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16.7.53. MO.

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS.

CONFERENCE ON WESTERN AREAS REMOVAL SCHEME.

Figures relating to Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare.

The Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council in 1950 conducted a Survey of the Western Areas, which included Martindale and Sophiatown, Newclare, Albertville and the Western Native Township. The results of this Survey are given in a 143-page Report. The Department also prepared a shorter Summary of the Report on the Western Areas.

The following notes are not intended to be a summary of this Summary. They consist of certain figures and extracts from the Report relating only to Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare (the other areas not being included in the present Removal Scheme) which, it is hoped, will be useful to representatives attending the Conference which the Institute of Race Relations is convening on August 22nd.

1. Date of Establishment, Tenure and Size.

Sophiatown. 113 morgen 383 square roods.
1,694 stands, mostly 50 X 100 ft.

Established in 1905.
1163 stands freehold, 31 leasehold.
One stand has servitude with restriction against Coloured occupancy.

Martindale. 23 morgen, 337 square roods.
332 stands, mostly 50 X 100 ft.

Established in 1905.
All stands held in freehold, and no restrictions on occupancy.

Newclare. 73+ morgen.
579 stands, mostly 50 X 100 ft.

Established in 1912.
All stands held in freehold, servitude with restrictions against White occupancy.
Housing, on the whole, worse than in Sophiatown and Martindale.

2. Population.

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Colourds</u>	<u>Asiatics.</u>
Sophiatown	39,186 (10,966)	1,971 (529)	1,845 (397)
Martindale	(2,117)		
Newclare	14,561 (4,609)	1,069 (250)	1,350 (270)

(The figures given in brackets are the number of families. It should be noted that one-person families form nearly one quarter of the African families. "Asiatics" includes Chinese, of whom there are 686 (188 families)

3. Classification of Stands/.....

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	In order or Minor Repairs.	Vacant	Major/Minor Slum	Major Slum	Total
Sophiatown	401	103	982	208	1,694
Martindale	79	15	207	31	332
Newclare	102	51	305	149	607 +

Major/Minor Slums comprise a variety of stands, the buildings on which are partially in order and/or needing reconstruction and/or demolition.

Major Slums should be entirely demolished.

The Report states that the number of major slum properties in the Western Areas has decreased from 678 in 1937 to 400 in 1950, while over the same period the number of built-up stands has increased from 2,103 to 8,352 (these figures applying to the whole area included in the Report).

4. Value of Land and Improvements (£s.) (Not including value of stands occupied by charitable institutions).

	In order or Minor Repairs.	Major/Minor Slum	Major Slum	Total
Sophiatown	310,558	909,905	134,537	1,355,000
Martindale	109,960	270,360	24,190	404,510
Newclare	147,645	415,500	141,605	704,750
Total	568,163	1,595,765	300,332	2,464,260

The value of Improvements only on stands "in order or needing Minor repairs" is:-

Sophiatown	188,121
Martindale	55,815
Newclare	87,570

The Report states that the value of land and improvements "plus 50% for expropriation would give an idea of the present (i.e. 1950) value for expropriation purposes".

5. Number of Stands and Value of Land and Improvements on Stands used for Public Buildings (i.e. Missions, Schools, Churches).

	No.	Value Land	Value Improvements.
Sophiatown	53	22,450	38,630
Martindale	24	6,230	13,635
Newclare	20	8,525	10,100

There are also the following numbers of stands with shops:-

Sophiatown	183
Martindale	170
Newclare	101

at a total value for land and improvements (included in figures in para. 4) of £612,023.

+ The disparity between this figure and the one given above is due to subdivision of stands. The latter figure regards the portions of sub-divided stands as entities.

6. Ownership.

The Report states (p.101) "it is also not possible from the Deeds Office to ascertain the number of Native owners, as their properties are only registered in their name when they take transfer, thus many of the properties listed under European names may well be already owned in part by Natives and the Europeans may only be bondholders. It is likely that many of the European names appearing on the Valuation Roll are the names of bondholders to whom Indians are paying interest and that the Indians are the true owners of the properties".

The type of tenancy of the African families is given as follows:- (%)

	Owner	Tenant	Sub-tenant
Sophiatown and Martindale	4	80	16
Newclare	1	82	17

(On these figures, there would be 523 Owner-families in Sophiatown, Martindale and 46 in Newclare).

Of the Coloured families, 12% are owners in Sophiatown and Martindale and 30% in Newclare (63 and 75 respectively).

Of Indian families, 11% are owners in the whole Western Area.

7. Density and Overcrowding.

Average number of families per stand:-

Sophiatown and Martindale 8.3

Newclare 7.0

African Overcrowded Families - %

Sophiatown 55

Martindale..... 56

Newclare 66

(Number of rooms required based on flat rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room, each person aged 10 and over being counted as an adult and each person under 10 as $\frac{1}{2}$ and adult).

Standard of Density of Families for the Western Area as a whole:-

	Owners	Tenants	Sub-tenants.
Overcrowded	26%	53%	72%
Maximum Occupation	37%	44%	27%
Uncrowded	37%	3%	1%

WESTERN AREAS REMOVAL SCHEME CONFERENCE.

INVITATIONS SENT TO:

1. Press:
 - Afrikaans
 - English
 - African.

2. Churches:
 - Anglican,
 - Methodist
 - Presbyterian
 - Congregational
 - Baptist
 - Salvation Army
 - Society of Friends
 - Church of Sweden
 - German Lutheran Church
 - Greek Orthodox Church
 - Church of the Disciples
 - Roman Catholic Churches
 - Dutch Reformed Churches

3. General Organizations: (Trade and Industry)
 - Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut,
 - Transvaal Chamber of Industries,
 - Associated Chambers of Commerce of S.A.,
 - Steel & Engineering Industries Ltd. of S.A.
 - Transvaal Chamber of Mines,
 - Rotary Club,

4. General:
 - Johannesburg Bar Council
 - Johannesburg Side Bar Association
 - S.A. Federation of Business & Professional Women
 - Die Vroue Federasie
 - Association of European and African Women
 - Troyville Baptist Women's association
 - English Church Women's Society
 - Catholic Women's League
 - Congregational Women's Association
 - St. Vincent de Paul Society

 - Education and University:
 - Education League
 - Lecturer's Association
 - N.U.S.A.S.
 - Student's Representative Council
 - Students Medical Council
 - S. A. Association of University Women
 - Johannesburg Council for Adult Education
 - Bantu Studies Society
 - Student Christian Association
 - Student Zionist Association
 - Transvaal Teachers Association
 - Transvaal High School Teachers Association
 - Transvaalse Onderwysvereniging
 - Parktown Old Girls Association
 - Roedene Parent Teachers Association
 - Kingsmead Parent Teachers Association
 - National Council of Women
 - Oaklands Womens' Group
 - S.A. Ort. Oze. Womens' Sect.
 - S.A. Nursing Association
 - 1820 Settlers Association
 - Housewives League of S.A.

Helping Hand Club for African Girls
Ladies 89 Pioneer Club
League of Women Voters
Toc H. of S.A.
Toc H. Women's Association
Jeppe High School for Girls Mothers Committee
Johannesburg High School Old Girls Club
Social Services Association
Johannesburg Indian Welfare Association
Johannesburg & District Cape Coloured Welfare Association

Housing & Ratepayers etc.

Johannesburg Citizens Native Housing Committee
Sophiatown Anti-Expropriation & Proper Housing Association
Newclare Rate Payers Association
Sophiatown Rate-Payers Association
Rate Payers Association in Pimville
Civil Rights League
Penal Reform League of S.A.
Independent Cultural Association
Catholic J.C. of European and Bantu
Transvaal Provincial Council of Architects.
Planning Association

Study Circles

Inst. Study Circle and Joint Council of European and Bantu
Hillbrow Study Circle
West Rand Study Circle

African, Indian, Chinese rep. organisations.

African National Congress (Tvl)
Transvaal Indian Congress
Transvaal Organization Indian
Chinese United Club
Y.W.C.A. local office
Y.M.C.A. Local Office

Boys & Girls Clubs

Transvaal Association Boys Club
Transvaal Association Girls Club
Transvaal Association of Non-European Boys Club

Girl Guides

Girl Wayfairers Association
Girl Guide Association

Scouts

Boy Scouts Association
African Boy Scouts Association - Pathfinder Scouts

5. Jewish Congregations and Organizations

S.A. Union of Progressive Judaism
Sisterhood of the United Jewish Reform Congregation
S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies
Union of Jewish Women
United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg
United Jewish Reform Congregation of Johannesburg
Hebrew Order of David, Grand Lodge,

6. Trades Unions etc.

Trades & Labour Council
Transvaal Council of Non-European Trades Unions

Non-European

African Sweet workers Union
African Clothing Workers Union
African Tobacco Workers Union
African Garment Workers Union
African Meat Workers Union
African Dairy Workers Union
African Building Workers Union
African Timber Workers Union
African Tin Workers Union

Transvaal Milling Workers Union
African Motor Industry Workers Union
African Commercial and Distributive Workers Union
African Chemical Workers Union
Tailoring Workers Indian Union
African Textile Workers Industrial Union
African Laundry Workers Union
African Stone Crushers Workers Union
Furniture, Matting & Bedding Workers Union
African Bakers & Confectioners Ind. Workers Union
Transvaal Soap and Candle Workers Union
African Wine & Spirit Workers Union
Publishers, Newspapers & Distributive Workers Union

Affiliated Unions

Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers
Chain Workers Union
Concession Stone & Allied Trades Assts. Union
Food, Canning & Allied Workers Union
Garment Workers Union
Glass Workers Union
Jewellers & Goldsmiths Union
Johannesburg Municipal Transport Workers Union
Johannesburg Workers Union
Motor Industry Employees Union of S.A.
Nat. Baking Industrial Union
Nat. Union of Commercial Travellers
Nat. Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers
Operative Plasterers T.U. of S.A.
Photographic Employees ass.
S.A. Canvas & Rope Workers Union
S.A. Cinematograph Operators Union
S.A. Hairdressers Employees Ind. Union
S.A. Theater & Cinema Employees Union
Sweet Workers Union
Tailoring Workers Industrial Union
Textile Workers Industrial Union
Transvaal Broom & Brush Workers Industrial Union
Transvaal Leather & Allied Trades Ind. Union
Wholesale Meat Factory & Cold Storage Workers Ind. Union
Wits. Tea Room, Restaurant & Catering Trade Employees Union

Registered Unions

Amalgamated Eng. Ind. Union
Amalgamated Soc. of Woodworkers
Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers of S.A.
Chain Workers Union
Concession Stone & Allied Trades Assistants Union
Die Spoorbond
Food, Canning & Allied Workers Union
Fun. Workers Ind. Union
Garment Workers Union
Glass Workers Union
Industrial Council Officials & Staffs Ass.
Ironmoulders Soc. of S.A.
Jewellers & Goldsmiths Union
Johannesburg Municipal Employees Assoc.
Johannesburg Mun. Transport Workers Union
Johannesburg Mun. Water Workers Mechanics Union
Johannesburg Mun. Workers Union
" Musicians Union
Mine Surface Officials Ass. of S.A.
Mine Workers Union
Motor Industrial Employees Union of S.A.
Motor Trans. Workers Union
Nat. Milling Workers Ind. Union
Nat. Baking Ind. Union
Nat. Union of Commercial Travellers
Nat. Union of Laundering, Cleaning & Dyeing Workers
Netherlands Bank of S.A. Staff Sec.
Op. Plasters T.U. of S.A.

Optical Workers Union
Photo. Employees Ass.
Running & Operating Staff Union
S.A. Assoc. of Assayers
S.A. Engine Drivers & Firemen Ass.
S.A. Electrical Workers Ass.
S.A. Canvas & Rope Workers Union
S.A. Boilermakers Soc.
S.A. Cinematograph Operators Union
S.A. Diamond Workers Union
S.A. Operative Masons Soc.
S.A. Insurance Employees Soc.
S.A. Hairdressers Employees Ind. Union
S.A. Reduction Workers Ass.
S. A. Soc. of Bank Officials
S. A. Welders Soc.
S.A. ~~Am~~ Th. & Cin. Employees Union
S.A. Railways & Harbours Artisan Staff Ass.
S.A. Teleprinting Op's Soc.
S.A. Soc. of Journalists
S.A. Typographical Union
S.A.R. & H. Salaried Staff Ass.
S.A. Posvereniging
Sweetmakers Union
The Underground Officials Union
Tailoring Workers Ind. Union
Transvaal Leather & Allied Trades Ind. Union
Transvaal Meat Trade Employees Union
Transvaal Broom & Brush Workers Ind. Union
Werknemers Unie van die S.A. Vleishandel
Wits. Liquor and Catering Trade Employees Union
Wits. & Vereniging Dairy & Allied Products Workers Ind. Union
Wits. Brewery Employees Union
Wits. Baking Employees Ass.
Wits. Tea Rm. Rest. & Catering Trade Employees Union
Wholesale Meat Factory & Cold Storage Workers Union

7. Individuals.

Principal, Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work,
Chief Native Commissioner, Wits.
Rabbi D.C.M. Weiler, The United Jewish Ref. Cong. of Jhb.
Rabbi Prof. L. J. Rabinowitz, Chief Rabbi, United Hebrew Cong.
Rev. J. B. Webb, Methodist Central Hall,
Father T. Huddleston,
Miss Eleanor Ponsoby, Af. Children Feeding Scheme
Principal University Wits.
Registrar " " "
Dr. W. Scott-Miller, M.O.H.
Dr. Donnelly, City Health Dept.
Mr. W. J. P. Carr, Manager Non-European Affairs Dept.
Dr. L. V. Hurd, Chairman " " " "

8. Late Invitations

Rev. D. A. Ntansi,
Rev. B. M. Moleba
Rev. E. E. Kumalo
Rev. O. Mocki, Interdenominational Native Ministers Ass.
Soc. of Friends
Mr. Adendorf
Mr. Capstairs, St. Joseph's Home
Salvation Army H.Q.
Councillor E. N. Harvey
Bishop & Mrs. A.M. Reeves
Ven. R.Y. Rouse,
Rev. H. Leach
Rev. B.J.L. Moloi,
Rev. E. Motchedi
Rev. Father Sidebotham
Anglican Soc. Wits. University
Rev. S. C. Davis
Mr. Reeves

Johannesburg Central Cttee. for N.E. Continuation Classes
Mrs. J. Hertshelt & son, Advisor on African Affairs to N.C.W.)
Sophiatown Tenants Ass.

9. City Councillors.
10. MEMBERS of all Committees of S. A. Institute of Race Relations.

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City of
Johannesburg



Stad
Johannesburg

P.O. Box } 1049
Posbus }

Tel. 34-1111 { Municipal Exchange
Munisipale Telefoonburo

Please ask for/Sprek asseblief
Mr./Mnr.Haupt.

Office of the Town Clerk
Kantoor van die Stadsklerk
JOHANNESBURG

Our Ref. } 353/2.
Oms Verw. }

Your Ref }
U Verw. }

Mr. Q. Whyte,
S.A. Institute of Race Relations,
P.O. Box 97,
JOHANNESBURG.

JAN 28 1958

24 JAN 1958

Dear Sir,

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO RECENT RIOTS.

With reference to your recent letter offering to give evidence to the Commission of Inquiry into the recent riots in the south-western Native areas, your offer has been recorded, and you will be advised by the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department in due course of the date and time when you can appear before the Commission.

I am,
Your obedient servant,

Jr
C. J. Haupt
DEPUTY TOWN CLERK.

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS (INGELYF)

P.O. Box 97

Posbus 97

JOHANNESBURG.

EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO THE JOHANNESBURG CITY COUNCIL
COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE DISTURBANCES IN
CERTAIN SOUTH-WESTERN TOWNSHIPS IN SEPTEMBER, 1957
BY THE SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS.

1. INTRODUCTION.

The correct sequence of events in time is indispensable to our understanding of a civil disturbance, a breakdown of law and order. If we would seek the causes of things, to understand why events happened as they did, we must look very carefully at the things themselves. Unfortunately to seek to reconstruct a civil disturbance, or as in this case, a pattern of disturbances, without the police records and day-to-day and hour-to-hour eye-witness accounts is to approximate but poorly to the actual events. Still the attempt must be made to determine what did happen, before we ask why.

The following account is based on press reports at the time and accounts given by Non-European members of the Institute. It does not claim to be authoritative.

2. NARRATIVE OF EVENTS.

In the afternoon of Saturday 14th September 1957, groups of Zulu alighted from trains at Phefeni station, and assembled in formations at the entrance to the Dube Men's Hostel. Here they went through a ceremony of lowering their heads and raising their sticks in such a way as to touch one another. Bystanders understood that this represented a group undertaking to stand by each other in whatever followed. Each man was armed with at least two sticks and many with sharpened iron stakes which were openly carried. From what follows it would seem that some were carrying firearms. Among those who witnessed this event was the Field Officer of the S. A. Institute of Race Relations who suspecting serious trouble hastened off to warn a passing S. A. Police Patrol car and to fetch his camera from his home in Orlando. When he returned he found a number of S. A. Police cars at the hostel gate, but no attempt to disarm the Africans carrying these weapons was made. The Zulu numbers at the hostel were still being swelled by new arrivals and soon, headed by leaders who carried whistles for marshalling their followers, they marched out of the western gate of the hostel apparently expecting to meet a rival group of Basotho. They were, according to report, several hundreds strong. They made off in the direction of Mofolo North, firing shots it is alleged into the neighbouring Shangaan area close to the hostel as they went.

In the late afternoon they made contact with a Basotho group and savage fighting broke out and continued till dark. At least seven Africans lost their lives after being savagely hacked. The Zulu group suffered a defeat. The following day the area was in a state of even greater tension as rumour of reprisal and revenge spread.

This was Sunday, 15th September, the day arranged for the funeral of a Basotho chief who had been hacked to death by a group of Zulu the Sunday before. This funeral procession accompanied by large numbers of

Basotho was made the occasion for an attempt at a general massacre by the Zulu. This was prevented only by the drastic use of firepower by police patrols. The outlines are clear, unfortunately the details are not.

According to the 'Rand Daily Mail' the next day, some 150 Basotho from Meadowlands were given police escort to Doornkop for the funeral ceremony. This escort consisted of Capt. Moolman of Orlando, 10 European policemen and 30 African policemen. At Mofolo North the procession found the Zulu massed for an attack, which after warnings had failed to deter the leaders was only beaten off by the prompt and effective resort to rifle and sten-gun fire. According to Capt. Moolman fire was first opened on his group by the Zulu. ('Star' 16.9.1957). The Zulu were dispersed, some thousand of them and the burial service took place.

After the service the Police had to escort some 500 mourners back, and this time it was at the Dube Hostel that the massed group of Zulu was encountered, again more than a thousand strong. The returning group and its escort were attacked once again this time from the hostel, with stones and firearms, and once again after warnings, the S.A. Police reinforced now by a party under the District Commandant of Newlands, opened fire and broke up the attack. It appears however, that from this time on until late into the night, by which time Police patrols were in all the trouble spots, fighting between rival groups sometimes a hundred strong went on in Mofolo North and Jabavu. Police again and again reported finding dead bodies, savagely hacked and mutilated. Ambulances and police patrols were sent to Meadowlands.

The African casualties as reported by the Bantu press at the end of this fearful week, were 40 dead and 100 wounded.

What is not clear is the actual timetable of events and therefore their exact sequence on Sunday. For example, according to the 'Star' report of Capt. Moolman's evidence against John Ndlovu and 20 other Africans ('Star' Tues. 7 Jan. 1958) Captain Moolman states that at 2 p.m. he went to Jabavu where serious rioting had already started, and apparently several hundred Basotho had just left four Zulu dead. These Basotho were armed. (See same report 'Star' p.5).

What does emerge, both from the remarks attributed to Capt. Moolman in this report and in that of the African paper the 'World' (Saturday 14th September) is that Capt. Moolman knew what was happening and that the situation was inflammable, and moreover, that a large-scale clash was expected on the Sunday.

BACKGROUND.

3. In May 1956 under the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1955, the so-called 'Locations in the Sky' Act, Johannesburg was granted the delegation of powers by the Minister of Native Affairs, on certain conditions. It obtained in March 1956 a housing loan to build a men's hostel to accommodate some 5,152 males at Dube, practically adjoining the established township of Orlando and facing across the main road, the predominantly middle-class, home-ownership, Dube township. To the west of the hostel lies the Government township of Meadowlands, a family settlement where ethnic grouping has been introduced. One condition was that at least one-half of this accommodation should be used to rehouse Africans removed from European areas in accordance with the above-mentioned Act. When Dube hostel was completed in July 1956, 2,500 beds were set aside for this purpose and large numbers of domestic servants, cleaners and 'flatboys' were moved there. They were almost to a man, Zulu and, it has been asserted, their contacts with the urbanised African of the Johannesburg area townships were few. They form the class known colloquially as the izicaza. The City Council used the remaining beds to house slum-area sub-tenants or unlawful lodgers in back-yards. For the most part these were chosen from Zulu tribes.

4. From the time of the opening of Dube the authorities were deluged by a stream of complaints stemming from the absence of even the most elementary facilities and amenities within the buildings themselves. The situation only a few months ago, at the time of the riots, was hardly any better if one may judge from the reports of members of the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Committee. Mr. H. Miller, the chairman, stated that Dube, and for that matter the other similar hostel, Nancefield, had been built as an austerity-cottage-type hostel 'as required by the National Housing and Planning Commission. The Council's plan for something better had been rejected.' He maintained that 'with the best will in the world, no council can cope with a situation where 5000 human beings are living cheek by jowl in semi-primitive conditions without spending large sums of money in providing proper facilities to build a stabilized community with a sense of responsibility towards each other'. (Star 7.8.1957)

Mr. A.J. Cutten reported that what most concerned the inhabitants at Dube was the cold, the lack of privacy and the continuous thieving which seems endemic there. But he went on to give a thoroughly disturbing picture of general conditions at both Dube and Nancefield. (Star 7.8. 1957).

5. From the very beginning there were grave doubts about the wisdom of siting the Dube hostel. In the first place, it appeared unwise to locate 5,000 single males in the midst of a community living under conditions of family life. Secondly, apprehensions arose because this large number of males was, on the whole, less urbanized and, generally, less adjusted to urban conditions than the families surrounding them. Thirdly, the fact that the single men formed an ethnic enclave intensified fears that tensions would be generated.

It was not very long before reports from Africans on the spot indicated that these fears were justified.

6. As early as May 1957 the first serious incident took place in Dube. Significantly, this arose as a result of complaints from the inhabitants to the Superintendent about victimization by criminal elements in the township. The superintendent called in the S.A. Police who searched for illegal residents and also for liquor and dangerous weapons. Some twenty Africans were arrested and this proved the signal for an attack by a growing mob, on the Police. To extricate themselves the Police were forced to open fire. Two Africans were shot dead, and a European Constable and twelve Africans were admitted to hospital.

7. According to reports received in the Institute the Zulu 'flatboys' and 'cleaners' became an obvious and easy target for the tsotsi gangs who robbed and plundered in the Orlando-Pimville trains. This menace had arisen long before Dube was established but the result was to cause the Zulu to band together in retaliation and to take over 'their own coaches'. The Dube hostel men are said to have sought protection in their own numbers and in the steady accumulation of weapons including, apparently, firearms. They then passed to the offensive and retaliated against those they considered to be tsotsis. Travelling on the trains between 6 and 7 p.m., always something of an ordeal especially at week-ends, became something the older inhabitants of the townships in that complex are said to have avoided. The situation led to a running feud between Zulu and tsotsi. But it did not rest there. For the Dube hostel men, it was but a simple step to identify the tsotsi with their neighbours. This in brief meant the Basotho. All who did not belong to their own group which was Zulu, belonged to the hostile external world and this was Basotho. This attitude soon led to forays among the township residents and assaults upon them, especially at week-ends. According to Capt. Moolman of the Orlando Police Station, a state of high tension and restlessness existed by the

1st September, The atmosphere, we understand, rapidly became one in which rumours spread like a bush-fire and always they were couched in terms of tribal animosity. Nowhere does this seem more clearly exemplified than in the Bantu Press which by this time was already speaking of "the Zulu trouble" and that as a reaction "Basutos in the township are said to be mobilizing".

8. During the week-end 7/8 September there were a number of incidents in Orlando West Extension and Meadowlands following upon attacks alleged to have been made by groups of Zulu earlier in the week. Residents had armed themselves with sticks and choppers and other such weapons. On the Sunday, two Zulu were hacked to death in Meadowlands, and the Zulu responded by mutilating and killing a Basotho chief. The following week was filled with incidents involving killings and mutilations. They occurred almost daily; battle-axes were being used. The state of unrest was spread over the whole area of Mofolo, Jabavu, Moroka, Meadowlands and Dube hostel.

9. According to the Field Officer of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, the events of the week-end 7/8 September brought the intervention of that group of Basotho known as the 'Russians' who have been in the forefront of Reef faction fights for so long. According to The World it also brought the intervention of the tsotsis, by a kind of tacit agreement with the more respectable elements, in order to resist Zulu intimidation. That the tsotsis were to be found adding to the disturbances of Sunday night, 16th September was suggested by the daily press. If anything were really needed in such an atmosphere, to make inevitable a violent clash of some gravity between the new inhabitants and their neighbours, it could only have been some such development. The whole area was soon buzzing with rumour of attack and counter-attack; of how the Basotho would deal with the Zulu, and especially how they were organizing an attack on Dube Hostel. The incidents of violence continued. On Friday, 13th September, Captain Moolman was patrolling alongside the Meadowland Resettlement Board depot, when he came across a group of about 150 Zulu in the process of stopping a bus and smashing its windows preparatory to an attack. His patrol was able to disperse this group, and to prevent anything worse. Meantime, apparently, the rumour went round that the Zulu would make their attack when the Basotho deputy chief was buried on the Sunday; another that the Basotho would be reinforced from all over the Reef and from the Mines.

This then, even if many of the details remain obscure was the background in its broad outlines to the events of Saturday and Sunday 14/15 September last.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

10. The Institute wishes to record its conviction that whatever the "immediate causes" of the disturbances are found to be, these immediate causes cannot be dissociated from, and will in fact be found to be inextricably linked with, the large number of causative factors which have given rise to increasing lawlessness in the townships and to the emergence of tsotsi-ism as one of its specific manifestations.
11. In surveying the events that culminated in the disturbances over the week-end of September 14-15, the following factors all appear to have contributed to what occurred:-
- a) Grievances resulting from enforced removal of a large group of Africans from their accustomed accommodation in the City to Dube hostel because:-
 - I. The removal was premature and many basic amenities were lacking.
 - II. Even after improvements had been made, there was still

dissatisfaction regarding lack of shopping facilities, recreational amenities and so on;

III. Pilfering became endemic in the Hostel;

IV. The men resented the fearful congestion on the trains which they had to use twice daily and, above all, their exposure to the attacks of the tsotsis who operate on the trains.

These factors, added together, appear to have given rise to a general sense of grievance among the hostel residents and to a feeling of insecurity in a hostile environment.

b) The men at the hostel appear to have developed a strong sense of in-group loyalty and a corresponding aggression towards all those who did not belong to the in-group and who were apparently all labelled "Basotho". This loyalty, initially a response to tsotsi malpractices on the trains, was further heightened by :-

- I. The fact that the men in the hostel, consisting of single men or men living under conditions of single life, constituted an abnormal group in a settlement of families;
- II. The contrast between the way of life of the generally middle-class and more westernized Dube township dwellers and that of the less adjusted hostel residents;
- III. The exclusive ethnic composition of the hostel residents which added to group loyalty tribal cohesion.

The combination of these factors may well have induced the feelings characteristic of an embattled group.

12.

In assessing the immediate causes of the disturbances 14/15 September last there would appear to be certain outstanding questions concerning the events themselves. It is obvious that the S.A. Police behaved with promptitude and resolution and courage when faced with the emergency, in circumstances of a most threatening kind. It is also likely that but for their actions on the spot the bloodshed and the extent of the disturbances would have been greater. What however, is not clear to the outsider is the answer to each of the following questions:-

- I. Why in view of the disturbed situation of the previous fortnight, and in the light of information which Capt. Moolman received concerning the week-end, were the Police patrols so small?
- II. Why were the Zulu allowed to form up on the Saturday and make their way to Mofolo?
- III. According to reports the funeral procession was 'ambushed' by more than 1,000 Zulu on its way to the cemetery. Why was it that no patrol in force, was not already on the route in wireless touch with the escorting patrol, and well ahead of it to prevent just such a concentration as confronted the procession at Mofolo North? How had such a number all apparently well armed managed to concentrate?
- IV. Why was it that the Dube inhabitants after the first skirmish on Sunday were able to form up again at the hostel to resume hostilities? Was it not possible to have had patrols there after the first clash? Was there no possibility of disarming the Zulu?
- V. In the light of the steadily increasing tension from 1st September onwards and the evidence that serious trouble was to be expected, could the area concerned from Mofolo

to Dube not have been cordoned off and thoroughly combed, especially for weapons? The Police are reported to have collected many after the events. In the morning of April 29, 1947, this was done by 900 Policemen on reports of increasing lawlessness and mob rule in the squatter camps of Orlando. The operation was a success. (Fagan Report on Moroka P.75). Was not the pattern of increasing lawlessness in this case at least as serious? If the situation had any parallel with the earlier one, it seems likely that the majority of the established residents would have welcomed such an announcement of Police intentions.

- VI Furthermore, having regard to the steadily mounting tension, was the choice of route for the funeral procession a wise one? Could the police authorities not have avoided routing a Basotho procession through Zondi, a Zulu ethnic area?
- VII How is it that the conditions on the Orlando-Pimville trains-conditions which few deny exist - have been allowed for so long to make travelling for the ordinary Non-European a danger, and to provide unparalleled opportunities for the criminal elements? Has this been due to division of responsibilities between different authorities, indifference, or to the shortage of Police staff?
- VIII Finally, have the S.A. Police available properly trained and equipped Riot Squads (for example, as in the U.S.A.) and would such equipment make the resort to concentrated fire-power only a last resort, while providing an effective and in most cases a more acceptable way of dealing with such situations.

It is easy to be wise after the event. But these questions are relevant precisely because it is not yet clear to what extent the actual events of the Saturday and Sunday September 14/15th might have been avoided had a different Police policy been followed, or whether a different policy was possible.

- 13 Furthermore, one is forced to ask what the reports of the Dube Hostel Superintendent and other officials reveal as to the state of affairs there from the time of its opening? And one is compelled to ask, too, what happened to such reports and whether in the light of events during the weeks before the disturbances adequate attention on the part of both the Municipality and the South African Police had been paid to the conditions at Dube? Were there enough African police constables whether from the Municipality or the South African Police?

- 14 Reference must be made to the statement of the Union Native Affairs Department answering a number of questions asked by Dr. Boris Wilson, a member of the Johannesburg City Council. This statement was published in Bantu, November 1957, under the title "What Caused the Riot?" It said, inter alia; "In the Report of the Riots Commission appointed by the Government in 1950, in a long list of "immediate causes" and "causative factors in the background", tribal and ethnic causes were never mentioned but as major causes the Commission found inter alia the following: "The Advisory Board of Western Native Township had a strong feeling of resentment towards the Johannesburg City Council".

Two comments are here relevant:-

- a) The Commission could hardly have found that tribal or ethnic grouping was a cause of the disturbances because there was no ethnic or tribal grouping in urban areas at that time;
- 1) The Commission did not in fact say what the Native Affairs Department's official statement states. What the Commission wrote - and it said nothing about "major causes" in this connection - was:

"The Advisory Board of Western Native Township had a strong feeling of resentment towards the Johannesburg City Council because they were not directly represented on the Council." (para. 45). The meaning of the Commission's statement is completely altered by omitting these 9 words and a thoroughly misleading impression is conveyed.

ROOT CAUSES.15. General.

It is with a sense of repetitiousness that the question of "root causes" - the Commission's second term of reference - is approached. The question of crime and lawlessness - and the disturbances which the Commission is investigating are only one manifestation of this lawlessness - has been the subject of enquiry by a series of Commissions. The 1942 Elliott Commission said, "There is a great mass of information available to all who desire to study particular aspects of the subject of crime and matters related thereto. But even without any such detailed study so much discussion has taken place both on public platforms, in periodicals and in the columns of the daily press that the Committee is of opinion that no one, having any pretensions to intelligence or education, can be ignorant today of, at least, the broad outlines of the problems under consideration. As an indication only of recent activities in probing special aspects of these questions we may mention the following:-

- (a) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives (9th March, 1942).
- (b) The Native Economic Commission (1930-1932).
- (c) Native Affairs Commission (1939-1940).
- (d) Commission to consider the Administration of Urbanised Areas, not under Local Government Control (1938-1939)." (Para.16, p.9).

It goes on to specify three main causes of crime: social conditions subdivided into home life, education and recreation, economic conditions (sub-divided into wages, housing, employment, cost of living), and moral conditions.

16. Although a direct causal link between any one of these factors and crime has not been established, investigations conducted in England and America have shown that the incidence of criminality and the existence of certain definite phenomena, such as sub-standard housing, poverty, population change, show an inter-relationship which is too consistent to be fortuitous. "Delinquency", say Shaw and Mackay, "has its roots in the dynamic life of the community." (Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, p.435).
17. The prevalence of poverty among urban Africans (see Cost of Living for Africans for an analysis of minimum expenditure and average income of unskilled workers and the resultant shortfall), the inadequacy, despite the improvements that have been made, of educational and recreational facilities, the incidence of population change and the associated instability of family relationships, require no further emphasis. "Sub-standard housing" is still characteristic of many areas in Johannesburg, even though the present vigorous housing policy of the City Council, supported by the Central Government, is making the gradual demolition of temporary shelters in the Moroko Emergency Camp and Orlando's shantytown possible, as well as providing permanent dwellings for others who have been waiting for years for accommodation.
18. The aspect to which the Institute wishes to draw particular attention is that of the moral climate in which urban Africans live. Any society in transition is subject to severe strain and stress. In the case of urban Africans there is a dual transition from rural to urban and from a tribal subsistence to a western industrial economy. Change involves social disorganization and conflicting norms. There is conflict between the norms the European sets and the norms the African is prepared to accept, and there are conflicting norms among different groups and classes of Africans themselves.

19. The sanctions which operated under the tribal system are not applicable in an urban environment and have, in fact, largely broken down. The growth of a set of new sanctions is impeded by the large number of discriminatory laws to which Africans are subject and which they observe only under compulsion and without moral acceptance. The 1938 Conference on Urban Juvenile Native Delinquency said in its findings, "A sound, decent public opinion among the Bantu in urban areas has become impossible of attainment because the people have become resentful against the law and those who represent it," and it appealed "to the Government and Municipal authorities to take early and drastic action to reduce the occasions of offence." (para. 20, p. 7). "We have to accept as a fact that the number of offences committed far exceeds the safety margin", said Dr. W.M.M. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, in addressing The Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs in September, 1957. "A society in which such a large percentage of its members are prosecuted, convicted and fined or imprisoned must necessarily suffer irreparable harm as the punitive system ceases to have any educative and remedial effect. The people implicated are no longer subject to any social stigma and therefore these sanctions lose their deterrent value. It is consequently of the utmost importance to have this process reversed so that contravention of laws and regulations will once more become the exception rather than the rule."
20. Today, 20 years after the 1938 Conference, occasions of offence have multiplied and resentment against discriminatory laws has grown. The distinction between "real" crime and technical offences is becoming ever more blurred. An urban-bred generation has grown up in what is little more than a moral no man's land and, in its repudiation of discriminatory laws and those who administer these laws, is tending to repudiate all law and all authority, including even parental authority.
21. In the absence of an adequate police force and an adequately armed police, and torn in the conflict between solidarity with their own people in their struggle against the laws they detest and the desire to root out the real evil-doers in their midst, Africans feel paralysed. "The African has to choose between the tyranny of the European and the tyranny of the hooligan element in his midst", said a prominent African at a recent conference. "He has to choose his racially akin group, he has to tolerate it, even excuse it.". Efforts to inaugurate collective action in the form of civil guards were forbidden by the authorities and no alternative form of protection has been suggested or instituted. Increasingly, there are fewer people who can be looked to for support of authority as such.
22. To the Institute it appears that the attempt to maintain and operate two legal systems with the same area, one for Whites and one for Blacks, cannot succeed. This country pays an immense price - a price that cannot be computed - in terms of wastage of man hours and in terms of frustration and illwill, quite apart from the direct costs of a huge bureaucratic machine, to impose the pass laws. But, even so, crime has not been checked.
23. In the United States, it is reported that "delinquency has developed in the form of a local tradition inseparable from the life of the local community" (P.136). It seems not unlikely that a process of this nature is developing in the urban townships of the African today. And because the law-abiding elements have experienced no raising but only a lowering of their status, because they are assured no protection, because they cannot talk to their own children in terms of hope for the future, they appear powerless to arrest this process.

URBAN AFRICAN YOUTH

24. The problem of rehabilitating Urban African youth and of liquidating tsotsi-ism is a vast one. On the obvious need to increase and

improve normal educational and recreational facilities, the Institute does not propose to elaborate. (a) It notes with appreciation the efforts being made by the Johannesburg City Council, the Association of Boys and Girls Clubs and other agencies to provide wholesome activities for young people. In this connection, it must express its dismay at the steps taken by the Department of Native Affairs to sever joint European-African voluntary social welfare activities. It believes that the results will be calamitous both in the form of preventing co-operation in a field productive of harmonious race relationships and in practical terms through the reduction of European financial support and loss of European skills and guidance.

(b) The Institute likewise notes with appreciation that schools are now being provided as an integral part of new housing schemes, although it cannot approve the financing of these schools by the imposition of a levy of 2/- per month on tenants. It is too early to assess the results of the new educational policy being applied in terms of the Bantu Education Act. The Institute, however, gravely fears that the new language policy which makes the vernacular the medium of instruction throughout the primary and high school will, particularly in the case of urban children, further reduce the already weak holding power of the schools.

25. The major problem in regard to urban African youths centres in effecting their transition from school to employment without permitting an intervening period of idleness: for there appears to be widespread evidence that in this period, roughly from the age of 14-18 years, marked deterioration sets in.

The normal process in a modern society is for young people to remain at school until at least the legally enjoined school-leaving age, usually 16 years, and then to take up employment. This is not the normal process among Africans. There is no compulsory schooling. There is, unless a youngster or his parents are fired by ambition and inspired by a fervent belief in "education" - and there are still many such - no particular incentive to continue schooling because, apart from teaching and other professions, employment opportunities are not related to educational attainments.

26. At one time it was believed that if juvenile wage scales were introduced, it would encourage employers to take on juveniles. These differential wage scales now exist in many industries, but they have not had the desired effect. Now, as before, employers regard African juveniles as unreliable, irresponsible and unproductive. The costs of the extra supervision they require outweigh any savings on wages. Hence there are very few openings for juveniles under the age of 19 in light industry or as messengers, packers, delivery boys - occupations juveniles seek, but occupations in which the supply of labour exceeds the demand. The Johannesburg Labour Bureaux are not able to place more than a small fraction of their juvenile applicants. For those occupations in which there is a shortage of labour, such as in brickfields, cement works, timber yards, mills, juveniles are neither fitted for the heavy work required nor are they, on the whole, prepared to enter occupations of this nature. Nor are the overwhelming majority of urban youths prepared to enter domestic service, in which field there is also a shortage of labour.

27. The employers' unwillingness to employ juveniles, and the juveniles' unwillingness to bring to such jobs as are available sustained effort and responsibility and to enter any but a limited number of occupations creates a situation of formidable difficulty for which there does not seem to be any short-term "solution". A variety of methods will have to be adopted, new techniques explored, in order to attempt to deal with this very complex problem.

28. It is clear that, desirable as the introduction of compulsory schooling is, particularly in the urban areas, this by itself will not provide the answer to the present problem. Compulsory education would, to start with, presumably only take the child up to his 14th year and, under more favourable circumstances, up to the 16th year. What then?

What appears to be needed, in addition to compulsory schooling, is a number of training institutions which will train the child from the time he leaves school. These schools should be primarily trade schools, aiming at teaching basic skills and at character-building. Urban youngsters have to be taught to become work-minded and manual labour has to be rescued from the disrepute into which it has fallen among all sections of South Africa's population. Pompous as this sounds, something in the nature of a crusade to affirm the dignity of labour will have to be inaugurated.

29. The trades schools, if needs are to be met, will have to vary in character. There should be schools for voluntary attendance in the towns, preferably boarding schools, offering a course that would enable industrialists to make employment available to youth. Then there should be schools akin to the present Vocational Training Centre conducted by the Johannesburg City Council. There should be voluntary work camps run on lines similar to the Special Service Battalion. And finally institutions of the Enkeldoorn Non-European Youth Training Centre type to which stubborn "won't works" are committed.
30. Earnest efforts will also have to be made to influence the attitudes and management methods of employers. In a paper delivered to the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Mr. J.L. Pieterse, Manager of Native Administration at Rustenburg, said, "Employers have become accustomed to getting along with the illiterate, uncivilized native and they are usually highly prejudiced against urban youths. An insignificant infringement may lead to their discharge and employers jib at modernising their old-fashioned organization in order to provide employment facilities for native youths, thus enabling these youths to demonstrate what they can do. Planned training of employees and cultivating a sympathetic attitude is absent in most cases. Most employers still fail to appreciate the beneficial results obtainable from such a scheme. I believe it to be the duty of Sakekamers, Chambers of Industry and of Commerce to draw the attention of member organizations to the uneconomic use of its labour force."
31. While these strictures obviously do not apply universally, there is a great need to revise management techniques. It is understood that a light steel manufacturing plant achieved very satisfactory results with African juveniles aged 18 and 19 by using advanced personnel techniques.
32. Attention is also drawn to the good results obtained in Germiston by the Non-European Affairs Department of the municipality by using a simple range of aptitude tests. A prominent industrialist expressed the opinion that the time is fast approaching when aptitude testing will be a prerequisite to employment. This should reduce friction between foreman and employee and also help to increase labour output and therefore justify higher wages.
33. While the Institute does not propose to embark on a lengthy discussion of wages, it considers it necessary to emphasize the fact that the present low unskilled wage level is a crucial determinant not only of the poverty per se of the urban African community, but of the instability of the African labour force and its low work output. A revision of wage scales, focused on the need to provide rewards for length of service, appears to be a prime necessity. This should promote stability and hence improved output and it should also encourage young Africans to embark early on employment. The position at present appears to be that whether a man starts working at 16 or 26, he will, in the majority of cases, earn the same amount. This certainly provides no incentive to promoting those habits of steady industry which western industrial society requires of its members.
34. Attention is drawn to the need for increasing the personnel of the juvenile section of the Labour Bureau to make it possible for employers to be personally visited with a view to persuading them to provide employment..../11

employment opportunities for juveniles.

35. The Institute draws attention to the family disruption and hardships occasioned by the Government's insistence on the rigorous imposition of Section 10 of the Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act, and particularly to the difficulties experienced by juveniles who are prepared to work, who do live in a township with their parents, but who cannot obtain permission to take up employment because their fathers broke their continuity of work and hence do not qualify for the right to have their sons under 18 with them. To refuse a young African the right to work when he wants to work and can find work, when his family lives in town - whether or not the father qualifies in terms of Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Act - is undoubtedly a potent means of swelling the ranks of the tsotsis.

ETHNIC GROUPING

36. Six years ago, in a statement on the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill, the Institute commented as follows: "The Institute considers the suggestion that "the Native inhabitants of each ward should be members of the same ethnic group or tribe" both unrealistic and undesirable. The urbanization of the African has led to the disappearance of much of the former tribal distinction and rivalry. Even in crises, e.g. the recent outburst at Newclare, the opposing parties were not divided on an ethnic basis and particularly those organized to maintain law and order were completely inter-tribal in their composition. This change has taken place through education, inter-marriage, common working conditions and the cumulative process of detribalization, and the Institute considers that to establish wards on a tribal or ethnic basis would merely tend to accentuate the tribal differences artificially and unnecessarily and would lead to friction and other difficulties".
37. To this view, the Institute still adheres. It is of opinion that if circumstances had permitted a free choice of residence, Africans belonging to the same tribe, particularly the recent urban immigrants, would have tended to live near each other - as immigrants in the United States first tend to concentrate in ethnic localities and only later, as they take root, spread out into other residential areas characterized mainly by class and/or occupational membership. The housing shortage precluded this residential clustering on an ethnic basis as it has, until very recently, on a class or income level basis.
38. With the changes which incorporation into an urban way of life inevitably bring, tribal bonds are being relatively rapidly superseded by those based on other groupings, both organized and unorganized, into which the individual is drawn. In the host of associations which have been set up by urban Africans, tribal origin is the operative criterion in very few. Professional and occupational associations, trade unions, religious, philanthropic, economic, recreational and political associations cut across tribal bonds. The attributes upon which membership of the emerging African middle class is based are income, occupation and education but not tribe. The Institute is accordingly of opinion that in towns tribal origin increasingly becomes an irrelevant criterion of stratification and the attempt to compel Africans to live in an ethnic area runs counter to the normal processes of urban stratification.
39. The Institute does not consider that sufficient evidence is available to venture dogmatic conclusions as to the actual effects of ethnic grouping in the short period since its introduction. Tribal disturbances have occurred in Daveyton, the pioneer in ethnic grouping. But disturbances have occurred in areas where there is no ethnic grouping. But even if there is no evidence that ethnic grouping must inevitably lead to friction, the principle of compulsory ethnic grouping must be rejected in that it entails the very definite risk - very possibly, the

of sparking off latent tribal hostilities. Educated Africans are very conscious of the practical dangers inherent in this situation and have expressed their opposition to ethnic grouping very strongly. In the particular case of the disturbances now being investigated by the Commission, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that tribal antagonisms were intensified by ethnic grouping and played a major rôle in precipitating the clashes.

REMEDIAL MEASURES.

1. The Institute must first record its conviction that as long as there is not disposition on the part of the Government to effect changes in its basic policy, so long will the root causes of dis-organization within urban African society persist. It is, in the opinion of the Institute, essential to bring about a radical change in approach to urban Africans in order to set in motion those forces which will help to bring into being an ordered and contented urban African community.
 - (a) In the first place, it is necessary to adopt the approach of the Fagan Commission in recognizing and accepting Africans as an integral part of the total urban community and not, as official policy now does, to regard urban Africans as temporary sojourners with no rights in the towns.
 - (b) This means instituting measures which will promote population stabilization (such as making freehold tenure available). Present policy is to encourage migrant labour.
 - (c) Of equal importance is the necessity to lessen the incidence of racial discrimination in law, convention and practice in order to restore respect for the law and to renew the association of morality with the law.
2. The Institute stresses the need for the White community to become aware of and accept its responsibility, financial, social and moral, for the welfare of the total urban community.
3. The Institute emphatically advocates the abandonment of compulsory ethnic grouping on the grounds of its unsuitability as a principle of urban grouping and its dangerous tendency to arouse tribal animosities.
4. Dealing now with such remedial measures as can be brought about within the existing rigid framework of government policy, the Institute advocates the following:-
 - A. That the whole policy of hostel accommodation for men be reconsidered.
 - i. The Institute considers that further large hostels accommodating some thousands of men should not be erected. If it is impossible to provide the necessary accommodation without resorting to the large barrack-type hostel, then such hostels should on no account be placed in African townships but should be located near the industrial areas where many of the men presumably work.
 - ii. While the Institute does not in principle favour the accommodation of African service personnel in so-called "sky locations", it considers that while
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these workers continue to form a migrant labour force, their dispersal in "sky locations" is preferable to their concentration miles away from their work in a township. Their enforced removal at present further burdens already inadequate transport facilities, increases cost and inconvenience to both employer and employee.

- iii. Hostels erected in African townships should be as small as is economically practicable (preferably not over 500 residents each) and should be so dispersed as to make their residents assimilable within the community.
 - iv. Hostels of different types should be erected to meet the needs of Africans of differing income, and educational levels.
- B. That the most earnest attention be given to devising means of making the Police an effective protective agency for Africans, in respect of whom this function has not been effectively fulfilled.
- i. This demands making the protective function of the Police its first priority.
 - ii. It necessitates arming those African police who are judged by the police authorities to have the requisite experience and status.
 - iii. It requires increasing the numbers, intensifying recruitment for men of higher educational qualifications, and reconsidering training methods, including modern methods of crowd and riot control.
 - iv. The Institute stresses that these measures need to be complemented by providing facilities essential for rapid communication and efficient patrolling. These include a network of public telephones in the townships, adequate street lighting and suitable all-weather roads.
- C. That the problems of urban African youth and of combating tsotsi-ism be tackled on the broadest front, enlisting the assistance of as many organizations and agencies as possible. In particular the Institute stresses the need to attempt to prevent a period of idleness between school-leaving and taking up employment. The following measures are suggested in this connection:-
- i. Gradual introduction of compulsory schooling.
 - ii. The establishment of different types of trade schools, vocational training centres, Special Service Battalion type camps, where possible with boarding facilities, at which attendance would be voluntary, and additional Non-European Youth Training Centres for committed youths.
 - iii. Employers should be encouraged deliberately to plan occupational opportunities for urban African juveniles

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and to improve personnel training and management. Employment officers should be appointed to Labour Bureaux to assist employers in this regard.

5. The Institute reverts to its often re-iterated contention that the essential need in guiding African urbanization is to provide a framework for the development of a stable and ordered community life. This demands a flexibility of approach and a willingness to undertake social experiment which unfortunately runs counter to prevailing official policies.

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