation, MWASA has concluded that it cannot continue to associate with USSALEP and at the same time retain its self-respect,' it said. The union said that it had arranged training seminars to replace the course offered by USSALEP and would attempt to arrange alternative scholarships for its members.³⁵

At its national congress held in Soweto in October, MWASA confirmed that it would remain a blacks-only union and that it would not affiliate to any political organisation. The congress agreed to retain a reconciliation committee to run the union, instead of electing a national executive. The committee had been appointed earlier in the year under review following the reconciliation in 1985 of its northern and southern regions, which had split in 1984 as a result of the southern (ie the western Cape) region's wanting to join the UDF and become nonracial (see 1985 Survey p186). The union condemned the government for its refusal to grant visas to foreign trade unionists and journalists who had been invited to attend the congress as observers. Among the resolutions were calls for the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all detainees and political prisoners, and a rejection of the pass laws and their 'new form'.⁶

In February the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) held its fourth annual conference in Soweto. Some 550 delegates representing 180 000 paidup and 250 000 signed-up members attended. In line with the policy of COSATU, to which the NUM was affiliated, it decided not to affiliate directly to any political organisation within the country but to enter into alliances with 'democratic and progressive organisations' during particular campaigns. It resolved not to affiliate to any international union federation, but would work with progressive unions in other parts of southern Africa and 'all international working class organisations that are fighting for the rights and freedoms of the working class'. It decided to maintain its links with the Miners' International Federation, and reserved its right to forge links with the Eastern Bloc-leaning International Miners' Organisation

formed in 1985 by Mr Arthur Scargill, general secretary of the NUM's British namesake, and with the French mining union. It stated that the ICFTU was a body that promoted 'imperialism and capitalism' and resolved not to accept funds from it.

The congress decided to organise a march on Pollsmoor Prison (Cape Town) to hand a union membership card to Mr Mandela, who was elected honorary life president of the union.

The congress resolved that the union would work for the eventual nationalisation of the country's mines as the 'wealth of the country should be shared among those who work it'. It also called for the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the PAC, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and

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other political organisations, and to support the campaign for the release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees. The congress also decided to fight for a living wage, urged the State and police not to intervene in industrial disputes, and resolved to fight for an end to job reservation on the mines before the end of the year under review. It said that it would fight mass dismissals in the mining industry and especially at mines in the homelands. General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor) was singled out for criticism over its dismissal of workers at the Marievale goldmine (east Rand) and the Impala Platinum mine (Bophuthatswana) (see 1985 Survey p194 and below). The NUM said that 1 May 'would be a paid public holiday'. Mr James Motlatsi was re-elected president and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa general secretary. Mr Motlatsi reported on the congress's resolutions to a rally of 10 000 miners at the Jabulani Stadium (Soweto)?'

In July Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Motlatsi visited the United Kingdom, where they were hosted by the British NUM. They appeared at a miners' conference in Tenby (South Wales) and met representatives of the TUC and leaders of the Labour Party. Mr Ramaphosa said that an important aim of the trip was to strengthen links with British unions and to give them correct information concerning the conditions of employment of African miners in South Africa. It was also an attempt to persuade the British NUM to stop the influx of British miners to South Africa. Both leaders were met on their return at Jan Smuts Airport by British diplomats on the grounds that there were fears that they might be detained (which they were not)."

In September conflict arose between the NUM and the Chamber of Mines over an Independent Thames Television interview with Mr Motlatsi in which he was reported as having called for sanctions which would directly affect the gold mining industry, stating that limited sanctions against South Africa that 'let the gold mining industry off the hook' would be of no use. Mr Motlatsi had allegedly said, 'If the international world won't impose more sanctions, we have got another remedy, but I won't tell you what it is at the present moment.' The chamber called on the union to clarify Mr Motlatsi's statement calling for 'sanctions against and disruption of the gold mining industry'. It accused the NUM leadership of being more interested in mobilising the union for political confrontation with the

government than in industrial relations on the mines. The chamber said that it was not aware that the union had canvassed its members on the issue of sanctions. In reply, Mr Marcel Golding, a spokesman for the union, said that it had a 'responsibility to defend the interests of its members on all levels, the economic as well as the political'. For this reason, the union had consistently called for 'international economic pressure' to be applied against the South African government and 'has raised this call in a number of forums'. The chamber was a 'sympathetic supporter of the government on a number of issues and is its clear ally in maintaining key institutions of apartheid such as the hostels and the migrant labour system. However, we clearly recognise that ultimately the responsibility for the removal of such institutions of apartheid rests with the people of this country rather than with foreign powers'. However, Mr Golding denied reports that Mr Motlatsi had claimed in the interview that the NUM had a secret plan to disrupt the mines. 'There is no secret plan. The NUM is a public organisation which operates on mandates from its members and conducts its activities openly,' he said.³⁹

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On 1 May a new union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), was launched at a mass rally attended by between 60 000 and 80 000 people at King's Park stadium in Durban. Formed under the auspices of Inkatha, the union aimed to counter the influence of COSATU. Members of the executive committee of the union were: Mr Simon Conco, general secretary, who resigned his position as chief whip in the KwaZulu legislative assembly after becoming general secretary; Mr Petrus Ndlovu, president, an industrial relations regional controller for a group of companies in Natal; Mr Pepsi Msomi, vice president, township superintendent of Tembisa (Kempton Park); and Mr Peter Davidson, treasurer, a private businessman. There were five other members on the executive.'

The union claimed an initial membership of 10 000 members.⁴¹

Among its aims were:

" to unite all workers of South Africa in the pursuit of economic justice; " to ensure the democratic right of workers to direct their union leaders and that all such leaders' statements and positions be canvassed first among the workers;

" to back members in their demands that management recognise that sound industrial relations can be achieved only within the framework of sound human relations which are fostered by fair treatment and conditions of employment; and

" that economic development in South Africa would become ever increasingly dependent on partnerships between employers and employees. The union said it was committed to:

" a totally free and democratic South Africa in which every individual has freedom of political expression and enjoys equality of opportunity in open competition;

* liberating the free enterprise system from 'racist apartheid control' and to making it a vehicle for the progress of the country's working class;

" the promotion of business by both the public and the private sector and investment by foreign investors;

* non-interference in business and union and labour affairs by political organisations or political institutions; and

" fair political, economic, and social structures within South Africa in which freedom, democracy, and the need for self-determination and expression are safeguarded and in which there is no form of discrimination.

UWUSA said that it believed that political issues should be resolved through negotiation rather than violence, and that it shared the views of the president of Inkatha and chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, concerning the future political dispensation of South Africa - ie that 'one man one vote' is the first option, 'although he is prepared to consider other equivalent options'.²

Giving the main address at the launch rally, Chief Buthelezi denied that UWUSA would be a 'tool of Inkatha' or that it would be a 'capitalist' union.⁴³ He said that unless blacks were given entry to the free-enterprise system, it could have no future in a liberated South Africa. He knew of no other system which could create jobs in the way the free-enterprise system did. The crowd in the stadium roared 'No' when Chief Buthelezi asked, 'Is it your wish that disinvestment and sanctions should now be imposed on South Africa?' There was another roar of 'No' when he asked, 'Shall I tell them

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that you are now ready to suffer even more deprivation than you are suffering already, if this is worsened by any imposition of sanctions and disinvestment?'"

In May the union claimed that it had majority support at the following factories: Erikson Brothers, Zululand Sawmills, Zululand Furniture Factory, Ulundi Bakery, Mtunzini Cartage, Pritchard Cleaners, Pietermaritzburg Transport, Edendale Tannery, Scottish Cables, Natal Tanning Extracts, and Jabula Foods. Only the latter was not in Natal/KwaZulu.⁴⁵

Speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg on 7 May, Mr Ndlovu said that the union hoped to become the country's biggest and most dynamic group of trade unions. Although Inkatha had thus far provided all its facilities, UWUSA wished to become self-supporting through membership dues. Its primary objective was to form industry-based unions throughout the country and to end workers' exploitation and improve the quality of life. The nonracial union would seek registration in terms of the Labour Relations Act of 1956 as a general union but hoped to grow into a federation which supported the policy of one union, one industry. He said that the union was not an ethnic union, and claimed that it had recruited 126 whites in Germiston (east Rand). 'We want to accept members from all political persuasions, regardless of race,' he said. Mr Conco dismissed as 'mischiefmaking' allegations made by opposing trade unions that their members had been attacked by Inkatha/UWUSA supporters (see below).⁴ Regarding UWUSA's stand on strikes, Mr Conco said that 'they will be the last resort'. He made a strong appeal for the halting of political interference in unions.⁴⁷ UWUSA called on its members to observe 16 June as a holiday. 'We are recommending to our members to negotiate with their employers on the same

basis as the May Day workers' holiday. However, we do not subscribe to the day being extended into a period of prolonged stayaways,' it said. The statement condemned the government ban on all meetings to commemorate the anniversary of 16 June as 'a provocative and repressive attempt to stifle freedom of association and freedom of speech' (see Security). 4

In May a new union, the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (POTWA), representing more than 10 000 postal workers countrywide, was launched in Soweto. The union's secretary, Mr Ephraim Mosunkutu, told more than 600 delegates from various parts of the country that a six-member delegation had been to see the postmaster general to brief him about the formation of the union. The union's first national president, Mr Vusi Khumalo, informed the meeting that the postmaster general had told the delegation that in order to be recognised by the department, the union should have a membership of 50% of all the black workers in the department and that its leadership should be elected democratically. The delegation had also told him that the union would apply for registration. The union resolved that:

" all members would take a stand if others were victimised or intimidated for belonging to the union;

* the union would act if members were victimised for involvement in work stayaways; and

* members would refuse to work if accompanied by the South African Defence Force or police escorts in townships.

The union also pledged to align itself with other unions working towards the

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liberation of blacks in the country.⁴ In an interview with *The New Nation* in August, Mr Khumalo said that the union had decided not to join any union federation until it had enough members to debate the issue thoroughly. The union, he said, was committed to the principle of one union, one industry. The struggle for a living wage would be at the top of its agenda. (The minimum wage of postal workers was in the region of R200 a month.)¹ In October the union was recognised by the department of posts and telecommunications.¹

In July the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) - one of COSATU's largest affiliates - held its first national congress in Johannesburg. The union had introduced a national congress to ensure greater worker participation in decision making at the highest level. Organised factories could propose motions to the national congress and these could not be blocked by shopsteward councils or branch executive committees. Congress delegates would be elected directly by the factories except in the case of national executive members, who could attend congress only as delegates of their branches."

In its opening resolution the congress proclaimed, inter alia, that the state of emergency had not crippled the union, that it would continue to organise workers and build a democratic union controlled by workers, and that the union was determined to achieve a living wage in the metal industry in the short term and to continue to struggle for economic justice.³

In October Mrs Emma Mashinini, for eleven years the general secretary of the 50 000-strong Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA), resigned. Mrs Mashinini had established the union in 1975 and had played a major role in building it into one of the most forceful unions in South Africa.⁴

Unity moves

The major unity move during the year under review was the merger between CUSA and AZACTU to form the CUSA-AZACTU federation (see above).

In August two factions of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) met to discuss the resolution of differences between them. A split had occurred in 1984 when Mr Sam Kikine, then general secretary of the union, and two other officials had been expelled (see 1984 Survey p314), the union remaining under the control of Messrs Sisa Njikelana and Thozamile Gqweta. It was decided that a committee, with members from each camp, would run SAAWU until the reunion was formalised⁵⁵

In November a new union for domestic workers - the South African Domestic Workers' Union (SADWU) - was formed when the following six domestic workers' unions merged: the East London Domestic Workers' Union, the Port Elizabeth Domestic Workers' Union, the National Domestic Workers Union (Durban), and the Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban regions of the South African Domestic Workers' Association (SADWA). Two domestic workers' bodies remained outside the merger - they were the Black Domestic Workers' Union in the Transvaal and the Domestic Workers' Association of South Africa in Port Elizabeth, both of whom withdrew from the talks over the issue of affiliation to COSATU. One of the main goals of the new union was the introduction of legislation to protect domestic workers' rights, and to provide for maternity benefits, a minimum wage,

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holiday and sick pay, and overtime pay. (The government had not yet responded to an investigation by the national manpower commission on domestic and agricultural labour completed in 1984 - see 1985 Survey p150). SADWU would also place an emphasis on worker advice and education. One of the union's chief priorities would be the provision of training in skills to women who did not wish to remain forever 'in the cul de sac of domestic service', said Mrs Florence de Villiers of SADWA.

Labour Forum

In August the president of the South African Boilermakers' Society (SABS), Mr Ike van der Watt, announced that plans were under way to establish an independent information body, to be called the Labour Forum. It would primarily be a means whereby unions could communicate with each other and exchange information. In addition, topics of concern to the labour movement could be monitored and identified and unions could seek support or cooperation on various issues. He said that 22 unions had expressed interest in the idea.¹⁷

Inter-union rivalry

The focus of union rivalry during the year under review was between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the United Workers'

Union of South Africa (UWUSA), formed under the auspices of Inkatha on 1 May (see above).

In January Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and chief minister of KwaZulu, threatened to 'launch Inkatha into the field of labour relations to counter insults and denigration by COSATU'⁸

After its central executive committee (CEC) meeting in February, COSATU announced that it was about to launch a major international and national campaign to counter violence against its leadership. This was seen as a bid to halt the growing tension in Natal between it and Inkatha. The CEC also condemned 'unwarranted attacks' allegedly made on the union by Inkatha and moves by 'Inkatha elements' to set up an alternative union. Mr Simon Conco, chief whip in the KwaZulu legislative assembly and future general secretary of UWUSA, in reply accused the federation of trying to 'hijack workers'⁹

In February Chief Buthelezi accused COSATU of using classical Marxist strategy and of taking its orders from the African National Congress (ANC). He said that that it had come as no surprise that 'COSATU has now openly declared that it is orchestrating an international campaign against Inkatha'. In the same month, the general secretary of COSATU, Mr Jay Naidoo, denied that the organisation was a front for the ANC. Such a view showed little understanding of the democratic structures of the federation. 'Trade unions have a very strong commitment to democracy and our greatest achievement has been to build structures where our membership and leadership express their views. All decisions are based on mandates we receive from our membership,' he said.'

Conflict between the two organisations took a violent turn in May when there were allegations of violence and counterviolence on both sides. In that month two UWUSA members working at Clover dairies in Durban obtained a temporary supreme court interdict restraining four members of COSATU's

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Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union from assaulting or interfering with them. They alleged that they had been threatened for recruiting for UWUSA.⁶¹

In June COSATU made public a 45-page dossier containing affidavits and statements summarising incidents, threats, and assaults against COSATU.

COSATU's allegations were directed mainly against Inkatha supporters, but the federation said that 'the link between Inkatha and UWUSA is so interrelated that it is not always possible to separate them'. Mr Kisa Dlamini, an official of COSATU's Health and Allied Workers' Union, and his father cited Mrs Virginia Shandu, chairwoman of the Inkatha women's brigade, in a successful urgent application restraining her from threatening and assaulting them.⁶²

Conflict between the union bodies spilled over into violence at the Hlobane colliery near Vryheid in June, leaving 11 dead and more than 100 injured. Iscor, the parastatal oil-from-coal company which manages the mine, had refused a NUM organiser access to the colliery, leading to a strike by other NUM members. A fight ensued between pro- and anti-strike factions, the latter group, according to UWUSA, containing some of its members. UWUSA claimed that NUM shaftstewards had threatened to 'necklace'

workers wishing to work. The NUM, however, claimed that the clash occurred when mine security officials allowed non-mine members (who it said were Inkatha vigilantes) to enter the colliery to smash the strike. It accused management of acting in concert with Inkatha to undermine its presence at the mine in favour of UWUSA.Y

Speaking at an industrial relations seminar in Durban in July, Chief Buthelezi asked whether COSATU would stand the test of time. He said that the vast majority of workers favoured the free enterprise system and were not inherently inclined towards socialism or communism. Black workers who rejected the free enterprise system now did so because they had not gained entry to it. He said that while COSATU opposed free enterprise, UWUSA was committed to its liberalisation.⁶⁴

Links with foreign labour organisations

In January the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) joined the United Mine Workers and the United Automobile Workers and other anti-apartheid organisations in launching a boycott of Shell USA products in support of a call made by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). The NUM had appealed to the ICFTU for aid in its dispute with the Rietspruit opencast coal mine (eastern Transvaal), in which Shell South Africa and Rand Mines each had a 50% holding. The dispute had arisen in 1985 when the company fired 86 miners who had gone on strike in support of the reinstatement of four fired shopstewards. The stewards had been dismissed for walking out for two hours to attend a memorial service for a miner killed on the job. According to the NUM, the company had, since then, refused to allow union meetings, intimidated its members, and had refused to allow shopstewards access to members despite the fact that the company had a contract with the union. At a press conference on Capitol Hill (Washington) to announce the boycott, supporters were told to boycott Shell USA's 11 000 service stations

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and cut in half and mail to the AFL-CIO headquarters the 15 million current Shell credit cards. A spokesman for Shell USA, Mr Bill Lafield, called the boycott 'misplaced and unfair' since Shell USA - a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell - did not operate in South Africa and could not answer for the actions of the holding company's South African subsidiary. Before deciding to support the boycott, the AFL-CIO had polled its affiliates by mail. Most of these had voted in favour of supporting the boycott, even though American jobs could be affected. The United Mine Workers' president, Mr Richard Trumka, said that low wages to coal miners in South Africa undercut American workers. The boycott was necessary out of self-interest as well as international worker solidarity, he added.⁶⁵

In April the general secretary of the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF), Mr Herman Rebhan, addressing the second congress of the IMF's co-ordinating committee in South Africa, said that pressure by the American labour movement on the Reagan administration had forced a rethink of policy and ideas in the US. 'Constructive engagement is dead and the American people have

woken up to the dishonesty and equivocation of the administration's policy on southern Africa.' The IMF supported the principle of 'one person, one vote' in a democratic state, and would support all appropriate and relevant pressure, internally and externally. It would maintain pressure on the multinationals that 'exploit the workers of South Africa; helped by the apartheid system', he said. Turning to industrial relations, Mr Rebhan said that his federation wanted to see the development of a full collective bargaining process which would take place 'within the context of the individual company as well as within the industry'.⁶ In June the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) at its annual congress at Elsinore (Denmark) adopted a resolution calling for the immediate establishment of full democratic rights for all South Africans and majority rule. The resolution instructed the bureau (the board of the IFJ) and all member unions to:

* endorse and give effect to the ICFTU declaration on economic sanctions against South Africa; and

" single out as a target for action the subsidiaries of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, 'a company which dominates South African economic interests, including the press'.

Five delegates from South Africa attended the congress: four from the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA) and one from the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ). Two of the MWASA delegates, Mr Thami Mazwai and Ms Sandra Nagfaal, were elected to the IFJ's executive. The MWASA delegation motivated and supported the resolution. However, the SASJ delegate, while supporting most of the motion, abstained from voting on the section dealing with sanctions against South Africa as he had not been given a mandate by his union to do so.⁶⁷

In July a twelve-man delegation representing the 82-million strong ICFTU visited South Africa to look into the situation of trade unions under the emergency declared on 12 June. Headed by the ICFTU's general secretary, Mr Johan Vanderveken, the delegation would, among other things, 'draw the attention of the South African government to the trade union demands for changes in the political system, the immediate release of all detained trade unionists, and the lifting of restrictions on trade union activities'.⁶

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The delegation held talks with, among others, the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU); the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA); MWASA; the archbishop-elect of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu; and the minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis. At a press conference on 20 July, the delegation said that it would call on the Commonwealth summit meeting to be held in London in August 'to unite around a meaningful programme of action'. It claimed that it had overwhelming evidence of a willingness by the victims of apartheid to endure further suffering in the interests of achieving the transformation needed in their society. 'Working people throughout the world should exert pressure to bring about change. No solution to South Africa's problems can be found that excludes the growing influence of the trade union movement as a vital and vigorous force

for peaceful change, leading to a fully democratic system,' Mr Vanderveken said. The delegation announced that it would increase pressure for sanctions against South Africa as a means of bringing about peaceful change. Mr Vanderveken said that there was increasing evidence of employer pressure for change, even to the extent of a readiness among some employers to favour sanctions. 6

Action affecting trade unions

State action which affected trade unionists increased substantially during the year under review, particularly after the second state of emergency had been declared by the government on 12 June. The first state of emergency, declared on 21 July 1985, was lifted on 3 March. There was also an increase in attacks on unionists and their properties by vigilantes, opposing union groupings, and other unidentified assailants.

Unions and the emergency

According to the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG), made up of labour observers from various universities and research bodies, by the end of December about 2 700 unionists (including trade union officials and members) were known to have been detained at some time or another during the second state of emergency. Of this figure 610 were individual arrests, the remainder mass arrests. Of the individual unionists arrested, a known total of 358 was still in detention on 31 December. No information was available on how many of those arrested en masse were still in detention at that date.

Of the total number of unionists detained, 500 or 82% were from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), its worst-affected affiliates being the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA) with 109, the Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU) (64), the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) (55), the National Union of Textile Workers (54), and the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) (52). A total of 57 people were detained from affiliates of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU).

The detentions included a number of large-scale arrests, including arrests of strikers who had unlawfully gone on strike. On 14 June 81 members of CCAWUSA, all employees of Checkers Stores' Rustenburg branch, were detained.⁶ On 18 June 740 workers from Nels Dairy (Johannesburg) were

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detained after having gone on strike in support of detained union leaders. Some 40 members of FAWU were arrested in June at a funeral near Groblersdal (northeastern Transvaal) of the chief FAWU shopsteward at Jabula Foods (Springs). On 2 July about 400 out of 1 000 former employees of the Tembisa (east Rand) town council, who had been dismissed on 23 May after a wage strike, were detained (see below).⁷ The South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union resolved to send a telegram to the minister of law and order asking him to confirm and disclose the whereabouts of the detained workers.⁷² No details were available on whether and when the workers were released. The detention of union leaders and members led to the outbreak of protest strikes in a number of industries, the retail industry being badly hit, about 100 protest

strikes involving about 1 000 workers being staged in this industry within the first two weeks of the emergency.

Various protests against the detentions were made to the government by employers in the industry, including representatives of Checkers Stores, CNA Gallo, Foschini, Frasers, Kirsh Industries, Metro Corporation, OK Bazaars, Pick 'n Pay, The Premier Group, Truworths, and Woolworths (see below). Foschini, which had been hard hit by strikes, sent a telex to the minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange, saying that the detention of CCAWUSA officials was 'disruptive of the orderly process of interaction between labour and management in the ordinary course of business'."

The Premier Group, as well as AECI, called on the government to release or charge detained trade unionists.⁷⁴ Mr Tony Bloom, chairman of Premier, sent a telegram to Mr Le Grange pointing out that the detention of trade unionists, in particular some of their shopstewards, was having a very detrimental effect on the way in which employers ran their businesses.⁷⁵

On 21 June the minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said at a meeting with major retailers which was also attended by the minister of law and order and police representatives that trade union leaders were not being held because the authorities had problems with their bona fides as labour leaders, but because of their involvement in the security situation. He said that he was sympathetic to the labour problems being experienced by the retailers but he could not accede to a request by them that the unionists be released.⁶

In the first week in July about 18 000 miners from various gold, coal, and diamond mines engaged in industrial action in protest against the detention of officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). De Beers Consolidated Mines, one of the companies affected by the strikes, agreed to undertake a campaign for the release of the detained miners (see section on Strikes below). Commenting on the detention of unionists under the emergency, COSATU said that it had seriously disrupted the normal operation of trade unions at a time when more than a million workers were involved in delicate wage negotiations.^Y It rejected the minister's claim that no unionists were being held purely for their union activities. COSATU's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, said, 'In South Africa it is impossible to separate the workers' (shopfloor) struggle from the broader struggle for political freedom. The leadership in our unions is also active in broader struggles being waged in our communities. We see that as a

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natural extension of our legitimate union activity in a country where political rights have been denied the majority of our people.' He claimed that the State was merely trying to weaken the labour movement. While admitting that actions by the authorities had hampered normal union activities, Mr Naidoo said that unions had not been totally incapacitated. 'It has taken us a week to create a way of co-ordinating and communicating with members. There is emerging now a highly co-ordinated response to the present situation,' he said. Mr Naidoo said that among practical problems being created by the emergency were delays in dealing with workers' grievances and disputes with employers. He claimed that virtually all

union phones had been tapped. Because COSATU's structures were based on the factory floor, the organisation would, in fact, emerge stronger from the emergency, he argued.

Commenting on the effect of the emergency on worker-employer relations, Mr Naidoo warned of a possible collapse of the system, resulting in industrial anarchy. He reiterated COSATU's continued commitment to good industrial relations. Mr Naidoo said that efforts of business to secure the release of detainees had not gone far enough. His suggestions of what other measures employers could take could not be reported because of the emergency regulations. He concluded that a number of employers were naive enough to believe that the emergency had brought about a situation of calm and stability."

At the beginning of July COSATU discussed a set of demands for employers. These were that:

- * detained workers should not be dismissed; " they should receive full pay for their period of detention; " wage increases delayed because of the emergency should be backdated to

compensate fully for such delays;

- * all employers should make available to shopstewards of COSATU official facilities to communicate with their members; and

- " employers should allow all union members at least two hours a week during working hours to discuss and attend to union business, without loss of pay.

In a statement released on 3 July after a secret meeting of its central executive committee - the first since the declaration of the state of emergency - COSATU released a list of demands. These were for:

- * an end to all harassment, victimisation, and intimidation of shopstewards, officials, and workers;

- " the release of all union leaders; and

- " a move towards a democratic resolution of the country's problems. 'COSATU will be meeting employer representatives in the next week to press home further these demands,' the statement said. It said that there was little evidence of employers pressurising the government for an end to the state of emergency, and warned employers against taking advantage of the emergency.⁷⁹

On 7 July COSATU met representatives of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM) and the South African Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) over detentions under the emergency. Issues discussed covered the widespread industrial action taken by workers to protest against the emergency and the response of employers to the demands drawn up by COSATU. Employers were reported as having agreed to the

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first set of demands outlined above. On the second set of three demands, employers suggested a joint union-employer delegation to the government. COSATU refused on the grounds that many of its leaders were in detention.⁸⁰ It cancelled a second round of talks with the employer bodies because of continuing raids and detentions.

In early July ASSOCOM, the FCI, and CUSA issued a statement after a joint meeting calling for a stop to all acts of violence and an end to the state of emergency. Included among the points made were that the emergency had curtailed union and employer freedoms and rights, the current circumstances posed a major threat to the labour relations system because conflicts needed to be resolved through negotiation and compromise, and that the detention of union and community leaders created a leadership vacuum and did not build the trust essential for sound industrial relations.⁸¹

In a survey of company attitudes on the effect of the emergency on labour relations, the LMG found that of 114 companies canvassed in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area, nearly 50% said that it had made no difference to industrial relations. About 37% stressed a decline in productivity - apparently due to stayaways - and expressed concern about the emergency's effect on worker/management relations. The LMG said that many companies feared that the emergency would politicise labour/capital relations and would encourage the linking of community/political issues to the workplace. About 13% of the 114 companies said that labour relations had improved since the emergency. They suggested that this was because there was a reduced militancy in the workplace and because townships were now safer, allowing workers to get to work.⁸²

One of the issues to emerge was that of the payment of wages to workers in detention. A report by the LMG showed that there was no material difference in the attitude to detainees between multinationals and local companies. In its survey of the motor industry in the eastern Cape, it found that all of the companies employing the 17 detained members of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU) were paying at least part of the wages. One - Willard Batteries, a local company - had agreed from the start to pay detained workers in full. General Motors South African had agreed to pay workers in full after protracted negotiations with NAAWU and in terms of this agreement would pay 50% of the wages to the detainee's families monthly, and the remainder only on the release of the detainee or on his/her acquittal if tried in court. The rest - Volkswagen, SAMCOR, and Firestone South Africa - were paying detainees from 50% to 75% of their wages.

In the food industry, Premier and its subsidiaries were paying detainees in full, unconditionally. Cadbury Schweppes (South Africa) said that it would pay 50% of the wages of its four detained employees for four months and would hold their jobs open for 180 days, except if they were charged and convicted. According to FAWU, most other companies in the food industry were not paying detainees at all.

The report claimed that the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa (Anglo) had adopted the most enlightened policy towards detained employees. In addition to saying that they would not have their employment prejudiced in any way by arbitrary detention, it also undertook to 'use all endeavours to seek an employee's release'. General Mining Union

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Corporation (Gencor) agreed to guarantee jobs and pay detained workers. Gold Fields of South Africa agreed to guarantee the job of, but not pay, its one detained employee.⁸³

The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa (AMCHAM) said that the organisation had not addressed itself to the issue as it dealt only with 'broad policy issues affecting employers'. Asked whether it was not in the spirit of the Sullivan principles, of which most American companies in South Africa were signatories, to pay detained employees full wages, AMCHAM said that the principles were a suggestion to companies as to what could happen in the workplace. It was the employer's right to choose whether to accept this suggestion⁸⁴

In July the government prohibited certain organisations, including CCAWUSA, COSATU, the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU), MAWU, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA), and the NUM from holding indoor gatherings in the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort. After protests by the affected unions, the government said on 9 July that the ban contained certain errors and that trade unions should not have been on the list. In addition the ban applied only to meetings held in Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Meadowlands, and Soweto.⁸⁶

On 14 July affiliates of COSATU staged a 'day of action' in protest against the emergency, in line with a decision taken at the organisation's secret executive meeting on 1 July. The form of action was left to COSATU's local and regional structures to determine. According to the LMG the day of action was most successful in Port Elizabeth and East London (eastern Cape), where there was an almost total stayaway. It reported a 24% stayaway in COSATU-organised factories in the manufacturing sector in the PWV area and an 11% stayaway in the region's retail industry. COSATU had called off the stayaway in the western Cape and in northern Natal because restrictions on unions there had made communication difficult. In COSATU's southern Natal region symbolic in-plant protests occurred on a limited scale. There were limited stayaways on the mines, these occurring at Anglo's Arnot colliery, Rand Mines' Duvha and Rietspruit collieries, the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company's Consolidated Murchison mine, Gencor's Matla colliery, and at one shaft at Anglo's Free State Consolidated Gold Mines complex. The NUM said that the release from detention of its vice president, Mr Elija Barayi, had contributed to the lack of action on the mines.⁸⁷

In July a large number of postcards from abroad were sent to the state president requesting the release from detention of the general secretary of MAWU, Mr Moses Mayekiso. The postcards were part of a campaign by the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF) to secure his release and that of other detainees. Mr Mayekiso was detained in June under the emergency regulations and was transferred to section 29 of the Internal Security Act (ISA) of 1982 after 14 days.^m

On several occasions during the year, trade unions made use of the courts to enforce their rights.

In July in the Cape Town supreme court COSATU challenged an order by the divisional commissioner of police in the western Cape, Brigadier C Swart, which prohibited the meetings of 118 organisations, including its own. It

UNIONISTS AND OTHER SECURITY MATTERS

argued that the state president did not have the authority to allow the commissioner of police to delegate to Brig Swart power to make orders in terms of the emergency regulations.⁹ COSATU reached an out-of-court settlement with the state president, the minister of law and order, the commissioner of police, and the divisional commissioner of police, allowing it once again to hold meetings in the area.⁹

On 15 July MAWU brought an urgent application in the Natal provincial division of the supreme court in Durban against the state president, Mr P W Botha, and the government for an order declaring that the state of emergency and the emergency regulations had no force and effect from 26 June and that the continued detention of people under the regulations was unlawful. It also sought the release of everyone detained in terms of the regulations, including six of its own members. MAWU further sought an order declaring that the paragraph in the regulations purporting to contain a definition of a 'subversive statement' was of no cause and effect in law. A full bench of the court ruled on 16 July that the declaration of the state of emergency was valid, but that parts of the emergency regulations forbidding 'subversive statements' and legal access to detainees were invalid either because they were too vague or because Mr Botha had acted beyond his power (see Security).⁹¹

Following the above ruling, an action to seek the release of 21 detainees was instituted in the Durban supreme court by nine people including three trade unionists.⁹² The action was adjourned pending a decision in the appellate division (AD) of the supreme court on whether to uphold an 11 August decision of the Durban supreme court which had held that certain emergency regulations were invalid and had ordered the release from detention of Mr Solomon Tsenoli of the United Democratic Front (UDF) (see Security). The AD on 30 September set aside the Tsenoli decision, and the application for the release of the 21 was, therefore, not pursued, the detainees remaining in jail.⁹³

A number of union leaders released from detention were placed under restriction orders in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953. These included Mr Barayi; Mr Ray Lazarus, an official of the Transport and General Workers' Union; and Ms Elizabeth Erasmus of the Clothing Workers' Union

- all of COSATU; Ms Joyce Sedibe, regional co-ordinator of CUSA; and Mr Daniel Samela, organiser of the South African Chemical Workers' Union

- a CUSA affiliate. In terms of the restrictions, the unionists were not allowed to leave their magisterial districts without the permission of the local police station commander and could not be quoted in the media.⁹⁴

In October Ms Sedibe and Mr Samela successfully applied for the restrictions to be set aside. Giving judgment in the Rand supreme court, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone found that the conditions should be set aside as they had not been correctly worded. He said that it was unnecessary for him to make a finding on

the regulation itself since everyone agreed that the conditions applying to the unionists were incorrect.⁹"

Unionists and other security matters

On 4 May police in Carletonville detained the president of the NUM, Mr James Motlatsi, and four NUM members under section 50 of the ISA. The five were detained after attending a funeral at Khutsong township

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(Carletonville). The NUM said that workers in the union's Carletonville, Klerksdorp, and Orange Free State regions had threatened to stage workstoppages if the five were not released." They were released on 6 May.⁹

In June four officials of SAAWU, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, president; Mr Sisa Njikelana, general secretary; Mr Sam Kikine, general secretary of the Durban faction; and Mr Isaac Ngcobo, treasurer, who were facing charges of treason and alternative charges under the ISA of furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation, were acquitted in the Pietermaritzburg supreme court. The trial had begun in 1985 when the four, together with 12 others, had been charged. Charges against the 12 had been withdrawn on 9 December 1985 (see 1985 Survey pp512-513).⁹⁸ During the trial, defence counsel alleged that the former minister of manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, and the East London security police had conspired to smash the union at a time when trade union autonomy and minimal government interference in labour relations had been introduced as official policy. Counsel claimed that the minister had discussed the 'SAAWU problem' at a meeting called by the Border chamber of industries and attended by the security police and two members of the national intelligence service. A security policeman, Major Phillipus Olivier, denied these allegations. However, he said under cross-examination that he had tried 'gentle persuasion' to induce management not to recognise SAAWU. He said that he had visited management at most of the factories in the area and had advised them not to have any dealings with SAAWU. He had not wanted SAAWU to form a 'power bloc' that would result in management's having to submit to unreasonable demands.⁹

In April the president of CUSA, Mr James Mndaweni, and six members of the Food, Beverage Workers' Union (FBWU) were arrested during a demonstration at Unilever South Africa (Boksburg) to call for the declaration of 1 May as a public holiday. Later in the month the unionists appeared in the Boksburg regional court and were charged with contravening the ISA by holding an illegal gathering. They were released on bail. CUSA demanded that Unilever persuade the State to drop the charges or face international action.¹⁰¹ The charges were eventually dropped. In June two meetings called by the NUM in Witbank (eastern Transvaal) to report back on wage negotiations were banned by a local magistrate in terms of the ISA.¹⁰¹

In October the Pretoria supreme court set aside the conviction and sentence of Mr 'Skakes' Sikhakhane, general secretary of the FBWU. Mr Sikhakhane had been convicted in September 1984 under the ISA of holding an illegal gathering in Potchefstroom (see 1984 Survey p318).¹¹

Attacks on union officials and members

In April a member of MAWU, Mr Mpumelelo Kortman, was allegedly shot dead by police at a workers' rally in Katlehong (Germiston). He was buried on 28 April in Tembisa (Kempton Park) under severe restrictions placed on the funeral by the local magistrate, only 500 people being allowed to attend.' Also in April, the vice president of MAWU's Natal region, Mr Jeffrey Vilane, was injured in the arm and his home and car were destroyed in a petrol-bomb attack in Esikhawini (Natal). At the end of April, Mr William Oliphant, an organiser for SAAWU, was found dead on a road near Koster in the western Transvaal. On 14 April he

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and a colleague, Ms Dorothy Morobe, were arrested by police at their place of work, Noordfed, and were taken to the Lichtenburg Police Station where they were informed that the police were investigating allegations of theft against them. They were released at about 8pm without having been charged. On their way home they were allegedly kidnapped by three white men wearing stockings over their faces. Their kidnappers tied their hands, blindfolded and gagged them, and repeatedly assaulted them. Ms Morobe claimed that the men had said, 'What will the union do for you now?' Later the car stopped and Ms Morobe was thrown out and further assaulted. She was discovered the following morning and taken to hospital.¹ Mr Oliphant's body was found about two weeks later. Ms Morobe and Mr Oliphant had been pressing for the recognition of the union at Noordfed. Ms Morobe alleged that one of the attackers was the foreman of the company. She instructed lawyers to take civil action for damages against the minister of law and order."⁸ There were no further details at the time of writing.

In May the 18 000-strong Electrical and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (EAWUSA) - an affiliate of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) - strongly condemned the killing by police of one of its members, Mr Manuel Hermanus, during unrest in the Wattville (Benoni) township on May Day. Mr Hermanus had been shot dead after he and others had fled into a house during disturbances which had broken out after a rally. A police spokesman said that Mr Hermanus had been fatally wounded when a policeman, who was being attacked, had fired on his attackers. The policeman was killed."⁸

CUSA claimed that on 3 May police, together with members of the South African Defence Force (SADF), attacked mourners returning from the funeral of two Vosloorus (Boksburg) residents killed during the unrest. CUSA's president, Mr James Mndaweni, said that police had sjambokked all mourners who wore CUSA T-shirts, forcing them to take the T-shirts off. A police spokesman said that the police rejected these claims."⁹

In May Mrs Helen Suzman MP (Progressive Federal Party) disclosed in Parliament that a number of unionists were among those on the 'hit-list' of a group called the anti-communist, anti-terrorist resistance movement. Among them were the leaders of CUSA and AZACTU. In all there were 66 people on the list. A spokesman for the minister of law and order said that the police were investigating the issue."

Towards the end of May, AZACTU condemned the killing of the general secretary of the Black Electrical and Electronics Workers' Union, Mr Sipho

Mngomezulu. Mr Mngomezulu had been found dead under a pile of stones near his Emdeni (Soweto) home. He had been abducted by a group of heavily armed men, according to members of his family. AZACTU claimed that the killing had been committed by 'paid agents of the State'. 'We note that comrade Siphon Mngomezulu was abducted and later killed by a group of vigilantes. We condemn such barbaric acts and wish to state that the black community cannot tolerate such inhumane acts forever,' said AZACTU.⁹

In June Mr David Modimong, an organiser for MAWU in Brits (western Transvaal), was injured and his wife killed in a hand-grenade attack on his home. Mr Modimong had been active in the move to prevent the removal of the Brits Old Location to Lethlabile, 25km away (see Removals).¹⁰

In July and again in August the Cape Town offices of the South African

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Railways and Harbour Workers' Union - a COSATU affiliate - were raided by security police. During the first raid pamphlets were confiscated.¹¹ Also in July, the Johannesburg offices of the EAWUSA were broken into and union documents and papers strewn over the floor. Damages were estimated at R1 000.¹² Also in July the offices of seven trade unions in Johannesburg were gutted in an arson attack.¹³

In August an East London (eastern Cape) office building housing seven trade union offices, including those of COSATU, was damaged by fire believed to have been caused by arsonists. The offices of NAAWU - a COSATU affiliate - were particularly badly damaged.¹⁴ Also in August, security police searched the Pretoria offices of CCAWUSA and confiscated documents.¹⁵

In November a hand grenade and petrol bombs were thrown at the Soweto home of Mr Thami Mcerwa, a CUSA organiser. About 50 youths were involved in the attack, which followed that on the home of the general secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).¹⁶

In November one unionist was killed and at least 12 others injured after MAWU's annual general meeting held at Currie's Fountain in Durban when police fired birdshot at the crowd.¹⁷ MAWU disputed the account of the incident given by the bureau for information and said that it would conduct its own inquiry into the events.¹⁸ At a protest meeting called by COSATU and MAWU to protest against the death of the unionist, South African employers were criticised for allegedly keeping quiet in the face of state repression of the union movement. COSATU's Witwatersrand regional chairman, Mr Paul Nkuna, told the gathering of about 400 that state repression of the unions was based on fear and confusion by the government and that the latter did not alone repress blacks but had the support of business.¹⁹

In December two members of MAWU and the daughter of a MAWU member were killed in Howick (Natal). They were Mr Phineas Sibiyi, chairman of the shopstewards' committee at BTR Sarmcol (Howick), the site of a protracted labour dispute (see below); Mr Simon Ngubane, a BTR Sarmcol shopsteward; and Miss Flora Mnikathi, the daughter of a BTR Sarmcol worker. According to a spokesman of the bureau for information, eight vigilantes, allegedly belonging to

Inkatha, abducted the three, as well as Mr Sibiyi's brother. MAWU said that they had first been taken to a hall where an Inkatha rally had been held earlier, and had been questioned and beaten. They had then been bundled into a car. Mr Sibiyi's brother had managed to escape and had gone for help. The other three had later been found dead from bullet wounds in a gutted car. Police were investigating the killings.¹²⁰

The IMF called on the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to order an official inquiry into the killings. (BTR Sarmcol is a subsidiary of the British Tyre and Rubber Company.) MAWU called for a commission of inquiry into the deaths.' It said that at the same time that the unionists had been abducted, busloads of Inkatha supporters had attacked sacked BTR Sarmcol workers in Mpophomeni, leading to the death of an Mpophomeni youth congress member, Mr Alpheus Nkabinde, and causing gunshot and stab wounds to eight others. Inkatha's secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo,

DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY

blamed the violence on plans by anti-Inkatha supporters to disrupt the Inkatha rally.

COSATU alleged that some of its members had been injured as a result of similar vigilante attacks at Empangeni in northern Natal, while MAWU claimed that the attacks were part of a pattern to destroy the union*¹²² In December two members of MAWU, Mr Feliz Hadebe and Mr Peter Hlengwa, died after having been hacked with pangas in Chesterville township (Durban).¹²³

Deaths in police custody

An inquest into the death of Mr Andries Raditsela, a senior shopsteward of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU), started in January. Mr Raditsela had died on 6 May 1985 in Baragwanath Hospital (Soweto) shortly after having been released from detention (see 1985 Survey p183).¹²⁴ A witness, Mr Frans Tsotetsi, said that he had seen Mr Raditsela at a police station two days before his death and that:

* his one eye had been red and swollen;

* his face had been swollen;

* there had been a mark on the left side of his forehead;

* he had urinated in his pants and had soiled them; and

* he had tried to stand up a number of times, but had fallen down.¹²⁵ He said that Mr Raditsela had not seemed to be conscious. He had shaken him in an attempt to wake him up, but had not succeeded. The inquest was postponed on a number of occasions and was due to resume in January 1987 (see Security). ¹²⁶

In April a journalist and member of MWASA, Mr Lucky Kutumela, died shortly after he had been arrested by police in Potgietersrus (western Transvaal) along with three other members of AZAPO.²⁷ The PFP asked the government to investigate the circumstances surrounding his death (see Security).¹²¹

Also in April police launched an investigation into the death of Mr Joel Phoshoko, a member of CCAWUSA and an employee of Allied Publishing, who had died in police custody after having given himself up to the police in Pretoria. He had been wanted on charges of housebreaking²⁹

Other measures taken against union officials and members

During the year under review a number of unionists were refused passports to travel abroad. For example, in July the department of home affairs refused a passport to Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, for the fourth time in two years. He had been invited to visit Australia by the Australian Labour Council. Many other union officials, notably the president and the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), did travel abroad, however. 130

During November and December the government refused visas to a number of overseas trade unionists who had been invited to teach at a MWASA shopstewards' training course.¹³¹

On 8 and 9 December there were widespread stoppages in the chemical industry as workers protested against a proposed move by the government to deport Ms Chris Bonner, branch secretary of the CWIU. Police were unable

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to find Ms Bonner to serve the order on her. They arrested Professor Philip Bonner, an associate professor in the department of history at University of the Witwatersrand, and one of the editors of an independent labour journal, the South African Labour Bulletin, and served an order on him. Representations to the authorities led to his order's being rescinded in January 1987.¹³²

On 10 December deportation orders (for deportation to the Transkei) were served on two office bearers of the NUM. The NUM called the orders 'part of a general attack against the trade union movement' and began a series of measures, including appeals to management, to stop the expulsions. The minister of home affairs subsequently temporarily suspended the orders after legal representations.¹³³ The orders were made in terms of section 45 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972.

Homelands and trade unions

In February the Transkei authorities declared the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) an unlawful organisation in terms of its Public Security Act of 1977.¹³⁴

In July a dispute emerged between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Transkei authorities when most of the 1 300 workers at the Wild Coast Casino indicated their intention of joining SAAWU. A report said that security police had addressed a staff meeting at which they allegedly said, 'We will kill anyone who has anything to do with COSATU.' Security police detained about nine staff members, according to the managing director of the casino, Mr Alberto Chiaranda. He said that initially no reasons had been given for the detentions, and that only later had it emerged that they had to do with the union. A COSATU spokesman, Mr Dirk Hartford, attacked Sun International, which owned the casino, saying, 'The company has the image of being opposed to apartheid but, at the same time, is using apartheid laws to prevent workers from organising.' 31

On 1 May a new union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), was formed under the auspices of Inkatha (see above).

The Labour Relations Structure

Industrial councils

According to central statistical services, there were 100 industrial councils (ICs) in 1985, and they had negotiated 86 wage agreements. The number of employers covered by such agreements totalled 48 329 and the number of workers 1 084 281. Of these, 603 574 were African, 79 241 Asian, 245 301 coloured, and 156 165 white. In 1984 there were 103 councils and 94 wage agreements, covering 51 031 employers and 1 183 399 workers.¹³⁷

In January the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union, an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), criticised the National Industrial Council for the Printing and Newspaper Industry of South Africa for allowing only African workers to withdraw from the South African Typographical Union (SATU), which, in terms of a closed shop agreement, all printing workers were obliged to join, and which had been expelled from

CLOSED SHOP

the International Graphical Federation for allegedly racist practices. In a number of applications the council had given exemptions only to African workers, while coloured, Indian, and white workers had been refused permission to leave the union.¹³⁷

In February it was reported that the Transport and General Workers' Union, a COSATU affiliate, had applied for membership of the Industrial Council for the Motor Transport Undertaking (Goods) (Witwatersrand). The union said that it had decided to join the council following the refusal by many employers to recognise it or to grant it stoporder facilities. It also said that with a membership of 3 700 in the goods transport industry, it felt that it was strong enough to tackle employers in a collective forum such as the IC.¹³⁸

In 1985 the Industrial Council for the Building Industry had rejected an application by the Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union (BCAWU) - an affiliate of CUSA - for membership. During the year under review the union threatened to take legal action against employers who had refused to deal with it. A spokesman for the union said that its application had been rejected because of resistance from a 'racist' white union and, as a result, many employers were refusing to talk to the union. Mr John Barrow, chairman of the council, said that he could not give reasons for the council's decision because it was confidential.¹³⁹

At a conference in November organised by the consultative committee of ICs, labour observers warned that unless ICs adapted to rapidly changing patterns of negotiation and current economic and political pressures, they could lose their effectiveness and die. The director general of manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, while expressing faith in the system said that ICs urgently needed revamping. He said that among criticisms levelled at the system were that it was slow, bureaucratic, in some cases ineffective, operated remote from the factory floor, and failed to meet the demands of the times. IC representativeness had become questionable as complaints had been received by the government from groups affected by wage agreements made by ICs to which the affected groups were not

party but by which they had to abide. Dr Van der Merwe encouraged ICs to draw in as many emergent trade unions as possible.

Mr Ben Nicholson, chairman of the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions and a member of 12 ICs, believed that there was no alternative to the IC system, which, he argued, could evolve to meet current challenges.

The consultative committee had been formed in 1985 after the department of manpower had issued a set of guidelines, including proposals for comprehensive exemptions from wage agreements for small businesses and the informal sector (see Business).

Closed shop

During the year under review the report of the national manpower commission (NMC) on certain aspects of the closed shop in South Africa was made public. The report constituted a follow-on of its 1981 report on the closed shop (see 1981 Survey pp207-208). In that report the NMC had found that although there were strong 'philosophical and practical' objections to the closed shop, it was a long-established practice in South Africa and its retention would have more advantages than disadvantages, but that certain statutory safeguards were required. At that time certain points were held

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over for further discussion, these being the subject of investigation of the 1986 report.

The first point to be examined by the NMC was whether closed-shop agreements that had come into being outside the ambit of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1956 should, nevertheless, be made subject to the safeguards in the act. The NMC stated that at the end of 1984 there were 103 industrial councils (ICs) and 94 IC agreements. Forty-five ICs had among them 52 agreements containing closed-shop provisions. About 500 000 workers were affected by these provisions. The NMC also found that many closed-shop agreements were concluded outside the LRA - either in-house or within the framework of the legislation but without being published. In the mining industry there were four agreements applicable respectively to 44 gold and 55 coal mines and applying to 46 000 workers which had been conducted outside the LRA. In the metal industry there were 16 such closed-shop agreements affecting mainly white workers, especially artisans and operators. The NMC concluded that in principle there were no valid reasons why any closed-shop provision should not be made subject to safeguards similar to those provided for in industrial council agreements in terms of section 24(1)(x) of the LRA. It concluded that a 'self-regulating' system to enforce such safeguards was advisable, but that continued deviation from or failure to apply the safeguards should be made a criminal offence under the act.

The second point considered was whether support for a closed-shop provision should be tested by means of a secret ballot if a given proportion of employees/employers concerned should request this by petitioning the minister of manpower. The commission could not reach unanimity on this point. Four viewpoints emerged. The majority group supported the idea. Of the three minority groups, one considered that existing statutory arrangements were

adequate, another that a compromise arrangement was possible, and the third group abstained.

On the third point, whether the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act of 1979 should be made applicable to all agreements between employees and employers, and particularly to those containing closed-shop provisions, the NMC concluded that a positive reaction by the government to the first finding would make this unnecessary. If the government failed to agree to the first finding, then the agreements could be made subject to the competition act. The NMC said that while it was not desirable that an issue which was primarily a labour matter should be made subject to legislation not administered by the department of manpower, this alternative would be the next best way of upholding the fundamental principle that the interests of the individual and the community as a whole should enjoy maximum protection. 141

Recognition agreements and noteworthy labour practices

In terms of section 31(A)(2) of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1956, employers are obliged to furnish the department of manpower with details of all agreements entered into between them and their employees (outside of industrial council agreements). In 1985 there were 125 such agreements, of which 73 had been signed with registered and 52 with unregistered unions. These agreements covered 147 329 workers, 126 537 in registered unions and 20 792 in unregistered unions. The occasions on which different issues were

RECOGNITION AGREEMENTS AND NOTEWORTHY LABOUR PRACTICES

covered in the agreements were as follows: recognition procedures, 96; grievances, 83; discipline, 76; wages, 74; shopstewards, 74; strikes, 67; dismissal, 66; conditions of employment, 65; membership, 54; productivity, 5; and other, 46. In 1985 employers received 150 requests for stoporder facilities, of which 115 were approved, 27 rejected, and eight withdrawn. 142

Private sector

Metal industry

Argument between the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA) - the main employer body in the metal industry - and metal unions over bargaining at plant level continued during the year under review. SEIFSA had urged its members not to bargain about wages at plant level on the grounds that this could cause instability in the industry through leapfrogging wage claims. The Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), the largest metal union, which organised mainly among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and the South African Boilermakers' Society (SABS), whose members were mainly semi-skilled and skilled workers, claimed that by discouraging plant-level bargaining with employers capable of paying more than the minimum rate, SEIFSA was preventing workers from obtaining higher wages whenever possible. In 1985 MAWU had declared at least 50 disputes with employers on the issue, while a number had been declared by the SABS as well (see 1985 Survey p192).

In February, in an unusual step, SEIFSA declared a dispute with MAWU, the SABS, the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union of South Africa (EIWUSA),

and the Steel, Engineering, and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (SEAWUSA), all members of the South African co-ordinating council of the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF). SEIFSA said that it had declared the dispute because workers at ASEA - an engineering company - had gone on strike over plant-level bargaining (see below) while the issue of the structure of the National Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry was still under discussion. SEIFSA subsequently withdrew the dispute declaration pending discussions with the unions.⁴³

Talks between the unions and SEIFSA on the issue of plant-level bargaining got under way in the second half of the year. SEIFSA agreed in principle to decentralise bargaining but the details still had to be determined. It proposed that provision for in-house or sectoral bargaining units could be made, provided that this was by agreement and that the new units were exempted from the main agreement so as to avoid double negotiations. However, this did not exclude the possibility that whole clauses of the main agreement could be incorporated. The new units would have to be set up before the main negotiations began. Unions would not be able to fall back on the main agreement if it proved to be more favourable than other agreements. However, the unions believed that minimum wages and working conditions laid down in the main agreement should be used as the basis upon which to build at decentralised level. Furthermore, they expressed the fear that SEIFSA's proposals could mean the end of the industrial council which, despite perceived deficiencies, was seen as containing vital safeguards for workers, especially those employed by small firms.¹⁴

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Rubber

The long-standing recognition dispute between BTR Sarmcol and MAWU, which had resulted in the dismissal of 970 workers in May 1985, continued during the year under review (see 1985 Survey p191). Speaking at a press conference in the (British) house of commons in April, Mr Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of MAWU, called on workers at the British Tyre and Rubber Company (the holding company) in England to take concrete action, such as strikes or demonstrations, to persuade the company to 'stop enjoying the fruits of apartheid'. Mr Mayekiso was in the UK to appeal for support from the British trade union movement for the dismissed BTR Sarmcol workers and to make contact with local unions.¹⁴⁵

Motor manufacturing

In June in terms of an agreement between BMW and the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU), the company agreed to the introduction of a 40-hour week for workers, believed to be the first 40hour week for workers in a South African motor assembly plant (see also below).¹⁴

Textiles

In June a recognition ballot was held between long-standing rivals, the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) - an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) - and the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province (GWU-WP) at the Rotex company in Atlantis (western Cape). The

NUTW obtained 86% of the vote, making it the first time in a number of years that a ballot had been won against the GWU-WP.¹⁴⁷

In July E P Textiles and the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) reached an out-of-court agreement granting the union access to company premises in order to organise a ballot to test worker support for it. The union had taken the company to court claiming that it had majority membership at the factory and demanding official recognition. The company at the time had a recognition agreement with the GWU-WP.¹⁴⁸ As a result of the ballot, held on 27 July, the union gained majority support at the factory (81%) and a recognition agreement with management was to be signed.¹⁴⁹

In November a secret ballot was held at Hebox Textile's Hammarsdale plant (about 30km from Durban) between three unions - the NUTW, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), and the Textile and Allied Workers' Union (TAWU), a breakaway from the NUTW - to decide on union recognition at the factory. One of the conditions of the ballot was that the majority union would be recognised as the sole representative union. TAWU won the ballot, receiving 51,8% of the vote."^o

Provident and pension funds

Gains were made during the year under review over the representation of union officials on company pension and provident funds. In June, the general secretary of COSATU, Mr Jay Naidoo, was appointed chairman of the provident fund of C G Smith, a sugar producing company. The fund operates on the principle of joint participation, whereby the company and fund members are equally represented on the board of trustees (see 1985 Survey p147).⁵¹

RECOGNITION AGREEMENTS AND NOTEWORTHY LABOUR PRACTICES

Dissatisfaction with pension funds led to efforts by some unions to have these transformed into provident funds, which were regarded as being more advantageous by workers who, on resignation or dismissal from their jobs, wished to receive lump-sum payouts rather than monthly benefits as provided for in pension fund agreements. During the year under review the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU), an affiliate of COSATU, reached an agreement with Rennie's Freight Services to convert the pension fund into a provident fund effective from 1 May. The agreement was modelled on that drawn up between C G Smith and the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union, also a COSATU affiliate, some 18 months previously. The fund would be controlled by a board of trustees composed of management and employee representatives, with the general secretary of the TGWU, Ms Jane Barrett, being nominated to chair the board for the first year.¹⁵²

In July BMW and NAAWU also negotiated an agreement in terms of which the pension fund would be converted into a provident fund, thus allowing for the payout of benefits in a lump sum when workers left their jobs. In addition the agreement allowed for retirement, maternity, disability, and funeral benefits as well as death cover, not only for workers and their immediate families but for all their dependants. Workers would also be allowed to take out housing loans

against their contributions to the fund. At BMW the board of trustees would have to consult a worker-dominated management committee when it considered changes to levels and types of benefits, and in cases in which there were disputes over claims.¹⁵³

Health and safety

In March the first health and safety agreement to be negotiated between an emergent union (possibly any union) in South Africa and management was signed by the General Workers' Union and Turnall (Cape). The agreement provided, inter alia, that:

" all safety representatives (SRs) would be elected by secret ballot by the workers;

" there would be two committees - an elected safety committee consisting of SRs, and a management safety committee comprising the general manager, the production manager, the engineering foreman, and the personnel manager; and

* each department of the factory would have an SR and inspections would be twice monthly and SR meetings once monthly.

Procedures for taking up health and safety grievances were divided into one for emergency situations and one for everyday issues. Because of the existence of a special hazard at the company, ie asbestos, two special provisions were attached to the agreement. The one allowed for a procedure for the sampling of dust and the prevention of harm to exposed workers, the other for the attaching to their records of a standard medical form to be signed by workers wanting an independent medical opinion.⁵⁴

Public sector

Nursing

In March the South African Nursing Council rejected the establishment of trade unions in the nursing profession. The president of the council, Mrs Iris Roscher, said that such unions were not only unacceptable for ethical

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reasons, but would harm the professionalism of nursing.'

South African Transport Services (SA TS)

Early in the year under review, at a meeting between the minister of transport affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, and the chairman of the Artisan Staff Association, Mr Jimmy Zurich, agreement was reached on the appointment of a three-man committee to investigate negotiating machinery which would give unions of the South African Transport Services a greater say in determining salary and service conditions."⁶

Industrial court

General comment

In February two labour lawyers, Mr John Brand and Mr Clive Thompson, speaking at a conference at the Institute for Industrial Relations, outlined some of the parameters set by the industrial court since its inception. They said that the court could find employers guilty of an unfair labour practice if they had not tried to negotiate to the best of their ability. Other dangers included taking precipitous

action, such as firing workers shortly after they had begun a legal strike, or failing to negotiate at the most critical time during bargaining - when a strike had begun. The lawyers also said that the industrial court did not approve of the dismissal of legal strikers when there was no clear economic reason for doing so. Secondary strikes were not criminal offences and could qualify for protection in some cases where there was a direct economic link between the affected company and the company where the primary dispute occurred. However, they said that there were limits to protection enjoyed by legal strikers, particularly when worker grievances could have been solved through an alternative and less drastic form of dispute resolution. They said that political strikes were criminal in terms of the act and that workers involved were unlikely to receive legal protection."

In assessing the performance of the industrial court, Professor P A K le Roux of the University of South Africa (UNISA), argued in February that the court had done remarkably well. By far the majority of the court's decisions had dealt with three general categories: unfair dismissal of individual workers, retrenchments, and dismissal of striking workers. Employer disquiet about the court seemed to be directed at the last, he said. He disagreed with the view that the court should not have the right to adjudicate on the fairness or otherwise of the dismissal of striking workers, as the court potentially could play an important role in encouraging the resolution of disputes through negotiation and could help maintain social order in bitter labour-management disputes. However, he did believe that the court had not provided clear enough guidelines as to when dismissals should be regarded as fair. The Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1956 provided it with little flexibility as to how it could remedy an unfair labour practice. Some of the court's decisions in connection with the dismissal of striking workers had been inconsistent, poorly formulated, and had provided little guidance to either employers or employees. Recent decisions, however, had seemed to indicate a willingness on the part of the court to provide guidelines.

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Professor Le Roux said that the court was one of the few official bodies involved in labour relations which enjoyed at least some credibility with black workers and their unions. If the court was undermined or destroyed, there would be one less body which could be utilised for the peaceful resolution of labour disputes, thereby increasing the likelihood of strikes and other forms of industrial conflict. Employers should, therefore, concentrate their efforts on devising ways of making the court a more efficient and effective body for the resolution of disputes. This would include upgrading the status of the court, providing security of tenure for its members and improved employment conditions to enable it to attract and maintain presiding officers of a high calibre, devising more effective procedures for the expeditious settlement of disputes, and providing the court with the necessary powers to enable it to function properly.¹

In March, commenting on the concept of an unfair labour practice, Professor Adolph Landman of UNISA proposed that employers and employees should be given statutory competence at some level of collective bargaining to define in advance the content of an unfair labour practice. This would require an

amendment to the LRA. It was envisaged that the parties would make use of collective bargaining to give body to the concept. They could then define what conduct would amount to an unfair labour practice, in so far as their particular situation and relationship was concerned. It might be left for debate whether non-parties should be bound by such agreements. The industrial court should be competent on application to interpret the agreed definition of an unfair labour practice and to decide whether the conduct complained of constituted such a practice. A decision on the appropriate remedy should be left to the court. Inasmuch as the parties failed or were unable to give content to the concept, a residual competence should be retained by the court to adjudicate on the question of whether an unfair labour practice had been committed and to provide, and, if necessary, enforce, a suitable remedy.¹⁹

Speaking in Parliament in May, the minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said that following an approach by him to the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, he was confident that they would have the means to attract more full-time members to serve on the court. It was also hoped to hold more sittings outside Pretoria and to increase staff numbers in other areas. 16

Questions of law

On 24 March the appellate division (AD) of the supreme court considered certain questions of law referred to it by the industrial court which observers believed would clarify the power of the industrial court on the issue of the reinstatement of workers whose dismissals it considered an unfair labour practice. The question of law had been reserved by Mr Justice Mostert in the industrial court in December 1985 in a dispute between the NUM, several individual workers, and the Hartebeestfontein Gold Mining Company.

The case before the industrial court had arisen from the dismissal of workers at the mine after the union had conveyed to the Chamber of Mines its rejection of an offer by the mine's holding company, Anglovaal, to increase the holiday allowance of workers by 10%. A number of mine employees had gone on strike on 1 September 1985 and had been dismissed

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on 2 and 3 September. The strike had been suspended by the union on 3 September.

The points before the AD were:

" whether the industrial court had the power to reinstate an employee, notwithstanding the valid termination of the employee's common law contract of employment. There had been cases in the supreme court in which it had been ruled that an employer's dismissal of workers was lawful, while the industrial court had ruled that these lawful dismissals were, nevertheless, unfair and that the workers concerned should be reinstated. These industrial court rulings had caused much dissatisfaction

among employers;

* could the single act of an employer, consisting of the dismissal of workers engaged in a strike, constitute an unfair labour practice?

* could an employer's dismissal of workers engaged in a strike, or his failure

or refusal, consequent on dismissal, to continue to employ them constitute an unfair labour practice, or a change in labour practice as defined in the LRA? and

" whether the dismissal of certain NUM workers from the mine during a legal wage strike in September 1985 constituted an unfair labour practice. In the original case before the industrial court, Hartebeestfontein had disputed that the workers had been dismissed for taking part in a legal strike. The company had contended that they had been dismissed for other reasons, including resignation, desertion, or gross misconduct arising from intimidation. The appeal's importance lay in the fact that until then it had been accepted that the industrial court had the power to reinstate dismissed workers and that a dismissal could constitute an unfair labour practice.¹⁶¹

However, the AD referred the matter back to the industrial court, finding that the questions of law and proceedings referred to it were 'fatally defective'. The AD raised two points:

" were the questions of law in the form of a special case, and did the latter contain all that a case described under section 17(21)(a) of the LRA should contain? The court found that the document was not in the form of a special case; and

* further, it did not appear that the questions of law referred to it had arisen in the proceedings in the industrial court, and the questions reserved, as framed, were abstract questions of a kind upon which the AD could not pronounce.

Mr Justice H Nicholas said that it was open to the parties to approach the industrial court again in order that the appropriate questions of law might be reserved in due form.¹⁶²

Particular cases

Marievale Consolidated Mines

In February General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) announced that they had reached agreement on the reinstatement of 413 workers who had been dismissed after a lawful strike in September 1985 (see 1985 Survey p194).

David Theko and Gold Fields of South Africa

In January the industrial court ordered the temporary reinstatement of Mr

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David Theko, chairman of the shaftstewards' committee at Gold Fields of South Africa's Kloof goldmine (far west Rand). Mr Theko had been dismissed in August 1985 after Kloof's manager had endorsed the recommendations of a disciplinary committee which had heard a complaint brought against Mr Theko by another worker. As a result of the dismissal Mr Theko had applied to the court for temporary reinstatement, arguing that the mine had not had sufficient cause to dismiss him and that the disciplinary committee had been biased in its treatment of him.

The industrial court severely criticised the disciplinary procedure at all Gold Fields' mines. The central point was whether Mr Theko had been entitled to

representation at the committee's hearing and the court found that Kloof did not permit its employees to be automatically represented at disciplinary hearings. It found that although the company had outlined only one charge against Mr Theko at the hearing, there had been three additional charges. This meant that Mr Theko had been prejudiced in presenting his case and had also been excluded from the hearing at certain points when evidence was heard against him. Mr Theko's reinstatement was retroactive to 4 October 1985 and, according to his attorney, the judgment implied that in future all Kloof (and Gold Fields') employees would automatically be entitled to representation at disciplinary hearings.¹⁶³

South African Allied Workers' Union and Murray and Roberts Holdings

On 7 February the industrial court found that the South African Allied Worker's Union (SAAWU) had committed an unfair labour practice - the first time such a ruling had been given against a union since the industrial court was established in 1979. Evidence was that on 12 August 1985, shortly after SAAWU had begun mobilising support among Murray and Roberts Holdings workers in Cape Town, more than 1 250 employees went on strike. When workers struck again on 26 August the company ordered them to return to work the next day or face dismissal. When they failed to do this, they were dismissed and told to collect their money and leave the hostels in Guguletu on 1 September 1985.

On 30 August 1985 the company was granted an interdict in the Cape Town supreme court restraining SAAWU from 'organising, inciting, or directing any acts of violence, strike action, picketing, or impeding access to or egress from any Murray and Roberts premises, hostel, or construction site'. It was also restrained from holding any union meeting at any company hostel and union officials were barred from company property.

In papers before the industrial court SAAWU denied responsibility for the strike or that its actions were a direct threat to Murray and Roberts' fulfilling its contracts. SAAWU's organising secretary, Mr Zolile Mtshelwane, said that the union did not encourage illegal strikes.

In his judgment Dr D Ehlers, president of the industrial court, said that it seemed evident from affidavits by employees who attended meetings that SAAWU's representatives had intended to instigate and induce strike action. It appeared likely that union officials had intervened in the relationship between the company and its employees. It was probable that as a result of such conduct, which the union apparently did not prevent or discourage, Murray and Roberts employees had been unfairly affected. Their job opportunities, work security, and physical, economic, moral, and social

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welfare had been prejudiced and jeopardised. The company's business had been unfairly affected and disrupted, labour unrest had been created and promoted, and the company's relationship with its workers had been detrimentally affected."

Natal Die Castings

In February the industrial court found a Pinetown company, Natal Die Castings, guilty of an unfair labour practice for firing legally striking workers and refusing to negotiate in good faith. The strike had been called over the company's alleged

refusal to bargain in good faith over production and longservice bonuses and a travel allowance. The court ordered the company permanently and retroactively to reinstate 120 workers belonging to the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) who were fired after having gone on strike in May 1985.

The court said that MAWU had not breached the regulations set out in the LRA of 1956 on strike balloting, and, therefore, the strike had been legal. According to the court, the company had agreed in principle to implement a productivity bonus. But, while purporting to negotiate, it had merely gone through the motions without any real intent to arrive at an agreement. Certain conditions imposed by the company had been 'so unreasonable that it could scarcely be said that they were made in the genuine belief that they would result in agreement'. For example, a proposed production target set by the company had exceeded anything that had been achieved between August 1980 and February 1984. The company had also refused to furnish a MAWUappointed accountant with realistic financial information.

Dealing with whether the company was justified in sacking the workers or not, the court referred to the well-known case between the Council of Mining Unions and the Chamber of Mines which held that dismissals in certain circumstances could constitute an unfair labour practice even if the sackings were lawful. What had carried most weight with the court was whether the company had tried to enter into bona fide negotiations. Further, it noted that the company had refused to refer the dispute to an independent arbitrator. The union's conduct during and after the strike, said the court, 'was not such as would infringe the rules of a fair fight'. Cumulatively, these factors had led the court to conclude that the manner in which the dismissals had been effected amounted to an unfair labour practice. The company said it intended taking the case on review to the supreme court.

South African Cutlery Industries

In June the industrial court ordered the reinstatement of 39 dismissed employees of South African Cutlery Industries even though the company was under provisional liquidation. The dispute arose when a Mr Courten, who was in charge of staff at the company, refused, delayed, or avoided the implementation of stoporder facilities for union dues for members of the South African Boilermakers' Society, leading to a confrontation between management and the workforce on 30 January. Workers sought an explanation but were instead dismissed.

The deputy president of the court said, 'Whether in fact this was a disguised retrenchment exercise is not known. It is clear, however, that the company was probably in financial difficulties and Mr Courten probably used the opportunity to reduce his workforce. Whatever the case, his handling of

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the situation between August 1985 and 30 January was appalling, as far as maintaining good labour relations with his workforce was concerned and the final termination of the employees' services was unfair.' The order made clear the court's attitude towards employers who might use liquidation either to escape the ramifications of proper staff retrenchment procedures and compensation, or who

might avoid implementing reinstatement orders following an unfair labour practice. The ruling gave the employees the right to become preferential creditors if the company was finally wound up.

The company's provisional liquidators challenged the ruling on the grounds that the industrial court was not competent to entertain the application for reinstatement because the employees had had their employment effectively terminated in terms of the Insolvency Act of 1936. Furthermore, they claimed, the Companies Act of 1973 stipulated that all civil proceedings against the company should be suspended until the appointment of a liquidator. However, the industrial court noted that in terms of a past ruling by the appellate division of the supreme court, the court was regarded as an administrative tribunal and not a court of law and thus the terms of the Insolvency Act did not apply. In addition applications for reinstatement in terms of the LRA were not regarded as civil proceedings.¹⁰ South African Chemical Workers' Union and Pharma Natura

The industrial court has generally taken a severe approach to applications for reinstatement of workers who have been dismissed for striking illegally. In the application for reinstatement of 40 members of the South African Chemical Workers' Union (SACWU) who were dismissed in 1985 by Pharma Natura for striking illegally, the court's approach appeared to have softened.

The court rejected the workers' application, but, at the same time, it indicated that there could well be circumstances in which it could take a different view on workers who struck without following the conciliation procedures in the LRA. Mr H J Fabricius, an ad hoc member of the court, said, 'I do not believe that it is correct to say that this court will never grant relief to employees who participate in an illegal strike. Before it does so, however, there must, in my view, be a very strong case made out explaining why the conciliation machinery of the act was not followed... It seems to me that if a proper basis is laid, almost as it were, on the grounds of necessity, circumstances could well be such that the court could come to the assistance of such applicants.' He explained that 'necessity' would have at least the following elements: the circumstances giving rise to the illegal strike could not have been created by the employees; the employees had to have been faced with conditions which made striking their only reasonable option; and all other avenues had to have been closed to them.¹⁶

Vincent Mrali

In September a Cape Town supreme court ruling that the industrial court has the discretion to permit a party in a dispute to have legal representation even if another party objects was regarded as a major breakthrough for workers involved in disputes.

Mr Justice H Berman, with Mr Justice H Nel, upheld an application by Mr Vincent Mrali for the setting aside of an industrial court decision to refuse him legal representation following an objection by his employer. It could not have been intended that illiterate workers should have to challenge

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multinational conglomerates without legal representation, the judges said. The LRA, they said, stipulated that a party had a right to legal representation if another

party consented, but did not stipulate that if one party objected, permission for representation should be refused.¹⁶⁷ The supreme court referred the matter back to the industrial court, and Mr Mrali, a truck driver for Town Talk Furnishers, owned by Ellerrine Holdings, was reinstated. Mr Mrali, who had only a standard three education, had been dismissed by his employer in March, and had applied to the industrial court for reinstatement.¹⁶⁸

Legislation: Labour Relations Amendment Bill

Towards the end of December a draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill (to amend the Labour Relations Act of 1956) was gazetted for comment.

The bill provided, inter alia, for

" the establishment of a special labour court manned by supreme court judges, which would, among other things, consider appeals against decisions of the industrial court;

* the hearing of appeals by the appellate division against decisions of the labour court on questions of law;

* a broadening of the definition of an unfair labour practice to include, inter alia, discrimination against employees on the grounds of race, sex, or religion; the 'unreasonable' failure of an employer to negotiate on an industrial council or with a representative trade union or group of employees (and vice versa for trade unions); and the hindering by a union of an employer's attempt to negotiate with workers who were not members of the union. An unfair labour practice would also include instances where a worker, trade union, or union federation 'directly or indirectly boycotts any product or in any way supports such a boycott or participates therein, where such product is manufactured, sold, or distributed by an employer who is not involved in a dispute with the worker or members of the trade union or federation concerned';

* the introduction of a new concept of unfair dismissal. A dismissal would be regarded as unfair, inter alia, if a worker's employment was terminated without a fair and valid reason, if an employer retrenched a worker without first having given him/her reasonable notice or without having consulted him/her or the trade union concerned or if the selection of the employee(s) to be retrenched was 'not reasonable', if an employer had not given an employee a fair opportunity to state his/her case prior to

dismissal, or if agreed procedures had not been followed; and

* the introduction of new and simplified procedures relating to the establishment of conciliation boards. The bill provided that the minister of manpower would no longer be able to exercise any discretion over the appointment and terms of reference of a conciliation board. Instead, an application for the establishment of a board would be handled by the local division of the department of manpower, whose sole concern should be to ensure that the board follows the technical requirements of the Labour Relations Act.

The board's terms of reference would be left to the disputing parties to determine.¹⁶⁹

Labour lawyers largely welcomed the proposals.

STRIKES

Strikes

The minister of manpower said that there were 793 strikes in 1986, the highest number in a decade. Most, ie 433, were in the manufacturing industry, followed by trade and accommodation services, 171.170

The table below gives details of the number of strikes, workers involved in them, and mandays and wages lost over a ten-year period:

Strikes 1977-1986

Year

1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986*

No of strikes

90 106 101 207 342 394 336 469 389 793

African

14 950 13 578 15 494 56 286 84 706 122 481 61 331 174 897 225 045
400 775

Workers involved

Asian

51

111 268 224 1 865 1 170

1 712 1 725 1 879 1 366

Coloured

59

406

1 425 5 265 6 271 17 920 1 415 5 304 12 883 13944

White

244 65 5 616

11 16 9

255

Strikes 1977-1986 (continued)

Year

1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986*

* Not available

** Preliminary estimates

Total workers involved

15 304 14 160 22 803 61 785 92842 141571 64469 181 942 239 816 424 340

Total mandays

lost

15 471 10 558 67099 174 614 226 554 365 337

124 596 379 712 678 273

Total wages

lost (R)

44541 44354 202 50 1 401 516 2 263 705

4 544362 1 697 610 5 174 798

Details of strikes by sector, area, and reasons for strikes in 1985 are given below:

Strikes by sector: 1985

Sector

Construction
 Workers
 Number involved
 24 7300
 Mandays Mandays per
 lost 1 000 workers
 19 551 49

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Strikes by sector: 1985 (continued)

Sector

Electricity Finance and insurance Government and
 services

Manufacturing Mining

Trade and accommodation services Transport and
 communication

Number

2

12 232 40 57 22

Workers involved

1 501

1 917

82 284 136 217

6 483

4 114

Mandays

lost

1 602

7 445 322 519 305 900

15 347

5 909

Mandays per 1 000 workers

24

7

240 417

20

14

Total 389 239 816 678 273 137

Reasons for strikes: 1985

Reason

Wages Wages and another
 reason

Union matters Disciplinary
 measures

Working conditions
 and benefits

Other or unknown

Workers

Number involved

148 105 501

49 195 7 642 29 709 17 128 30 641

Total 389 239 816 678 273

Strikes by area: 1985

Area

Bloemfontein Cape Peninsula Durban East London OFS goldfields

Pietermaritzburg Port Elizabeth Pretoria Vaal Triangle Western Transvaal

Number

10 11 53 21

3 5

26 22 13 14

Workers involved

685 2 755 15 619 11 498 7 001

951 18 349 6 961 3 086 52 233

Mandays

lost

501

5 169 48 881 44 853 8 130 1 680 57 299 42 922 10 580 194 548

Mandays lost per

1 000 workers

4

226 68

246

37

13

226

66 50 597

Mandays

lost

318 188

180 449 18 455

75 193

31 607 54 381

LABOUR-RELATED STRIKES

Strikes by area: 1985 (continued)

Workers Mandays Mandays lost per

Area Number involved lost 1 000 workers

Witwatersrand 102 56 571 96 197 50

Rest of South Africa 109 64 161 167 513 155

Total 389 239 816 678 273 105

According to the minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange, a total of 1 280 African workers were arrested for striking illegally in 1985 and 977 in 1986.171

Between 1 July 1983 and 30 June 1984, 351 workers were charged for striking illegally (239 Africans, three Asians, 85 coloured people, and 24 whites). A total of 238 were convicted, of whom 153 were African, one Asian, 62 coloured, and 22 white. Between 1 July 1984 and 30 June 1985 a total of 85 workers were charged (84 Africans and one white), of whom 65 (64 Africans and one white) were convicted. Seven workers (six Africans and one coloured person) were charged and the same number convicted between 1 July 1985 and 30 June 1986. 172

The South African Police (SAP) were called to the scene of a labour dispute on 22 occasions, to a workstoppage on three occasions, and to a strike on 145 occasions in 1985. In 1986 the figures were 64, 26, and 286.¹⁷

According to the industrial relations adviser to the Chamber of Mines, Mr J Liebenberg, in 1985 there were 109 unlawful strikes at gold and coal mines which were members of the chamber. He claimed that the strikes had caused minimal loss of manhours and that all had occurred before dispute-settling procedures had been exhausted. In many cases management did not know the causes of the strikes. Mr Liebenberg said that in most unlawful strikes, the union head office claimed no advance knowledge of the strike and in a number of cases distanced itself from the actions of its members.¹⁷

The sharp increase in the number of strikes during the year under review mirrored the greater general unrest in the country. Workers increasingly used the strike to exert pressure for general political and local demands, while a number of mass work stayaways were called in protest against the state of emergency declared by the government on 12 June and also in pursuit of various local and political demands. A new feature of strikes during the year under review was the sit-in or sleep-in strike, a tactic used by strikers in the chemical, food, metal, and mining industries.

The section which follows gives brief details of some of the more noteworthy labour-related strikes and of some political strikes and stayaways. The last two categories, however, are dealt with in detail in the chapter on Political Developments.

Labour-related strikes

Private sector

Chemicals

Sit-ins and sleep-ins in support of wage demands and union recognition were a new feature of strikes in the chemical industry during the year under review.

Sympathy strikes continued to be used as a tactic to back demands.

LABOUR RELATIONS

In January about 250 workers from Chesebrough Ponds International slept in the company's Wadeville (Germiston) factory in support of a demand for a R3,25-an-hour minimum wage. Workers were getting R2,70. They also demanded a month's pay as an annual bonus, a 40-hour week, May Day as a paid public holiday, and five days' compassionate leave a year.⁷⁵ The strike ended after three days, management agreeing to pay workers the minimum demanded, granting

them May Day as a paid public holiday and a four-week bonus, and reducing the working week by one hour. 176

Sit-in strikes in support of wage demands were also staged in June by workers at the Twins Pharmaceutical Holdings company in Wadeville, and at Dunlop South Africa in Benoni.

The BTR Sarmcol strike, which started in May 1985, and which was still unresolved at the time of writing (see 1985 Survey p191 and above) led to a number of sympathy strikes by workers at Dunlop's plants in Benoni (east Rand), Ladysmith (Natal), and at its Durban (Natal) Jacobs and Sydney Road plants on 3 April. BTR Sarmcol and Dunlop had merged during the year under review. Dunlop workers demanded that management meet the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) to resolve the dispute with BTR Sarmcol. Dunlop management announced that it was ready to discuss the BTR Sarmcol issue through the proper channels, but also applied for an urgent court interdict on 16 April attempting to prevent workers from continuing their strike. On 17 April the union and workers decided to return to work and to declare a dispute over the dismissals, because they felt that if the interdict had been granted, then workers would have defied it, and unrest would have resulted.⁷

One of the largest and longest strikes in the chemical industry during the year under review was that at seven Sentrachem factories. On 12 May about 3 000 workers from the seven factories struck over wage demands. Strikers from one of them - National Chemical Products in Germiston - staged a sit-in and were ordered off the premises in terms of an order granted to the company by the Rand supreme court on 23 May. Workers demanded a pay rise of R250 a month across the board, bringing the minimum to R670 a month, and an end to race discrimination in wage levels at the company. Management claimed that production had been maintained and even improved with the help of casual labour during the strike, which ended after ten weeks, the company dismissing all the strikers and then selectively rehiring. An action by the union alleging unfair dismissal still had to be heard at the time of writing.¹⁷⁸

Food

Sit-in or sleep-in strikes were also a feature of industrial action in the food industry. Companies where sit-in or sleep-in strikes were held during the year under review included S A Breweries in Chamdor, Krugersdorp (over the arrest of eight members of the Food, Beverage Workers' Union at the funeral of an unrest victim in Kagiso, Krugersdorp); S A Breweries, Rosslyn (over the dismissal of a worker); S A Breweries in Port Elizabeth (over the dismissal of a worker); Mr Rooster's Crispy Chicken fast-food outlet in Johannesburg (over the dismissal of workers); Farm Fare in Wynberg (Johannesburg) (over wage demands); and two Table Top plants in the Transvaal (over dismissals). A total of about 1 600 workers were involved in these strikes.

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Metals

One of the major reasons for strikes in the metal industry continued to be dissatisfaction among workers with the refusal of metal industry employers to

bargain with unions at plant level (see above). As in other industries, the sit-in featured prominently as a tactic used by workers to back their demands. On 10 February about 850 workers staged a sit-in strike at ASEA's four factories in Pretoria and Rosslyn (near Pretoria) over a refusal by the company to bargain with the workers' union, MAWU, at plant level. In 1985 MAWU had declared more than 50 disputes with various companies over their refusal to bargain at plant-level. The metal industry employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA), had urged metal companies not to bargain at this level, but only at industrial council level. At the end of 1985 the workers had launched a go-slow and overtime ban when management refused to discuss wages. Management had agreed to negotiate on a number of issues, but the talks ended in deadlock, the workers then holding a ballot for a legal strike, which started on 10 February. In the same month the Pretoria supreme court granted an application by ASEA ordering the workers who had staged the sit-in to vacate the premises. Workers embarked on the sit-in strategy because it applied 24-hour-day pressure on management to negotiate. The strike ended after five weeks, following mediation. The company improved its offer on certain non-substantive issues.¹⁷⁹

A sit-in strike also occurred at Haggie on 25 February when about 2 100 workers - 538 at the Germiston and 1 600 at the Cleveland plant protested over wages. Workers demanded a minimum wage of R3,50 an hour compared with their current minimum of R2,07 an hour. On 18 March the company dismissed all the workers and sought a meeting only with officials of MAWU and not workers, which was rejected by the union. The company threatened to seek a court order against the workers still sitting in. The dispute, which lasted for 18 days, was resolved when management agreed to reinstate all workers and both parties agreed to further talks over plant-level bargaining and to increased wages. The workers returned to work on 24 March."

Mining

One of the main reasons for strikes on the mines continued to be dissatisfaction with wages, while the struggle for union recognition led to a major strike in the Bophuthatswana homeland. Conflict between black and white miners was a feature of labour unrest on the mines, with threats by white miners that they would arm themselves against black miners. Violence among black miners was also a feature of labour unrest. As in other industries, the sit-in was prominent as a new tactic used by striking workers.

In January General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor) dismissed 20 000 miners at Impala Platinum in Bophuthatswana. The workers were fired following a strike by about 30 000 of them on New Year's Day over low wages, long hours, and Gencor's refusal to give the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) recruiting facilities. Those fired were workers at three platinum mines - Wildebeestfontein North, Wildebeestfontein South, and Bafokeng South. Mr Gary Maude, acting chief executive officer at Impala Platinum, said that the dismissals had followed a warning to workers that

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continued participation in an illegal strike would be in breach of their contracts and would result in their dismissal.¹⁸¹ About 10 000 other miners at Bafokeng North and at Mineral Processes were given an ultimatum to return by 7 January or be dismissed. About 2 000 miners from Bafokeng North returned to work by the deadline and about 3 000 decided to resign, bringing the number paid off to 23 000.¹⁸ Police in riot gear stood nearby as the dismissed workers were bussed out of the mine property.'

Bafokeng South miners claimed that 19 workers had been seriously injured on 7 January after clashes with security guards who had attempted to force them to return to work.⁸ Gencor denied these allegations.⁸⁵ The NUM claimed that 27 miners had been injured by rubber bullets during crowd dispersal operations at Wildebeestfontein North. Mr Maude confirmed the events but said that the figure was not as high as that.⁸⁶

About 65% of the miners on the three mines were from Bophuthatswana. Gencor said that no union had been involved in negotiations as the NUM was not recognised in the territory and the Bophuthatswana National Union of Mine Employees (BONUME) had not yet gained recognition. The NUM claimed that it had 50% membership at the mines. According to Gencor, its decision to dismiss workers followed unsuccessful attempts to hold discussions with them and their refusal to return to work.

The Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU), to which the NUM is affiliated, warned of concerted action against Gencor and its subsidiaries if the workers were not reinstated immediately. COSATU's assistant general secretary, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, said, 'The Gencor group is clearly hiding behind Bophuthatswana's labour apartheid laws, which are designed to give sanctuary to BONUME and to undermine the NUM.'⁸⁷ Mr Mafumadi accused the Bophuthatswana authorities of trying to declare certain parts of South Africa union-free zones. (In terms of the territory's Industrial Conciliation Act of 1984 unions may operate in Bophuthatswana only if they have their head offices there.)' BONUME said that it intended asking for a court interdict for the reinstatement of the workers. It claimed that they had been unfairly dismissed because they had been intimidated by the NUM. These claims were rejected by the NUM.¹⁹ Bophuthatswana's minister of manpower, Mr S L Rathebe, expressed concern over the miners' dismissal, saying that 'no sensitive mining authority' could fire 20 000 workers without causing concern to the government concerned and threatening the public interest in 'these hard times'. He announced that Bophuthatswana had set up a commission of inquiry to investigate events leading to the miners' dismissal.' Impala Platinum is the second largest of South Africa's platinum producers, current output being in the region of 900 000 ounces a year - or close to 45% of the country's output, which itself is 70% of world output. Gencor said that the 'consequential loss in attributable income is estimated at R45m'.^{xg}

Tension between black and white miners erupted during two strikes on collieries in the Witbank (eastern Transvaal) area in February. About 1 500 workers went on strike for a few days at the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa's Goedehoop colliery over the dismissal of four shaft stewards, while the entire

workforce of about 1 000 at Rand Mines' Douglas colliery (Wolvenkrans section) went on strike demanding that a white hostel manager be suspended for carrying a gun. Workers returned to work pending a

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disciplinary hearing against the hostel manager. However, when the manager was reinstated, workers struck again for about a week. The deputy head of the Rand Mines coal division, Mr A Cook, said that the manager was authorised to carry a revolver because he handled money.¹⁹²

White mineworkers threatened to arm themselves for protection as a result of the strikes. The general secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, Mr P J ('Arrie') Paulus, said that the situation around Witbank was extremely tense. White mineworkers had accused certain mine managements of taking a soft line on black labour and discipline. Mr Paulus said that white mineworkers were threatening to arm themselves. 'Often one white miner works with between 30 to 40 black workers. If there is intimidation of white mineworkers, we will do one of two things. We will carry firearms or demand to be given protection by management.'⁹³ He said that he had given Mr Cook an ultimatum that if the hostel manager was dismissed, a strike would be called.⁹⁴ The NUM said that should management permit white workers to arm themselves, labour relations on the mines would be detrimentally affected. It gave mining houses 14 days to force Mr Paulus to withdraw his statement.⁹⁵

A day later an assault on a black miner by a white supervisor led to a strike by 950 workers at Rand Mines' Duvha colliery (eastern Transvaal) in March.⁹⁶ Workers returned to work on 31 March after the NUM had resolved the issue with management.⁹⁷ In April more than 1 200 miners from Anglo's Kriel colliery (also in the eastern Transvaal) went on strike briefly over the assault of a black miner by a white worker. The NUM warned that continued 'racism' would result in similar action to that taken.⁹⁸

On 24 February about 12 000 workers downed tools at Anglo's Vaal Reefs goldmine near Klerksdorp (southwestern Transvaal) over the arrest of nine workers in connection with their alleged murder of four team leaders at the mine. Striking workers demanded the release of their colleagues.¹⁹ On 26 February the strike spread, bringing the workers out on strike to about 20 000. The strike ended on 27 February when workers returned to work on the advice of the NUM.²¹ Further industrial action occurred at the mine when about 15 000 workers began a go-slow on 5 March at four shafts, apparently over the same issue as the February strike, leading to these being closed by management on 7 March. On 8 March management was granted an interdict restraining workers from disruptive work practices and workers at one of the shafts returned to work on 10 March, the remainder returning on 11 March after management had explained the content of the interdict to them.²¹

Over the weekend of 15/16 March conflict broke out between miners at the mine and seven miners were killed and 99 injured. About 1 750 miners returned home voluntarily. Reports said that the warring groups (Xhosas and Basothos) ended the conflict after a meeting between workers' representatives and management.^{m A}

further six miners were killed in renewed fighting on 18 March.²³ Talks to reduce tension at the mine were held between the NUM and management, and centred around dissatisfaction with the induna system, the migrant labour system, and the question of police intervention in labour unrest."

On 9 March about 7 000 miners started a three-day sit-in strike underground at Rand Mines' Blyvooruitzicht goldmine near Carletonville (western Transvaal) over dissatisfaction with the bonus system. A management

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spokesman said that it appeared that the miners wanted a bonus system being applied as an experiment on two sections of the mine to be extended throughout the mine. The system had been introduced in January at the request of the miners, according to mine management.

On 12 March management refused to allow the morning shift of 7 000 to go underground until the striking workers already underground had come to the surface, had talked through their grievances, and had given an undertaking to go back to work. Management said that a meeting with the NUM had ended in deadlock. The NUM had not called the strike, it said. An interdict was served on the striking workers on 12 March, restraining them from interfering with production, but it was not enforced. Management said that it was concerned that the strikers underground had had nothing to eat for 36 hours. Meals were waiting for them in the hostels.

Management refused to accede to the miners' request that they meet them at a mass meeting at the hostel to discuss workers' grievances. They said that they had already set a venue and did not want to meet at the hostel where they would be surrounded by thousands of people." Workers returned to the surface on 13 March after further talks between management and the union, and the union and workers at the hostel, and the strike ended on 17 March. It was estimated that the loss of production at the mine was 28 000 tons, thought to be worth in excess of R3m.0 Management said it had agreed with workers that the bonus system would be introduced throughout the mine in May if it proved to be successful. The NUM said that the strike had been largely spontaneous and had demonstrated workers' dissatisfaction with unilateral management practices, and that the union had not been properly consulted. It said, 'Sit-ins are part and parcel of a new phase in the resistance of mineworkers. ',¹⁰

On 15 and 16 March, in a weekend of violence at the mine, seven people were killed and about 100 others injured. Six of those killed were miners and the seventh a white security guard not employed by the mine. Rand Mines called in the SAP after miners burnt down an administration office, causing R200 000 worth of damage. Police arrested about 54 miners. They appeared in the Oberholzer magistrate's court on charges of public violence, attending unlawful gatherings, and murder. One of the 55, an NUM organiser, was released on bail.²¹ The charges were eventually dropped and these miners were not re-employed by the company."²

On 27 October about 25 000 miners from four Gold Fields' goldmines Kloof, Deelkraal, Doornfontein, and Libanon (all on the far west Rand) went on strike

for three days in protest against the company's refusal to accept the new wage rates agreed upon by the NUM and the Chamber of Mines in their annual wage talks for the goldmines. In refusing to agree to the chamber's wage offer Gold Fields, a member of the chamber, broke rank with the chamber's other member mines. Wage increases for goldmines agreed to between the NUM and the chamber ranged from 19,5% for surface workers to 23,5% for underground workers - an average of 21,1% - and by an average of 21,6% on collieries (see Employment). Mr Attie Roets, a Gold Fields' spokesman, said that wages at Gold Fields had risen by an average 21,3% on its goldmines since 1 July and 23,7% on its collieries.²¹³ Even though workers returned to work the company and the NUM remained in dispute. The union announced that it would hold strike ballots at the affected mines. Gold Fields

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agreed to provide facilities at its (far west Rand) Deelkraal, Libanon, and West Driefontein mines, but refused to include Doornfontein, East Driefontein, Kloof and Venterspost in the arrangement. The industrial court granted an application by the union for an order obliging Gold Fields to provide balloting facilities at these mines.²¹⁴ Gold Fields, however, indicated that it would take the court's decision on review to the Rand supreme court, which in January 1987 overturned this decision.²¹⁵

In a statement in January 1987 Anglo American claimed that various problems on the mines the previous year, including 'ethnic conflict' and other violence, had been 'exacerbated on numerous occasions by irresponsible action, including "trials" and executions, general intimidation, forced boycotts of liquor outlets and mine stores, illegal stoppages, and coercion of workers to join these'. In many instances, Anglo alleged, 'union elements' at local branch level had ignored established procedures for conflict resolution. The NUM replied with a counter-statement which accused Anglo of refusing to implement NUM proposals to deal with the situation. Anglo was a 'trusted partner' of the apartheid regime and its 'empire has been built with the blood, sweat, and tact of black workers', the NUM alleged.²¹⁶

Motor manufacturing

A major strike in the motor industry - and one where the sit-in was again used by workers - was a direct result of management's refusal to negotiate with unions over company plans to disinvest from the country.

On 29 October about 3 000 workers from General Motors South African (GM) in Port Elizabeth (eastern Cape) staged a sit-in over management's refusal to meet their demands following the company's announcement that it was disinvesting from South Africa. Workers wanted severance pay of one month's salary for every year of completed service, repayment of pension fund contributions, and the right to appoint two directors to the board of the new company. In a statement one of the unions involved, the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (NAAWU) - a COSATU affiliate - said that 'the union membership rejects and expresses its disgust at the arrogance displayed by GM concerning its withdrawal from South Africa. At no stage has

the company indicated its willingness to consult, advise, or negotiate with NAAWU, which represents the majority of its workforce'.²¹⁷ On 29 October the company was granted an interdict by the Port Elizabeth supreme court calling on the striking workers to show by 3 November why their strike should not be declared unlawful.¹⁸

The strike stopped production of the new Monza range due to go on sale on 23 November. In a statement on 2 November NAAWU and the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union, which represented a minority of the workers, said that pressure for sanctions and disinvestment was a result of apartheid and that the jobs and security of workers should not suffer. The statement said that GM had drawn profits from South Africa for 60 years and now wanted to withdraw with no cost to itself, making no provision for the future of workers. The statement added that all multinationals which sold their interests in South Africa should give timeous notice to the unions concerned. The terms of the withdrawal should also guarantee:

0 no retrenchments or redundancies following withdrawal or sale;

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" minimum severance pay of one month's pay for every year of service;

* no prejudice to benefits as a result of withdrawal or sale; " full earnings for workers for a period of 12 months from the date of notification of the sale; and

* recognition by the new management of, and agreement to negotiate with, representative unions.¹⁹

On 3 November NAAWU filed a replying affidavit in the court, claiming that it had been incorrectly cited as the respondent, as it had not instigated or incited the strike. Both parties agreed to postpone the matter to 11 November.²⁰

On 5 November the company dismissed 567 workers who defied a request that they end their sleep-in and vacate company premises and called in the police to evict them. The company began recruiting new workers on 13 November.²¹ At a meeting on 14 November the striking workers decided to return to work provided that they were all - including the dismissed workers

- reinstated. On 17 November police with dogs charged striking workers who had formed a picket outside the factory's main gate to prevent other workers from entering the plant."

Management set a deadline for 18 November for striking workers to return, failing which they would be dismissed, and workers started going back.⁴

The central executive committee of COSATU condemned GM's refusal to negotiate, the use of 'dirty tactics', and for calling in the police. It said that it was clear that GM management had not made provision to protect workers' rights during the takeover proceedings 'which were conducted behind the backs of workers'. It demanded that the company negotiate all issues with workers, reinstate all dismissed workers on full pay, and accede to their demands.

COSATU, commenting on the demands made by the workers, said that they were not 'a statement against disinvestment'. Rather, they reflected workers' concern

that companies should negotiate with workers through their trade unions about their future."z

On 18 November GM obtained a provisional interdict in the industrial court restraining NAAWU from inciting rehired workers to continue the strike. It also restrained the union from preventing potential employees from applying for jobs. Production restarted on that day, with 85% of the workforce going back.⁶

By 20 November 1 888 workers were at work, including 149 new workers and 280 of those dismissed. About 300 continued to strike.⁷ An application by the company to the Pretoria supreme court for these workers to vacate their premises was granted. The strike ended after five weeks after both parties had agreed to mediation and the company had improved its offer on certain non-substantive issues.^{2s}

An article on the strike in the South African Labour Bulletin said that union demands for assurances about GM's workers' futures moved beyond COSATU's policy on disinvestment. It said, 'The stress now falls not on the question of support for, or opposition to, foreign investment, but on a discussion of control over investment.. .regardless of its source'. The sanctions legislation (ie that passed by the United States (US) during the year under review - see The Economy), it was argued, had offered many US companies the opportunity of cutting their financial losses while appearing to take a

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moral political stand. They could claim to be disinvesting by arranging local buy-outs, but they would maintain a profitable arms-length presence while retaining the option of returning should conditions improve.⁼⁹

Retailing

The retail sector was adversely affected by strikes during the year under review, wage demands being the main labour-related reason.

In April about 250 workers out of about 5 000 from 52 of Foschini's 593 stores went on strike over the retrenchment of 200 to 300 workers in February. After about five weeks management issued an ultimatum to workers to return or be dismissed.^m Workers had demanded the reinstatement of the retrenched workers and the implementation of a jobsharing scheme. In May COSATU said that it would launch a boycott of Foschini stores.²³¹ The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA) also condemned the police for detaining two workers involved in the strike under section 50 of the Internal Security Act of 1982. A Rand supreme court interdict prevented workers from 'sitting in' at the company's Isando warehouse (outside Johannesburg) and Pages Stores in Rustenburg (western Transvaal).

At the beginning of June, after mediation, an agreement was reached granting the retrenched workers severance pay of R575 each and two weeks' wages for each year of service. No victimisation or disciplinary action would be taken against the strikers and management would withdraw termination notices issued to 66 workers who had not obeyed the ultimatum to return to work. A CCAWUSA spokesman announced that the boycott of the company's stores was over.² Commenting on the settlement, Mr John Corlett, industrial relations spokesman

for Foschini, said that the company had refused to capitulate on two points: the reinstatement of the retrenched workers, and the introduction of the job-sharing system. The idea, he said, of staff working fewer hours for less money to halt retrenchments was unworkable .233

In May more than 6 000 Pick 'n Pay workers went on strike at 45 stores nationwide over demands for increased wages. CCAWUSA had demanded an increase of R90 a month across the board, while the company had offered R80. After the company had lodged an urgent application in the Rand supreme court on 9 May, individual workers received interdicts restraining them from interfering with customers.²⁴ The strike ended after five days, the union accepting an R85 across-the-board increase backdated to 1 March. This brought minimum wages to R386 a month. It was agreed that there would be no strike pay. The chairman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, said that the strike had cost the company more than R5,5m in lost turnover throughout the country.²³⁵ Pick 'n Pay's personnel director, Mr Ren6 de Wet, said that the company viewed the settlement as confirmation that 'negotiation can eventually triumph over violence and industrial strife'.²⁶

In November about 600 workers from CNA stores in Johannesburg, Durban, and Pretoria struck over wages. CCAWUSA demanded a new monthly minimum wage of R500 for workers earning less than R400, and an across-the-board monthly increase of R105 for workers earning above R400. It rejected the company's offer of an R85 across-the-board monthly increase.³⁷ About 84 workers from Gallo (Africa) went out on strike in

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sympathy. The Rand supreme court granted Gallo an interim interdict restraining the workers from entering their premises in Germiston and from interfering with or intimidating employees, temporary staff, or customers, and from disturbing the peace by singing, dancing, playing music, clapping, shouting, and waving placards or inciting others to do so. These workers returned to work after a few days.²³⁸ The CNA strike ended about six weeks later, workers accepting the company's offer of a minimum wage of R400 a month backdated to 1 August.²³⁹ CNA also agreed to grant one day's paid leave on either 1 May or 16 June, subject to the other day's being taken either as annual or unpaid leave or being worked.*²¹

Public sector

Local government

In May about 970 workers of the Tembisa town council went on strike over demands for a monthly minimum wage of R700; that their trade union, the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union, be recognised; that three white officials be dismissed; and that more Africans than whites be employed by the council.² All the workers were fired when they ignored an ultimatum to return to work or be dismissed. The council employed private contractors to carry out essential services²⁴² An application for reinstatement by five workers was made in the Rand supreme court in July. Although the judge found that the strikers' dismissal was unlawful because they had not been given proper notice, he

dismissed the application. He said that it was futile for the court to order reinstatement because the trust between the council and the workers had been irreparably damaged. However, in August the council decided to reinstate all the workers with full benefits, although workers would not be paid for the days out on strike. Four hundred council workers who had been detained after the strike began would retain their jobs.²⁴³

In September the administrators responsible for running the council since its collapse in August said that they would recognise the union. Mr Solomon More, chairman of the administrators, said that they had decided to recognise the union despite opposition from senior white officials.²⁴

Workers at a number of other African town councils went on strike during the year under review over wages, including workers from the Diepmeadow, Kagiso, Katlehong, Soweto (two different strikes), and Thokoza councils. Increases were granted to the Diepmeadow and Soweto (cleaning) workers, various forms of action including detention and dismissal being taken against workers in the other strikes.

Political strikes

The detention of unionists around the time of the declaration of the second state of emergency on 12 June led to the holding of strikes at more than 100 stores countrywide in the third week in June. Leaders in the retail industry met government officials to protest against the detentions. The managing director of OK Bazaars, Mr Gordon Hood, had talks with the minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis; the managing director of Kirsh Industries, Mr Mervyn King, with the minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange; while Mr Clive Weil, managing director of Checkers Stores, sent a telex to

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the government and requested an interview with Mr Le Grange.⁵ A meeting on 21 June with Mr Le Grange to discuss the situation was attended by Mr Hood, Mr Weil, Mr René de Wet, personnel director of Pick 'n Pay; Mr R Williams, director of Frasers; Mr A Williamson, managing director of Woolworths; Mr P Strydom, personnel director of Metro Corporation; and Mr J A Mackness, managing director of CNA Gallo. Also present were Mr Du Plessis; the commissioner of police, General Johan Coetzee; and two senior policemen. Mr Le Grange said that the government was sympathetic to the problems being experienced by the retail industry, but emphasised that the State regarded the maintenance of law and order as a priority.²⁴⁶ Further talks were held on 23 June. It was estimated that by the end of June 120 trade unionists, most of them shopstewards, had been detained.²⁴⁷ At the end of June the strikes were called off and seven leading retailers Checkers Stores, CNA Gallo, Frasers, Garlicks, OK Bazaars, Pick 'n Pay, and Woolworths - issued a joint statement with the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA) which said, inter alia, that employees detained under emergency regulations would not lose their jobs.²⁴ In July about 18 000 mineworkers engaged in industrial action in protest against the detention of officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). About 5 500 were from the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa's Free State

Geduld mine in the Orange Free State, who went underground but refused to go to their workstations. A further 1 950 were from De Beers Consolidated Mines' four diamond mines in Kimberley, and a further 1 200 from its Finsch mine nearby. De Beers said that the strikers had called on the company to take action which would lead to the release of the detained union leaders. In June the company had sent a telex to Mr Le Grange calling for the release of union officials because the company was entering a critical phase in its wage negotiations (see Employment).⁴⁹ The sixday strike at De Beers' mines ended on 9 July when the company agreed to undertake to campaign for the release of the detained unionists. 'Normal operations resumed at De Beers' Kimberley and Finsch mines today following assurances by mine management that the company is making representations to the government regarding the present and future position of detained employees,' said De Beers.^{2-°}

Anglo's Kriel colliery (eastern Transvaal) was affected by a two-hour stoppage by about 1 000 workers, while at Gencor's Grootvlei and Marievale goldmines (east Rand) 7 750 workers staged half-shift stoppages on 6 and 7 July. On 8 July 1 750 workers at Gencor's Matla colliery (eastern Transvaal) staged a two-hour stoppage. Gold Fields of South Africa denied NUM claims of go-slow action by 25 000 miners at its Libanon and Kloof goldmines (far west Rand)."

Towards the end of June 14 major pharmaceutical companies on the east Rand were affected by a two-day sit-in strike by members of the South African Chemical Workers' Union (SACWU) who demanded the release of a union leader and detained members. The 14 companies included Twins Pharmaceutical Holdings; Roche Products; Beecham SA; Richardson-Vicks; Scherag; Wyeth; and Smith, Kline, and French (all on the east Rand). Four employer representatives met Mr Du Plessis to discuss the matter.²⁵² Employers met SACWU representatives to inform them of their meetings

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with government. No further details were available.

Stayaways

The increase in the number of labour-related strikes during the year under review was complemented by an increase in worker action - including strikes and stayaways - over issues not strictly related to the workplace. According to Indicator South Africa, in the 15 months of civil unrest to June 1986 there were at least 47 black worker stayaways. Another survey showed 22 stayaways from 1 February to 31 October.³

Unions were in the forefront of some of the biggest stayaways, either having called them themselves, called them jointly with other organisations, or having decided to throw their weight behind calls by other organisations.

The two labour-related stayaways were those on 1 May in support of the declaration of that day as a public holiday and on 1 October called to mourn the death of 177 miners who died in the Kinross mine disaster in September (see below). Unions also threw their support behind the calls for a stayaway on 21 March to commemorate the first anniversary of the Langa (Uitenhage) shootings, and that on 16 June to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto

riots. In the latter at least 1,5m workers were estimated to have stayed away. COSATU's Transvaal national executive called for a stayaway on 14 July in a bid to secure the release of trade unionists detained under the emergency regulations (see above), while the federation's Uitenhage branch called for a stayaway on 31 July and 1 August to protest against the proposed removals of residents from Langa to KwaNobuhle (eastern Cape). For further details on the non-labour-related stayaways, see Political Developments.

May Day

A call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) for a stayaway from work on 1 May in support of their demand for the day to be declared a public holiday was a resounding success. According to the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG), comprising academics and other labour observers, a survey of 870 firms showed that 1,5m workers stayed away. There was a 100% response from Africans in the eastern Cape, and support from a large number of coloured people. In the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area about 1m people employed in the manufacturing, commercial, and local government sectors - 67% of Africans, coloured people, and Indians - stayed away. The response was poorest in the western Cape, where only 51% of Africans and 8% of coloured people stayed away. According to reports this was because the most important industry in that area - the garment industry - was the preserve of the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province, an affiliate of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), which did not support the stayaway. In Natal 64% of workers stayed away. It was reported that one of the reasons for this relatively low response - given that both COSATU and Inkatha had called for a stayaway - was the fear of clashes between supporters of these organisations. It was reported that only one major firm Foskor - took disciplinary action by firing 1 000 workers.

The Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (ASSOCOM), the South African Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), the Afrikaanse

STAYAWAYS

Handelsinstituut (AHI), and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA), anticipating the extent of the stayaway, had already recommended that the government should launch an official inquiry into public holidays. These, they said, should be made more meaningful to a greater section of the population than was the case at present. A dispute between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Chamber of Mines over granting miners a paid public holiday on 1 May which had been in existence since the 1985 wage negotiations came to a head in April. In that month the chamber sought urgently in the Rand supreme court to interdict the NUM from 'instigating, calling for, supporting or organising' a May Day strike. The chamber also asked the court to set aside a conciliation board, which had been appointed by the minister of manpower on 1 April to consider the dispute between it and the NUM over this demand. On 28 April Mr Justice D O Vermooten declared that the NUM was entitled to strike on 1 May on certain gold and coal mines because a dispute

between the union and the chamber concerning May Day had been in existence since negotiations on the issue in 1985. He said that the NUM had tabled its demands for 1 May as a public holiday in its package of wage demands in 1985, and that in that year it had won the right to strike legally. Although a considerable time had elapsed since the 1985 negotiations, the judge said that the right to stage a legal strike once obtained could not 'go stale'. He rejected the chamber's argument that the May Day demand had been a low priority item during the 1985 wage negotiations. He ordered that the conciliation board established by the minister of manpower on 1 April be set aside because the minister had exceeded his powers in defining the terms of reference of the board. The NUM, in welcoming the court's decision, said, 'The court's decision in this case has demonstrated to the Chamber of Mines the futility of seeking relief in the courts to override the industrial conciliation machinery established to remedy the differences between parties.' 'We will be going out on strike on 1 May and in conjunction with COSATU will be celebrating May Day. We regard this as a major victory for the labour movement in South Africa. ,214

Kinross

On 1 October about 600 000 workers in various sectors of the economy observed a day of mourning for 177 mineworkers who were killed at Gencor's Kinross goldmine, about 140km east of Johannesburg, on 16 September when a fire broke out underground. The fire occurred when the flame from an oxyacetylene cylinder came into contact with polyurethane foam which had been used as an anti-corrosive covering of wire mesh in an underground tunnel. Toxic fumes from the fire killed the miners (see Employment). The stayaway was called by the NUM and was supported by COSATU. The union said that 325 000 miners from various mines stayed away from work while an estimated 275 000 workers from COSATU on the Witwatersrand took part in work stoppages of varying duration. The LMG estimated that the stayaway had cost the mines at least R8m in lost profits.,' A funeral service for the miners organised by the mine on 22 September had been boycotted by about two thirds of the miners .16

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The international sports boycott of South Africa South African sport was confronted by an intensified world isolation campaign during 1985 and 1986, despite the extensive desegregation of sport which had taken place in the country. Proposals for international matches with South Africa at home or away attracted adverse publicity and very few tours occurred. In 1985 South African sports teams were either barred from participation, or had their invitations withdrawn,

from a total of 38 international sporting events.' Of the 108 national sports controlling bodies recognised by the government, only 31 remained full participating members of 29 international sporting associations in February 1986.² This compared with 72 national controlling bodies that were recognised in February 1984.^{1a}

The government, however, continued to refuse to recognise the South African Darts Board of Control's affiliation to the World Darts Federation and the South African Table Tennis Board's affiliation to the International Table Tennis Federation. Both bodies are affiliated to the nonracial South African Council on Sport (SACOS). In December 1985 the United Nations (UN) adopted a convention against apartheid sport which by September had been signed by 64 countries.' In November the exiled chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), Mr Sam Ramsamy, said that 1988 had been set as the deadline for South Africa's expulsion from all world sports bodies, although, he admitted, 'It may take time to isolate South Africa from sports like gymnastics.'⁴ However, as the isolation campaign intensified, important issues emerged in response. These included conflicts between the boycotting nations over strategy, particularly the selection for national teams of sportswomen and men with previous contacts with South Africa; the linking of sporting events to economic sanctions; and South Africa's strategy in response to the isolation campaign.

Boycotting nations

In 1985 the English Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB) decided that it would not tolerate international interference in the selection of English teams. The first evidence of the new policy came in January 1986 when Bangladesh and Zimbabwe cancelled tours by the England B cricket team. This followed the refusal of four players in the England team, Messrs Bill Athey, Kim Barnett, Martyn Moxon, and Chris Smith, to sign declarations against continuing their already established sporting contacts with South Africa and the TCCB's refusal to omit them. The cancellation of the tours sparked off fears of a black-white split in international cricket. Lord Chalfont, president of the Freedom in Sport (FIS) lobby organisation, predicted that 1986 would see the end of a sporting era. 'This decision (to cancel the English tour) will not affect the political position in South Africa

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but will, in fact, serve to break up the whole international sporting structure,' he said.'

The selection of English players who had participated in the 'Dirty Dozen' cricket tour of South Africa in 1982 (see 1982 Survey p590) to the England A team to tour the West Indies provided the TCCB with an opportunity to reinforce its stance. Despite fears that the West Indies would cancel the tour, it went ahead without major interruption. The West Indies Cricket Board of Control defended its decision to let players with South African links tour on the grounds that strong action to isolate South Africa had been taken by the International Cricket Conference and that unilateral action would serve no useful purpose.⁶ Following

publication of an updated UN 'sports blacklist' in October, the Indian government declared that it would enforce the blacklist even if it resulted in the cancellation of the 1987 Cricket World Cup in India and the demise of India's test cricket.⁷

In March the Privy Council, the highest court of appeal in the Commonwealth, dismissed a petition for a hearing by the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU), which was seeking to overrule an injunction which had forced the cancellation of the 1985 New Zealand All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa (see below). This ruling appears to have cleared the way for anti-apartheid groups to use litigation to obstruct official sporting tours of South Africa, although Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board (SARB), said that he was 'not over-concerned' by the dismissal.'

The Commonwealth Games and economic sanctions

The Commonwealth Games, held in July in Edinburgh, were boycotted by 31 of the 58 eligible countries. The boycott was precipitated by the selection of two South African-born sportswomen, Miss Zola Budd and Miss Annette Cowley, to the English team, and the refusal of the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to apply economic sanctions against South Africa. The boycott was initiated by Nigeria, which said that it was withdrawing because of 'Britain's support for the South African regime'.⁹ In what was widely interpreted as an attempt to placate other African countries which were also threatening to boycott, the Commonwealth Games Federation reversed the England Games Council's decision and declared Miss Budd and Miss Cowley ineligible. A (British) Conservative Party MP, Mr John Carlisle, described the decision as 'cowardly and craven' and The Times (London) called it the 'the shame of the games'." While Mr Ramsamy said that he 'was elated at the news',¹ the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) said that the decision was 'too little too late'.³

Six days before the start of the games, Malaysia became the first non-African state to join the boycott. In an effort to rescue the games Mrs Thatcher told the house of commons that she would consider limited sanctions against South Africa if the 'peace mission' by the British foreign minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to Pretoria failed.⁴ Commenting on the importance of the boycott, Mr Ramsamy noted that 'it demonstrates that countries are now prepared to initiate third-party action'.⁵

South African strategies to counter the boycott

Sporting administrators and sportswomen and men in South Africa responded

SOUTH AFRICAN STRATEGIES TO COUNTER THE BOYCOTT

to these developments in varying ways: either by continuing to organise rebel tours or threatening to organise such tours; by intensifying efforts to convince the world that sport in South Africa had been fully integrated and 'normalised'; and, in recognising that the prerequisite for South Africa's return to international sport was the abolition of apartheid and the granting of equal political rights to all South Africans, by making public appeals to the government to rectify these inequities.

South Africa was repeatedly charged throughout the year with deliberately disrupting world sport. Australia's minister of foreign affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, accused South Africa of deliberately disrupting sport by financing rebel tours.⁶

Certain sporting administrators and participants themselves became more outspoken about their motives during the year under review. The Springbok cricketer Mr Graeme Pollock said in an interview, 'The more disruptions we can make in world cricket the better it will be for us in the long term.'⁷ Fears that South African rugby would launch a 'rebel' professional game to split the international amateur code were continually expressed during 1985 and 1986. Following the cancellation of the 1986 British Lions' rugby tour of South Africa (see below), Mr Eddie Barlow, South Africa's sports 'ambassador' in London, said that there was a 'distinct possibility' of a professional breakaway in South Africa.¹⁸ After the arrival of the rebel New Zealand Cavaliers in April (see below), the president of the Transvaal Rugby Football Union (TRFU), Mr Louis Luyt, warned the International Rugby Board (IRB) that if it expelled South Africa or imposed bans on the so-called rebels, the unofficial tours would continue.¹⁹ Efforts to convince the world that South African sport had been 'normalised' as a tactic to re-enter international sport continued during the year under review. In February one of the SARB's lobbyists, Mr Tommie Campbell of the FIS, announced a new drive. The FIS headquarters were moved from Dublin to London and permanent staff were employed." In January the South African Cricket Players Association (SACPA), which is affiliated to the South African Cricket Union (SACU), invited the antiapartheid sports lobbyist Mr Peter Hain to address the association's annual meeting and to see for himself the changes that had taken place in South African sport.² The rival nonracial South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBC) condemned the invitation and argued that 'the issue in South Africa is not simply one of coming to visit and see the progress made in sport'.^Y The invitation was withdrawn, however, when Mr Hain refused to apply for a visa. Mr Hain said that he would have told the SACPA that 'any programme calling for reform only in sport was obsolete'.² In February a group of South African businessmen led by Mr Ludi Koekemoer and Mr Johan Claasen, chairman of the Ellis Park Stadium, launched an organisation called the International Interaction Foundation (IIF), partly to counter the sporting isolation campaign. At the launch, Mr John Reaso" of the London Sunday Telegraph urged South Africans to fight the propaganda war being waged against the country." In its statement of intent the IIF said that it planned to act as a 'united mouthpiece' for South African business and sport. This would be achieved primarily through communication with business, sporting bodies, the media, and the government. The IIF claimed to have consulted black leaders, who, it said, preferred to remain anonymous.²⁶

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In October SANROC alleged that the government had budgeted R1,5m for the 1986/87 financial year to bring foreign dignitaries to South Africa with a view to persuading them to lobby in favour of apartheid.² In December SANROC said that it had unveiled a number of new strategies adopted by government-sponsored sport aimed at ending South Africa's sporting isolation. These were outlined in two documents, Harnessing black sports opinion and Efforts directed at Africa, which were allegedly drafted by the South African Sports Federation (SASF), the

South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA), and government departments. The strategies included: conducting public opinion polls to 'prove' that blacks did not support sporting isolation; publicising the viewpoints of sympathetic black sportsmen and women regarding international participation; forming a committee comprising black sports administrators, black sportsmen and women, and black community leaders; and establishing dialogue with sportspeople in Africa, particularly in neighbouring states. 2

A number of white sporting administrators and participants said that the sports boycott had helped promote social change. The president of the SACU, Mr Geoff Dakin, admitted in February that Mr Hain had acted as a catalyst 'in getting us to look at ourselves in the mirror'.²⁹ Mr Dakin also said: 'Apartheid is bedevilling us in many ways, including having an adverse affect on our economy. It has been said that apartheid is dead but right in front of my home is a sign that says no blacks are allowed on the beach.'³⁰ The six-times winner of the multiracial Comrades Marathon, Mr Bruce Fordyce, said that the sports boycott had done 'a tremendous amount of good and it has been directly instrumental in the changes that have taken place'.³¹ Similarly, it was increasingly recognised that only a new political dispensation would end South Africa's sporting isolation. Dr Craven said in January that the SARB was considering withdrawing its overseas public relations representatives. 'From a political point of view we have come to a dead end. No matter what we do, no one accepts it and we must now let the politicians do the dirty work,' he said.³² In April Mr Ray Moore, manager of the Springbok tennis team, and Mr Barlow both urged the state president to 'give blacks a meaningful voice in the running of the country'.³³ Mr Barlow said, 'The sooner this country gets one person, one vote the sooner the world will accept us back as civilised people.'³⁴ In 1985 Mr Pollock had said, 'As it stands at the moment, unless we have a one person, one vote situation in South Africa, I just don't see us getting back into the international scene.'³⁵

At a press conference in April, Mr Hugo Olivier, chairman of the SASF, and Mr Rudolph Opperman, president of SAONGA, issued a press statement calling on the government to 'accelerate the process of negotiation, create a truly equal society, and remove all discriminatory laws'.³⁶ In June athletes and cricket and rugby players called for the 'immediate abolition of apartheid' and appealed to politicians to 'bury their differences, begin negotiations to create a fair and just society, and restore peace in our divided land'. Their declaration added, 'We feel impelled to articulate the fears and anxieties which beset all sections of our society.'³⁷ Mr Ramsamy, however, criticised the declaration which he said had not only come 30 years too late but also made a mockery of previous claims by white sportsmen and women that apartheid could not be mixed with sport.³⁸

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Developments in South Africa

Government

In September 1985 the minister of home affairs and of national education, Mr F W de Klerk, announced that the government wanted to disengage from sport. He recommended that the SASF, which had co-ordinated sport in South Africa for

the past 34 years, disband and that a new representative body, to act as the mouthpiece for all sport and recreation, be formed. A steering committee, comprising Mr Olivier (SASF), Dr Craven (SARB), Mr Joe Pamensky, vice president of SACU, Mr Opperman (SAONGA), and Professor W Putter (of Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education), was subsequently formed to examine the proposals. The committee presented its findings in March and, while it agreed that the government should disengage from sport, it rejected any notion of the SASF's disbanding.³⁹

Speaking in Parliament in April, Mr S J Schoeman (National Party) paid tribute to Dr Piet Koornhof for the major role he had played as minister of national education, sport, and recreation, in 'normalising sport' in South Africa in the 1970s. He added, 'South Africa is an example to many other governments in the world, illustrating that politics and sport should not be mixed and that sport should not become a political punitive instrument.'⁴⁰ In a newspaper interview in the same month, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Ron Miller, spoke of the crisis in South African sport, which could only be solved by constitutional reform.⁴¹

Government policy on school sport changed direction during the year under review. The deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said that the government would encourage multiracial sport in schools, although it would not organise it.⁴² In September sports officials from African, coloured, Indian, and white education departments launched the Southern African Schools Sports' Council (SASSC). According to its declaration of intent, the SASSC aimed to promote participation in sport among race groups at school, eliminate discrimination in school sport, and promote contact in school sport in order to create a climate of co-operation and mutual respect. Mr Job Schoeman, chief public relations officer for the department of education and training (DET), said that the department saw the SASSC initiative as an opportunity to bring children closer together to encourage a better understanding of their respective situations.⁴³

The SASSC was rejected by the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging, the Transvaalse Afrikaanse Ouersvereniging, the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA), and SACOS. The chairman of SABRA, Professor Carel Boshoff, said that a multiracial school sports organisation would undermine the survival of the Afrikaner nation.⁴⁴ Mr P Meyer, secretary of the SACOS-affiliated South African Senior Schools' Sports Association (SASSSA), said, 'The new body should be rejected with the contempt it deserves and is obviously aimed at improving the case of South African schools in the International Schools' Sports Federation.'⁴⁵ He queried how the government could logically 'maintain racially segregated education while at the same time promote integrated sport.' At a special general meeting in November, SACOS said that the SASSC was designed to 'entrench apartheid

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and unashamedly perpetuate racialism and discrimination by encouraging our children to accept the apartheid philosophy through the endorsement of the

concept of race groups'. Describing the SASSC as 'a blatant attack on SACOS and its affiliates', SACOS resolved to 'challenge and confront the SASSC in whatever manner it deems necessary to ensure that the quest for nonracialism triumphs'.⁴¹

Other initiatives

In February coloured and white primary school pupils competed against each other for the first time at an athletics meeting organised by the western province athletics' association (WPAA). Mr Jannie Momberg, chairman of the WPAA, described the occasion as a 'day of rejoicing'.⁴ In July Natal fielded a multiracial team for the first time in the history of Craven Rugby Week for high schools when it included an African, Mr Nkululeko Skweyiya, in its team. In August coloured pupils from the Paulus Joubert, New Orleans, and Klein Nederberg high schools (affiliated to SACOS through the Boland Senior Schools Sports Union) played rugby against white pupils from Hoerskool Gymnasium. Dr Craven described the matches as a

'breakthrough'.⁴ Violence erupted at Paulus Joubert High School after the match, however, when pro-SACOS and anti-SACOS pupils confronted each other.-'

Public opinion surveys

Public opinion in South Africa about the extent of sports integration and international sporting tours was tested in two surveys undertaken by Markinor during 1985. A poll conducted among 1 000 urban white adults revealed that 56% did not believe that sport in South Africa was integrated at all levels.⁵¹ A survey conducted among a total of 400 urban Africans found that 83% considered it right that international sporting organisations should not play against South African teams until apartheid was abolished.²

South African Council on Sport (SA COS)

In his presidential address to the sixth biennial general meeting of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), held in April 1985, Mr Frank van der Horst said, 'The nonracial sports movement under the leadership of SACOS has grown dramatically in strength and maturity over the past decade.' He said that SACOS was 'part of the broad social movement for national liberation against the entire system of racial discrimination, national oppression, and exploitation of man by man'."

SACOS's non-collaboration or 'double standards' policy (see 1984 Survey p923) was repeatedly discussed at council meetings in 1985 and 1986. In May and September of the year under review delegates discussed at length the issue of government concessions towards racially mixed sport, such as the scrapping of the permit system and open hotels, and whether they should be interpreted as victories in the people's struggle or rejected on the grounds that their acceptance would be a betrayal of the sacrifices made over the past decade.⁴ In November a special general meeting was held to resolve the issue of the use of facilities at segregated tertiary institutions. The meeting adopted the following resolution: 'That affiliates of SACOS be allowed to play on the campuses of tertiary institutions that have been created by the State for the oppressed and exploited students.' It further resolved that: 'Campuses where

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL ON SPORT

the majority of students support multinational sport will not be used; on all campuses used by SACOS affiliates, students must actively oppose multinational sport; and sports bodies playing on these campuses must actively identify with the student liberation struggle.⁵⁵

In August SANROC formally cleared SACOS sportsmen and women to attend coaching courses abroad. In a letter to SACOS, SANROC said that it supported the efforts of oppressed and disenfranchised South Africans to improve their sports skills and that it would provide financial and other assistance to sportsmen and women affiliated to SACOS to travel overseas.¹⁶ Commenting on the decision, Mr Ramsamy said, 'Sending individuals overseas to learn coaching is not in conflict with the policies of the international anti-apartheid organisation.'⁵⁷ The alleged effect of regional services councils (RSCs) on sport was discussed at SACOS's special November meeting and at the Transvaal council on sports' annual conference in July. Mr Van der Horst said that the groundwork was being laid for the formation of RSCs, primary local authorities, and joint management centres, which were labelled 'the tentacles of the tricameral Parliament', and that sportspeople were being co-opted to serve on these bodies. South African Rugby Union (SARU) delegate, Mr Mluleki George, claimed that the SASSC and DET would use the RSCs to deprive schools affiliated to SACOS of facilities. It was suggested that municipalities would buy services from the RSCs and that user fees would be passed on to sports bodies. Delegates said that the high rentals charged for sports facilities and a new policy of forcing sports bodies to maintain facilities was 'a sophisticated move to force anti-apartheid sport to close shop'.⁹

Allegations that employers were forming new 'white-dominated' sports leagues and pressurising SACOS members to join were made on several occasions.⁶ An executive member of the western province council on sport, Mr A Adams, said that the Atlantis Football Union (western province) was on the verge of collapse because workers were being encouraged to play in an industrial league. He said that the local authority had subsequently ordered the union to give the ground to the industrial league and that workers were having R1,50 deducted from their wages each week for the use of recreational facilities.^{6'}

During the state of emergency declared on 12 June several prominent SACOS officials were detained, including Messrs Uisuf Ebrahim (vice president), Alan Zinn (publications secretary), Gert Bam (SASSSA), Raymond Uren (SACBC and eastern province council on sport), and Derrick Naidoo (Amateur Volleyball Association of South Africa). Among people killed by police action were Mr Hilton Kohl and Mr Essa Ebrahim, both SACOS sportsmen, while Mr Mzandile Mntongwana died in detention. The secretary of the Natal council on sport, Mr Morgan Naidoo, forfeited a trip to Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) when a temporary passport was issued only after the deadline for the tour. He accused the department of home affairs of being 'petty and vindictive'.⁶² In January an anti-Australian cricket tour fun run organised by the Pietermaritzburg regional council on sport (PRECOS) was declared a contravention of the Internal Security Act of 1982. Permission to hold the event was granted only after an appeal to the chief magistrate.⁶³

Three brothers, Mr Daniel 'Cheeky' Watson, Mr Valence Watson, and Mr Ronnie Watson were charged with arson, fraud, and attempted murder in

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August following a fire at their family home in Port Elizabeth in October 1985. The Watson brothers, well known for their opposition to apartheid, had often been arrested for breaking segregation laws after the brothers had left the white Crusaders Rugby Club to play in the nonracial KwaZakhele Rugby Union in 1976. They were subsequently banned from the SARB for life for joining the union. Mr Gavin Watson, the only brother who was not charged, claimed that the family had 'lived with the government's harassment for years and now they have brought these trumped-up charges to discredit us and everything we stand for'.⁶⁴ In 1987 Mr Valence Watson was found guilty of arson and fraud and not guilty of attempted murder and was sentenced to an effective two-and-a-half years' jail. He was granted bail pending leave to appeal. The other two brothers were found not guilty on all three counts."^a

South African Tertiary Institution Sports Council (SA TISCO)

In March a new students' nonracial sports body, the South African Tertiary Institution Sports Council (SATISCO) was launched by the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) to replace the defunct South African Black Interschool Council. In a policy statement SATISCO said that it would 'support the cultural and sporting isolation of apartheid South Africa and will work relentlessly to boycott and demonstrate against sport mercenaries who have been seduced to play in South Africa'.⁶

Government expenditure, facilities, and sponsorship

The debate over government expenditure on sport, particularly expenditure on facilities and equipment in black areas, and the sponsorship of international tours was again prominent in 1986.

In August the department of national education (DNE) and the DET made various claims in Indicator South Africa about their expenditure on sports facilities and equipment for Africans. The DNE said that it had spent R8m on school sports facilities for Africans during the 1985/86 financial year and claimed that the DET had spent approximately R60m over the past five years (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei).⁶⁷ Both claims were questioned by Mr Douglas Booth of the development studies unit at the University of Natal. He claimed that the DNE had set aside less money in the 1986/87 budget than it had spent in the 1985/86 financial year (ie R1 865 000 compared with R2 005 000) and that 'prior to the financial year 1986/87 the DET did not allocate one cent of its own vote towards the promotion of sport among African schoolchildren'.⁶⁷ Mr Booth accused both departments of 'artificially boosting expenditure' by incorporating the budget allocations of other central government and homeland government departments." In reply to a question in Parliament, Mr De Klerk said that the DNE had 'spent R449 200 on the provision of sports facilities in the Republic of South Africa' in 1985/86.⁶⁹

In February the minister of defence, Mr Magnus Malan, confirmed that the South African Defence Force (SADF) had provided sports and recreation facilities in a

number of African townships including Tembisa and Duduza (both on the east Rand). He said that the cost of the facilities, totalling R22 971, had been financed from the defence force budget vote.⁷⁰

A report published in late 1985 by the institute for leisure studies at Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education concluded that

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sports and recreation facilities in larger townships had deteriorated over the past five years.⁷¹ In the report the director of the institute, Professor Gert Scholtz, criticised the government for failing to respond to recommendations aimed at improving sports and leisure facilities in black townships. Professor Scholtz said the government had failed to initiate a positive programme to upgrade facilities to an acceptable standard and he accused it of responding on a 'fragmented and opportunistic basis.'" A survey of sports facilities in Pietermaritzburg, published by PRECOS at the end of 1985, found that 11 567 white school pupils shared 32 cricket fields and 65 cricket nets, while 13 608 coloured and Indian pupils had only one field and five nets. The survey report said there were no cricket facilities in African schoolson

In January Business Day revealed that, following an approach by the SACU, the government had privately agreed to provide increased financial assistance to the sponsors of international sporting tours through special tax concessions. Sponsors would be able to deduct up to 180% of their expenses which, when taxed, would give them a 90% rebate.⁷⁴ These provisions were included in the Income Tax Act of 1986 and made retroactive to 1 July 1985.⁷¹

The tax concessions were widely condemned. The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on sport, Mr Michael Tarr, said the effect of the government's move was that the Australian rebel cricket tour (see below) was being sponsored by the taxpayer.⁷⁶ Mr Van der Horst described the concessions as 'mere confirmation that the government was subsidising the mercenary Australian cricket tour'.⁷⁷ Black political organisations attacked the concessions in the face of the gross disparity between black and white areas in the provision of facilities. Both the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and Inkatha threatened to boycott the products of sponsors who had been promised the concessions. A statement released by Inkatha's finance and economic affairs committee said that the move was a 'slap in the face for blacks' and added that '90% tax concessions should be granted to companies willing to provide infrastructure in black areas'.⁷¹ A Markinor public opinion poll of 1 000 urban white taxpayers found that 77% rejected the principle of such tax concessions.⁷⁹

The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, defended the concessions on the grounds of 'the special problems faced by sporting bodies in South Africa'^{1°} and because sport sponsorship ensured that foreign sportsmen and women returned to their countries as ambassadors for South Africa. He said, 'They will return to their homes as people with a first-hand knowledge of South Africa and generate publicity. We should never have been able to purchase this publicity with money in any other way.'"⁸⁰ Mr Pamensky said it was 'right and proper' for sports bodies to be encouraged to maintain international links.⁸²

During 1986 private company sponsorship of school sport showed a marked increase. However, there appeared to be considerable disparity between multiracial and nonracial sport in the distribution of funds. The DET received R470 000 in sponsorship; the National School Sports Council (NSSC) - see 1984 Survey p924 - received R80 000 from the dairy milk board for soccer, R30 000 from President Insurance for netball, and R350 000, spread over five years, from South African Breweries; and the South African Schools' Athletics Union received R10 000 from the Sugar

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Manufacturing and Refining Employers' Association. School competitions organised by SACOS and its affiliates received R23 000. SASSSA received R18 000 from Coca-Cola for athletics, chess, netball, and volleyball, and R5 000 from General Motors South African for rugby³ In March Mr Haniff Manjoo, convenor of the southern Natal tennis union's sponsorship committee, claimed, 'The white liberal press is responsible for the lack of sponsorships being offered to nonracial sports bodies.' He said that the white press misperceived the extent of support for nonracial sport.⁴

Particular sports

Athletics

The South African Games were held in April to coincide with Johannesburg's centenary celebrations. Mr Rudolph Opperman, president of the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA), said that the games would 'signify a pledge for a better future for all and fewer iniquities'." Although approximately 200 international athletes participated in the games, he stressed that they were not 'a sanctions-busting extravaganza'.⁶ The games were widely boycotted by black sportspeople, notably those from professional soccer and boxing, who withdrew en masse on the grounds that there was 'little cause for celebrating white supremacy'.⁸⁷ Several black participants withdrew from the games after receiving death threats, including the sprinter Mr Peter Ngobeni. A softball player, Mr Mike Mhlongo, was assaulted following his participation." Sponsors were reluctant to align themselves with the event following a threatened boycott of their products and the games were beset by financial problems. The government contributed R1m to their costs.⁹ Mr Opperman criticised newspaper coverage of the games and said the press had 'gone out of its way to highlight the negative aspects rather than enthuse about the positive'.^A

In January 1986 Mr Ian Champion, the London-to-Brighton race secretary, was suspended from athletics administration by the Road Runners' Club of London for allowing eight South African runners, including the winner, Mr Hosea Tjale, to compete in the 1985 event. The secretary of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, Mr John Holt, threatened to ban all the competitors in the race because 'the South African entries were illegal'.⁹¹ In the same event in 1986 a South African runner, Mr Danny de Chaumont, entered the race posing as a Frenchman. He won the race and was subsequently disqualified.⁹²

A South African black runner, Mr Mark Plaatjes, was barred from competing in the London marathon in April. Mr Ramsamy said the South African Non-Racial

Olympic Committee (SANROC) believed that 'whitecontrolled South African athletics paid for Plaatjes to come to London to try to win sympathy for its cause against isolation'.⁹

Bowling

Messrs Phillip Pillay, Pat Moodley, Morgan Chetty, and Perumal Moodley became the first Indians to join a white bowling club in Natal when they were accepted as members of the Pietermaritzburg East Bowling Club in June.⁹

Boxing

In January it was announced that the South African boxer, Mr Gerrie

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Coetzee, would fight Mr Frank Bruno in London during March in a title elimination round for the World Boxing Association's heavyweight championship. The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), supported by (British) Labour Party MPs, appealed to the British government to bar Mr Coetzee. In an open letter to Mr Bruno's management, SANROC and the Black British Conference Against Apartheid said, 'The apartheid regime will use this fight for its propaganda campaign to boost diminishing white morale in its effort to maintain race discrimination and domination in South Africa.'⁹¹ SANROC asked an American television channel to cancel its financial backing and members of unions involved in staging the fight to deploy disruptive tactics. The fight went ahead as scheduled, Mr Bruno winning on a knockout in the first minute.

In January the AAM claimed responsibility for influencing the Nigerian heavyweight fighter, Mr Funso Banjo, to call off his scheduled fight against Mr Ron Ellis, a South African, in London'.⁹

In November a South African amateur boxing team toured South America and competed in two test matches against Argentina and Paraguay. Boxers from Chile withdrew from the competition and, according to one press report, the Argentinian boxers assumed false names to prevent their being barred from future international competition.⁹⁷

In October South Africa was suspended from the World Boxing Association (WBA) 'until all vestiges of apartheid are abolished'.⁹ SANROC alleged that the WBA expelled South Africa because its membership was preventing unity talks with the rival World Boxing Council.⁹⁹ Under the terms of the suspension South African boxers would continue to be ranked by the WBA and would have options to WBA title fights outside South Africa. A South African, Mr Brian Mitchell, was thus still recognised as the WBA's junior lightweight champion. A title challenge for the WBA's bantamweight title by a South African, Mr Simon Skosana, scheduled for November, was sanctioned by the WBA as arrangements had been completed before the suspension. Mr Skosana lost the fight to Mr Bernado Pinango of Venezuela.

In December the WBA welterweight champion, Mr Lloyd Honeyghan, was stripped of his title after he refused to fight a South African, Mr Harold Volbrecht. Mr Honeyghan claimed that if he fought Mr Volbrecht, it would be misconstrued as support for apartheid.¹⁰

In September the former South African junior welterweight champion, Mr Arthur Mayisela, who was popularly referred to as 'the people's champion', was killed in a road accident. More than 60 000 people attended his funeral in Soweto. Earlier in the year Mr Mayisela had been defeated in his attempt to become the South African welterweight champion. Mr Harold Volbrecht retained the championship when a technical draw decision was invoked for the first time in South African boxing history. The controversial decision stemmed from an accidental illegal contact between the two which left Mr Volbrecht unable to continue the fight. At Mr Mayisela's funeral, speakers said that he had been the 'victim' of both 'biased decisions' and 'a white press which did not respect him because he was black'.¹⁰¹

The fifth rebel cricket tour of South Africa formally began in November 1985 when Australian cricketers began the first of two visits (1985/86 and 1986/87).

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The Australian players, led by Mr Kim Hughes, were reportedly paid Australian \$200 000 each for the two seasons, the total cost of which was estimated to be R8m.¹⁰² The rebels were banned from first-class cricket by the Australian Cricket Board (ACB) for two years but an attempt to ban them from club cricket was challenged by Mr Hughes in the Australian courts. Allegations that Mr Hughes's court costs were borne by the South African Cricket Union (SACU) were denied by its managing director, Dr Ali Bacher.¹⁰³ Both tours were sponsored by Yellow Pages (1985/86 - R1,1m; 1986/87 - R2m)¹⁰⁴ and National Panasonic (1985/86 - undisclosed; 1986/87

- R2m)¹⁰⁵ In response to the tax concession issue, Mr Hughes refused to comment on an earlier statement that he would not play in South Africa if it were proved that the government was involved in financing the tours."

At the conclusion of the first tour Mr Hughes described his team as 'ambassadors for sport and ambassadors for humanity'. He added: 'Sport is one vehicle through which people of all races can come together. At Newlands in Cape Town I saw a couple of white and coloured guys laughing and fooling around together. Surely that can only be good.'" According to The Citizen Mr Hughes described South Africa as a peaceful country, as compared with India, Pakistan, and the West Indies.'" Mr Dakin said, 'The cricket tour has done a lot to uplift the spirit of the country - enabling people to take their minds off caspirs, burning tyres, and a rand worth only 40c.'¹⁰⁹ The 1985/86 tour was dominated by South Africa, which won the four-day match series 1-0 and the one-day match series 4-2.

Opposition to the second rebel Australian cricket tour was stepped up prior to its occurrence in November. In October slogans were painted around the Newlands ground (Cape Town) and 200 litres of motor oil were poured over five batting strips. A group calling itself 'the commando of angry sportspersons' claimed responsibility for the attack, which, they said, was 'made to protest against racist tours'.¹¹⁰ Mr Hughes dismissed the protest as a 'fact of life' and said, 'We are just coming out to play cricket.'¹¹¹ In November an antiapartheid group calling itself the 'nagsluipers' (night prowlers) dug up and poured oil on the wicket at the Burt Oval (Cape Town) which is used by the Western Province B team. An attempt to

burn down the pavilion at the ground was foiled. A statement released by the group said that the attack was 'in reaction to the present unethical Australian tour'.¹¹² The commando of angry sportspersons struck on three separate occasions in November. Oil was poured into the swimming pool at the home of the chairman of the Western Province Cricket Union (WPCU), Mr Fritz Bing; bricks were hurled through the windows of the home of the WPCU's secretary, Mr Frank Brache; and bricks and stones were thrown at the President Hotel in Sea Point (Cape Town), where the touring Australians were staying. The commando warned that if Mr Hughes was unconcerned about anti-tour protests they would 'make sure he has reason to feel concerned soon enough'. They added, 'The money spent on these mercenaries would be much better used to feed the starving masses.'¹¹³ A former Springbok cricketer, Mr Kepler Wessels, returned to South Africa in April 1986 after playing with the Australian test cricket team for several seasons and renouncing all ties with the ACB in December 1985. Upon his return he was seconded to play for the Australian rebel cricket team in the second leg of the tour.

In December Dr Bacher said that rebel cricket tours were no longer the

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SACU's first priority. Its main priority was, he said, to develop the game inside South Africa which included 'a massive meaningful thrust' into the black market."⁵ The inaugural P G Wood Cricket Week, a cricket festival for children of all racial groups, was initiated by the SACU and the South African Cricket Development Foundation in December. Dr Bacher said, 'It is the first time that African, coloured, Indian, and white players of this age group will be competing in such an environment.'⁵

A former South African cricketer, Mr Basil D'Oliveira, who was prohibited by the South African prime minister, Mr John Vorster, from touring South Africa with the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) in 1968 (see 1968 Survey p299) visited South Africa in October. He said that he hoped that South Africa would soon take its rightful place among the world's cricket-playing nations."⁶ Mr Van der Horst subsequently accused Mr D'Oliveira of 'reneging on the campaign to isolate apartheid sport'.⁷

The English Women's Cricket Association (WCA) imposed a one-year ban on the members of the Unicorns team which toured South Africa during December 1985 and January 1986.¹¹¹

Golf

In July anti-apartheid demonstrators caused extensive damage to the course on which the Dutch Open championships were being held. Five South African residents were playing in the tournament.¹¹⁹ South African teams were banned from playing in the biennial world golf championships in Venezuela in October.¹²⁰

In 1985 membership of the Bredasdorp Golf Club (southwestern Cape) was refused to coloured golfers on the grounds of a racial clause in the club's constitution. Mr Barlow was subsequently asked to intervene and persuaded the club to remove the offending clause from its constitution. In July, however, seven

coloured golfers were refused membership of the same club and forced to travel 180 kilometres to the nearest course that would accept them .121

In January the Reading Country Club in Alberton (east Rand) refused membership to an unnamed African businessman on the grounds of his race. Dr Norman Mendel, a Johannesburg rabbi, criticised the club. He said that the Reading Country Club had been born out of discrimination against Jews who had formed it after having been refused membership of the Germiston Country Club. 'Yet', he said, 'those are the same people who have now voted to exclude a man on the grounds of race.' Black golfers withdrew an masse from the Germiston Centenary Golf Tournament in December after being threatened with reprisals if they celebrated 'the black man's oppression'.¹³

Gymnastics

In November a motion to expel South Africa from the Federation of International Gymnastics was defeated by 23 votes to 21.¹²⁴ Two gymnasiums in Durban, Bodyfit and Shaun's Health World, refused membership to Indian women on the grounds of race during the year. Mr Bruno de Comarmond, a spokesman for Shaun's Health World, said that 'white female members don't want to share jacuzzis and saunas with blacks' .¹²⁵

Rowing
A motion to expel South Africa was defeated at the annual general meeting

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of the International Rowing Federation. South Africa was represented at the meeting by Mr Kurt Hepper, who said that the South African Rowing Union had done everything in its power to oppose apartheid.¹ At the meeting Mr Hepper allegedly claimed that the rowing union had started rowing programmes in Soweto. Mr Ramsamy scoffed at these claims and asked, 'Where are the dams suitable for rowing in Soweto?'¹²⁷

Rugby

The announcement that an official tour of South Africa by the New Zealand All Blacks would take place in July 1985 led to a highly organised resistance campaign in both South Africa and New Zealand.

In May 1985 SACOS launched an anti-tour campaign and was supported by, inter alia, the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU), the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the Muslim Judicial Council, the National Forum Committee (NFC), the New Unity Movement, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and the United Democratic Front (UDF). AZAPO, the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa, the Natal council on sport, and the UDF sent a telex to the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU) asking them to cancel the tour and warning them that if it proceeded they would 'take part in any campaign aimed at ensuring its collapse'.¹² The National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union at Volkswagen's Uitenhage (eastern Cape) plant requested management not to lend 12 minibuses to the touring All Blacks. When the request was refused, the workers went on strike for six days.²

In New Zealand two rugby-playing lawyers contested the NZRU's decision to tour South Africa in New Zealand's courts. They argued that the tour was against

rugby's interests and that the NZRU had acted unconstitutionally in voting to send a team to South Africa. The Rev Arnold Stofile, president of the Victoria East Rugby Union (a regional affiliate of SACOS) and a member of the UDF's national executive, gave evidence at the hearings. He said that white rugby players, as members of the nonracial South African Rugby Union (SARU), had been prosecuted for playing in black townships and argued that the issuing of multiracial permits to African, coloured, and white clubs was being misconstrued as integration. He claimed that the government wanted to return to international sporting competition 'not because it will help bring an end to apartheid, but because it will bring honour and complacency to the white minority'.³⁰ The case went to appeal in the New Zealand high court, which granted an interdict against the tour pending a final decision. The NZRU was forced to cancel the tour as the court was unable to reach a decision before the scheduled departure. Upon his return to South Africa, Mr Stofile received several threats to his life.³¹ Following the cancellation of the All Blacks' tour, rumours of pending official and unofficial tours to South Africa continually made newspaper headlines. A World XV team and teams from Australia, Britain, Fiji, France, New Zealand, and Western Samoa were all supposedly 'on their way' to end South Africa's sporting isolation.³² In December 1985, however, the South African Rugby Board (SARB) cancelled the 1986 British Lions' tour of South Africa by withholding the invitation. Dr Craven said the decision to postpone the tour had been forced on the SARB by the state of emergency and 'the poor image of South Africa painted by television'. He said, 'To issue an

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invitation under these circumstances would have caused considerable embarrassment to the (four British) home unions and we wanted to avoid that. 3 In January 1986 the International Rugby Board (IRB) invited seven Springbok rugby players, Messrs Naas Botha, Schalk Burger, Carel du Plessis, Hempies du Toit, Danie Gerber, Henning van Aswegen, and Flippie van der Merwe, to participate in two special centenary celebration matches in Cardiff and London in April."³

The first rebel rugby tour of the country began in April when the New Zealand Cavaliers arrived at the invitation of the TRFU. The Cavaliers were reportedly each paid NZ \$100 000,¹¹⁵ although a NZRU investigation into player payments ended inconclusively."¹ Yellow Pages provided R2,5m in sponsorship for the tour,¹³⁷ but allegations that Volkskas Bank donated R3m were denied by the bank's managing director, Dr Pieter Morkel.³ Despite public demands by the president of the NZRU, Mr Ces Blazey, that the New Zealanders abandon the tour,³⁹ and Dr Craven's requests to the TRFU to cancel it," it proceeded as planned, the Springboks winning the test series 3-1. Although Dr Craven denied any involvement by the SARB in the organisation of the tour, his denials were rejected by various commentators⁴ and he was called a 'liar' by the prime minister of New Zealand, Mr David Lange.⁴² The TRFU invitation threatened to cause South Africa's expulsion from the IRB but in October the SARB placated

the IRB and gave a 'solemn declaration' that it would not permit another rebel tour.⁴³

The UDF condemned the tour 'in the strongest terms' and reminded the Cavaliers that 'Reverend Arnold Stofile still languishes in detention?' Mr Van der Horst described the tour as a 'circus for apartheid' and claimed that many rugby players had been arbitrarily thrown into jail under the emergency regulations, including Mr Jim Summers, Mr Bill Jardine, and Mr Stofile.¹⁴⁵ The president of SARU, Mr Ebrahim Patel, said: 'The tourists should be reminded that the joy and jubilation in respect of their presence is only matched by the anger and disappointment suffered by the oppressed rugby players in this country. They must appreciate what their selfish and shortsighted decision will have in terms of repercussions.'" The Durban city council was criticised when it was revealed that it was subsidising the Natal Rugby Union by R121 000 to host the Cavaliers.⁷ In 1985 two Springbok rugby players, Mr Ray Mordt and Mr Rob Louw, defected to the professional rugby league and joined another South African, Mr Nicky du Toit, at Wigan (England). Dr Craven accused the pair of 'disloyalty to South African rugby' and of playing into the hands of the AAM.¹ 'Anti-apartheid protesters claimed Wigan was supporting apartheid by employing the pair and the Liverpool city council deleted Wigan from the list of clubs eligible for council grants.¹⁴⁹

In December a school rugby team from Michaelhouse and an unofficial team from the University of Cape Town (alias the Hedgehogs) toured England. Both tours received publicity in England and although they were officially cancelled some press reports claimed that they had continued in secrecy. ¹⁵⁰

Showjumping

In August Mr Petrus Mokoena, the current Benoni Equitation Club

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showjumping champion, was barred from a tournament at the Mapleton Equitation Club. An organiser of the tournament, Mr Venus Viljoen, said that he could not have entered Mr Mokoena 'because there would be white children at the show who should not want to associate with a black rider'.¹⁵¹ In December Mr Barry Taylor of South Africa was awarded the Federation Equestrian Internationale Showjumper of the Year award by the Duke of Edinburgh ¹²

Soccer

In February and September the Pretoria city council was accused of 'blatant racism and double standards' for refusing black professional soccer clubs the use of grounds under its jurisdiction. The council said that the applications had been rejected because of 'the serious traffic and vandalism problems which have arisen in the past'. " The caucus leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Mr Tertius Spies, alleged that the council's management committee had refused Arcadia Football Club permission to use the Caledonian ground because 'they don't want blacks in town'. Mr Rowan Haarhoff, regional chairman of the PFP, said that the decision to refuse Mamelodi Sundowns permission to use Loftus Versfeld Stadium would 'reinforce long-held black views that whites remain selfish and refuse to share facilities that are not being used'.⁵ The public relations

officer of the National Soccer League, Mr Abdul Bhamjee, said that 'the council in their misguided way are causing more damage to South Africa's image than anyone else'.¹⁵⁶

Squash

In April the International Squash Players Association (ISPA) overturned a decision taken a few months earlier and ruled that tournaments in South Africa would continue to carry world-ranking points. The president of the ISPA, Mr Stuart Davenport, said, 'We are determined to remain independent of political pressures.'¹⁵⁷ Three Canadians, Messrs Jamie Hickox, Gary Waite, and Gordon Anderson were banned for five years by the Canadian Squash Rackets Association for playing in South Africa against the Springboks in July.⁵⁸

Surfing

In June Australian surfboard riders lobbied the Association of Surfing Professionals, without success, to have the South African leg of the world surfing tour cancelled.¹⁵⁹

Swimming

In January Australian newspapers claimed that a tour of South Africa by Australian swimmers was imminent.⁶⁰ Mr Issy Kramer, president of the South African Amateur Swimming Association, said that a tour was being planned for 1987 and that it was hoped that at least seven of Australia's best swimmers would accept invitations. He said, 'We are prepared to take a stubborn stance in getting international competition for South Africa in spite of political interference in sport.'¹⁶¹

Tennis

Teams from the United States (US) and Israel competed in the 1986 Standard Bank Cup in April. Mr Paul Annacone said that he was very

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conscious of representing the US even though it was not an official competition. Mr Shlomo Glickstein of Israel said, 'I thought we'd be in for a hot time but luckily the event has escaped political interference.'¹⁶² Not one player ranked in the world's top ten could be attracted to play in the Altech South African Open tournament in November. Two German players, Miss Steffi Graf and Miss Claudia Kohde-Kilsch, both withdrew from the tournament after a request from the German chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl.¹⁶³

Volleyball

In March the Vryheid municipal sports committee instructed the white Vryheid Volleyball Club to withdraw its invitation to an Indian volleyball team to participate in a competition to raise funds for the St John Ambulance.^{16'}

Yachting

In June Mr Ken Naidoo and Mr D Ramsay were accepted as the first black members of the Royal Natal Yacht Club. The commodore of the club, Mr Val Hendrie, described their membership as 'a hell of a breakthrough'.¹⁶ In December Mr Ricky Mitha was admitted as the first black member of the Zwartkops Yacht Club in Port Elizabeth.⁶

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RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

African Separatist Movements

During July a report was published on a study of separatist movements, sponsored
 by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and conducted by Professor G
 C Oosthuizen. He estimated that, while in 1948 there were 800 independent

African denominations in South Africa and the four 'independent' homelands, by 1986 the total had grown to 3 270. Membership had increased to almost 40% of the African population.¹

Ethiopian (or separatist) churches

Ethiopian, or separatist, churches are those that, at various times since 1884, have broken away from established churches such as the Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, or Presbyterian churches to afford members selfgovernment in religious matters. They retained the doctrines, policy, and methods of their parent bodies, but have been African nationalist in outlook. During 1965 some of these bodies formed the African Independent Churches' Association (AICA). AICA subsequently became a member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). It held a conference in Kimberley during October, under the presidency of the Rev J Khumalo.

A recently-created group to the left of AICA is the Alliance of Black Reformed Churches in South Africa (ABRECSA), which claims to cater for the special problems of Africans in an apartheid society who are participating in 'the struggle for liberation and the creation of a better society'. Its president is the Rev Allan Boesak of the NG Sendingkerk, and its organising secretary the Rev J F Bill of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church.²

The Reformed Independent Churches' Association (RICA) is a conservative group that seceded from AICA and the SACC in 1973. Its leader, Bishop Isaac Mokoena, claimed a membership of some 4,5m. In November the bishop called on foreign churches to stop sending funds which were channelled through the SACC to 'faceless radicals' who aimed to 'eliminate all opposition and create chaos'.

The Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa (IDAMASA) is a group of ministers and clergy who join as individuals. During May it held a 'God of Justice and Liberation' outdoor rally in Zwijede township (Port Elizabeth) attended by an estimated 30 000 people, including guests from white churches and United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders. The president of IDAMASA, the Rev De Villiers Soga, was reported to have told the people that 'apartheid has to be eliminated from the face of our land if peace and justice are to prevail'. Members of IDAMASA acted as negotiators between the department of education and training and parents and pupils during school boycotts in the eastern Cape.

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The Khanya African Independent Churches' Training and Research Institute was established during 1984 under the chairmanship of Archbishop T W Ntongana, its executive director being the Rev Paul Makhubu. It had drawn up a theological course designed to help African ministers who had had little formal education.⁶

The United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), launched in October, is a nonracial political party which aims at promoting Christian values, a multi-party democracy, and free enterprise. The founders were Bishop Mokoena of RICA and a number of African politicians holding conservative views.⁷

Zionist churches

The Zion Christian Church is one of the fastest-growing of the Zionist churches. Centred at Moria, near Pietersburg, it is headed by Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, grandson of the founder. It has adherents in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Members are drawn mainly from the working and peasant classes, and are strongly discouraged from political involvement.' At Easter, an estimated 3,5m people attended the annual celebrations at Moria.⁹

Another very large Zionist group is the Zulu Church of Nazareth (also known as the Shembe Church), which held a festival at Matabetuli in KwaZulu during July. In his address to the large crowd, the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, was reported to have expressed his opposition to violence in the existing political situation."^o

Dutch Reformed Churches

Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika

The Potchefstroom-based Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika (sometimes referred to as the 'Dopper' kerk) has a considerable number of black members, who are represented on the national synod, where any controversial matters are decided. In May a prominent minister of the church, Dr Koos Vorster, reiterated its policy by telling the press that there should be only one prerequisite for church membership, and that was faith in Jesus Christ.¹

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)

This church consists of the (white) Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and its three 'sister-churches': the (coloured) NG Sendingkerk, the (Indian) Reformed Church in Africa, and the (African) NG Kerk in Afrika. Representatives of all four churches meet every two years in a federal council.

The tenth biennial meeting of this council was held in Mamelodi (Pretoria) during March. After lengthy consideration of the growing division and disunity in South Africa and the causes of black unrest, the council unanimously adopted a document which:

* said that all were to blame for the existing unrest, polarisation, and hostility in South Africa;

* requested the government to speed up reform; and

* urged that the Christian way of orderly change should be maintained by rejecting change through violence and bloodshed."²

In April the northern Transvaal synod of the NGK arranged a multiracial, multid denominational Christian rally, held at the Pretoria showgrounds, to pray for

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justice, peace, and reconciliation in 'South Africa's dark hour'. Church members were urged to bring their domestic workers. The proceedings were in Afrikaans, English, and Zulu. Representatives of about ten denominations gave addresses or contributed prayers or messages. The rally drew a crowd of about 10 000 people, black and white.¹³

It was announced in September that the Stellenbosch presbyteries of the NGK and the NG Sendingkerk were to establish a joint presbytery as a first step towards unity.¹

At the suggestion of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), representatives of that organisation and of the NGK held joint discussions in Pretoria early in October: it was their first meeting since the late 1960s. A statement issued afterwards said, 'We had frank discussions in which we shared our perceptions of the situation and of each other.' It was agreed that there was a need for further discussions, and that this need would be referred back to their respective decision-making bodies for consideration."

The four-yearly general synod meeting of the NGK opened in Cape Town on 9 October. It was attended by 379 ministers and elders from eleven regional bodies, and presided over by the newly-elected moderator, Professor Johan Heyns of Pretoria, generally regarded as being one of the leading liberal theologians of this church. The outgoing moderator, the Rev J E Potgieter, was elected assessor.¹⁶ At a previous general synod meeting, in 1974, a document entitled *Ras, Volk en Nasie* was adopted. In this it was stated that separate nations had been established by God, and that it was within this context that the individual lived out his religious, social, and political life. The general synod that met in 1982 decided that this document should be completely revised. Accordingly, a revised draft testimony, entitled *Kerk en Samelewing*, was placed before the 1986 synod, and, after lengthy debate and some amendment, adopted by majority vote. It aroused so much interest that an English translation entitled *Church and Society* was published early in 1987.

At the beginning of the document it was stated that it did not purport to be a final or unchangeable statement on the task of the church in South African society, but described how members saw and understood matters at the time.

Dealing with group relationships, it was stated that 'in the structuring of the church provision can be made for linguistic and cultural differences related to the diversity of peoples, but then in such a way that the church's unity is not prejudiced'.¹⁷ However, 'No congregation may deprive anyone who so desires of the privilege of listening to the preaching of the Word...⁸ Faith in the Triune God and his revelation in scripture is the only prerequisite for membership in the church of Jesus Christ.' In terms of its being as the one universal people of God, the church may not be restricted exclusively to one nation or group, neither may anyone be excluded on the basis of his origins, national allegiance, language, or culture,' the document said.²⁰

Consideration was then given to the question of race. It was stated that 'in the New Testament the concept of "race" plays no part whatever'.²¹ 'Racism is a grievous sin which no person or church may defend or practise. Anyone who defends it in theory or by attitude or action in practice alleges that one race, people, or group of people is inherently superior, and another race, people, or group of people is inherently inferior, and is guilty of racism. Racism is a sin which tends to assume collective and structural forms. As a moral aberration it

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despoils a human being of his dignity, his obligations, and his rights. Because it leads to suppression and exploitation, it must be rejected and opposed in all its manifestations.'²²

The political aspect was dealt with later. 'As over the years the Dutch Reformed Church (ie the NGK) has reflected on the basic and scriptural grounds for the policy known as apartheid.. .the conviction has steadily grown that enforced separation and division of peoples is a directive that may not be derived from the Bible. The attempt to justify it as a biblical principle must be acknowledged as wrong... The application of apartheid as a political and social system...cannot be accepted on Christian ethical grounds, since it conflicts with the principles of neighbourly love and righteousness, and because it inevitably impairs the human dignity of all involved in it.' After pointing out that human suffering could not be attributed to apartheid alone, the testament stated, 'To the extent that the church and its members have been party to this, we confess it humbly and penitently.' The church declared itself willing to co-operate in the quest for a solution 'which will enable every sector of South African society to attain the highest possible level of well being'."

The church opted for peaceful reform in all facets of life, unequivocally condemning and rejecting the way of revolution, violence, and anarchy. It stated: 'As the very last possibility of resistance to injustice (ie when every other potential solution has persistently and repeatedly come to nothing) non-violent resistance and civil disobedience cannot ethically be rejected as untenable, at least in theory. Inasmuch as in practice these still issue in violence, with leaders unable to control their followers, and instigators of violence frequently misusing such actions for their own purposes, neither can the Dutch Reformed Church lend its support to these methods.' 4

The church would not identify itself with any political ideology, but would, inter alia:

- * 'stress that the withholding of political maturity and rights from part of the population seriously impairs human dignity';

- * 'entreat the government.. .to give attention to measures and regulations which people find offensive and destructive of human dignity';

- * 'urge the government always to consult the various population groups over important decisions that affect them'; and

- " 'call on the government, taking account of all the factors involved, to bring into being a just dispensation for all peoples and all ethnic groups'. "

Among recommendations made was one for 'a free work-choice, which excludes a discriminatory policy of job reservation'. 26The church stated that 'scripture does not prohibit racially mixed marriages'. In its pastoral work the church must, however, give warning of practical problems that can cause serious tension when such marriages take place.27

Among other matters dealt with by the synod was the church's membership of the international Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES). As reported in the 1974 Survey (p49), at an RES meeting held that year a resolution was passed which, in effect, denounced apartheid as being in conflict with the teachings of the scriptures. Of the constituent churches in South Africa, the NGK then suspended its membership for the time being; its 'sister-churches' and the Gereformeerde Kerk remained members. At the 1986 general synod meeting of the NGK, the general moderators

recommended that membership of the RES should be terminated. The required two-thirds majority vote in favour of this

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recommendation was not forthcoming, however. 8

The synod re-affirmed a decision made eight years earlier that women could be trained as deacons, but postponed for at least four years a decision on whether they might be admitted as elders or ministers. 19 Dissension within the NGK After the synod meeting, a few hundred members met in Verwoerdburg (Pretoria) to discuss their objection to certain decisions that had been made, in particular the resolution that church services should be open to persons of all racial groups. A church elder, Professor Willie J G Lubbe, was elected chairman of a group appointed to formulate the grievances of members, to exchange views with church members in other parts of the country, and to co-ordinate action to be taken. A mass meeting of dissidents was planned for 28 November. 10 Some 2 000 members attended this mass meeting, held in Pretoria. Some of them had decided to resign and establish a new church if certain of the resolutions of the general synod were not rescinded. But Professor Lubbe urged members not to resign at that stage. There was room for reconciliation through negotiation, he said. A committee, called the continuation committee of dissatisfied members of the church, representative of all the church's eleven regional synods, was elected to advise on action to be taken. 31

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk The Rev Allan Boesak was elected moderator of this church in September. He also held the offices of president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and senior vice president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Earlier, during 1985, Dr Boesak had defied the authorities by continuing to make arrangements for a protest march which had been prohibited by the minister of law and order, the purpose of which had been to demand the release from jail of the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela. Dr Boesak had, allegedly, been advocating school and consumer boycotts. He was arrested, charged with subversion, and released on R20 000 bail. His passport was withdrawn. The case was remanded four times, and finally on 4 November all charges against him were withdrawn by the State. His passport was returned, enabling him to receive in person an honorary degree from the University of Geneva, then to visit the United States where, among others, he met the secretary of state. 32

An inter-denominational meeting was held in Hazendal (Cape) during June to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. Addressing the congregation of more than 2 000 people, Dr Boesak urged them not to give up hope and to 'hold on to God's dream of peace', and he warned against the use of violence which, he said, had a way of dehumanising the user. 33

As reported in the 1984 Survey (pp905-906), at its assembly at Belhar in the Cape in 1982, the Sendingkerk drafted a confession of faith (the Belhar confession), rejecting the theological and moral justification of apartheid as being a heresy. It declared that the church should accept co-responsibility for the poor conditions,

injustices, and suffering caused by the policy of apartheid. Reconciliation and continuous links between the Sendingkerk and the white NGK would be possible only if the latter 'confessed its guilt for providing the moral and theological foundations for apartheid'. This document was considered by the Sendingkerk's general synod in September 1986, and was adopted by 399 votes to 71.¹⁴

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The synod voted to end an agreement with the NGK, drawn up in 1975, which allowed ministers of the NGK to be members of both churches, entitled to vote in proceedings of both of these. It decided to draw up its own guidelines for ministers from other reformed churches who came to work in the Sendingkerk. Ministers from the NGK who wished to be called to Sendingkerk congregations would have to sign the Belhar confession and be interviewed to determine their adherence to Sendingkerk doctrines.³⁵

Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK)

According to the 1980 census, membership of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) is 89% white. A church law known as Article III stipulates that the white and black ethnic groups should each have their own churches within the Hervormde family: the 'daughter-church' catering for black members is called the Hervormde Kerk van Suidelike Afrika. It was reported, however, that this latter church had opened its ranks to all races.³⁶ The chairmen of the two assemblies during the year under review were Professor Bart Oberholzer and the Rev Z J Banda respectively.

A triannual general assembly of the white NHK was held in Pretoria during May. At the request of a Dutch-speaking congregation in Johannesburg, the desirability of retaining Article III was debated. Professor Oberholzer told the press that the vote was overwhelmingly in favour of its retention for the time being, but that it be referred for further study to the general church commission with a view to possible reformulation. The question of whether black people should be allowed to attend white services was also referred to the commission, which would report back to the general assembly in 1989.³⁷ In the meanwhile, it was decided, church councils would have the power to allow black people to attend special services such as weddings and funerals, but this practice should not be encouraged. Dr Joop Lensink, minister of the Dutch-speaking congregation, stated that his congregation had always ignored Article III, and would continue to do so.³⁹

Other Churches of Mainly European Origin

Baptist Union

Although it withdrew from the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in 1973, the Baptist Union, like the churches that remained members, continued to reject completely the whole system of apartheid, and had an 'open' membership. As mentioned in the 1985 Survey (p575), in October of that year the assembly of the Baptist Union sent a letter to the state president denouncing the whole structure of apartheid as being in conflict with the Bible and 'an evil which needs to be repented of'.

The Rev Terence Rae was president of the union, and also pastor of the Rosebank Union Church in Johannesburg. During March the governing committee of this

church issued a paper outlining biblical precedents for involvement in socio-political matters. The annual general meeting of the church decided that a letter should be sent to the state president describing areas of the South African socio-political structures which church members found to be hurtful and unjust to sectors of society. It resolved to take steps to work out ways and means of putting into practice the principles outlined in the biblical statement. 40

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Church of England in South Africa (CESA)

The Church of England in South Africa (CESA) is an autonomous body, lowprofiled, and apolitical.⁴¹ It is separate from the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, which is the Anglican Church in the country.

A prominent minister of the CESA in the Transvaal, the Rev David Rhategan, said in May that considerable numbers of CPSA members were leaving to join the CESA instead because the latter had not involved itself in politics.⁴² This was confirmed later by the registrar of CESA, the Rev Murray Hofmeyr, who told the press in August that 'many people have joined us from the Church of the Province... Whole new churches have sprung up. A lot of their members (CPSA) have been unsettled by recent events and we can't close our doors to them. They are welcome to worship with us and they can obviously return to the Church of the Province whenever they want to.' It was difficult to say how many Anglicans were involved as 'we don't keep records of adherents'.⁴ One of the reasons members of the CPSA were leaving for the CESA was opposition to the views of Bishop Desmond Tutu (see below).

Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA)

Bishops and representatives of the clergy and laity of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) in South Africa and other territories in the region met in Cape Town during April to elect an archbishop of Cape Town to succeed the Most Rev Philip Russell when the latter retired in September. The bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, was unanimously chosen. Numbers of clergy and anti-apartheid campaigners from South Africa and overseas attended his enthronement later in the year: no representative of the South African government had been invited.

Earlier, during January, Bishop Tutu made a three-week tour of the United States (US) to receive the Dr Martin Luther King peace award for non-violent change, to campaign for pressure on Pretoria to eliminate apartheid, and to raise funds for his church. Speeches that he made were widely reported in South Africa. In a television interview in Detroit, for example, he was reported to have said, 'At present I want to hold on to my position that I am opposed to ,all forms of violence, whatever the source of that violence.' 'But', he added, 'I could get to a point where I would agree with the church's tradition that if you have two evils, a repressive system - such as Nazism was - and the possibility of overthrowing it, then I would say there comes a time when it is justifiable to overthrow an unjust system by violence... Young South Africans are becoming increasingly committed to using violence despite my calls for peaceful change. If I were younger I would have rejected Tutu a long time ago.'"

At a press conference on his return Bishop Tutu was stated to have said he had pointed out to questioners in the US that both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) had started off as organisations seeking change by negotiation, but after Sharpeville⁴⁵ they had resorted to armed struggle. He himself did not support the violent methods of the ANC, although he subscribed to its objective, ie to establish a nonracial democratic society in South Africa.⁶ If violence continued to escalate and civil war eventuated, conventional weapons would not necessarily be used. Attacks on 'soft targets' would be likely.⁴⁷

Bishop Tutu was reported to have said at another press conference that he had raised funds in the US amounting to almost R2,1m, including scholarships

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worth about R450 000 for refugees from South Africa. Some of the money would be paid into the emergency fund of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and would be used to help the families of political detainees and prisoners. Part would go to clearing a deficit in his diocese. He hoped that some would be spent on increasing the stipends of priests and on the training of clergy.' At a subsequent press conference, Bishop Tutu announced that he had called on the international community for the imposition of immediate punitive sanctions against South Africa, to help in the establishment of a nonracial, democratic, participatory, and just community in the country. Nothing that the state president had said in recent statements had led him to believe that the government was serious about dismantling apartheid. Meanwhile, the land was burning and bleeding. He had no real hope from the government 'unless they are forced'.⁴⁹ This call was repeated by Bishop Tutu when he visited Vienna in May. He believed, he said, that South Africa was 'on the verge of a disaster of monumental proportions'. But he was seeking a non-violent end to apartheid. The country could move back from the precipice if the international community imposed economic sanctions.?

During June Bishop Tutu played a part in promoting peace between leaders of both sides of fighting factions in the Crossroads/KTC squatter camp in the western Cape, the 'witdoeke' and the 'comrades' (see Political Developments). He arranged a meeting between them, at which he acted as mediator, and negotiated an interim ceasefire pending peace talks. At his request the SACC, then in conference, sent a telex message to the government asking that the faction leaders be allowed to hold mass meetings at which they could convey to their members the desirability of peace.⁵

A few days later Bishop Tutu told a large congregation at St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, that recent events had proved to him that there was still a fund of goodwill between the races in South Africa that made a negotiated settlement a feasible option.²

On 13 June and again on 21 July Bishop Tutu was granted meetings with the state president, Mr P W Botha, to discuss the emergency situation. They are stated to have agreed that they both were Christians and they both wanted South Africa to

flourish. Although the talks were friendly, there was no agreement on other matters that were discussed.³

Shortly afterwards, both the US president, President Ronald Reagan, and the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, despite their condemnation of the apartheid policy, resisted calls for severe economic sanctions against South Africa. (Subsequently, they agreed to more limited sanctions.) Bishop Tutu told the press, 'I think that the West, for my part, can go to hell.' - But a few days later he said that he had not yet called for full economic sanctions. 'I have said each country should surely decide for itself the nature of the economic pressure it wishes to apply.'⁵⁵ During a visit to Peking in August he said at a news conference, 'No one wants sanctions. I don't want sanctions, but blacks deprived of the vote and wishing to avoid violence have no other alternative. -1

The minister of manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, stated at a National Party (NP) congress that calls for economic sanctions were not just economic sabotage, but bordered on high treason.⁷

Speaking at his enthronement on 7 September, Archbishop Tutu said that if

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the state president gave firm undertakings to lift the state of emergency, remove troops from black townships, release all political prisoners and detainees, lift the ban on political organisations, and negotiate a new constitution for an undivided South Africa with authentic representatives of the community, then he, for what it was worth, would call on the world to 'put your sanctions plans on hold'. M The bishop suffragan of the west Rand, the Rt Rev Sigisbert Ndwandwe, was arrested at his Krugersdorp (west Rand) home on 24 April, a day after his house had been petrol-bombed. Bishop Tutu planned to lead a march of fellow clergy to the prison where Bishop Ndwandwe was being held, but the latter was released without bail an hour before the march was to start. A police officer was reported to have said that he had been charged with alleged incitement to violence. On 28 May the charges were withdrawn, no reason being given. However, on 12 June Bishop Ndwandwe was again detained by the police. On 17 September he was released without charges against him being preferred, but was subjected to restriction orders.⁹

At the synod meeting of the bishops of the CPSA, held in November, a statement was issued declaring that on biblical grounds the bishops felt bound to give their pastoral support to Christians who believed that, in obedience to Christ, they were called to disobey unjust laws. Such action should, however, be taken in terms of the spirit of the gospel and of guidelines specified in the statement. For example, witness through civil disobedience should only be undertaken after serious prayer and thought, and after consultation with other Christians. The bishops recognised that in the circumstances of the time civil disobedience might be a truly Christian and non-violent way of working for a more just society, and of fulfilling the calling to 'be makers of God's peace in South Africa' .0o

As described earlier, many members of the CPSA were opposed to political statements and actions by clergy. Considerable numbers were stated to have left to join the conservative Church of England in South Africa. Others formed a body

called Anglicans Concerned for Truth and Spirituality (ACTS), the chairman of which, Mr Alastair Macaulay, said that his organisation was 'not in the business of attacking personalities as such', but dissociated itself from the archbishop's call for punitive economic sanctions against South Africa. He called upon other bishops of the CPSA to state their attitude to this matter. ACTS, he said, described itself as 'holding the theological middleground which does not believe in compartmentalisation of the spiritual and temporal spheres of life'. It believed that the Christian religion was involved in the whole of life, and that the church must address itself to injustices in the social ordering of society as part of the ministry of the gospel to the whole man. But it opposed the intrusion of ideologies in the church - among them those of liberation theology and of apartheid - as being inconsistent with biblical truths.⁶

Shortly before Christmas, ACTS wrote to every bishop in the Anglican Church, alerting them to the 'deep concern' among both black and white laity about the direction the church was taking.⁶²

Lutheran churches

After unsuccessful attempts had been made to unite the various white and black African Lutheran, German, and Scandinavian churches in South Africa, four black synods, together with some whites, went their own way and in 1975 formed the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa

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(ELCSA), which has an 'open' membership, in practice mainly African. During 1984 the Lutheran World Federation suspended the white Lutheran churches which had been members of the world body until such time as they abolished apartheid in church life and moved 'to visible unity' with the black churches?³ The general assembly of ELCSA met at Tlhabane (Rustenburg) in December. Members called for an end to the state of emergency 'out of concern for the situation in the country'. They issued a statement saying, 'The time is long overdue for the government to realise that the people are demanding the total replacement of the present system of apartheid with a true democratic system which will be representative of all the inhabitants of the country.' Members condemned the government's refusal of visas to several Lutherans from overseas who had wished to visit partner churches in South Africa."^M

During the year ELCSA sent a delegation to Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, for talks with the African National Congress (ANC), the PanAfricanist Congress (PAC), and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.⁶

Methodist Church of Southern Africa

Early in February the state president, Mr P W Botha, signed a full two-page advertisement which was published in a number of leading newspapers in South Africa and overseas. It repeated a speech he had made in Parliament, stating, inter alia, 'My government and I are committed to power sharing'. Steps already taken and other proposed measures were outlined. Mr Botha concluded by emphasising that South Africa would never hand the country over to 'those who would see it destroyed'.

The Methodist conference took up the state president's challenge. The president of the conference, the Rev Ernest Baartman, in association with other leading ministers, placed a similar advertisement in various newspapers, to the effect that unless Mr Botha's promises were translated into action acceptable to most South Africans, the Christian world would have difficulty in accepting them. Specific reforms were called for, with the theme 'Then South Africa can believe' repeated after each. These included the abolition of population registration, the introduction of a bill of rights, the release of detained or imprisoned political leaders, the freedom for all to work and own property anywhere in the country, the scrapping of ethnic education departments, and a common citizenship for all with equal political rights.

In its issue of August/September the Methodist newspaper Profile reported that in various areas meetings had been taking place between white and black church leaders to discuss the creation of geographical circuits, embracing both black and white congregations.

The annual church conference was held in Pietermaritzburg during October. Delegates voted overwhelmingly (70 to 11) in support of a resolution stating that 'while our church is divided on whether or not to commend sanctions and disinvestment as a strategy to bring about change, we are persuaded that this kind of economic pressure is already bringing about a measure of self-examination and reassessment which may yet lead to repentance among privileged South Africans. We cannot condemn something that could succeed where the cries of the people and the pleas of the church have gone unheard'. Methodists were urged to continue to search for other,

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creative, means of applying pressure on the South African government.⁶⁶ The conference declared that, 'No changes (in South Africa) which are founded upon the principle of group differentiation and formulated without the participation of representatives acceptable to the black community have any hope of acceptance... Nothing less is needed than the immediate and complete dismantling of apartheid and its replacement by a system in which all South Africans have a share.'⁶⁷

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa A general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa was held in Harare (Zimbabwe) during September. Dealing with South African affairs, the assembly condemned apartheid as a sin, and called on its members to engage themselves actively in bringing an end to apartheid. 'To rid our society of institutional injustices is a moral imperative,' members resolved. Laws which had to go were the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the racial constitution with its 'own affairs' concept. The immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees, including the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela, was demanded. Letters to this effect were telexed to the state president and the minister of law and order."

After a lengthy debate the assembly rejected an appeal by one of the delegates to call on members not to accept conscription into the armed forces, nor to enlist

voluntarily in the military wings of liberation movements. Instead, the assembly's committee on a 'just war' was instructed to examine Christian doctrine with particular reference to the activities of the South African security forces and the resistance movements. The assembly agreed that the presence of military chaplains should not be construed as moral support for any government or military group. Chaplaincy ministry should be available to groups such as the ANC, the PAC, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), as well as to the South African Defence Force.⁶⁹

One of the separatist African churches is the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa, whose members are mainly of the Tsonga group. Its moderator, the Rev Jean-Francois Bill, was detained by the police on 20 June and had not been released by the end of the year under review. Roman Catholic Church

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) held a conference at Mariannhill (Natal) during April, after which a statement was issued in which it was said that the church in South Africa should be working for a society built on love. Apartheid conflicted with this, hence it had to be condemned. But also to be condemned was any movement that would seek to establish its own tyranny in place of apartheid."

After this conference a document was circulated to parishes for comment, in which the bishops were reported to have said that while the matter was still open to dialogue, 'we see no choice but to envisage forms of non-violent action such as passive resistance, boycott, and economic pressure to move our country away from its present state of racial conflict and set it firmly on the road to justice and full participation for its inhabitants in the structure of government... We admit, of course, that non-violent measures cannot be pursued without suffering... We beg people to consider this may be the only alternative to uncontrolled violence. 71

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In a pastoral letter issued after the conference, the bishops said that boycotts and economic pressure, if decided upon after much prayer, should be 'applied in such a way as not to destroy the country's economic infrastructure and to reduce as far as possible any additional suffering to the oppressed through job loss'. A commission would be set up by the church to advise on this matter. The bishops acknowledged that Catholics were not obliged to agree with their stand, but said that it did give a lead which must be taken seriously.⁷²

At church gatherings held in Pretoria during January, the archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, then president of the SACBC, was reported to have said that it was clear that the 'forces of the blacks' were on the march to full political involvement. 'People of dignity are now rising en masse, like a prairie fire sweeping away all in front of it. And the stronger the repression the stronger the reaction. We want the government to understand this and to make the quantum leap that is needed in South Africa.' There would have to be a change in attitude and approach to what was going on. 'We will have to talk more directly to the black liberation movements.' Questioned, he said that he included the ANC and SWAPO in 'liberation movements'.⁷³

A high-ranking delegation from the SACBC, led by Archbishop Hurley, and including its secretary general, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, visited Lusaka (Zambia) in April for talks with representatives of the ANC. Archbishop Hurley told the press that the ANC was going to play an important role in South Africa's future. The church was keen to find out what sort of society the organisation envisaged. It was important to anticipate the future in order to adjust to changes in society.⁷⁴

On its return, the delegation issued a joint communiqué. 'We asked them (the ANC representatives) about their rationale... why they had resorted to the armed struggle. They told us of their multi-faceted strategy of trying to isolate the white regime and draw away from it black and foreign support... They also told us they fully supported sanctions against South Africa. We asked about their links with communism, and they said although they had communists in their ranks, they did not consider themselves as communist as a whole. The Catholic Church in South Africa, the ANC representatives said, had a responsibility to mobilise its adherents to reject apartheid.' 'Apartheid cannot be reformed, they maintained, but must be ended in its entirety. Accordingly... the Pretoria regime cannot be an agent for change. Rather, it is the principal obstacle to the emergence of a democratic government representative of all the people of South Africa.' The bishops said that they declined to endorse the use of violence by the ANC.⁷⁵

Father Mkhathshwa was detained under the emergency regulations on 12 June and was still in detention at the end of 1986. During August and September the SACBC brought applications in the Pretoria supreme court for orders restraining those in authority from further assaulting him (allegations of assault and torture had been made by him), and for his release on the grounds that his continued detention, in the light of the allegations, was invalid. These matters were sub judice at the time of writing.⁷⁶

In June Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *The New Nation*, a newspaper launched by the SACBC, which had been highly critical of government policy, was detained. Mr Sisulu was released after 23 days, but was redetained in December (see *Security*).'

During September the bishops submitted a memorandum to the state

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president urging him to give a firm undertaking to dismantle apartheid, lift bans on black leaders and parties, and start negotiations with representatives of the black people. As requested, the state president and senior cabinet ministers met a delegation representing the SACBC on 17 November. It was reported that the church leaders were advised to keep out of the political terrain. Their task was a spiritual one, it was stated, and they should get their own house in order.

Archbishop Hurley commented afterwards that his deputation had emerged with the feeling that the meeting had served no useful purpose. But both sides had expressed the hope that further discussions should take place.⁷

The Southern African Council of Priests met at Mariannhill during the weekend of 14 September. A resolution was passed formally supporting the SACBC for its stand on economic pressure. A few weeks later delegates from branches of the

Southern African Council of Catholic Laity met at GaRankuwa, near Pretoria. In a unanimous statement they said that 'the time has come to take sides by making a clear option for the oppressed' by becoming involved in politics and social issues.' Roman Catholic support for the bishops was not unanimous, however. A number of parishes opposed disinvestment, as did a white group calling itself Young South Africans for a Christian Civilisation, and another white organisation called Concerned Catholics, which drew up a petition protesting about the 'socialistic' activities of the SACBC, this document to be handed in at the Vatican.^{8°} Another group called the South African Catholic Defence League is reported to have claimed, at a meeting in November, that there was a credibility and communication gap between the bishops and many of the church members. The latter suspected that Marxist forces were at work in the church. They objected, in particular, to the bishops' attitude to sanctions and to the ANC."

United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

At its assembly in 1985 the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa inserted in its constitution a provision prohibiting a serving minister of the church from holding a full-time paid political office. There were three church ministers who held office in the tricameral Parliament, representing the Labour Party (LP). The church authorities ruled that if they continued as members of the house of representatives after the end of 1985, they would have to resign their church ministries, unless their congregations decided otherwise. 1

In two cases, that of the LP's chairman, the Rev Andrew Julies, and the Rev Alwyn Goosen, the church congregations concerned decided by majority vote that their ministers could continue to be members of parliament. However, Mr Goosen decided to resign his seat in order to avoid any conflict within his church, and to resume his full-time ministry.⁸³

The third man affected was the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the ministers' council in the house of representatives and of the LP. His church council, in Uitenhage, decided by 445 votes to 382 to terminate his 33-year service as minister of their congregation. Some of the members thereafter seceded from this church to form a new congregation under Mr Hendrickse.¹⁴

Jewish organisations

At its quarterly meeting in Johannesburg during August, the national executive of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies reaffirmed its rejection of

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apartheid. This, it stated, had previously been clearly and unequivocally expressed in a unanimous resolution passed at a national congress of the board. An appeal was made to members of the Jewish community to participate actively in the process of improving race relations and the lot of underprivileged people. The board once again urged that immediate steps be taken to dismantle unjust and oppressive laws based upon racial discrimination.^Y

Rabbi A Assabi, leader of the progressive Judaic congregation at Temple Shalom, Highlands North, Johannesburg, said during March that 'it is a religious injunction that every Jew in South Africa makes his unique contribution in his immediate environment to the process of social reform by following and implementing the

teachings and precepts of his traditions. A good place to start, not out of liberal or humanitarian sentiments but out of religious duty, is right in the home with black people who are employed as domestic servants.""

Jews for Social Justice

Jews for Social Justice, the first Jewish anti-apartheid group, was inaugurated in September 1985 at a public meeting in Johannesburg.

The meeting, attended by about 500 people, was addressed by Mr Zac Yacob, an advocate and member of the Natal Indian Congress; Rabbi Norman Bernhard, a member of the executive committee of the South African Zionist Federation; Ms Audrey Coleman, of the Detainees Parents' Support Committee; and Ms Marion Crawford, who had chosen to go to jail rather than pay a fine for illegal employment of a black domestic worker.

The manifesto adopted at the meeting committed the organisation to working towards the dismantling of apartheid and its replacement by a 'nonracial, just, and democratic social order' and expressed opposition to: " the state of emergency;

* the use of the military in the townships;

* the Group Areas Act of 1966;

" influx control;

* political detentions and bannings;

* the denial of citizenship and political rights; and

* the government's refusal to talk to the real leaders." Jews for Social Justice

called on the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk to rescind its decision calling Islam 'a false religion' and called for the resignation of Ds Stoffel Colyn, the proposer of the motion, as chaplain general of the South African Police."

Jews for Social Justice was run by a steering committee of various volunteers from November 1985 to January 1987, when Mr Gary Lubner was elected chairperson.⁹

Muslims

In May, on the eve of the holy month of Ramadan, a leading Muslim, Mr Moulana Razack, said that while Muslims of different ethnic groups were required by the authorities to live in separate areas, they must not allow themselves to be kept apart in mosques. Every mosque in the country should be a rallying point for unity, he urged.^{9°}

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It was widely reported that large numbers of Africans were being converted to Islam, and that the Koran was being translated into Zulu.⁹¹ The Black Muslim Society was reported to have built four mosques in recent years in the African towns of Madadeni (Newcastle), Mabopane (Pretoria), Soweto (Johannesburg), and Tembisa (east Rand).^{9'}

At the general synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) in October, a report by a missionary committee was tabled, in which it was stated that note should be taken of the tremendous growth of the Muslim movement in South Africa, especially since the 1976 riots. It was perceived as a movement which was fighting for freedom. It currently had 328 000 members. 'Islam should be accepted and recognised as a minority group which has the right to practise its

religion in accordance with the principles of religious freedom,' the report said. It recommended that the NGK should work out a strategy for preaching the gospel to Muslims, and stressed that hostile confrontation should be avoided. There were certain areas in which the NGK and Muslims should work together to fight social evils, it was stated.⁷

A member of the synod, Dominee Stoffel Colyn, chaplain general of the South African Police (SAP), said at the meeting that Islam was a 'false' religion which constituted a threat to Christianity in South Africa. A considerable number of leaders who propagated revolution were radical Muslims. Large numbers of young African and coloured people had begun embracing Islam as an ideology which furthered the 'freedom struggle', he added.

Following a proposal of Ds Colyn, the synod called on the NGK to 'witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ as the only answer to the onslaught of Islam'. It recognised that Muslims had the right to exercise their faith in the light of the principle of freedom of religion, but stated that the NGK could not accept as a true religion any faith which did not recognise Jesus Christ as the Saviour."

The director of the Muslim Youth Movement, Mr Mohamed Farid Choonara, and Mr Nizam Khan MP (National People's Party) rejected the synod's decision that Islam was a false religion and a danger to South Africa as being 'utter rubbish' which did considerable harm to race relations. Mr Choonara called on the NGK to rescind its resolution for the sake of peaceful co-existence between Christians and Muslims; and urged that Ds Colyn be dismissed from his post in the SAP.⁹

The director of the Islamic Institute of South Africa, Mr Abdul-Samad Abdul Kader, said that his organisation had drawn up a petition to the state president, which various Islamic organisations and the imams of all mosques would be asked to sign. It protested against the naming of Islam as a false religion, asked the state president to affirm the section of the constitution which guaranteed religious freedom to every citizen, and urged him to put pressure on the NGK to withdraw its resolution."

There was sharp reaction, too, from international Islamic bodies, among them the Organisation of Islamic Conference, the Muslim World League, and the World Association of Muslim Youth. The league sent cables to the Pope and the World Council of Churches urging them to persuade the NGK to withdraw the resolution.⁹

The state president, Mr P W Botha, sent telegrams to Muslim organisations in South Africa stating, inter alia, that the South African constitution determined that it was a national goal to recognise and protect freedom of faith and worship.⁹⁹

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The synod's resolution caused great indignation among Muslim communities in South Africa. A protest meeting was held in Lenasia (outside Johannesburg). A group in Cape Town known as the Call of Islam planned to march from the Parade to the Groote Kerk on 1 November to demonstrate their anger. The divisional commissioner of police forbade the march, but a crowd of some 400 gathered on the Parade and ignored police orders to disperse. It was reported that bottles and stones were thrown at the police, who charged at the crowd, wielding

their quirts. Two policemen were injured, and nine young Muslims were arrested and detained. 10

Eight Muslim organisations in the western Cape signed a statement which was published in Muslim Views during December. They said, 'It is clear that the NGK's problem with Islam is the increasing involvement of Muslims in the struggle against the apartheid State. It is this dimension of Islam which the NGK finds threatening.' The NGK synod's resolution was intended to pave the way for state action against Islam, it was claimed. The organisations concerned were the Muslim Judicial Council, Call of Islam, Muslim Youth Movement, Muslim Students' Association, Qibla mass movement, chamber of Muslim meat traders, Islamic Medical Association, and Jaame (an investment company). 101

Hindus

Mr Pranlal V Lakhani, president of the South African Hindu Mahasaba, said that his organisation was concerned only with religious issues. The Mahasaba had branches in the Transvaal and the Cape and was an umbrella organisation for about 70 religious Hindu organisations in Natal."

Ecumenical Movements

Jesus Christ for Peace in South Africa

An organisation of this name arranged a peace rally in Johannesburg on 21 September, inviting all Christians, regardless of church denomination, to attend. About 5 000 did so. The purpose was to demonstrate that South Africa's problems could be solved if Christians of all racial groups and denominations 'joined hands in the sight of God'.103

Koinonia Southern Africa

During 1983 Dr Nico Smith was instrumental in forming a nonracial, interdenominational organisation in Pretoria called Koinonia (meaning 'fellowship'). Members joined in individual capacities. At a meeting held during February it was decided to expand the organisation on a national basis, 'to promote contact between people of different groups in a polarised South African society'.104

National Institute for Reconciliation (NIR)

The National Institute for Reconciliation (NIR) was created during 1986 under the chairmanship of Mr Michael Cassidy, who was the founder of Africa Enterprise (AE) (an inter-denominational, nonracial, and international organisation with headquarters in Pietermaritzburg which conducts evangelical missions in various African territories). The aims of the NIR were to promote fellowship among all those who accepted Jesus Christ as Lord, and were

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committed to seeking a way to a more just and righteous future for South Africa. A conference of Christian leaders of various denominations and language and racial groups was held in Pietermaritzburg from 10 to 12 September to discuss and plan this project. Teams were then sent to a number of centres to arrange meetings in churches of all types, in an attempt to motivate people to prayer, evangelism, renewal, practical caring, and a new concern for justice. Thereafter, a national day of prayer for reconciliation was organised on 9 October.

A national committee and regional committees were formed and coordinators appointed.⁵

South African Council of Churches (SACC)

The message of the Kairos Document was described on pages 576-577 of the 1985 Survey. Briefly, the 151 signatories rejected the idea that conflict in South Africa was simply a racial war. Basically, it was conflict between two causes or interests of which the one was just and the other unjust.

In an address to a conference on evangelism, held at Hammanskraal (near Pretoria), in February, Dr Beyers Naudé, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), warned of racial tension within the church.

Evidence of this was shown when most of the black clergy supported the Kairos Document, while white clergy, in the main, adopted a cautious attitude. There was talk among blacks, he said, of a breakaway church, referred to as the 'confessional church'. All churches would have to face the reality of black experience.¹⁰⁶

The annual general conference of the SACC was held in Bosmont (Johannesburg) during June. The president of the organisation, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, said in an opening address that the church in South Africa could not afford to be partisan, endorsing particular parties or groups. Christ had founded only one church on earth, in which different ideologies and philosophies could come together. There was room enough for all viewpoints to interact. The church must be there for all and provide unity for all. ¹⁰⁷

In his annual report Dr Naudé said that he believed that recent reforms by the government such as the abolition of the pass laws, common citizenship, and the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and section 16 of the Immorality Act of 1957 were 'more than cosmetic'. He believed that these reforms, even if they were 'hemmed in by inhibiting regulations', were remarkably courageous on the part of the state president. 'The tragedy of these reforms, however, is that they are seen by whites as too radical... and by blacks as too little, too slow, and therefore too late... What hope is there for reconciliation in a situation of such polarised communities?' he asked. The conflict between the government and the African National Congress (ANC) was basic to all other conflicts in the country, and if it could be resolved a major source of violence would be removed.

Dr Naudé outlined conflicting convictions and fears of whites and blacks in the country, and said that the South African community, especially the churches, would have to address themselves to the resolution of these if they were to play a meaningful role in achieving both liberation and reconciliation."

Reports were made to the conference on the finances of the SACC and of various trust and other special funds it administered, including an African bursary fund; the dependants' conference, which assisted families of political

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prisoners and detainees; and the Asingeni fund and a national emergency fund, which were used to help people who suffered as a result of disturbances, for example, by providing bail for accused persons, fees to lawyers, funeral expenses, and aid to families which had lost their breadwinners.¹⁰⁹ A refugee fund gave aid

to refugees from South Africa and those entering from other countries. 0

Proceedings of the conference were confidential.

Representatives of the SACC went to Harare (Zimbabwe) for talks with both the ANC and the PAC and visited Bonn for discussions with the west German foreign minister.¹¹

United Christian Action

United Christian Action is an umbrella organisation for about 14 'spiritually traditionalist' bodies, including the Christian League, Catholic Defence League, and Sign Post magazine. During 1986 it sent two telegrams to the president of the United States, President Ronald Reagan, thanking him for his opposition to sanctions. In one of these it stated that it disagreed with him, however, on the lifting of the ban on the ANC and the releasing of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, on the grounds that such action 'would spark off the first stage of a two-stage Marxist revolution in South Africa'.

Another telegram was sent to the state president, Mr P W Botha, praising him for not giving in to pressure to release Mr Mandela unconditionally, as was at the time being urged by the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who was then visiting South Africa."²

World Conference on Religion and Peace A South African chapter of the World Conference on Religion and Peace was launched in August 1984. The organisation was made up of people of various faiths, among them Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, and others. Its aim was to promote unity, justice and peace through inter-religious discussion.

Three interfaith meetings were held in the Johannesburg area during July. At each, speakers of different religions explained their ways of worship and what their faith meant to them spiritually and socially."³

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URBANISATION

Policy

The White Paper on Urbanisation

In April the government published a White Paper on Urbanisation containing its policy on the management of social, economic, and physical problems which could follow rapid urbanisation. It took into consideration the recommendations in the 1985 report on an urbanisation strategy for the Republic of South Africa of the committee for constitutional affairs of the president's council (PC) (see 1985 Survey p212).

Evolution of urbanisation policy

Outlining the evolution of urbanisation policy in South Africa, the White Paper said that since the early 1930s, when the government had instructed the commission for rural industries to investigate the establishment of industries in 'backward' areas, urbanisation and the possible overconcentration of economic activities at some points had been the subject of the government's attention. The White Paper said that in 1942 the social and economic planning council was asked to identify areas with the potential to be developed as alternatives to metropolitan areas. In 1947 the council for the development of natural resources had been established on the recommendation of the planning council, and the concept of industrial decentralisation was born. The White Paper said that the problems caused by uncontrolled migration to the metropolitan areas had also been addressed by the commission for the socio-economic development of bantu areas within the union of South Africa (the Tomlinson commission) during the 1950s, and again in 1960 by the prime minister when the decentralisation programme was introduced.

It said that in 1975 the planning advisory council had published the national physical development plan. In this plan, certain points (excluding the homelands) had been identified as metropolises, planned metropolitan areas, growth poles, and

principal towns in an attempt, inter alia, to allow the process of urbanisation to take an 'orderly course'.

The White Paper added that in 1975 the Physical Planning Act of 1967 had been amended to provide for the compilation of guide plans. In 1981 the act had again been amended to make provision for the laying down of guidelines for planning, which would serve as a framework for urbanisation. As a result, a revised industrial decentralisation programme, known as the Good Hope plan, had been announced, the White Paper said, in an attempt to bring about a more balanced process of urbanisation. This strategy had been implemented from 1 April 1982. The state president had requested the president's council on 26 March 1985 to advise him on urbanisation strategies to counter the present social, economic, and physical problems resulting from rapid urbanisation, the White Paper said.'

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The government's approach to urbanisation

According to the White Paper the government's general approach to urbanisation was based on the following:

- * recognition of the inevitability of urbanisation;
- * consultation with homeland leaders and local communities;
- * freedom of movement to and within urban areas for 'South African' citizens (ie South Africans excluding citizens of the four 'independent' homelands - the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei (TBVC));
- * maintenance of separate residential areas;
- * population removal 'necessary for development or the improvement of conditions' after negotiation with the groups concerned; and
- " a more balanced distribution of people and economic activity and a regionally differentiated approach to urbanisation.

The objectives of the government's urbanisation strategy included: " the removal of discriminatory and negative measures;

- * the effective accommodation of urban growth;
- 0 the prevention of social problems resulting from rapid population increase, underdevelopment, and restrictions on mobility;
- * an effective land policy to eliminate current backlogs; and
- * the promotion of local authorities.

Migration control

The government accepted the permanence of Africans in 'South Africa' (ie South Africa with the exception of the TBVC homelands), acknowledging that all citizens should enjoy equal political rights, while minority rights would also be protected. Influx control no longer served any constitutional purpose and should be abolished. Priority should be given to the issue of uniform identity documents for all population groups.

The government said that existing measures regulated the entry of foreigners into 'South Africa' as well as their residence and employment there and their removal therefrom. These measures protected the rights of South African citizens and should be strictly applied. Action could be taken against employers who

employed illegal foreigners in the country. Agreements with the TBVC authorities provided for the migration of their citizens to and from 'South Africa' for as long as they were regarded as foreigners in terms of migration legislation such as the Aliens Act of 1937 and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972. If negotiations presently under way with the TBVC authorities over the return of South African citizenship to TBVC citizens resident in the TBVC countries were successful, existing labour arrangements with these countries would be amended.

Other measures

The government accepted the PC's recommendation to use approved accommodation as a deliberate measure to promote orderly urbanisation. This meant that people could not be permitted to settle indiscriminately in a city, the White Paper said.

It added that the bureau for information would implement a programme to inform prospective migrants of the availability of approved accommodation, sites, and employment opportunities in urban areas. Local authorities would

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be instructed to establish similar services to assist new arrivals.

The need for amendments to the slums and squatting acts to 'prevent the development of undesirable urban conditions and to canalise settlement to areas where opportunities exist' was accepted. The devolution of responsibility in this regard to second- and third-tier government would be promoted.

The government was aware of existing housing and service backlogs for people already settled in urban areas, and the provincial, regional, or local authorities concerned would be instructed to apply urban development measures in a manner which would not impair people's 'rights'.

The economic and spatial ordering of urbanisation

A regionally differentiated approach to urbanisation would be followed by means of incentives and disincentives, the White Paper continued. The creation of employment opportunities in metropolitan areas where expansion was possible was accepted, but the present practice of restricting industrial land in these areas would continue. Industrial land would still be made available at deconcentration points under existing incentives. The White Paper said that metropolitan areas which crossed constitutional boundaries should be treated as functional units. The pressure of future urbanisation on metropolitan core areas should be minimised. The benefits of multi-nodal metropolitan areas such as the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) area should be exploited, it said. The orderly deconcentration of urban functions should be promoted without detracting from the metropolitan areas.

The White Paper stressed the important role of transport, saying that investigations into reducing commuting times, the phasing out of subsidies, the promotion and co-ordination of public transport, and the improved use of kombitaxis would be undertaken.

The need for a development strategy to make the rural areas and rural towns more viable so as to counter migration to metropolitan areas was discussed. This

strategy should concentrate on the development of a select number of towns to provide employment for those who could not be absorbed by agriculture. This should not, however, be allowed to have the effect of restricting the 'orderly development' of the self-governing homelands. A number of town planning guidelines were set. These included linking the availability of land and services to the needs of the lowest income groups, the speeding up and adoption of uniform procedures for township establishment, the promotion of ownership of commercial and industrial land for all race groups, and the adoption of appropriate standards.

Administration of development, standards, and housing

The White Paper said that legislation providing for homeownership for all communities would be introduced in 1986. Provision would also be made for different forms of ownership; realistic standards; cheaper and more effective building methods; and the elimination, as far as possible, of housing backlogs. The provision of housing was the responsibility of the individual, the employer, the private sector, and, in exceptional cases, the government.

Local authorities

Legislation providing for the creation of equal ranking local authorities for all

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groups would be introduced, the White Paper said. Government departments could provide financial assistance to those local authorities which were unable to supply services on a financially self-supporting basis.

Co-ordination

The recommended urbanisation council was not accepted by the government. The department of constitutional development and planning would coordinate the implementation of the urbanisation strategy, the White Paper said.

Implementation of the urbanisation strategy

An urban development programme would be implemented without delay, the White Paper said. The objective of privatisation would be adhered to, and preference should be given in the award of contracts to the promotion of black entrepreneurship and the creation of employment opportunities. Mechanisms to enable the private sector to make financial resources available for black development to a greater extent had to be formulated, it said. The government would also continue to make substantial financial contributions.

The Central Witwatersrand Draft Guide Plan

In August 1986 the Central Witwatersrand Draft Guide Plan was published, and comment was solicited by the department of constitutional development and planning. The guide plan, which laid down overall planning guidelines to serve as a framework for further planning, would become binding once passed. The central Witwatersrand accommodated about half the Rand's population and 18% of South Africa's population. The report stated that although the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) complex would dominate the national scene for the foreseeable future, 'it can be expected that the central Witwatersrand will become less important within the broader national context'. Suggestions and objectives outlined by the guide plan included the following:

* long-term development strategy should be aimed at levelling off growth within core areas, preference being given to the creation of jobs in deconcentration nodes;

" in, view of the southern Transvaal's economic strength, well-developed infrastructure, and direct linkage with Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele, preference should be given to strengthening the Rustenburg/Pretoria/ Middelburg development axis. Other areas to be favoured were Brits, Rosslyn, and Bronkhorstspuit;

" in the PWV complex, adequate space had to be allowed for the establishment of small industries. But once they became viable, industrialists would be encouraged to decentralise;

* the present practice of creating a shortage of industrial land within the metropolitan core areas should continue;

* no large-scale provision of industrial work opportunities was envisaged in the interests of 'the prevention of over-concentration';

" provision should, however, be made for the availability of industrial land for light and service industries near African, coloured, or Indian residential areas;

* greater emphasis would be placed on providing adequate inter-urban and intra-urban public transport systems to serve the area; and

THE CENTRAL WITWATERSRAND DRAFT GUIDE PLAN

* although the growth rate of the African population of the central Witwatersrand was expected to level off, more land should be provided to accommodate the foreseeable African population increase. A new town for African people should be provided in the northeastern part of the guide plan area because work opportunities existed along this development axis and existing African residential areas in the south would necessitate extensive travelling to reach them. But because there was not sufficient land available in the guide plan area for all African residential needs,

provision had also to be made outside the guide plan area's boundaries.²

Comment

In September The Star said it seemed that the government would allow the economic sacrifice of the very region which largely financed twentieth century South Africa. It took issue with the report's claim that Johannesburg should be saved from becoming 'congested'. The Star said the report's own population projections revealed that by the end of the century the metropolis would still be one of the world's least densely populated urban regions.,

The proposals were also criticised by both the Johannesburg chamber of commerce and the Johannesburg central business district association (CBDA) in November. A joint submission said that experience in South Africa and in third world countries contradicted the assumption that African population growth on the central Witwatersrand would level off. The two bodies said that they favoured the elimination of group areas restrictions because it was impossible to prepare sensible plans for the future while multiracial residential development was held back.⁴ They added that the proposed African township between Sandton and

Pretoria (dubbed 'Norweto') should not be built for environmental reasons, among them the pollution of the Hartbeespoort Dam, its distance from the north-south development axis, and consequent transport difficulties.' It was reported that the Randburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer appeared to be the sole consenting voice amid mounting opposition to the proposed township.

Four South African professional planning institutions, viz the institutes of civil engineers, architects, town and regional planners, and landscape architects, asked the government to withdraw the draft guide plan. In a memorandum to the department of constitutional development and planning they said that it was based on 'insufficient and inaccurate data', was incompatible with recent government statements regarding future policy, and was not based on sound economic and planning principles.⁶

An anti-Norweto greenbelt action group (GAG) called on the government to withdraw the draft guide plan. It alleged that the proposals were 'without an adequate analysis and data base, without consideration to cost benefit implications, an entrenchment of outdated methods of apartheid planning, and totally lacking in motivation and consideration'. In addition, no environmental impact study had been done. If Norweto went ahead, the Hartbeespoort Dam and the future of drinkable water would be seriously threatened, airborne pollution would close Lanseria airport, and projected high unemployment would threaten local security. The project also posed a national security risk to Pelindaba, the atomic energy research centre, and the military installation at Lanseria, a GAG report claimed. It added that the

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proposed zoning for extractive industry around Norweto appeared to be a 'device to secure a buffer strip without cost to the State'. The deadline for comment on the guide plan was 5 December, and a spokesman for the department of constitutional development and planning said a government decision was expected within a year.⁷

The private sector council's report on urbanisation The private sector council (PSC), an alliance of employer organisations, businessmen, and industrialists, backed by the Urban Foundation, was formed in 1985 to work out an urbanisation strategy for South Africa. The council was chaired by the executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn. A report was made public in early December. The council said that although influx control had been abolished from 1 July, policy changes on other issues were also necessary. These included:

- * the restoration of citizenship to residents of 'independent' homelands. The PSC urged government to offer automatic dual citizenship to citizens of territories formerly part of South Africa;

- * an end to both forced removals and the demolition of squatter settlements.

The council said that the government should not allow the demolition of structures located on publicly-owned land unless there was affordable and suitably located alternative accommodation which was acceptable to the affected people. To prevent illegal squatting, the government should allocate and service large tracts of well-situated urban land;

" a determined effort by the government to engage in negotiations with African communities and white local authorities to devise community-backed institutions of local government. Present institutions of African local government were in a state of crisis and lacked community legitimacy and economic viability. 'The research evidence from regions all over the country, in particular the eastern Cape and the PWV, suggests that the leaders of all local community-based African organisations may be willing to negotiate on local issues, frequently in defiance of the uncompromising public stance of the national organisations to which they are affiliated,' the

PSC report said;

- * the need for a cost-benefit analysis of the decentralisation policy and an overhaul of enforced racial segregation; and

- * an urgent inquiry into the legislative changes needed to free the rural market of all racially discriminatory restrictions. Land in rural areas was racially allocated in terms of the Black Land Act of 1913 and the Development Land and Trust Act of 1936.⁸

Influx control

Policy

The White Paper on Urbanisation coincided with the suspension on 23 April of arrests under the pass laws and the release of all pass offenders. These reforms stemmed largely from the finding of the president's council (PC) that influx control was being applied in a discriminatory fashion and had a severely detrimental effect on the quality of life of Africans. The great number of people arrested for influx control offences, between 200 000 and 300 000 annually, induced contempt for the law and the authorities. The PC also found that influx control did not work and Africans were flocking to the

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urban areas to earn a living. The result was 'unordered urbanisation' with slums, squatting, and unsanitary living conditions.⁹

Following the publication of the White Paper, the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said there would no longer be control over the movement of 'South African' citizens (ie excluding the TBVC areas), except if local authorities acted against loitering and if squatter camps were cleared. Mr Heunis said that squatting, defined as 'the illegal occupation of the land or buildings for living purposes', would not be allowed. But at the same time, much more land would be made available for the expansion of cities and towns, and building regulations would be applied more flexibly. According to government officials, illegal squatters would be resettled on suitable serviced land as near as possible to the same district. However, squatter settlements need not necessarily be cleared; they could be upgraded and made permanent.¹⁰

Government spokesmen said that international migration control formed part of the government's new urbanisation strategy. Control over African foreigners was to be assumed by the department of home affairs under the Aliens Act of 1937 and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972. Mr Heunis said that the fate of 3,8m citizens from 'independent' homelands working in 'South

Africa' would be determined by negotiations which were being conducted with the leaders of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei (TBVC). These negotiations would clarify the issue of dual citizenship which would affect the freedom of movement of these 'independent' homelands' citizens in 'South Africa'. Following proposals in the White Paper, pass law restrictions were lifted in terms of the Abolition of Influx Control Act (see below) on Africans who were South African citizens. Other South African Africans would fall under the control of the department of home affairs in terms of the Aliens Act. However, Mr Heunis said, TBVC citizens who already had permanent residence rights in terms of section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 would be granted South African citizenship in any case."

In July the department of home affairs reiterated that citizens of TBVC areas and neighbouring countries would be subjected to government controls. TBVC citizens, except those with permanent urban residence rights, would be regarded as 'aliens' in 'South Africa' and employers could not hire them without the consent of the department of home affairs. Employers also had to obtain a 'no objection to recruiting' recommendation from the department of manpower before taking on 'aliens'.¹²

In September the -director general of home affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, told employers that they would not be prosecuted if they employed TBVC citizens in white-designated South Africa while their status and rights were still being considered. However, he warned that his department intended stepping up measures against other aliens and employers contravening the Aliens Act. Mr Van Zyl said that increased action was being taken to determine the location of aliens, and the department was also considering undertaking more employer inspections. This might result in the increased prosecution of employers, leading to fines of up to R5 000 or two years' imprisonment under the Group Areas Act of 1966. He said that in the meantime TBVC citizens were exempt from certain requirements under the Aliens Act and did not

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require work permits." In October Mr Van Zyl said that TBVC citizens were also exempt from applying for temporary residence permits while negotiations over their rights continued.¹⁴

Legislation

Special Courts for Blacks Abolition Act

The Special Courts for Blacks Abolition Bill, which had been tabled in 1984, was enacted in April. The bill provided for the scrapping of special courts for Africans and matters connected therewith. Commissioners' courts, which dealt with pass and other offences, and the appeal courts for commissioners' courts, were abolished. Powers conferred on the commissioner in terms of section 9 of the Black Administration Act of 1927 lapsed." The commissioners' powers had included all the powers conferred by law on magistrates' courts for the summoning of witnesses, their examination under oath, and the producing of documents.

Identification Act

The Identification Act was passed during the year under review and came into operation on 1 July. It introduced a single population register for all races and uniform (ie colourblind) identity documents. The act was described as the first legislative step towards the scrapping of influx control.¹⁶

It repealed the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 in its entirety and abolished large parts of the Population Registration Act of 1950. The Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act had provided that all Africans should carry passes. It had also created a score of offences connected with passes and identity documents, the most frequently prosecuted offence having been failure to produce a reference book on demand by an authorised officer. Until the repeal of parts of the Population Registration Act in July, Africans had been registered with the reference bureau and had been fingerprinted on applying for a reference book. In terms of the Identification Act, records in the reference bureau would become part of the population register which contains the records of people of other population groups. Although the act removed the need for anyone to carry an identity document, everyone would have to identify themselves without delay if asked to do so by an authorised officer. This could be done by producing any state-issued identity document, or by making a statement in which particulars of identity were given.

Contravention of the regulations could result in a maximum fine of R500 or six months . in prison. The government also introduced measures to strengthen the legal obligation of individuals to submit details for the population register. In terms of the act employers were also required to submit details of employees, and landlords of tenants."

The White Paper on Urbanisation (see above) stated that as a transitional measure, the existing reference book could serve purely as an identification instrument and remain valid until replaced with a new nonracial identity document.⁸

The minister of home affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said applications for common identity books could be made from 1 May. In future everyone applying for a common identity book would have to have their fingerprints taken for inclusion in the population register. The Star noted that although

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fingerprints would not appear in the identity document, the population register, which is the cornerstone of apartheid legislation, would be closely linked to the issue of identity documents. Although race was not mentioned anywhere in the legislation, race classification would appear in the population register because, in terms of other legislation, this information had to be given on birth certificates. Coloured people, Indians, and whites already issued with identity documents would not have to reapply immediately.¹⁹

From 1 May (when applications for the new colourblind identity document could be made) up to 2 January 1987, 2 456 808 applications were received from Africans, according to a spokesman for the department of home affairs. But the spokesman said figures for the number of applications granted were not available?'

Abolition of Influx Control Act

The Abolition of Influx Control Act, which was enacted in June with retroactive effect to 23 April, repealed the laws relating to influx control in respect of Africans; amended the Black Administration Act of 1927 in order to repeal provisions relating to the removal of African communities; amended the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 in order to provide for its uniform application, irrespective of race; adjusted the fines which might be imposed for contravening the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951; provided for controlled squatting on land designated by the minister of constitutional development and planning; amended the Slums Act of 1979 to provide for the application of the act in areas under the jurisdiction of local authorities in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982; and provided for incidental matters.²¹ The Abolition of Influx Control Act provided for the partial or entire repeal of 34 laws, and for the amendment of three others. Among the laws repealed in their entirety was the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, the centrepiece of influx control. As a result the State lost various powers it had over Africans (although in a few cases these remained, at least in part, under other laws). For example:

- * section 10, the most far reaching provision in the act, had made it an offence for Africans, except those with the requisite qualifications or permission, to remain in prescribed areas for longer than 72 hours.

Prescribed areas were urban areas where control over the influx of Africans was in force in terms of proclamations under the act;

- * section 10 bis had prohibited the employment of Africans in prescribed areas without permission from the officer managing the labour bureau in the area;

- * section 29 had allowed for Africans to be banished from cities if commissioners deemed them to be 'idle and undesirable'. The White Paper on Urbanisation stated that the government had accepted the recommendation of the commission of inquiry into legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower (the Riekert commission) in 1979 that 'idle and undesirable' people should be dealt with in terms of section 29 of the Abuse of Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act of 1971. However, in July, the chief director of legal administration in the department of constitutional development and planning, Dr J C Bekker, said that the latter section would not be used as an alternative. 'It

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is aimed at persons who are candidates for referral to rehabilitation centres. It does not cater for idle and undesirable persons, whatever the meaning of that expression may be. ²² The White Paper said 'loitering and congregating' would be investigated by a committee consisting of officials from several departments, local authorities, and the police, who would consider whether local authorities had the ability and power to administer

section 29 effectively;

0 section 9 had segregated Africans in urban areas. In terms of the section

Africans who had not obtained permission to be in a white-designated area, could have been removed. However, the Group Areas Act of 1966 effectively ensures that Africans still cannot live in coloured, Indian, or white areas, except with a permit. Africans who used to apply for permits for this purpose under section 9 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act could now apply for permits in terms of the Group Areas Act;¹³

- * section 9(9) had enabled the police to prohibit anyone other than an African from entering an African township;

- * section 12 had made it an offence for 'foreign' Africans to be in a prescribed area. In future all 'aliens' would be controlled in accordance with the Aliens Act and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act. The control of 'foreign' Africans was taken over by the department of home affairs;

- * section 31 had allowed the state president to proclaim curfews in chosen areas, preventing Africans from being there during certain hours unless in possession of a permit issued by their employers, the local authority, or the South African Police (SAP). The White Paper stated that many local authorities had requested that the curfew be repealed in their areas. This discriminatory practice had been known as the 'white by night' policy; and "
- section 43 had allowed Africans to attend sports events in prescribed areas and enabled non-Africans to attend sports meetings in African residential areas.

The Abolition of Influx Control Act also allowed for the repeal of:

- * the whole of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1955;

- * the whole of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1978;

- * chapter four of the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936. This chapter provided for the eviction, removal or institutionalisation of Africans who occupied land outside prescribed areas or scheduled African areas unlawfully, and determined the labour quotas of farmers. However, the White Paper said that the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act would be adapted to protect the ownership rights of landowners;

- * section 10 of the Development Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1939;

- * sections 4 to 12 of the Development Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1954;

- * sections 8 and 9 of the Development Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1956;

- * section 4 of the Development Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1958;

- * Proclamation R74 of 1968. This proclamation previously ensured that citizens of the six non-independent homelands worked in white-designated 'South Africa' on contract and that contracts were attested in the territory of origin. It had inhibited the free movement of African workers.

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According to the White Paper, the repeal would be valid only in whitedesignated South Africa. However, the six non-independent homelands subsequently

repealed the proclamation as well.²⁴ This repeal did not affect the four 'independent' homelands, which had previously drawn up their 'own labour agreements with 'South Africa';⁵ " the whole of Proclamation 270 of 1966. This had empowered a member of the SAP or an authorised officer of an urban local authority to enter and search premises without a warrant in a prescribed area, if he suspected that an African was resident, employed, or accommodated there against the regulations of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act;

- * section 26 of the Black Affairs Administration Act of 1971. Section 26 had been the only remaining section of this act, and had controlled the movement of Africans in prescribed areas in the same development board area;
- * the whole of the Contributions in Respect of Black Labour Act of 1972. Employers used to have to pay a monthly levy in respect of each African employee to the administration (and later development) boards;
- * the whole of the Blacks (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956. The granting of interdicts to African individuals or communities which could suspend their removal or eviction was prohibited under this act;
- * sections 17(2)(e) and 20(2)(i)(j)(k)(l) and (p) of the Group Areas Act of 1966. This was necessary because they had referred to provisions repealed elsewhere and, therefore, had become meaningless;²
- " sections 38 and 39 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1937; " sections 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1952;
- " the whole of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1957; " section 8 of the Black Laws Further Amendment Act of 1957;
- * sections 6 and 7 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1963;
- * sections 18 to 31, 39, 45 to 51, 61, 64, 72, 73, and 76 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1964;
- * section 3 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1968;
- * sections 3 and 6 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1970;
- * section 8 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1974;
- * section 7 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1976; " sections 3 and 4 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1977;
- * sections 2, 3, and 5 of the Black Laws Amendment Act of 1978; " section 1 of the Second Black Laws Amendment Act of 1978; " the whole of the Administrators' Powers (Validation) Act of 1950;
- * section 6 of the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Act of 1979;
- " sections 4 and 5 of the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act of 1979;
- * section 3 of the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act of 1980;
- * section 1 of the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act of 1981;
- " sections 3, 4, and 5 of the Laws on Co-operation and Development

Amendment Act of 1983;

* sections 3 and 4 of the Laws on Co-operation and Development

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Amendment Act of 1985; and

* provisions of section 5 of the Black Administration Act of 1927 in terms of which a tribe, community of Africans, or an African person could have been ordered to move from land they had occupied to a place mentioned in an order."

The Abolition of Influx Control Act also amended:

* the Slums Act of 1979. This act regulated the clearance of slums in the areas of jurisdiction of local authorities with the exception of African towns. It was amended to include African local authorities as well. The administration of the Slums Act had been, with effect from September 1984, assigned to ministers of 'own affairs'. A bill to be tabled in the house of assembly would repeal the Slums Act and re-enact it to give local authorities greater powers for slum clearance. The house of representatives also intended repealing the Slums Act and incorporating aspects of it into

its housing and development acts;¹⁸

0 the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951. Section 3(c), which had controlled migration, was repealed and replaced by a new section 6A.

Section 3(c) had provided that people might not be brought into areas designated by the minister of constitutional development and planning without a certificate from the local authority concerned indicating that proper accommodation was available. A new section 6A provided that controlled squatting would now be possible because the minister might designate land for this purpose. The minister could designate uninhabited land, or land on which people were already squatting, for controlled squatting. Suitable regulations could be made for the upgrading of the squatter settlement, the orderly development of the land as a residential area, the provision of services, and some form of local government. When a residential area had been upgraded to the point where it could be administered as a township, it could be deproclaimed as land for controlled squatting and be reproclaimed as a township under the appropriate law.²⁹ The amounts of the fines which could be imposed for squatting were higher, a step which government spokesmen said was necessary to bring the fines into line with the the present value of money. The government's changes to the squatting act were so numerous that the editor of a legal publication, *De Rebus*, said in July that 'at first blush' it would appear that the Abolition of Influx Control Act might more appropriately have been called the 'Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act' because fifteen of its nineteen sections were amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act.

Other changes in the law that were introduced following the recommendations in the White Paper, but not dealt with in terms of either the Identification Act or the Abolition of Influx Control Act, included:

* the repeal of the Black Labour Act of 1964 by Proclamation 115 of 1986.

The proclamation came into effect on 1 July. The Black Labour Act had regulated the recruitment, employment, housing, feeding, and health conditions of African employees, and had contained the machinery for the granting of permission to Africans to be in prescribed urban areas in terms of section 10(1)(d) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. All manpower matters would in future be dealt with by the department of manpower on a nonracial basis. Housing of workers was regarded as a

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private matter, except insofar as employers had to comply with health legislation, the Group Areas Act, laws relating to the establishment of townships, and such generally applicable rules.' As a result of the repeal of the Black Labour Act, aid centres would disappear. The aim of these centres had been to supply 'aid' to Africans arrested in terms of the Black Labour Act, the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, and the Blacks

(Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act; 31 and

* arrangements for health regulations to be issued for town and village councils under the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982.

In addition, the Black Communities Development Act of 1984 was amended with effect from July to allow 'South African' African citizens and certain other Africans to acquire freehold property rights in African townships (see Housing). The Identification Act and the Abolition of Influx Control Act, which introduced freedom of movement for 'South African' citizens (ie all South Africans except citizens of the 'independent' homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei (TBVC)) from 1 July, were widely welcomed. The measures were described as the biggest reforms in South Africa since the recognition of African trade unions."

The director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Mr John Kane-Berman, said the scrapping of the pass laws, 'along with the statutory recognition of black trade unions in 1979', was the 'most important reform in South Africa since World War II'. He said, 'Removing influx control lifts a great weight from the shoulders of millions of people.'

Mr Kane-Berman said that the government's promise of freedom of movement for 'all citizens of the RSA' made it essential that South African citizenship was speedily restored to all TBVC citizens - including those permanently resident in these areas. 'Along with the South African government, the governments of these areas have a responsibility to ensure that it is so restored,' he said. Failure to enable the 6m-odd TBVC residents to benefit from the abolition of the pass laws would be a major blemish on the package. Shifting the basis of discrimination against such people from race to 'foreign' nationality would fool nobody.

The past president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said that although the Black Sash welcomed the abolition of the pass laws, it seemed that certain sections of the African workforce were worse off than before. She said that labour preference policies now lay between 'South Africans' and 'aliens'. 'South Africans' could be employed without any fuss, but 'aliens', who comprised about one third

of the country's workforce and carried TBVC and foreign passports, would be increasingly excluded from the job market.³³

Mr Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg said that the Abolition of Influx Control Act represented a 'real change' for 'South African' citizens. However, it did not grant freedom of movement to all Africans in South Africa. Particularly in the western Cape, citizenship and housing policy would determine whether influx control was indeed abolished or continued in other forms."

The national committee against removals (NCAR) welcomed the scrapping of influx control. But, it said, the major policy shift was away from racial discrimination towards control based on who could afford to live in urban areas. The NCAR said with the combined effect of changes to the Prevention

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of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, the Slums Act of 1979, health regulations, the Group Areas Act of 1966, the policing by local authorities, and the limited land set aside for urbanisation, control over the movement of people to urban areas could be almost as tight as under the pass laws.³⁵

The Urban Foundation, which had played a major role in lobbying for the repeal of the pass laws, said that the White Paper on Urbanisation had demonstrated a clear commitment by the government to the abolition of influx control and the introduction of free movement for all South African citizens. The executive chairman of the foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, said there were no hidden legal control measures specifically for black people created in substitution for the pass laws. The recommendations provided for the removal of a major pillar of apartheid and racial discrimination. But, he said, it was essential that an urgent and clear settlement be achieved with the authorities of the TBVC areas that restored South African citizenship to all the TBVC people.³⁶

Despite the repeal of many discriminatory laws, several important laws which remained in force could restrict freedom of movement for various categories of Africans.

It appeared that the Aliens Act and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act would be used as a form of influx control against some categories of Africans. Aliens could not enter 'South Africa' (ie South Africa excluding the TBVC areas) or take up employment in 'South Africa' without permission from the departments of home affairs and manpower respectively. If they did so they would be liable to summary arrest and deportation. People who provided them with employment or accommodation without official permission would also be subject to heavy penalties.³⁷ The Black Sash estimated that the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, passed in June (see Government and Constitution and The Homelands), would enable only about 1,75m TBVC citizens to regain their South African citizenship, which they had lost when their homelands had become 'independent'. About 7,5m TBVC citizens (according to the Black Sash) who did not have urban residence rights in 'South Africa' remained aliens in 'South Africa'. Those that qualified automatically to get their South African citizenship back were people born in 'South Africa' prior to their homelands'

'independence' and who had lived there permanently ever since. They needed to inform the director general of home affairs that they wanted to regain their South African citizenship. Other TBVC citizens might apply for South African citizenship, but five years of permanent residence in 'South Africa' was required. The position of migrant workers remained unclear since they were supposedly only temporary residents in white-designated areas.³⁸ The director of the SAIRR, Mr John Kane-Berman, accused the government of 'bad faith' in its handling of the citizenship issue in that so many Africans who had lost their South African citizenship 'at the stroke of a pen' were 'forced to apply if they want it back' instead of having it restored to them 'at the stroke of a pen'.³⁹ According to the minister of home affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, a total of 2 909 Africans from the 'independent' homelands regained their South African citizenship during 1986.¹⁰ The Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Act was gazetted on 2 July (see The Homelands). It provided for the incorporation of several African communities living on freehold land, as well as on large tracts of land

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belonging to white farmers on the borders of TBVC areas, into some of these 'independent' homelands. This meant that thousands more Africans lost their right to South African citizenship, and with it their right to move freely and seek employment freely in white-designated South Africa.⁴¹

Influx control enforcement

Arrests and prosecutions

The minister of law and order, Mr Louis Le Grange, said in August that arrests relating to reference books and influx control had been suspended on 23 April. A total of 13 481 people had been arrested for these offences between January 1 and that date, he added. Pretoria alone had accounted for

7 555 of these arrests.⁴²

The chief director of legal administration in the department of constitutional development and planning, Dr J C Bekker, said that between 1916 and 1981 (a period of 65 years) at least 17m Africans had been arrested for pass offences. He conceded that the laws had brought the 'whole legal system into discredit'. In addition, many of those prosecuted had had no legal representation in court, he added." Dr Bekker said that apart from the fact that the laws had been discriminatory, they had been enforced by a special court system, the commissioners' courts, until 31 August 1984."

Release of prisoners

On 23 April the minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced the suspension of arrests under the pass laws and indicated that all pass offenders would be released over the next few days. He said the offenders were being held under the provisions relating to the 72-hour restriction in urban areas, failure to produce reference books, idle and undesirable persons, and people without permits.⁴

On 6 May Mr Coetsee said in Parliament that altogether 252 people held in connection with pass and influx control offences had been released after the tabling of the White Paper on Urbanisation on 23 April. He said that 188 people had been released by the prisons service, of whom 119 were sentenced prisoners

and 69 were awaiting trial. The South African Police (SAP) had also released 64 people, of whom 14 were sentenced prisoners and 50 awaiting trial.'

Mr Coetsee said this 'relatively low' figure was the result of a reduction in arrests and prosecutions over the last few months. He added that by 1986 pass and influx control offenders made up only a small percentage of the prison population.⁴⁷ 'Illegal' immigrants

In March 1987 the minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said that nearly 20 000 people had been detained in South Africa during 1986 as 'illegal' immigrants. He said they had come from Botswana, Germany, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Portugal, Swaziland, Turkey, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and the 'independent' homelands of Bophuthatswana and the Transkei. Most were held in terms of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972 and the Aliens Act of 1937.⁴⁸ Up until 1 July, illegal immigrants from African countries such as Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, as well as 'illegal' immigrants from 'independent'

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homelands, were handed over to the department of constitutional development and planning. Whites who had entered South Africa illegally were handed over to the department of home affairs. It was up to the departments concerned to decide whether individuals should be repatriated or not. From 1 July, all 'illegal' immigrants became the responsibility of the department of home affairs."

In addition, more than 200 people convicted of criminal offences were deported from South Africa under section 45 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act during 1986.-1

Repatriation

In March the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in Parliament that 2 807 Africans had been 'repatriated' from the white-designated areas to the non-independent and 'independent' homelands in 1985 in terms of section 14 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.⁵¹ In March Mr Heunis said the following numbers of African workers had been repatriated from South Africa to other African countries in 1985:⁵²

Foreign workers repatriated from South Africa: 1985

Botswana	195
Lesotho	460
Mozambique	20 522
Swaziland	399
Zimbabwe	2 939
Total	24 515

However, Mr Heunis said that in 1985 an additional 1 188 workers from these countries had been granted exemption from repatriation on grounds of long service. The breakdown for these exemptions was as follows:⁵³

Foreign workers granted exemption from repatriation from South Africa: 1985

Botswana	10
Lesotho	260
Mozambique	378

Swaziland	8
Zimbabwe	532
Total	1 188

The chief director of migration in the department of home affairs, Mr J C Pretorius, said that statistics on the number of people repatriated at the behest of his department were not yet available. He said that most illegal immigrants were repatriated, but that some exceptions were made.

INFLUX CONTROL ENFORCEMENT

Arrests for trespass

In June Mr Le Grange said that police had arrested 35 635 Africans for trespassing during the first five months of the year under review. This means that on average about 233 Africans were arrested every day for trespass between January and May.⁵⁴ This total was much higher than official figures for the same arrests for the whole of 1984 and 1985, which were 23 335 and 21 035 respectively (see 1985 Survey p210).

Mr Vlok told the house of assembly in February that a total of 12 996 coloured people, Indians, and whites had been arrested for trespassing during 1986.⁵⁵ The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) expressed serious concern about the number of trespass arrests during 1986. The PFP's western Cape spokesman on black affairs, Mr Ken Andrew, said that trespass raids by the police seemed to have taken the place of pass raids.¹ The PFP's spokeswoman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, cautioned that an 'alarming new danger point' to watch out for in the area of influx control was police raids on hostels and blocks of flats to arrest African people for trespassing. 'If police cease harassing people for passes and increase harassment for trespassing, any mileage gained for reform in the urban areas will disappear,' she warned.⁵⁷

Granting of permanent residence rights in white-designated areas

By 31 December 1985, 4 218 978 people had been granted rights under section 10(1)(a), (b), or (c) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (see 1985 Survey p207). Figures for 1986 were not yet available, according to the department of constitutional development and planning. However, department spokesmen said section 10 rights had not been granted after June following the scrapping of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

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Legislation

Black Communities Development Amendment Act

Leasehold rights for Africans in African townships had been introduced by the Black Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1978. The Black Communities Development Amendment Act, which amended the Black Communities Development Act of 1984, was gazetted on 4 July and came into effect in September. The amendment act enabled African South African citizens living legally in 'South Africa' (ie South Africa excluding the Transkei,

Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei (TBVC) areas) to retain leasehold rights or convert them into full ownership rights in all proclaimed African townships in white-designated areas.

The amendment to the Black Communities Development Act of 1984, which formerly stipulated that only leasehold could be granted, stated that a 'competent' person could acquire property. In 1984 a person could pass as a 'competent' person to lease or rent property only if he/she had section 10 rights in terms of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, which was repealed in 1986 (see Urbanisation). The amendment act defined a 'competent' person as a South African citizen, or a Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei (TBVC) citizen living legally in 'South Africa' (ie South Africa excluding the four TBVC areas).'

The act also provided for property owned by development boards to be transferred to local authorities. Further, nothing would be payable for converting leasehold to ownership. The only cost incurred would be for conveyancing.³

New regulations in terms of the amendment act were aimed at providing a more streamlined and cheaper township establishment process, and were intended to provide certainty for developers.' The regulations, called the 'Township Establishment and Land Use Regulations, 1986', would regulate procedures for township establishment, land use control, conversions from 99-year leasehold to ownership, and the pricing of public land.'

Prior to this, no specific procedures existed for private landowners to develop their own land for African occupation. Many developments undertaken by private developers, including the Urban Foundation, took place on land belonging to the now defunct development boards or African local authorities. In terms of the amendment act, there was no longer anything precluding a township developer from being the leaseholder or owner of land in an African area.⁶ However, private ownership of this land must be for the purpose of housing Africans.

The act as amended empowered the minister of constitutional development and planning to declare certain tracts of land as development areas, removing them from the jurisdiction of local authorities. Developers would then be

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allowed to build townships on the sites, and sell stands or houses. Eventually, the township could be included in the jurisdiction of adjacent local authorities, or new authorities could be set up.'

The Urban Foundation said that the amendment act enabled a private landowner to request that the minister of constitutional development and planning designate land as a 'development area' for Africans, and then establish a township there and sell sites and housing direct to the community. In this way the private sector could bring land on to the market directly, and there was no longer a need to rely solely on public sector land supply.' The foundation said that the act and regulations also enabled 99-year leasehold title to be registered before a site was surveyed. This meant that the developer could sell properties on 99-year leasehold at an early stage with a positive cash flow result.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) welcomed the granting of full ownership rights as well as a statement by the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the government was against forced removals. The deputy minister of development and of land affairs, Mr Ben Wilkens, told Parliament that property rights for 'South African' Africans officially recognised as permanent residents outside the 'independent' homelands were essential for peace and stability.⁹

Government Notice R1538

Full property, rights for Africans in proclaimed townships in the nonindependent homelands and on trust land became available from 23 July. This was done in terms of Government Notice R1538 issued under the Black Administration Act of 1927 by the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. The notice amended the Regulations for the Administration and Control of Townships in Black Areas, which had been promulgated by Proclamation R293 of 1962.¹⁰ Individual title to land in proclaimed townships in the non-independent homelands and trust land had previously been conferred by deeds of grant or 99-year leasehold.¹¹ By May 92 000 deeds of grant had already been issued for Africans in these areas, Dr Viljoen said.²

Community Development Amendment Act

The Community Development Amendment Act, which was gazetted on 28 May, amended the Community Development Act of 1966. It provided for the disposal of the assets, rights, liabilities, and obligations of the community development board to the three housing bodies administered by the coloured, Indian, and white chambers in Parliament. However, the act did not stipulate that the board's assets should be divided up immediately between the three houses. In terms of a new section 51B, the minister of constitutional development and planning could declare what amount in the community development fund should be vested in the 'own affairs' body and when it should be vested. At the time that the act was gazetted, the development and housing board (white 'own affairs'), established under section 2 of the Development and Housing Act (House of Assembly) of 1985, was the only body referred to which was ready to take responsibility for its share of the board's assets and obligations."

Housing Amendment Act

The Housing Amendment Act, which was gazetted on 28 May, amended the

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Housing Act of 1966 to provide for the division of the assets, rights, and responsibilities of the national housing commission among the coloured, Indian, and white 'own affairs' housing departments. A new section 91A empowered the minister of public works to vest certain of the commission's assets and funds in an 'own affairs' housing body when it was established. As the white development and housing board was the only 'own affairs' housing board to have been established at the time (see above), the act deemed it to be such a body.⁴

In April the PFP spokesman on black affairs in Natal, Mr Graham McIntosh, said that it was 'unbelievable' that a housing commission which had served the whole of South Africa should be broken down in a racial manner."

Housing Development Bill (House of Delegates)

The Housing Development Bill (House of Delegates) was introduced in the house of delegates in May. Its aim was to provide for the establishment of a housing and development board and a housing and development fund for administration by the house of delegates. The board's function would be to provide housing and acquire and dispose of land for the purpose of township development for Indians.⁶ The board and fund provided for in the bill were expected to be the Indian counterparts of the white 'own affairs' development and housing board and development and housing fund, which had been established during 1985 (see 1985 Survey pp241-242). (In terms of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983, community development, which included housing, community and town development control, and squatter removals in a specific group area, became an 'own affair'.) Although the Housing Development Bill was not passed during the year under review, it was expected to be passed early in 1987.

Housing and development (house of representatives)

In May the minister of local government, housing and agriculture (coloured own affairs), Mr David Curry, said that the house of representatives would soon be presented with an 'own affairs' housing bill which would provide for a coloured housing commission and housing board.¹⁷ However, the housing and the development bills were only tabled in the house of representatives early in 1987.

Policy

Constitutional structure

There are currently six government ministries involved in housing matters in South Africa. This excludes the four 'independent' homelands, which have their own housing ministries, and departments in the six non-independent homelands involved in housing. The six ministries are: " the department of constitutional development and planning, which is responsible for African housing in African townships in white-designated areas. Until the end of August 1985, this was the responsibility of the now disbanded department of co-operation and development (see 1985 Survey p243);

* the department of development aid, which assists non-independent homelands in an advisory capacity with regard to African housing.

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Functions such as the proclaiming of townships, town planning, maintenance and management, and the provision of serviced sites had all been handed over to the homeland administrations by April 1987;⁸

" the department of public works and land affairs, which is responsible for 'general affairs' housing matters. In terms of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983, the now defunct department of community development relinquished many of its functions, including housing, to the coloured, Indian, and white 'own affairs' administrations. The department was renamed the department of public works and land affairs (see 1985 Survey pp242-243). During 1986 the department was responsible for the secretarial work of a non-statutory body, the South African housing advisory council. The council was constituted in mid-1986

to advise the six ministers responsible for housing on housing matters, and to serve as a link between the government and private enterprise. Although housing had become an 'own affair', the national housing commission still functioned under the department of public works and land affairs throughout the year under review because the coloured and Indian housing administrations had not yet established bodies to take over the commission's functions. Through the commission's national housing fund, provision was made for the financing and promotion of housing for all population groups. The department was also responsible for the administration of the 100% housing loan scheme for public servants;¹⁹

* the department of local government, housing, and agriculture (coloured own affairs);

* the department of local government, housing, and agriculture (Indian own affairs); and

" the department of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs).

General policy

White housing

In January the minister of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs), Mr A A Venter, said affordable housing for whites would be a priority of the new development and housing board for whites. Addressing the first meeting of the board on 16 January, Mr Venter said that it would emphasise self-help housing and the privatisation of housing provision in general.

'Primarily, the provision of housing should rest with the individual himself while the role of the State should be only of a supportive nature,' he said. Mr Venter said the government would assist the private sector to bypass bottlenecks in the provision of housing, and would help those who could not help themselves or be helped by the private sector. The white development and housing board would provide loans and rent subsidies to homeowners in certain categories, and would consider matters such as welfare housing. Loans would be given to local authorities for urban renewal, and to individuals for renovation purposes, Mr Venter said.,,

Non-independent homelands

On 1 February the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, announced that the government had approved further measures to

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promote private sector involvement in the financing of housing for Africans in the six non-independent homelands and on South African Development Trust land.

The government's amendments to Proclamation R293 of 1962 had been promulgated in the Government Gazette of 31 January to enable building societies to consider favourably applications for housing loans in these areas.

The amended regulations provided that:

e Africans would have the right to own more than one site. This was possible in terms of both 99-year leasehold and deed of grant, as well as with full ownership rights when they became available (see below);

* a homeowner would have the right to sell his/her property to any competent person without compulsory authorisation from the township manager; and

e the cancellation of a deed of grant at the death of an owner would be abolished so as to enable the deceased's next of kin to dispose of the property.²"

Dr Viljoen and the minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, announced in a joint statement in March that the government had approved the issue of guarantees to building societies in respect of the granting of loans for the purchase or improvement of fixed property in the non-independent homelands. This meant that the government was prepared to indemnify societies granting such loans against damages that could arise from changes in monetary policy, laws, and other contingencies that could arise subsequent to the acceptance of 'independence' by a homeland. However, the guarantees did not extend to normal business risks, such as default by the borrower; depreciation of, or damage to, property not connected with political risk; the failure to maintain property; and unpaid rates, or water and electricity accounts. "

In May Dr Viljoen said progress had been made on the granting of full property rights to Africans living in the six non-independent homelands (see above). African individuals and communities already had ownership rights in terms of title deeds over 1 550 000 hectares of land in these areas. But the granting of ownership rights in townships in the non-independent homelands had been taking place by means of a deed of grant issued in terms of Proclamation R293 of 1962.¹¹ Although rights gained in terms of title deeds and deeds of grant are very similar, deeds of grant are less expensive.

In July Dr Viljoen announced that full property rights for Africans had been extended to self-governing homelands and the trust areas (see above). He said that the deed of grant and 99-year leasehold systems would be gradually phased out, and that properties would be registered in terms of the Deeds Registries Act of 1937. However, as deeds of grant and 99-year leasehold systems were cheaper and simpler, they would remain an option for the present, Dr Viljoen said. He added that it had been agreed during discussions with homeland leaders that individual land ownership would be promoted in these territories. Ownership titles in these areas would be registered with the South African deeds office.² African housing in white-designated areas

Regulations streamlining the way in which the private sector could develop and sell property in African townships in white-designated areas were

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published in September in terms of the Black Communities Development Amendment Act (see above). The director of legal administration in the department of constitutional development and planning, Dr J C Bekker, said that the new legislation was aimed at removing barriers which had previously prevented private developers from playing a meaningful role in developing African townships.

The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in September that participation by the private sector would not only have a positive effect on the supply of housing but would also stimulate the economy. 'Although this new process of township development is much the same as for other groups, it has a flexibility that will ensure that establishment will be done in the shortest possible time,' he said. He added that the timeous provision of land at reasonable prices constituted a primary precondition for setting up a normally functioning property market among Africans. While emphasising the role of the private sector in housing provision, Mr Heunis added that the government still accepted primary responsibility for ensuring that lower-income Africans were able to obtain housing and would concentrate on the provision of land and infrastructure for low-cost housing schemes.²⁶

Squatting

In March the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, outlined steps which had been taken against squatters during 1985. He said that certain squatters had been warned to remove their shelters, or had been given written notice to do so within 21 days, and had been told to obtain accommodation in places where their residence would be legal. Mr Heunis said that where squatters had not complied, officials, 'where necessary', had laid charges and, either on their own initiative or at the request of the landowner or occupier, had demolished the shelters. Squatters who had qualified for settlement in African townships had been settled there where possible, and others had been 'assisted to settle elsewhere', he said. Mr Heunis said that during 1985 steps had been taken against squatter shelters in the following places:

Cases of steps taken against squatters: 1985

Development board area	Number of shelters
East Rand	
Brakpan	70
Delmas	30
Heidelberg	119
Kempton Park	119
Nigel	27
Springs	150
Eastern Transvaal	
Kaapsehoop	71
The Rand trust farm	15
Natalia	
Pinetown	2
Stanger North	151

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Cases of steps taken against squatters: 1985 (continued)

Development board area	Number of shelters
Tongaat	245
Northern Transvaal	
Noodhulp, Tzaneen	162

West Rand		
Johannesburg	395	
Krugersdorp	244	
Randfontein	41	
Roodepoort	183	
Sandton and Midrand	96	
Westonaria	58	
Western Cape		
Old Crossroads and Nyanga, Cape Town	147	
Total	2 425	

Outlining the government's policy on squatting after the release of the White Paper on Urbanisation on 23 April, Mr Heunis said that squatting, defined as 'the illegal occupation of the land or buildings for living purposes', would not be allowed. But much more land would be made available for the expansion of cities and towns, and building regulations would be applied more flexibly. Illegal squatters would be resettled on suitable serviced land as near as possible to the same district. Moreover, squatter settlements need not necessarily be cleared; they could be upgraded and made permanent.^U

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 was amended by the Abolition of Influx Control Act, which came into effect on 1 July (see Urbanisation). The amendments empowered the minister of constitutional development and planning to designate land for controlled squatting and subsequent upgrading. In addition, the amendments provided for much more stringent fines for squatting.

Eastern Cape and Border areas

Between 29 January and 3 February, 1 300 families were evicted by the Ciskei authorities from the Ciskei, and offloaded on the 'South African' side of the border on the East London - Mount Coke road reserve strip.⁹ The families were mainly from the Kuni squatter camp near Kidd's Beach. A Ciskei government spokesman said the squatters did not belong to the Ciskei and had adopted a negative attitude towards the Ciskei authorities.' The minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, confirmed later that the evicted squatter families had been temporarily settled on a state-owned farm at KwaZigayi, near East London. Dr Viljoen said that a temporary clinic, 100 lavatories, eight rubbish holes, tents, and purified water had been provided for the community. But, he said, the authorities planned to resettle them on another state-owned farm where a start had been made with the provision of infrastructure.³¹

In July some 30 000 Africans were removed against their wishes from Kabah (a part of Langa) outside Uitenhage to Uitenhage's KwaNobuhle township (see Removals).

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The resettlement of a group of shackdwellers from one of Port Elizabeth's oldest townships, Red Location, to Motherwell, 20km beyond Port Elizabeth, was expected to begin in late November. Officials said that the move to Motherwell was necessary for improvements to Red Location, a township which was intended to provide sites for 760 households but which now accommodated more than 1

300 families in unhygienic conditions. Residents signed a petition, reportedly containing more than 8 000 signatures, to the state president, Mr P W Botha, appealing against the proposed resettlement.³¹

Mr Rory Riordan, director of Operation Real South Africa (ORSA) - a project of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) which acts as a mediator between African communities and the authorities - said in November that about 2 500 Red Location residents (or 450 of 1 370 families living in shacks and barracks first erected for British soldiers during the Anglo-Boer War) were likely to be moved. Although there were better facilities at Motherwell, the area was remote, he said. The PFP spokesman on trade and industry, Mr Andrew Savage, said that the government was exploiting the fact that communities were in disarray as a result of the detention of their leaders under the state of emergency (declared on 12 June) to carry out long-planned relocations.³

Following concerted protests from the community, ORSA, the Black Sash, the national committee against removals (NCAR), the PFP, and various clergymen, the Ibhayi town council' (Port Elizabeth) agreed to provide serviced plots on land adjacent to Red Location which was owned by South African Transport Services and the Ibhayi town council. According to Mr Riordan, about 400 of the affected families in Red Location had moved willingly to these plots by early 1987.^m

Natal

In December the Inkatha Institute for South Africa revealed in a report that almost half the population of greater Durban and the immediate surrounding areas lived in shacks. This amounted to 1 731 562 shack dwellers. According to the report, more than 9% of all South Africans (including citizens of all ten homelands), or 3 605 612 people, lived in the Durban functional region (DFR), which extended from Tongaat in the north to Umkomaas in the south and Cato Ridge in the west. The report said that 70,95% of the total population in the DFR was African. The report said that ongoing upgrading, with the progressive transfer of resources such as land and skills to needy people, was essential in the region."

Squatters living in the Northdale area (near Pietermaritzburg) received notices on 12 December requesting them to vacate their premises by 19 December in terms of anti-squatting legislation. The squatters presented a petition to the authorities on 18 December, and received a reprieve until 4 January 1987.³⁶

Transvaal

In May the town clerk of Soweto, Mr Nico Malan, said that it had been decided that only 400 squatters in Soweto's Mofolo Village would be allowed to remain there for the next few months until the summer rains. He said they would be taken later to a site-and-service scheme at Emdeni, where they

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would be housed temporarily in prefabricated structures." It appeared that the number of squatters living in Mofolo had increased rapidly to about 2 000 families in the past few months. By November, more than 100 shacks, some costing between R500 and R800 to erect, had been demolished in Mofolo by the Soweto city council. The council authorities appealed to the squatters to move to Tladi and Dlamini (also in Soweto), where people could put up 'emergency

camps' while waiting for permanent houses." But in December more than 200 squatter families in Mofolo were left in the rain after bulldozers had razed their newly-erected shacks. This was the third time in a few weeks that the squatter shacks in Mofolo had been demolished. 4 It had already been announced in July that the Soweto city council had finalised plans to develop three emergency transit camps to alleviate the plight of scores of squatters in Soweto. The camps were expected to accommodate more than 1 000 families who were waiting for houses.⁴ The Soweto city council also gave squatters at Fred Clarke, near Nancefield, the chance to buy sites near to where they were staying.⁴² It was announced in November that squatters outside Katlehong (Germiston) could soon be incorporated into the township. The mayor of Katlehong, Mr Thami Siluma, said that the council would ask the government to extend the township's borders to include the land on which they were living.⁴

Western Cape

The African shanty town of Lawaaikamp, some 2km from George, was faced with removal from April when the municipality began demolishing some of the shacks. About 5 000 residents and 500 shanties were likely to be affected. The town clerk of George, Mr Carel du Plessis, claimed that 'unrest' and unhygienic conditions at Lawaaikamp necessitated the community's removal to a nearby site-and-service scheme at Sandkraal. Residents initially refused to comply, and a member of the PFP unrest monitoring committee, Mr Jan van Eck, alleged in July that they were being forced to move. This was denied by Mr Du Plessis, who said 180 residents had already moved voluntarily during the last week of June."

The George municipality issued the remaining 2 000 residents at Lawaaikamp with eviction notices for 31 December. However, residents insisted that they wanted Lawaaikamp to be upgraded. They said they did not want to have to move 'from one squatter camp to another'. At Sandkraal, at their own expense, they would have to rebuild their wooden housing from scratch.⁴

The destruction of substantial parts of the Crossroads and KTC squatter camps in the western Cape took place during violent fighting between 18 and 22 May. More than 60 people were killed and about 70 000 left homeless after battles between vigilantes known as 'witdoeke' and 'comrades' (see Political Developments). Many bodies, including the PFP, called on the government to declare Crossroads and the surrounding squatter camps a disaster area. In addition, the PFP and the Urban Foundation called for a commission of inquiry into the Crossroads fighting. 2Mr Heunis condemned allegations concerning the role of government institutions in the Crossroads violence. Mr Heunis said that the Crossroads area, or parts of it, did not need to be declared a disaster area because facilities had been provided for those left

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destitute by the fighting at nearby Khayelitsha.⁴⁷ He said that a government offer of sites at Khayelitsha, 20km from Cape Town, to the victims of the fighting was being portrayed as a 'forced removal'. He said that during 1985 he had also begun negotiating with the private sector for the upgrading of Crossroads. Decreasing population density in the first phase of the upgrading was necessary.⁴¹

The government insisted that the 30 000 refugees from the Portland Cement, Nyanga Bush, and Nyanga Extension camps - which had been devastated in the conflict - move to Khayelitsha. By late May/early June about 2 500 of these squatters had moved.⁴⁹

Although the government had for some years been trying to get rid of Crossroads, it had failed to do so. The number of African squatters in the Cape Peninsula had increased from 25 000 in 1978 to an estimated 250 000 in 1986. New squatter camps, such as Nyanga Bush and Portland Cement, had sprung up around Crossroads from 1981. Eventually the government had evidently abandoned attempts to get rid of Crossroads entirely, determining instead that it should accommodate only the 'original' residents - some 25 000 people.⁸ At the end of 1984 the government had announced that people would no longer be forced out of Crossroads, but that residents of satellite camps had to move to Site C in Khayelitsha. Most residents resisted these attempts to move them."

After the conflict in May, the NCAR argued that the fighting and looting had succeeded in achieving what the government had failed to achieve - the clearing of the area of people so that upgrading could begin.,²

In June Mr Heunis said the vacated portion of Crossroads would be upgraded as the first phase in the upgrading of the whole area in a planned sequence over the next four to six months. He said that R2m had been set aside for this upgrading, and that further allocations would follow as estimates were formulated. It was not yet known how many people the upgraded Crossroads would accommodate, but any Crossroads resident would be permitted to settle in the area (after upgrading had taken place) on a 'normal priority basis'.³ Mr Heunis added that the vacated portion of the KTC area would also be upgraded as soon as negotiations had taken place with the parties concerned.⁴

Housing shortages and provision

Shortages

According to the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, there was an estimated shortage of 221 572 housing units for Africans outside the 'independent' and non-independent homelands at the end of 1985.¹¹ This figure reveals a marked increase on the reported African housing shortage in white-designated areas in 1984, which was 196 289 (see 1985 Survey pp245-246).

The housing shortage in the six non-independent homelands was estimated at between 149 218 and 174 978 units by the end of 1985. The breakdown supplied by the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was as follows:'

HOUSING SHORTAGES

Housing shortages in the non-independent homelands: 1985

Gazankulu	2 000
KaNgwane	6 000
KwaNdebele	3 850
KwaZulu	80 000 - 100 000
Lebowa	18 180

QwaQwa	24 240 - 30 000
South African Development Trust land	14 948
Total	149 218 - 174 978

Figures on housing shortages in 'independent' homelands at the end of the year under review were as follows:⁵⁷

Housing shortages in 'independent' homelands: 1986

Bophuthatswana	32 653
Ciskei	23 000
Transkei	50 000
Venda	638*
Total	106 291

* According to officials, this figure represents the shortage in only four of the seven major townships, because of the lack of information on the remainder. Figures on housing shortages in the 'independent' homelands for 1985 were not available.

A paper entitled Housing shortages and surplus and their bearing on the Group Areas Act by the chief economist of the building economics division in the national building research institute at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in Pretoria, Dr T J de Vos, was delivered at a seminar at the University of South Africa on 15 May. According to Dr De Vos, whites enjoyed a housing surplus of about 37 000 units in March 1985. On the other hand, there was a backlog of 52 000 dwellings in coloured-designated areas at the time and of 44 000 in Indian-designated areas. Regarding the African housing shortage, he said that if the unknown number of Africans who lived in compounds and similar establishments or as tenants with private families were also assumed to need housing of their own, then 538 000 units were needed in the white-designated area. If it was assumed that about 1780 000 Africans lived in non-family housing establishments on a temporary basis, and had homes elsewhere, then 238 000 units were needed.

Dr De Vos said that overcrowded conditions were particularly severe in urban African townships in white-designated South Africa. The fact that 7,4m people presently lived in only 466 000 relatively small housing units, ie an average of nearly 16 persons per dwelling, was indicative of the seriousness of the situation, he said. In townships such as Katlehong (Germiston), which

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had a population of about 300 000, the local authorities said that the average occupancy per dwelling varied between 16 and 24 people. In addition, about one third of the Indian households in the Durban area were considered to be living in overcrowded dwellings. Overcrowding in Bloemfontein (Orange Free State) was also serious, and in many cases there were between 14 and 17 people in two-roomed houses. In Kimberley (northern Cape) it was estimated that about 50% of the 6 000 housing units were overcrowded. In Uitenhage (eastern Cape) in some instances up to 42 people had been living in two-bedroomed houses and as many as three to four families in a one-bedroomed house.

He said that the implementation of group areas (in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966) had resulted in an inequitable distribution and an artificial scarcity of land, in conveniently situated building land becoming unduly expensive, and freedom of choice becoming greatly impeded. In addition, many high-income coloured people found it impossible to purchase housing that was commensurate with their living standards and aspirations. Dr De Vos said that it was felt that the time had come to consider the creation of 'grey areas' where all race groups could reside together by choice. He said that the average price of land and buildings in white areas was generally lower than of comparable properties in coloured and Indian residential areas. If there was no restriction on the purchase of accommodation in such areas, it would have the advantage of reducing the pressure for residential accommodation in African, coloured, and Indian residential areas. At the same time it would push up prices in some white-designated areas because of the increased demand. He concluded that the present anomalous state of affairs in which simultaneous shortages and surpluses of housing had arisen was largely a consequence of the lack of meaningful data to facilitate more effective planning, the restrictions imposed by the Group Areas Act on the natural expansion of residential areas, the downward trend in the economy, the lowering of affordability levels, and the decreasing demand for white housing as a result of diminishing immigration accompanied by increasing emigration.⁶⁰

According to the department of local government, housing, and agriculture (coloured own affairs), there was a shortage of 80 000 housing units for coloured people at the end of 1986. The department of local government, housing, and agriculture (Indian own affairs) said that the housing shortage for Indians at the end of 1986 was 44 000.⁶¹ In January 1986 the minister of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs), Mr A A Venter, said there was a shortage of 16 000 state-owned homes in white-designated areas to meet the needs of low-income whites.⁶² The assistant director of property administration and development in the department of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs), Mr Johan Kemp, said in early 1987 that the government believed that Dr De Vos' claims of a housing surplus of 37 000 units for whites were exaggerated.⁶³

In another paper published in September entitled *The Black Urban Housing Market*, Dr De Vos said that the African urban population was expected to increase from an estimated six million in 1985 to about 19m by the year 2000. This projection by the Human Sciences Research Council was based on the assumption that an urbanisation surge should occur during the

STRATEGIES TO REDUCE HOUSING SHORTAGES

first five-year period as a result of the abolition of influx control, bringing 1,3m additional households to the urban areas between 1985 and 1990. This meant that 1,8m new homes would have to be provided over this five-year period to meet the anticipated need of 367 000 homes every year (including the backlog). He said that the present housing problem was directly attributable to the government and the private sector's past unwillingness to provide housing in line with the need.

Over the last five years only about 8 000 units had been built for Africans in urban areas each year, whereas about 100 000 should have been built on an annual basis. In contrast, 43 099 housing units, mostly provided by the private sector, had been built for the 4,9m urban whites during 1984 alone, he said. Dr De Vos said that on the basis of available financial information, it appeared that about 56,4% of African households were financially unable to make any contribution towards their housing. A further 10,2% had disposable incomes for accommodation of only R41 a month. In 1985 only about 12% could afford a building society bond of more than R20 000, according to criteria relating to minimum living standards.,

Strategies to reduce housing shortages

The government announced in its White Paper on Urbanisation, which was published on 23 April, that provision would be made for different forms of homeownership, realistic standards, cheaper and more effective building methods, and the elimination, as far as possible, of housing backlogs. Government spokesmen reiterated appeals to the private sector for greater involvement in housing provision.

It was reported in July that the private enterprise upgrade project (PENTUP), formed by seven Durban businessmen, planned to use loans from pension and provident funds to reduce the African housing backlog. PENTUP planned to borrow 5% of the R40bn invested in pension and provident funds countrywide to build 167 000 economic housing units at a cost of R12 000 each. One of PENTUP's co-ordinators, Mr Darryl Jackson, said that the project was going to approach the registrar of financial institutions to amend regulations to make pension fund investment in housing possible. The government, employers, and employees would be jointly involved in the scheme in that each would repay one third of the loan. On a bond of R10 000 and an interest rate of 17,5%, their respective contributions for a house would amount to R49 a month each. Mr Jackson said that such subsidisation would increase employers' wage bills by only 1,5% after tax. PENTUP was to canvass support from the chairman of Sanlam, Dr Fred du Plessis, in his capacity as chairman of the newly-formed private enterprise task force designed to help the government implement its R750m housing scheme."

At a conference in Johannesburg in October, the executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, argued that Johannesburg was a thirdworld city, and that it should seek answers to its urbanisation problems in the experiences of Cairo (Egypt), Calcutta (India), and Jakarta (Indonesia). Some of their methods, such as slum improvement instead of slum clearance, were pertinent to Johannesburg, he said. At a very low cost, the Calcutta metropolitan planning organisation had established minimal public facilities in slum areas, such as neighbourhood water taps, lavatories, open street drains,

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minimal paving of walkways, and minimal lighting. The essential strategic decision was to accept lower standards of services and facilities than those

regarded as minimal in middle-class society, and to adopt standards in line with the community's financial capacity to pay for such amenities, Mr Steyn said." Further information about strategies to reduce the housing shortage is given below.

Provision

Housing built by the State or with state assistance

The total number of houses provided by the State for Africans outside the ten homelands during 1985 was 9 213, while local authorities provided 339 houses and the private sector 7 061.⁶

According to Mr Heunis, the 13 development boards constructed 5 496 houses for Africans in urban townships during 1985. The remaining 3 717 houses of the 9 213 provided by the State for Africans were constructed under the auspices of the African town councils which no longer fell under the jurisdiction of development boards. Five of the development boards, viz the central Transvaal, Natalia, northern Cape, northern Transvaal, and southern Orange Free State boards, did not build any houses during 1985. Mr Heunis said that 3 001 of the 5 496 houses were built by the western Cape development board. He said that R40,6m had been spent on housing by the development boards in 1985, R25,3m of it by the western Cape board. The development boards had also spent R60,1m on infrastructure, R40,7m of which had been spent in the western Cape.⁶⁷

According to a spokesman for the directorate of community housing in the department of constitutional development and planning, Mr Hans Steenkamp, self-building schemes were becoming increasingly popular and 8 255 houses were being built by Africans in white-designated South Africa during the 1986/87 financial year. The department had made R13,9m available for loans for the 1986/87 financial year, while R7,8m had been made available for self-building schemes in the 1985/86 financial year. Local authorities determined the need for self-building schemes in their areas and applied to the department for self-building loans to the value of R4 000 for each person. A homeowner did not need to use the whole amount of R4 000, and the loan had to be paid back over a period of 30 years, at an interest rate of 11,5%.⁸

According to an official data bank which compiled statistics on coloured, Indian, and white housing, the following housing units were built with state funds in 1985 and 1986:⁶⁹

Housing units built with state funds

	1985	1986
Coloured	11 539	3 115
Indian	2 748	1 201
White	3 887	1 245
Total	18 174	5 561

HOUSING BUILT BY THE STATE

On the basis of available information, the number of houses provided by the State outside the ten homelands in 1985 was as follows:

Houses provided by the State outside homelands in 1985

African 9 213

Coloured	11 539
Indian	2 748
White	3 887
Total	27 387

The minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that the South African government had implemented self-build schemes in all the non-independent homelands and that it no longer built family housing itself. The South African Development Trust (SADT) provided serviced sites. The following numbers of sites were developed by the trust in 1985:

Sites developed by the SADT in non-independent homelands in 1985

Gazankulu	4 673
KaNgwane	759
KwaZulu	2 519
Lebowa	2 284
Other SADT land	4 272
Total	14 507

Furthermore, people in the low-income group could obtain low interest loans for self-building purposes in the non-independent homelands. The following numbers of loans to Africans in the non-independent homelands were granted during 1985:

Loans for self-building in non-independent homelands in 1985

Gazankulu	645
KaNgwane	231
KwaNdebele	
KwaZulu	673
Lebowa	117
QwaQwa	51
Other SADT land	175
Total	1 892

Although he could not indicate how many houses had been built in 1985 in the non-independent homelands by the homeland authorities or by private owners, Dr Viljoen said the following numbers of housing units had been

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erected by Africans in these areas with SADT funds: 70

Houses built by Africans in non-independent homelands with SADT funds in 1985

Houses	R	
Gazankulu	130	455 000
KaNgwane	237	895 351
KwaZulu	868	2 734 594
Lebowa	65	262 000
SADT land	1 589	3 242 973
Total	2 889	7 589 918

In addition, the government extended its first-time homebuyers' subsidy scheme to all the homelands in May. The assistant general manager (loans) at the Natal Building Society (NBS), Mr Trevor Olivier, said this meant that Africans in the

homelands could qualify for the 33 1/3% interest subsidy. Conditions would be the same as for other population groups. The subsidy would apply for five years to otherwise unsubsidised first-time buyers in new accommodation costing under R40 000.⁷¹

It was reported in April that the abolition of influx control had stimulated government plans to build six new cities for Africans, each with a population of a million or more. According to the chairman of the west Rand development board, Mr John Knoetze, Bloemfontein, the Cape Peninsula, Durban, Harrismith, Nelspruit, Richards Bay, and the Witwatersrand had been earmarked for extensive African urban development.⁷

The minister of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs), Mr A A Venter, announced in Parliament in May that he had appointed a committee to investigate the housing needs of aged whites. The committee, under the chairmanship of Mr W J Marais, also chairman of the development and housing board (white own affairs), would examine methods of meeting these needs and submit its recommendations to the board not later than 30 September.³

It was reported in August that some public servants were getting housing subsidies higher than their salaries at a time when the government had been forcing perks curbs on the private sector. According to The Sunday Star, government institutions were giving their employees housing loans of up to 100%, which they paid off at about 4%. The system was criticised in August for 'artificially bolstering house prices' in a way that could not be sustained indefinitely. The effect was particularly severe in Pretoria, where leading estate agents claimed that between 80% and 85% of houses in whitedesignated areas were bought with state assistance.'

State expenditure

The amount spent by the department of constitutional development and planning on African housing in the white-designated areas during the 1986/87 financial year was R113,4m, made up as follows:'

STATE EXPENDITURE

Expenditure on African housing in white South Africa: 1986/87

Purchase of land Services Construction Indirect costs* Community facilities

Total

R

13 300 954 55 925 012 32 520 827 11 471 780

223 759

113 442 332

* Indirect costs include land surveying, architectural and engineering costs, stationery used, and advertising.

The amount spent on coloured housing for 1986/87 by the department of local government, housing, and agriculture (coloured own affairs) was R137,55m, allocated as follows:¹⁶

Expenditure on coloured housing: 1986/87

Purchase of land Services Construction Indirect costs Community facilities

Total

R

3 576 408 33 129 747 84 890 441 10 344 197 5 615 135
137 555 928

The amount spent on Indian housing by the department of local housing, and agriculture (Indian own affairs) was R46,6m, follows:
government, allocated as

Expenditure on Indian housing: 1986/87

R

Purchase of land* Services Construction Indirect costs Community facilities

Total

26646 45 913 618

80 883

604 765

46 625 912

* The Indian 'own affairs' housing administration did not purchase land during this period because it had bought up all the land it required during the previous two financial years.

The amount spent on white housing by the department of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs) was R76,3m, allocated as follows:78

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Expenditure on white housing: 1985/86

R

Purchase of land 1 602 962

Services 12 940 453

Construction 38 321 336

Indirect costs 20 410 177

Community facilities 3 067 964

Total 76 342 892

The total spent by the department of public works and land affairs (general affairs) in the 1986/87 financial year was not available at the time of writing.

Further state provision and the South African Housing Trust

In August 1985 the state president, Mr P W Botha, announced that R1bn would be spent over the next five years to improve the housing situation in underdeveloped towns and cities (see 1985 Survey p251). In addition to the R1bn, the government announced in August 1986 that projects involving a further R750m would be aimed especially at underprivileged groups. Of this, R350m would be spent by the government, and R400m would go into a new private sector organisation, the South African Housing Trust, which would be given the right to issue housing bonds. The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said that the R350m package to be spent by the government would be channelled through the departments of housing of the three houses of Parliament, as well as the two departments concerned with African housing and development, viz the departments of constitutional development and planning, and of development aid. Of the full R350m, Mr Barend du Plessis said R320m would be spent during the 1986/87 financial year. This included R185m for Africans, R67,9m for coloured

people, R49m for Indians, and R17,7m for whites. He said there was an additional R28,8m for other activities, including R3m to replace the homes of African policemen destroyed through arson, for the appointment of special constables ('kitskonstabels') in African townships, an allocation for coloured pensions, and R1,4m to provide emergency food to those in desperate need.⁷⁹

Mr Du Plessis told a press conference in August that the housing trust would be a non-profit company controlled by trustees nominated by the government. Mr Du Plessis said the R400m would be the 'nest egg' of the housing trust fund, and would be supplemented by the issue of special housing bonds which would carry a market-related interest. He said that it was hoped in this way to raise between R1,2bn and R1,6bn on the stock exchange. The main aim of the trust was to promote work creation by enabling the unemployed to build their own houses under a self-building scheme.¹⁰ The trust was placed under the chairmanship of Dr Fred du Plessis, chairman of Sanlam.

Africans were expected to be the main beneficiaries of the trust, and building of the first homes was scheduled to start in January 1987. Most of the self-built 'core' houses would cost between R10 000 and R15 000, and the trust would also assist people whom building societies could not help because they could not satisfy normal building society criteria.⁸

BUILDING SOCIETIES

Mr Fred du Plessis said in November that the supply of land and materials to identified homeowners would be made by means of a loan agreement to enable self-building to start. In the event of the homeowner's being unemployed, a proviso would be made that payments would start as soon as the person was employed again. The trust was to work in conjunction with public sector bodies and organisations such as the Urban Foundation in the private sector.¹¹

The deputy minister of finance and of trade and industry, Mr Kent Durr, said that the government had identified a number of housing and development projects which would begin as soon as cash was available from the R750m stimulatory package. He said that these projects included site development and the provision of services such as water, lighting, recreation facilities, and homes for the aged.³

Pension funds

The Financial Institutions Amendment Act, which came into effect on 28 May, affected housing in that it amended, inter alia, the Pension Funds Act of 1956. This revised the conditions for which housing loans could be granted by registered pension funds to their members.¹² Pension funds could make advances to their members of up to 90% of the market value of the property. The proportion could be increased to 100% on the security of a guarantee furnished by the employer in respect of that portion of the loan which exceeded 90%. The rate of interest on such loans had to be market-related, but not less than 15%, and had to be redeemed over not more than 30 years.

Building societies

During 1985 building societies lent about R250m for African housing, according to the Financial Mail. In January there were reports that the South African Permanent Building Society (SA Perm) and the NBS had granted some home

loans to people in the homelands, although the legislation securing such loans had not yet been passed. The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said on 14 May that five building societies had asked for state indemnities of more than R60m for housing loans for individuals in the non-independent homelands (see above). He said that Dr Viljoen was now able to furnish such indemnities on request. The five building societies were the United Building Society (R10m), the NBS (R30m), Saambou National Building Society (R2m), the Provincial Building Society (R10m), and the SA Perm (R10m). The Trust Building Society was still to decide on the value of state indemnities it wished to request, he said.⁷ According to the Sunday Times and The Citizen, the SA Perm had taken the lead among financial institutions in providing money for low-cost housing for Africans. It had established new criteria for granting loans, including lower housing specifications. In addition, it said that the salaries of all members of the family could be taken into account in the family's borrowing capability. The first project based on these criteria offered starter homes in Katlehong (Germiston) costing less than R10 000. (A starter home is a two-roomed unit of 30 square metres which can be extended.) Minimum required family income, which included that earned by all adults over 18 years, was set at R360 a month. The society financed the homes through the Katlehong selfhelp housing scheme, which was run by the family housing association.⁸⁸ In

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November the SA Perm said that it was granting loans to the African community at an average of R25m a month, which was more than any other building society.⁸⁹

Various other private sector initiatives

A scheme to provide 1 003 homes for Africans in Umlazi (KwaZulu) was started in May, and was described as one of the largest undertaken by a single private contractor for the African community. The scheme was wholly financed and developed by Amalgamated Construction. The houses were being sold under deed of grant, prices beginning at R30 000.

A R40m project to develop about 1 300 serviced sites in Mamelodi Gardens, an African township near Pretoria, was launched at the end of June. According to the general manager of the Urban Foundation's family housing association, Mr Matthew Nell, the project was the first in which several private sector interests had joined together to promote housing in African urban areas in South Africa. The association was managing the project for a consortium: Bonaero Park Construction Company, Gough Cooper Homes, South African Transport Services, and Schachat Homes.⁹ It was also announced that LTA Housing, a subsidiary of LTA, had built nearly 2 000 homes in South Africa for African, coloured, and Indian people in the 12 months up to July.⁹¹

In July tenders were submitted for the construction of infrastructure for the R2bn Blue Downs housing project for coloured people near Cape Town, to be completed in about 1996. It would consist of some 40 000 homes for 200 000 people. The government was to spend R140m (R13m of it during the 1986/87

financial year) to provide main roads, electricity, water, and sewerage. The first serviced plots and houses were expected to come on to the market in 1987.⁹ The Urban Foundation's overall annual budget for housing and broader policy programmes during the 1986/87 financial was R108m. It was announced in early July that the foundation would spend R81m of this on housing for the poor through its new residential development and construction division during the 1986/87 financial year. Thirty-eight million rands had been spent on residential development and construction during the 1985/86 financial year. The chairman of Barlow Rand, Mr Mike Rosholt, and the recently retired chief executive of LTA, Mr Mike Ridley, were appointed to head the new division, formed to co-ordinate the activities of the foundation's housing utility companies. The budget was to be used to develop 28 low-cost housing projects in five metropolitan areas.⁹³ In July the private enterprise project (PENTUP), formed by seven Durban businessmen, announced that it planned to use loans from pension and provident funds to reduce the African housing backlog (see above).

A number of building contractors and other companies were involved in the African housing market during 1986. These included the mining finance house, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (JCI), which was reportedly 'making big strides into the township development business' with about 8 000 stands which it intended to sell on the east and west Rand, and in the Pretoria area.⁹ The Projects South Africa fund, run by International Business Machines (IBM), made R300 000 available to the Soweto building contractors' association earlier in the year under review. IBM's revolving loan

SALES AND LEASEHOLD

scheme, which was administered by the African Bank, enabled African entrepreneurs with building skills to borrow up to R16 000 over three months at an interest rate of only 1% a month.⁹

It was reported in October that LTA Comiat, a joint venture between LTA and Comiat South Africa, had invested R100m in a project to build 2 600 homes in Lenasia and Tongaat (Indian townships outside Johannesburg and Durban respectively), Ennerdale (a coloured township near Johannesburg), and Thabong and Maokeng (African townships outside Welkom and Kroonstad respectively), at prices from R35 000 to R55 000.⁹⁶

British Petroleum South Africa (BP) announced proposals in November for a R100m scheme to redevelop District Six (Cape Town) as an 'open' or racially-mixed residential area. Mr Heunis said that the Group Areas Act of 1966 did not provide for mixed residential areas, although permits could allow some people to reside in an area designated for another race group. BP's proposals came amid rising speculation that the constitutional affairs committee of the president's council would recommend a form of 'local option' for communities which could pave the way for opening certain residential areas to all races.⁹⁷

Sales and leasehold

The government's special sale of state-owned houses, which was originally introduced in 1983 for one year, was extended to 31 March 1987 (see 1983 Survey pp230-231, 1984 Survey p378, and 1985 Survey pp251-252).

The co-ordinator of the sales campaign in the Transvaal for the department of constitutional development and planning, Mr Alex Weiss, said that by the end of 1986, 47 957 houses had been sold in African townships in 'South Africa' (ie South Africa excluding the four 'independent' homelands). The government's original stock of houses on sale for Africans was 345 000, he said.

Referring to the evidently slow rate of sales, Mr Weiss said that it was attributable largely to a depressed economic climate, unemployment, and a feeling among Africans that the small matchbox houses did not match up to their aspirations. But, he said, an increased resale price could be realised, and the actual market value of the houses was higher than purchasers had to pay for them on the sale. He said that all the state-owned houses sold to Africans on sale had been bought under the 99-year leasehold scheme. Many people had also converted from the 30-year ownership scheme to the 99-year leasehold scheme. Mr Weiss said that state properties had not yet been sold under full property ownership (freehold) since the enabling legislation had only been passed towards the end of 1986 (see above).⁹⁸ The advantage of the 99-year leasehold over the old 30-year scheme was that leasehold applied to both the house and the land on which it stood. The 30-year scheme applied only to the house, and the occupant did not acquire any title to the land occupied."

The government's housing sale in the African townships offered discounts of up to 40%.¹⁰¹

The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, also provided a breakdown of the number of houses purchased in African townships under the respective schemes by 31 January. Homes bought under the 99-year leasehold scheme totalled 42 550, while those purchased under the 30-year ownership scheme amounted to 49 336."¹ Mr Heunis added that leasehold rights could be bequeathed in the same way as freehold rights.^{1°}

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According to Mr Heunis, the following numbers had applied for and had been granted leases in terms of the 99-year leasehold scheme in 1985:¹⁰

Leases in terms of the 99-year scheme: 1985

Development

board

Central Transvaal East Rand Eastern Cape Eastern Transvaal Highveld Natalia

Northern Cape Orange Vaal Southern OFS Walvis Bay (municipality) West Rand

Western Cape Western Transvaal

Number of applications

2 079 2 977 3 033

273

1 792

56

440 986

2 769

20

11 095

332
63
Applications
granted
1 553 2 188 1 592
194
1 269
56
440 985 533
19
6 295
287
43
Total 25 915 15 454

According to figures supplied by the house of delegates, 9 498 houses out of a total stock of 17 930 state-owned houses had been sold on freehold in Indian-designated areas shortly after the end of 1986.¹⁴

By the end of 1986, 35 737 state-owned houses had been sold in coloured-designated areas on freehold in terms of the State's housing sale out of a total stock of 160 124 dwellings.¹⁵

By the end of 1986, 3 068 state-owned houses had been sold in white group areas on freehold in terms of the sale out of a total stock of 10 825.¹⁶

In April Mr Heunis told Parliament that 217 555 plots had been surveyed for sale to Africans under the 99-year leasehold scheme in 1985 (as against 169 581 in 1984) - 130 950 in the Transvaal, 28 396 in the Cape, 52 990 in the Orange Free State, and 5 219 in Natal.¹⁷

The massive programme to survey more than 600 000 stands in 300 African residential areas, which had begun in 1982, was due to be completed by the end of 1986. The programme involved an amount of R40m, the initial finance being provided by the national housing fund. Through the surveying programme, the homeowner received property security. It also enabled homeowners to apply for bonds on their property by using it as security.¹⁸

Rent

The minister of local government, housing, and works (white own affairs), Mr A A Venter, told Parliament in March that additional relief was on the way for white tenants of state-owned homes who, despite measures introduced in 1985, were still unable to afford the rents on their homes. He said that in 1985 people unable to pay a full rental according to the established formula had been allowed to pay a rental based on 25% of the family income. This was on the understanding that the loss would be

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recouped when the tenant's financial position improved. But further relief was needed, and the development and housing board (white own affairs) had recently approved an extension of this measure so that the basic rental could be calculated

on 25% of the breadwinner's income alone. This only applied in cases where assistance was required, however.¹⁰⁹

New relief measures for tenants and buyers of houses built with government housing funds were announced for coloured people in February. The minister of local government, housing, and agriculture (coloured own affairs), Mr David Curry, said that many households were struggling to meet the rentals and instalments on their homes. Mr Curry said the new measures would apply to the unemployed or to low-income earners. He said that in cases where relief measures were already in operation, and the six-month moratorium on rent had expired, the following steps, supported by a report from a welfare officer confirming hardship, could be taken: " payments of subsistence grants under the social relief scheme for

unemployed people could be made by the department of health services and welfare (coloured own affairs);

" an extension of the six-month moratorium on a portion of the rental or the full rental could be granted for a further six months, if necessary;

" in exceptional cases, after approval by the national housing commission, the capital and interest portion of the rental could be based on 25% of the breadwinner's income, as opposed to the household income; and

* local authorities would be permitted to capitalise arrear instalments of dwellings already sold and to conclude new purchase agreements."

A major issue facing coloured and Indian tenants during the year under review was the disbanding of certain rent boards in March, and their reconstitution for whites only in terms of Government Notices 565-572 of 1986.¹¹¹ It was assumed that this had been done to enable coloured and Indian rent control to be transferred to the 'own affairs' administrations.¹¹² For six months the ministers responsible for housing in the houses of delegates and representatives, Mr Baldeo Dookie and Mr David Curry respectively, stalled inquiries on the rent boards."³ According to the Woodstock advice office, rent had gone up by as much as 400% in some areas of the Cape Peninsula. However, Mr Curry Was on record as saying that it would be 'stupid' for the house of representatives to create its own rent-control board. Mr Dookie told representatives of the Durban central residents' association that rent control was a 'general affair' and had nothing to do with him. Following a flood of complaints from coloured and Indian tenants who claimed that their rents had rocketed as a result, the minister of communications and of public works, Dr L A P A Munnik, announced in September that the housing department in the house of assembly (white own affairs) would administer rent control as an agent for the other two houses."¹⁴

In November the State declined to oppose a supreme court application in Durban contesting the validity of the notice. It was announced that relief was on the way for hundreds of tenants who would have recourse to rent boards again as soon as the withdrawal of the proclamation had been gazetted.⁵

An explanation of these events, which runs counter to claims that certain rent boards had originally been dissolved to give the coloured and Indian administrations responsibility for rent control in their areas, was given to the South African Institute of Race Relations by an official in the department of

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local government, housing, and works (white own affairs) in early 1987. The official said that rent boards had been experiencing a minimum work load, so Mr Venter had dissolved certain boards and had consolidated them with others. He said that the wording of the notices had 'accidentally' excluded coloured and Indian people. However, all the notices had been withdrawn by Government Notices 2374-2389 on 14 November. This, he said, had brought an informal agreement back into effect whereby white 'own affairs' acted as agents for coloured and Indian tenants."⁶

Dissatisfaction over rent and service charges in many African townships continued to grow during 1986, leading to an escalation in the number of protests and rent boycotts.

Rent boycotts

The rent boycott which began in the Vaal Triangle townships of Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, and Zamdela in September 1984 had spread to about 53 townships countrywide by late September 1986, according to a report by the community research group (CRG). The CRG, a group of academics at the University of the Witwatersrand, claimed in August that as many as 300 000 Africans households in these townships were not paying rents, making the boycott 'one of the widest forms of sustained protest to emerge' in South Africa.¹ The CRG estimated in September that the rent boycotts, which had begun at different times, had caused losses of up to R500m for local authorities."⁸

Official figures were more conservative. The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, told Parliament that R177,6m was owed in rents and service charges in African townships of white-designated South Africa at 30 November.⁹

The department of constitutional development and planning confirmed on 24 September that rent boycotts had spread to 46 African residential areas at that stage. It said that although the loss of income amounted to about R45m a year, the government did not intend evicting residents. A department spokesman said it was the right of the 235 African local authorities to take the necessary steps to collect arrear rents. He claimed that most of the residents wanted to pay their rents, but were exposed to intimidation.' Mr Heunis said that in the Vaal Triangle, a total of R35,7m was owed to the Lekoa city council at the end of May. Lekoa has jurisdiction over six townships, viz Boipatong, Bophelong, Refengkgotso, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, and Zamdela. Nearly 21 000 residents owed the Diepmeadow (greater Soweto) town council R1,1m at the end of June; and about 40% of its registered tenants owed the Dobsonville (greater Soweto) town council R348 731, excluding service charges, at the end of May. Mr Heunis said that R2,47m was owed in rental arrears to the Soweto city council at the end of May, while 1 300 residents in Alexandra township (Johannesburg) owed the town council R1m in outstanding rents.

According to Mr Heunis, at least 37 217 residents out of a total population of 296 253 falling under the Lekoa city council were involved in the boycott there, 20 840 out of 239 346 in Diepmeadow, and 27 000 out of 535 783 in Soweto. ' 2

A document entitled Strategy for the collection of arrear rental and service charges, which was discussed by the Lekoa city council, was leaked to the

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press in August. It indicated that the government had established joint management centres, representing local authorities, police, and representatives from chambers of commerce, to, inter alia, assist in breaking the rent boycott.² However, according to the Financial Mail, the plan appeared to have had little success.¹²¹

The rent boycott was also contributing to the debts owed by residents to the 13 African development boards before they were disbanded in July. Mr Heunis told Parliament that the total debt owed to the boards had increased by 34,2% between June 1984 and June 1985. The debt of R144,3m in June 1984 had increased to R193,7m by June 1985. The largest single increase disclosed was the sum owed to the Orange Vaal development board, which rose by 518% from R3,4m on 30 June 1984 to R21m by June 1985.¹²⁴ Mr Heunis did not give details on the nature of the debts.

According to Mr Heunis's figures, the west Rand development board was the only board whose debt decreased - from R35,9m to R1,5m.

Six of the 13 development boards had deficits as at 30 June 1985. They were the west Rand, western Cape, eastern Cape, southern Orange Free State, Natalia, and central Transvaal boards. Reasons for the deficits included resistance to service charge increases, rent boycotts, losses on liquor sales due to unrest damage to outlets, uneconomic tariffs, and limited revenue sources.

In July the CRG said that the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) had reported that 32 community councils and three town councils had collapsed because rent boycotts had eliminated their sources of revenue for running the townships. The CRG said that in most cases rent boycotts had been called by civic groups affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), while the detention of civic leaders had made negotiated settlements to the boycotts difficult.² It said that local government reforms had politicised the rent issue because new state policy included the principle that political self-government had to be coupled with financial self-sufficiency. It said that because the government had not provided money, the councillors had tried to increase rents. The CRG claimed that the rent boycott had united entire communities around the view that they had never given councillors a mandate to increase rents. There was also evidence that between 1980 and 1985 township services had deteriorated in relative terms as a result of reduced government spending on these services. The CRG said that the rent boycotts were not the product of a co-ordinated national campaign, but had begun at different times depending on the level of community organisation and grievances.²⁶

Other developments during the year under review were the formation in Johannesburg in February of a rent crisis committee, comprising 16 political, religious, student, civic, and trade union organisations. The co-ordinator of the committee, Mr Joe Rakgoadi, said they had resolved to make the rent issue part of

the 'liberation struggle', and would launch protests against increased rents and bad conditions in African townships throughout South Africa.¹¹⁷

Following the beginning of a rent boycott in Soweto from June, the director of housing for the Soweto city council, Mrs Del Kevan, warned that residents who did not pay their monthly rent by 15 July would be evicted. In mid-July a wave of evictions began in Soweto. In September conflict broke

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out in White City, Soweto, when residents clashed with municipal police who were trying to evict residents. Official figures put the number of deaths at 21. Shortly after the violence a limpet mine blast destroyed part of Mrs Kevan's home in Craighall Park (Johannesburg). She resigned shortly afterwards (see Political Developments).'

Services and infrastructure

According to the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, electricity still had to be supplied to 118 607 out of 141 467 houses in African townships as at 31 March. He said the greatest shortfall was in the townships controlled by the southern Orange Free State development board where 17 369 houses, or 97,5% of the total for the area, were still without electricity.¹²⁹ Authoritative projections indicated that during the next five years, about R200m would be needed for the purchase of land, and some R2,2bn for infrastructure creation."³

According to the June/July issue of the publication Local Government, private sector developers had suggested that considerable expense could be saved on infrastructure when developing new suburbs. On average, services and infrastructure could account for up to 50% of development costs. The cost of infrastructure for each stand in a housing development aimed at the average white first-time homebuyer was as much as R15 000. Private sector developers claimed that this was an area where municipalities could do a lot more to help reduce costs by rethinking their ordinances, regulations, and standards without reducing the quality noticeably.

In November a privately funded R206m scheme to provide electricity for 105 000 houses and businesses was officially handed over to the Soweto city council and the Dobsonville and Diepmeadow town councils. The project, financed by a consortium of banks and financial institutions, also provided street lighting. The chairman of the consortium, Mr G Marais, said it was a particularly large electrification scheme to have been undertaken.

A Sunday Times report claimed that the economics of electrification remained a problem. A high proportion of African consumers had found they could not afford to use electricity. The Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) had raised its prices by 10% on two separate occasions during the year under review, and was about to increase its rates by a further 14% in January 1987, the report said.

ESCOM was looking at ways to supply thirdworld consumers at a reduced cost. An obvious implication was to provide overhead cabling in future. But this, in turn, brought safety and security problems.³

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