

D O (B)

A 2118



A "CITY" WITHIN A CITY —

THE CREATION OF SOWETO.

COUNCILLOR PATRICK R.B. LEWIS, C.A.(S.A.),

WITWATERSRAND : BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

A 'CITY' WITHIN A CITY - THE CREATION OF SOWETO

An address delivered by Councillor Patrick R. B. Lewis, C.A. (S.A.) Deputy Chairman Management (Committee and Chairman Non-European Affairs Committee, Johannesburg City Council, in the Dorothy Susskind Auditorium of the University of the Witwatersrand, on Tuesday 6th September, 1966.



A 'City' within a City—The Creation of Soweto

COUNCILLOR PATRICK R. B. LEWIS, C.A.(S.A.)

The lecture was one of a series to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the founding of the city of Johannesburg and the 70th anniversary of the founding of the predecessor of the University of the Witwatersrand, the South African School of Mines, at Kimberley.

Introduction

It was as a student at this University that I received the tuition which enabled me to obtain my professional qualification a third of a century ago. A few years later I again enrolled at this University to study Native Law and Administration. The lecturer, knowing my professional qualifications, set me the task of analysing Johannesburg's Native Revenue Account. This was my introduction to municipal administration. The interest then stimulated in both race relations and municipal affairs has been an absorbing interest ever since. It was my privilege at that time to work with such truly great persons as Professor and Mrs. Alfred Hoernlé, Mr. Rheinallt Jones, and others associated with this University. Their vigour, their breadth of vision, their analytical minds, and their courage in propounding what they believed to be right, have been a source of great inspiration to me.

When I was invited to deliver this lecture it was suggested that I review the Johannesburg City Council's administration of Bantu Affairs—no easy task I can assure you. I was apprehensive at first, but once I started on my address I became excited at the story there was to tell, and grateful that I had been given the opportunity to tell it. Excited because, on review, I suddenly realised I had been so close to the picture that my vision had become blurred by the endless everyday problems, and that I had not focused on the large canvas portraying the gigantic achievements since the grim period at the end of World War II. There is no room for complacency or smugness, for much more has to be done, and it will ever be so, but it gives one courage to go on, even though one is ever conscious that an incident, in itself insignificant, could incite reactions which would destroy years of patient endeavour.

I chose as my title—A 'City' within a City—The Creation of Soweto. Johannesburg, the Mother City, is 94 square miles in area, and Soweto, the Daughter, with its nearest border ten miles from the City, and the home of half a million Bantu people, is 26 square miles in extent, and derived its name from an abbreviation of what until 4th April, 1963, was referred to as the South Western Bantu Townships.

The Six Phases

The review can conveniently be divided into six phases, not of equal duration, which reflect changes of attitude, changes from inaction to action, changes at first hesitant and tardy, leading at last to the dramatic breakthrough. During the first phase from the proclamation of the Goldfields in 1886–1917

there appears to have been little or no endeavour on the part of the civic authorities to accept responsibility for the welfare of the Bantu population. The high mortality rates of the Bantu during the 'flu epidemic in 1918 aroused the civic conscience, and the first housing scheme was started at Western Native Township. At that time "Native Locations" were part of the duties of the Parks Department. Phase III commenced in 1927 with the appointment of Mr. Graham Ballenden as Manager of the newly created Native Affairs Department. It was during this phase that the start was made on building of what was to become Soweto. World War II in 1939 heralded Phase IV when the Bantu converged on the cities in their thousands to undertake the tasks demanded by the expansion of commerce and industry as a result of the war effort. This period was marked by the emergence of squatter camps and shantytowns. Materials and manpower were concentrated on the war effort, and housing had to take a poor second place. At the cessation of hostilities came Phase V when attempts were made to catch up on the backlog of housing, but the sheer immensity of the task, the reluctance to place further burdens on the ratepayers, and, after 1948, the change of attitude of the Government regarding the sharing of losses on housing schemes, and the doubts in some minds regarding the permanency of the urban Bantu population combined to prevent any large-scale or concerted effort to resolve accommodation difficulties. Phase VI commencing in 1954 is the period of the breakthrough, when the seemingly impossible was achieved. It marked the disappearance of the shantytowns, and the acceptance by the local authority of its responsibilities. Throughout South Africa the provision of housing now received attention from the State and local authorities such as never before.

Some idea of the attitudes in Phases I-VI can be gathered from the capital expenditure on the Native Revenue Account incurred by the end of the respective periods:

		<i>Total Capital Expenditure</i>
		R
End of Phase I	30.6.1918	105,527
II	30.6.1928	895,096
III	30.6.1939	2,994,960
IV	30.6.1947	6,561,807
V	30.6.1953	12,637,416
VI	30.6.1965	53,488,569

In the two years between 30.6.1957 and 30.6.1959, R13,415,644 was spent on capital works—an amount exceeding the total expenditure up to the end of 1953.

Phase I—1886—1917

In his book written in 1938 entitled CITY GOVERNMENT—THE JOHANNESBURG EXPERIMENT, John Maud, as he then was, gives an insight into conditions in the early days. I have drawn extensively from that book for incidents and events which give a glimpse of the living conditions of the Bantu people at that time. One must never lose sight of the fact that the first conception of the Johannesburg settlement was that of a temporary mining

camp. When the Diggers' Committee was elected on the 8th November, 1886, and the Sanitary Board was formed in 1887 their powers were limited, as were the funds at their disposal, the provision of most of the profitable services having been granted to concessionaires by the Republican Government.

An early map of Johannesburg, dated 1897, shows a "Kafir Location" and a "Coolie Location" south and south-west of the present Braamfontein Station, at that time called Johannesburg Station, and a Native Location where the present Vrededorp and Pageview now stand. Large numbers of Natives had been attracted to work on the gold mines, and before the outbreak of war in 1899 111,697 Natives were employed on the mines of the Witwatersrand. Of Johannesburg's population in 1896 of 102,000 approximately half were European and half Non-European, mostly Bantu. The mines housed their Native employees, but generally the others had to find their own quarters. During the war the operation of the mines was virtually at a standstill, and most of the Native labour force returned to their homes. After the war the Natives were reluctant to return to the mines, and by July, 1903, the Natives employed on the mines were only half of those employed in 1899, being only 55,507. It was because of this difficulty in obtaining sufficient labour to operate the mines that the indenture of Chinese labour was authorised in 1904, and by December, 1904, 20,918 Chinese were on the mines. By 1907 the number of Chinese had increased to 57,828. The use of Chinese labour had serious repercussions in British politics, and in 1907 the ordinance enabling the use of Chinese labour was repealed, and by December, 1909, all the Chinese were repatriated, and the number of Natives employed by the mines on the Rand had increased to 154,071.

The report of the Johannesburg Insanitary Area Improvement Scheme Commission, published in 1903, gives a vivid picture of the conditions in the area now called Newtown. The City Gas Works were at the corner of West and President Streets, and to the north were old brickfields on which a veritable shantytown had been built. Portion of this area was called Coolie Town, and in this complex of filth and squalor lived over 5,000 people of all races. The streets were twisted and narrow, the water was drawn from polluted wells, and lavatories were just holes dug in the ground. As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the area was expropriated so that it could be replanned. Streets such as Jeppe and Bree were made through streets and provision was made for a market site. But there was no place to which the wretched inhabitants could move. Then, as now, the opposition of the white electorate adjacent to the areas to which it was proposed to move the Natives was so strong that plans had to be shelved. In 1904 there occurred in this area something even stronger than the opposition of the white electorate—an outbreak of bubonic plague. The officials of the Council acted that very night. All the inhabitants were cleared, and the whole slum was burnt to the ground. The Council agreed that accommodation must be found for the refugees, even if only temporarily. For the Natives and Indians this was provided on municipal land adjoining the sewage disposal works at Klipspruit, twelve miles from the centre of town. Corrugated tin shelters were provided by the Council as temporary shelters, and these were to be occupied for some thirty years. Neither the remoteness from Johannesburg, nor the closeness of the sewage farm, endeared the location to its inhabitants. One commission after another drew attention to the bad conditions under which

the Natives in Johannesburg lived. The Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5 strongly criticised the existing state of affairs, as did the Indigency Commission of 1908, and the Municipal Commission of 1909 urged provision of proper sites for Natives and other Non-Europeans.

In 1917 the Council hired the disused mine compound of the Salisbury Jubilee Mine. This was for use as a hostel for a thousand Native men, and later became the Mai Mai Bazaar. In 1917 the Council requested the Government to grant it the right to sell Kaffir beer, but this the Government refused to do until the Council provided more adequate municipal locations.

Phase II—1918-1927

The high mortality rates of Natives in the 1918 'flu epidemic stimulated the Council to establish Western Native Township on a site which in earlier years had been brickfield, and had later been levelled by the tipping of refuse. Between 1918 and 1921 two hundred and twenty seven houses were built there. Meanwhile, Natives were living under most unsatisfactory conditions in places such as Newclare, Sophiatown, Prospect Township, the Malay Location and other parts of the town, as there seems to have been no means of preventing the occupancy of property unless there was a restrictive clause in the Conditions of Title of the Township, and thus in the early days the Natives lived in various parts of the town. A report from the Medical Officer of Health in 1923 reads: "Slum Property. No material betterment herein was practicable during 1922-3. As reported to the Health Committee (30th June 1919) there have long been a large number of premises scheduled as unfit for human habitation; but the crowded population of these places consisted almost exclusively of Natives and Coloured persons for whom no accommodation elsewhere was available, and therefore the Medical Officer of Health was not prepared to certify them for closure unless definitely instructed to do so by the Committee."

It was in 1923 that the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed by Parliament. One of the clauses, which had far reaching effects, fairly and squarely placed the responsibility on local authorities to provide housing for Natives living and employed within their area. Between 1926 and 1928 Wemmer Barracks was built to house 2,000 Native men. Western Native Township was extended between 1924 and 1927 by building a further thousand houses and a new location, Eastern Native Township, was established with four hundred houses. By 1927 the Council provided accommodation for 15,000 people. At that time the estimated Native population was 96,000 (excluding those employed and housed by the mines).

Until 1927 the administration of native affairs was the responsibility of the Parks and Estates Committee, and it is interesting to note that the nett expenditure on parks, estates and cemeteries for the year was R249,960 while that on locations was R33,620.

Phase III—1927-1939

In 1927 Mr. Graham Ballenden was appointed the first Manager of Native Affairs, and in 1928 he persuaded the Council to appoint a Committee on Native Affairs. Large extensions to Western Native Township and Eastern Native

Township were put in hand, and by 1930 a total of 2,625 houses had been built. New powers were conferred on local authorities in terms of an amendment to the Urban Areas Act passed in 1930. The Council then acquired 1,300 morgen of land on the farm Klipspruit No. 8, some ten miles from Johannesburg, and a competition was held for the layout of a township, competitors being asked to submit plans for its layout, designed to accommodate 80,000 Natives. Provision was to be made for administrative offices, a public hall, a cottage hospital with dispensary and clinic, a central police station, a central post office and three district offices, a fire station, ten sites for schools, ten sites for religious purposes, shopping centre, a market and a community store. The township was to be called Orlando after the then serving Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee, Councillor Edwin Orlando Leake. This step marked a new outlook and a new approach to the City's responsibilities. While it took many years to provide the facilities planned, it is noteworthy that this planning took place during the period of depression in the early 1930's, and at a time when there were several hundred vacant houses at Western Native Township. By 1935, 3,000 houses had been built at Orlando to house some 18,000 people. By the outbreak of war in 1939 a total of 8,700 houses had been erected of which 5,800 were at Orlando. The houses were built by white artisans. The cost of the three-roomed houses varied from R504 to R1,000 and that of the four-roomed houses from R704 to R1,328. At that time the Bantu population was estimated to be 244,000, of whom 179,000 were males and 65,000 females.

In John Maud's book he states that unfortunately in the ten years after 1927 the work of the Public Health Department did not develop as rapidly or effectively as that of the new Native Affairs Department. The Murray Thornton Commission of 1935, which enquired into the Health and Native Affairs Departments, criticised the Health Department for its failure to prevent or cure the fearful squalor which prevailed in such areas as Prospect Township, the Malay Location, Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare. It reported that the Medical Officer of Health must have been aware of the insanitary conditions prevailing and the lack of water supplies. There was no municipal water in Newclare until 1933, people being dependent on suspect water from wells. In 1935 the Council had installed 27 taps in Sophiatown where people queued for water and bought it by the bucket. These areas were not connected to the sewerage system, and were dependent on collection of sanitary pails three times per week.

While the City was endeavouring to make a new start in Orlando, it was only rehousing a small portion of the Native population, who were living in most unsatisfactory conditions in many quarters of the City. There is no doubt that some owners of properties exploited their tenants. High rents were charged and families lived in one room. Some properties on a 50 × 100 stand accommodated as many as 300 people in sixty back to back rooms in Sophiatown, and R4 per room was the normal rental charged in this area. There was an extreme case in Prospect Township where 121 rooms were crowded on one stand, with one water tap and two lavatories.

After the Murray Thornton Commission had reported, a thorough re-organisation of the Health Department took place on the lines of the Commission's recommendations, and improvements immediately ensued. The City's bye-laws

lay down minimum standards of housing, but the Medical Officer of Health is constantly faced with the problem of whether or not to condemn properties as slum properties, when he knows that there is a scarcity of alternative accommodation to which the tenants can be moved.

Fluctuation of Municipal Land valuations

Between 1903 and 1935 municipal valuations of land fluctuated markedly. At the end of the Anglo-Boer War, Johannesburg had a temporary boom, and in 1906 the municipal value of land was R60,000,000 (R40,000,000 in 1897). By 1909 it had dropped to R42,000,000, by 1910 to R28,000,000 and it was not until 1935 that the value had slowly risen to R55,000,000 notwithstanding quadrupling of the European population during the period, and the creation of a number of additional townships. Thus the assessment rate income of R945,490 for 1906 had dropped to R590,884 in 1911, and was in the range of R1,000,000 to R1,400,000 during the fifteen years 1920–1935. The total contribution to rates by the trading departments for the thirty year period 1905–1935 was R8,064,532 or an average of R260,146 per year. The whole expenditure on capital from 1903–1936 was R35,258,350 and today the City's capital budget for one year alone is R42.5 million, the revenue from rates R13.37 million, and the nett profit from trading departments R1.5 million.

Phase IV—1939–1947

Then in 1939 came World War II, when South Africa's manpower and materials were concentrated on the war effort. It was during these critical years, when there was large scale industrial development, and the Bantu population was increasing rapidly, that Mr. Ballenden retired and Mr. L. Venables succeeded him as Manager on the 5th December, 1944.

The five years of the war changed almost every aspect of Bantu life in Johannesburg. There was a tremendous growth in the number of factories and industries directly associated with the war effort, resulting in an insatiable demand for Bantu labour. The Bantu population increased by leaps and bounds, being estimated in 1946 at 395,231 of whom 211,322 were men, 100,000 women and 83,909 children. It is important to remember that there was no influx control of Bantu into the City at this stage. This abnormal increase in the population meant that all available resources provided by the local authority were swamped out. Many tenants shared their limited accommodation with other families, but, even so, there was insufficient accommodation, and over a period of time eleven illegal and uncontrolled squatter camps sprang up. It was in this way that one of the most unsavoury episodes in Johannesburg's history began, and a situation developed where the health and safety of the whole City was threatened. Apart from the health hazards which these squatter camps created, the rule of law was openly flouted. Men rose overnight to assume leadership and prey on the ignorance and latent violence of the Bantu who lived in these camps, and set up illegal courts where savage punishments were inflicted. Municipal and public land in Orlando, Pimville, Dube, Newclare and Alexandra was forcibly possessed and the most wretched shanties erected almost on top of one another. Fees were levied and kept by the organisers who became well-to-do in the process.

As a matter of urgency in 1944, 4,042 breeze block shelters were erected by the Council on an area of land near Orlando, and this became known as Shantytown. In 1946 the Moroka emergency camp was laid out with 11,000 sites of 20' × 20' which were allocated to families, and elementary services were provided. When the largest squatter camp was cleared in 1947 there were no less than 60,000 Bantu living there, who had to be resettled at Moroka. Before this final settlement the leaders did all they could to hinder the authorities, because they had now lost their illegal revenue, and therefore continued to make trouble. In August, 1947, they sparked off an attack on some municipally built shops, and the latent tensions burst out resulting in a serious riot during which three European policemen were murdered. The authorities were seriously embarrassed as there was no effective law to combat these movements. It was not until 1951 that the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act brought relief, and this dangerous phase was finally brought to an end.

Phase V—1948-1953

In 1948 it was estimated that approximately 50,000 Bantu families in and around Johannesburg were living under appalling conditions and required housing. This seemed an impossible task, requiring much capital and overcoming the difficulty of building homes cheaply enough so that the tenants could afford to pay a rental based on the capital cost. Another problem was the provision of services which, in many cases, cost as much as the house. Nevertheless, during the period 1945 to 1953, 8,292 houses were built at Orlando East and West, and at Jabavu. Various methods of construction were used by contractors who were becoming geared to tackle mass production methods of construction. The crushing financial burden was, however, bringing the housing schemes to a standstill. In 1951 the deficit on the Native Revenue Account was already R655,513 for the year, and each new scheme involved a further loss. By the end of 1953 the total number of houses built was 17,765, and hostel accommodation had been provided for 10,537 men.

On the 1st May, 1952, the present Manager, Mr. W. J. P. Carr, succeeded Mr. Venables as Manager of what has now become the Department of Non-European Affairs, since it administers the affairs of all three Non-European sections of the population of the City.

When the Council undertook sub-economic housing schemes at Orlando East and West and Jabavu, the National Housing Commission advanced funds under a scheme whereby the interest charged was 3¼%, on the understanding that losses incurred on such schemes should, within defined limits, be borne in the ratio of three parts by the State and one part by the Council, and it was on this basis that the loans were granted. The Council first submitted a claim for losses in 1950. Up to 30th June, 1953, the losses on the schemes amounted to R2,158,346, and of this sum it was calculated, on the Council's understanding of the formula, that R1,004,640 was recoverable from the Government, but, in fact, only R469,454 was recovered. In 1951 the old 3¼% formula was cancelled. In that year local authorities, in submitting claims for losses on the National Housing formula, were required to certify that tenants monthly incomes did not exceed R50 on loans prior to 1st October, 1946, and R60 thereafter. In 1952 differential incomes were laid down for various racial groups,

and were fixed at R30 for Bantu. Local authorities were advised that a fully economic rate of interest would have to be paid on a *pro rata* share of the loans in respect of tenants with incomes in excess of this limit, and that the increased cost could be recovered by way of increased rentals. Legal opinion given to this Council doubted the Commission's power to do this. In 1954 the National Housing and Planning Commission agreed that in determining the sub-economic rentals they should be increased by 30 cents for every R1.00 of the income over R30 up to the economic rate. In 1954 the Council, because of its unhappy experience under the National Housing formula, agreed to convert the 3¼% loans to ¾% loans, thereby cancelling the sharing of losses on the schemes, but insuring the benefit of the lower rate of interest. In 1957 the Council's claim for over R800,000: under the old 3¼% scheme was finally settled for R250,000. The R250,000 was paid into the Capital Development Fund and earmarked for street lighting in the Bantu townships. As the Housing Act of 1957 made provision for legalising actions of the National Housing and Planning Commission which were not authorised at the time they were done, this Council's legal rights to recover the amounts to which they felt entitled fell away.

In the early 1950's there was hesitancy on the part of certain elements at the City Hall to incur expenditure which would result in burdens on the rate-payers to meet losses on housing schemes. They thought it was not necessary to provide housing for people who might leave the City before the repayment of the thirty-year loans. Pressure groups were formed—bodies such as the churches and Chamber of Commerce and the Institute of Race Relations urged the Government and the Council to face up to the plight of the throngs of people living under appalling conditions.

Phase VI—1953 onwards, the breakthrough

Then followed legislation which had the effect of resolving the stalemate. 1951 saw the passing of the Bantu Building Workers Act. It now became possible to train Bantu workers in the building trades, to build houses for their own people in proclaimed Bantu townships. It was not only the cost of building houses that presented a problem, but also the cost of providing services such as roads, sanitation and water. Urgent representations had been made by local authorities to the State for financial assistance, and in 1953 the Bantu Services Levy Fund was established. Its revenue was derived from a monthly contribution which had to be paid by employers who did not house their employees. The proceeds of the Fund were to be paid to those local authorities in whose areas the funds were collected, to enable them to finance the major services such as sewage disposal works, reservoirs, major roads and electric reticulation. Thus the employers, who had attracted the Bantu to the cities, were to bear portion of the costs. At the same time another fund was established, the Bantu Transport Services Levy, to subsidise transport for workers. The Bantu Services Levy Fund has now been in existence for 13½ years, and up to December 1965 Johannesburg had collected R17.5 million, which financed all the major service developments. The passing of this Act brought vocal protests from employers who wanted assurances that such a levy would be temporary, and cease once the emergency passed. It was regarded as a discriminatory tax. Representatives of employers serve on the Committees administering these funds, and keep a

watchful eye on expenditure lest attempts should be made to use the funds for other than their stated purpose.

Transport of workers to and from Soweto is of vital importance. To cater for this the South African Railways incurred heavy capital expenditure (since 1958 R13 million) electrifying the service and installing additional tracks. Rail fares are subsidised by the central Government and cost from R1.72 to R2.50 for a monthly worker's ticket. During peak hours (4 a.m. to 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. to 6 p.m.) trains are overcrowded. Hitherto the Railways have opposed alternative mass transport methods. A solution must be found to this vexed situation, as with a normal growth of population, without influx from outside areas, it is anticipated that the number of passengers to be carried will double in the next twenty years, and so far the Railways have not made known any plan to cope with this problem.

Site and Service scheme

In 1953 what was called the Site and Service scheme became State policy. The concept of the Site and Service method of dealing urgently with the mass of Bantu slum dwellers needing rehousing was that of the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who laid down within fairly narrow limits the principles which had to be followed by local authorities in order to qualify for housing loans for Site and Service schemes. Basically the scheme was to allocate sites 40' × 70' to people awaiting houses. On these sites essential services such as sanitation would be provided, stand water pipes made available every 500 yards, access roads built and refuse removal services provided. On such a site tenants were to erect a temporary shack at the back, leaving the front of the site available for the permanent home. When the permanent home was built the shack was to be demolished. This scheme met with scepticism, in some quarters with strong opposition, many people fearing that the shack would be a permanent feature. This scheme was then described as "Johannesburg's Shame" by one Parliamentarian opposed to the scheme. In Johannesburg 35,000 such sites were surveyed and the necessary services provided. The shacks followed. It was a period of great activity, when neighbours and friends helped each other during off work periods and over weekends, and it was incredible to see houses emerging from all sorts of secondhand materials. This creative activity had a beneficial social effect. It is pleasing to report that now only sixty-one shacks remain, the tenants of which intend erecting houses of their own design rather than accepting the standard municipal house.

Housing Division created

In 1954 Johannesburg created a separate Housing Division in the Council to undertake the building of houses for Bantu. At one stage it was intended that such work would fall under the City Engineer's Department, but it was decided to appoint Mr. A. J. Archibald, the previous Town Engineer of Springs, as the first Director of Housing. The Council had some years previously established the Vocational Training Centre, and its trained carpenters, plumbers and bricklayers formed the nucleus of the staff for the new Housing Division. At the peak of activity in 1957-58, 2,742 people were employed in the Housing Division. In the year 1954, 1,421 houses were built, to be followed by 3,020 houses in 1955.

The Council was dependent on Government housing loans to finance housing schemes. The Government had naturally to apportion the funds available amongst all the local authorities applying for loans, consequently the amount allocated to Johannesburg was insufficient to deal with the backlog. The Moroka emergency camp and Shantytown remained festering sores, and places of crime. In 1956 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer was invited to visit Moroka by the then Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, and was so aghast at what he saw that he arranged with his colleagues in the mining industry to loan the City R6 million repayable over thirty years, interest being charged at $4\frac{7}{8}$ per cent. This was the injection that was needed, and with the proceeds of this loan 14,000 homes were built enabling the final removal of the families from Moroka and of those from Shantytown. In the year July 1957 to June 1958, 11,074 houses were built. Part of the R6 million loan was earmarked to build hostels for men working in office buildings and flats who were to be moved under the "Locations in the Sky" legislation. From 1954-1965 the Housing Division built 45,174 houses, and, in addition, 76 schools, 3 hostels accommodating 14,428, 7 administrative blocks, 5 communal halls, a public library, 9 T.B. centres, 4 clinics, 3 beer halls, 7 beer gardens, a bank and many other minor works, at a total expenditure of R22,213,867.

Mr. Archibald resigned from the Council's service on the 3rd August, 1960, and his place was taken by his second in command, Mr. Colin Goodman, the present Director of the Housing Division. Not the least important achievement of the Housing Division was the training of the building teams and making skilled workers of erstwhile labourers. Another achievement was the reduction in the cost of housing, to which the work done by the Government's Institute of Building Research made an important contribution.

The first houses erected by the Council were in the Western Bantu Township in 1919. The two-roomed house cost R240; the three-roomed R280; and the four-roomed R340. The next scheme was at Eastern Bantu Township where the two-roomed houses cost R230; and the three-roomed houses R270. In 1932-35 the Council started the Orlando East scheme where the two-roomed houses of 397 square feet cost R190; the three-roomed house varied from R504 to R1,000; and the four-roomed house from R708 to R1,328. The 125 houses built in Pimville in 1944-45 cost R988 for the three-roomed, and R1,198 for the four-roomed. When these costs are considered, and the fact that since that date costs of materials have been continuously rising, it is nothing short of a miracle that the houses built in the early days of the Housing Division cost between R320 to R370 for a 527 square foot four-roomed house. Owing to the difference in sizes of the houses a truer comparison is provided by considering prices per square foot. In 1930 the price varied from $42\frac{1}{2}$ cents to $52\frac{1}{2}$ cents, in 1938 this had increased to $92\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and in 1944 in the houses at Orlando West to R1.04 to R1.14. In 1946 the price had increased to R1.22 $\frac{1}{2}$, while that of the Jabavu houses built in 1947 was R1.02. Then came the establishment of the City's Housing Division, and the training of Bantu building workers. At a time when costs were increasing in comparison with the time stated above, the costs were decreased to as low as 61 cents per square foot. The materials used were not the same at all times, nor were the standards of construction, as under the conditions laid down by the Housing Commission the Council had little discre-

tion regarding the design and was obliged to build within predetermined maximum costs. The overriding striving was to decrease costs, and while this was a worthy objective, it may in the long run prove to have been false economy, for as the houses are to be occupied for the life of the loans additional maintenance costs may more than absorb the original savings. In considering the recent achievements in housing, consideration must not only be given to the number of houses that have been erected, but also to the cost at which they have been built, and the transformation in the lives of the labourers who have become trained artisans in the process. While all this work by the Housing Division was proceeding, the City Engineer was engaged on the civil engineering aspects of development.

Civil Engineering aspects

A multiplicity of municipal services lie hidden beneath the ground, or are sited in some far off valley, services which ensure, at the turn of a tap or the drop of a switch, enjoyment of modern conveniences. With the green light for a crash programme of development in the South Western Bantu Townships given by the State, it was quickly realised that no work on housing could actually start until the townships had been designed, pegged and some form of water supply and sanitation provided. The task of planning a new city of some half million people on an area of 26 square miles had to be urgently undertaken, perforce piecemeal, with all the attendant difficulties of making the various pieces in the puzzle fit into one complex conurbation having its own character and entity. To give some idea of the magnitude of the survey control assignment, let it be stated that it was necessary in the laying out of approximately 90,000 stands to place accurately some 200,000 pegs, each peg having to be carefully surveyed in, and recorded on, scaled plans. It is worthy of note that, in order to save on land surveyors, even then in short supply, teams of Bantu technicians were trained with a large measure of success to place the intermediate stand pegs and thus speed up the layout of the townships.

Recognising the urgency of the problem, and in order to speed up the construction of all the essential services, the existing maintenance section of the City Engineer's Department, which had been operating in the older townships since 1930, was re-organised into a virtually self-contained major branch under the control of a senior civil engineer. This branch, in meeting the demand at the peak of its activities, virtually laid more water mains and sewers than their counterparts in the metropolitan area, and also constructed more roads per annum. At an early stage in the re-organisation of the branch of the City Engineer's Department operating in Soweto, it was realised that due to the shortage of skilled white artisans, it would be impossible to carry out the task in the time available, and that a new approach was essential. Using skilled staff of "charge-hand" quality, training units were established to train Bantu in the various building trades with particular attention to civil engineering projects, which demand a high quality of workmanship and accuracy. Within a startlingly short time it was possible for these newly trained building workers, under close white supervision, to carry out all the essential tasks in the field of water supply, sewer reticulation, stormwater control and road construction. The speed at which all requirements were met in the accelerated housing programme in

Soweto is in a large measure due to these Bantu, who not only quickly assimilated the skills needed, but were capable of an output which made this project practicable.

Water supply

In the installation of a water supply, the Council was fortunate in having in the vicinity a comparatively large service reservoir, which had been constructed for a proposed industrial complex adjoining the Orlando Power Station. This reservoir, working to over-capacity, plus a few temporary connections from the Rand Water Board mains traversing the new townships, served for some time as the only source of supply and bridged a very awkward phase in the provision of water. With the improvement in the country's financial position, funds for housing and "augmented" services became more readily available. The resulting increased demand for water forced the Rand Water Board to increase sharply its supply mains to the West Rand and to build additional storage reservoirs on the Witwatersrand. To meet the designed peak draw-off of some 25 million gallons per day, and to provide the necessary storage, two additional 10 million gallon service reservoirs and two water towers of 500,000 gallons capacity were constructed. All in all some 565 miles of water mains have been laid, a figure which bears comparison with some of the major cities of the Republic.

Sewer reticulation

Foreseeing the eventual installation of waterborne sewerage to the whole complex, an early start was made departmentally on the construction of a completely new modern sewage disposal works on the farm Olifantsvlei. These works, shielded by trees, are situated some 6 miles from Soweto, and were designed for an initial capacity of 10 million gallons per day, at a cost to the Bantu Service Levy Fund of R1,000,000. These works will have an ultimate capacity of 25,000,000 gallons per day, and will serve all sections of the community. Coupled with the construction of the disposal works was the urgent task of building the main outfall sewers. These outfalls were also large civil engineering projects. The biggest is 6 feet high by 4 feet 3 inches wide and involved considerable tunnelling work, as also a large bridge across the Klipspruit valley. The installation of a major sewer reticulation requires a vast amount of careful planning and surveying. Altogether 478 miles of sewer have been laid to date, and it is estimated that some 50,000 level recordings and calculations for reduced levels were undertaken for this task alone. In this connection, too, the Bantu technicians played a large part in ensuring the early completion of the working drawings.

Funds for the construction of the roads have perforce in the past been unavoidably restricted. There are about 600 miles of streets in the complex. Levy funds were used for the building of the main bus routes and access highways. With increasing profits from the sale of Bantu beer it is now possible to build an increasing mileage of macadamised roads each year, using funds from this source. To date some 207 miles have been constructed in Soweto and the Resettlement Board area. Sited as Soweto is on the southern slopes of the Witwatersrand, stormwater control is a major problem particularly in respect of the damage done on steep hillsides to unmade roads. With the completion of the

more important tasks financed by the Bantu Services Levy Fund, increasing use has been made recently of these funds for the construction of major storm-water projects, and a total of 36 miles of stormwater drains have already been constructed. In all of these civil engineering tasks full use of Bantu building workers has been made, and the standard of workmanship is already of a high order.

The cleansing services are also undertaken by the City Engineer's Department in Soweto, and represent an important activity of the branch operating in the area. With the construction of the main bus routes, and of a fairly high percentage of the township roads, it was possible in 1963 to mechanise the cleansing services with a marked saving in running costs. Approximately 70,500 sites are now serviced by 50 mechanised units at a cost comparable to any other similar complex in the Republic. In order to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, street lighting on bus routes and every second street in the townships has been provided and financed from the Bantu Services Levy Fund. In addition, the Council has agreed to finance from its own resources a ten-year plan for the installation of electricity in all the houses in Soweto. This work is controlled by the Electricity Department.

Financing of the development in Soweto

As a measure of the magnitude of the task undertaken in providing decent homes and modern amenities for the Bantu population of Johannesburg, the following financial details are given reflecting the expenditure on engineering services in the Bantu townships:

	R
Bridges	122,298
Lighting	2,616,825
Railway Sidings	9,721
Stormwater and Sewerage	8,250,339
Water Reticulations	3,780,385
Roads	3,404,759
	R18,174,327

The total capital expenditure to the end of June, 1965 on the developments in Soweto amounted to R53,488,569. The money to finance this expenditure came from the following sources:

- Government Housing Loans;
- Loans from Bantu Services Levy Fund;
- Loans from Mining Houses and Soldiers Housing Organisations;
- Amounts advanced by the Council's Consolidated Loans Fund and the Capital Development Fund, and from
- Grants from the Services Levy Fund.

The interest rates varied from $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on loans under the National Housing formula to 6 per cent for the more recent housing loans. The loans

from the Bantu Services Levy Fund bear interest at the rate of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent, from the Mining Houses $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent and from the Soldiers Housing Organisations at $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Responsibility for Native policy

In South Africa where there are three tiers of Government, Central, Provincial and Municipal, it is inevitable that there should be clashes from time to time, especially when different political parties are in control of the various tiers. There could be no more difficult sphere of activity than that of creating an acceptable Native policy, interpreting that policy and, lastly, administering that policy. It is not surprising, therefore, that from time to time there were marked differences of opinion between the Department of Native Affairs and the City Council as to what should and should not be done and how it should be done.

In 1958 Dr. Verwoerd appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. F. E. Mentz, the newly appointed Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, to ensure that Government policy was carried out in Johannesburg. This Committee was labelled "The Watchdog Committee" by one of the local newspapers, and cartoons of a huge shaggy dog on a white background with black spots appeared in the papers. Feelings were tense. Inspectors were stationed in the municipal offices, and investigations were made regarding the Council's administration of the pass laws. When the first meeting took place between Council representatives and the Committee, the Chairman before proceeding with the agenda, demanded certain assurances from the City Council. The first of these was that the Council must recognise that in terms of the Act of Union legislation regarding Native affairs was reserved to Parliament. Other demands followed. The Councillors present had no prior notice of the demands and stated that they would have to consult their colleagues. Eventually, the assurances required were met in modified form, the principal one being that the Council agreed to carry out Native policy in so far as it was enshrined in law. These were times of great tension and anxiety, but it is pleasing to report that over the years the relationship has improved. Under the chairmanship of the Hon. M. C. Botha (who succeeded Mr. Mentz as Deputy Minister) this Committee developed into a constructive body where many difficult problems have been discussed across the table and resolved.

The Resettlement Board

In addition to the rehousing by the City Council, mention must be made of the work undertaken by the Resettlement Board. Earlier reference has been made to the difficulties between the Council and the Government, which arose in part from the dispute regarding the removal of the slum dwellers of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare (the so called western areas) where some Bantu owned properties with freehold title. The Council was opposed to depriving the Natives of freehold rights; the Government was adamant that the Natives must be moved, and equally adamant that it was not prepared to grant freehold rights. There is no doubt that the housing conditions in the Western areas were such that action was necessary. The Medical Officer of Health was unable to enforce compliance with minimum standards, as alternative housing was not available. To overcome this impasse legislation was enacted creating

the Resettlement Board whose primary function was to rehouse the dwellers of the Western areas, the intention being that on completion the cost of such scheme would be recovered from the Council, and the administration handed over to it. The functions of the Resettlement Board have been extended from time to time. Not only has it undertaken the removal of the bulk of the Natives resident in Sophiatown, but it has also built houses for Natives working in Johannesburg, and for tenants at Alexandra. To 30th June, 1966, 23,695 houses have been built by the Board. The Council has assisted the Board by undertaking all the civil engineering functions, and has also made available to the Board a large area of ground in the Diepkloof area. This ground the Council needed for its own schemes, but felt constrained to relinquish it to assist in the easing of the overcrowded and unsatisfactory conditions in Alexandra.

A recent enquiry as to the Government's proposals regarding the implementation of the original intention that Johannesburg should take over the responsibility for the area now under the jurisdiction of the Board elicited a reply indicating that the time was not yet.

Pimville

The last remaining major slum is the area first established as a location—Klipspruit—now housing some 7,000 families. In 1934 this area was named Pimville after Mr. Howard Pim who had done so much for the Bantu people. An investigation conducted under the Chairmanship of Mr. F. E. Mentz (a member of the Bantu Affairs Commission) to determine the area to be regarded as the limit for Bantu occupation in the South-Western areas, decided that Pimville was to be a white area. This determination was made in 1953 and thereafter the Council was debarred from incurring further capital expenditure in the Pimville area. This boundary between white and black residential areas was called the "Mentz Line". The Council resisted this decision that the area should be a white group area, as it had been occupied by Bantu for nearly sixty years. It is pleasing to record that after a visit of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, in December 1960, this decision was reversed, permitting the re-housing of the people in Pimville on the area of ground in the immediate vicinity. The first 1,000 houses have been built. Compensation for the shacks and homes to be vacated has been satisfactorily settled at a figure estimated to be R500,000. Unfortunately, the limitation on housing loans is slowing up the move. This is unfortunate as the co-operation of the inhabitants in the move has been obtained, and instead of resistance there is now eagerness to take up the new quarters.

Kaffir Beer

The consumption of liquor by the elders of the clan has been part of the tradition of most Bantu tribes. In the cities the traditional brews were not obtainable, nor were the traditional restraints in force. The law prohibited the consumption of the white man's liquor. Illicit brews, concocted from a variety of ingredients, many harmful and excessively potent, and sold in hole in the corner shebeens, became a feature of slum quarters. Liquor raids by the police became commonplace, but the shebeens thrived nevertheless, and fines were

regarded as part of the running expenses. In terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1923, local authorities were granted a monopoly to brew and sell beer within their area of jurisdiction. The alcoholic content of Kaffir beer is limited to 3 per cent by weight. It was not until 1937 that Johannesburg decided to exercise its right. There was much opposition at the time. The arguments in favour were based on the fact that it was a traditional drink, that it had food value, that it might counteract the illicit brews which undoubtedly had harmful effects. The profit motive was also not forgotten, as with the introduction of the sale of Kaffir beer the Council intended to carry forward the deficit on the Native Revenue Account which had previously been debited to the Rates Fund in the hope that subsequent beer profits would meet the deficit. This was not permitted by the Minister of Native Affairs who refused to pass the estimates of the Native Revenue Account unless the deficit was met by the Rates Fund.

When the City Council accepted monopoly rights for the manufacture and sale of Kaffir beer in 1937, a start was made in the brewing of beer on a small portion of ground owned by the Department at the corner of Von Wielligh Street Extension and Village Road. For the first couple of months beer was brewed by hand after the ingredients had been cooked over open fires in 44 gallon drums, and two Bantu women were engaged to ensure the authenticity of the product. A very simple wood and iron building was erected later on, and this did not stop growing until every available inch of land on the site was taken up by the existing brewery, which however, has now reached the absolute limit of its capacity, and is being replaced by the new brewery now under construction at Langlaagte at a cost of R3,500,000, with a production capacity of 150,000 gallons per day. Provision has been made for a possible further enlargement to ensure a production of a maximum of 200,000 gallons per day. A beer garden was opened on another small portion of ground adjoining the brewery, and that continued to function until it was closed by order of the Minister of Native Affairs in June, 1959. Since the beer halls were established in 1937 the revenue has amounted to R40,335,781, and the profits to R18,718,322, the sales and profits for the year 1964/65 being R5,204,223 and R2,223,296 respectively. It is difficult to visualise how the development of housing and other services could have been provided without these profits. Yet this source of income could fluctuate. For instance, there might be a boycott of the beer halls, and more important still, there are moral issues involved. Many people, while realising the evil effects of illicit liquors, are still uneasy about the extent to which the financing of the Bantu Revenue Account is dependent on sales of Kaffir beer, and the extent to which the Bantu are using their earnings on liquor. Two-thirds of the profits derived from the sale of Kaffir beer may be used (a) to make up the losses on housing schemes, (b) to make up any amount required to offset the loss to the Bantu Revenue Account resulting from the reduction of rentals, and interest and redemption charges and maintenance costs in connection with any location, Bantu village or hostel. One-third of the profits may be spent on any service, expenditure or grant which may be certified in writing by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development as being calculated to improve the social or recreational amenities for Bantu residents within the areas of the urban local authority, or otherwise to promote the social welfare of such residents.

Sale of European liquor

In 1962 the law prohibiting the sale of European liquor to the Bantu was changed and local authorities were granted a monopoly on the sale of liquor within Bantu townships. The sale of European liquor by the Council in Soweto amounted to:

	<i>Sales</i>	<i>Profits</i>
1962-63 (Part Year)	R1,010,286	R127,995
1963-64. . . .	R1,159,944	R121,074
1964-65. . . .	R1,894,775	R203,712

20 per cent of the profits are retained by the Council and 80 per cent are paid to the Bantu Administration Department. The fact that so large a sum is spent by the Bantu on liquor is disquieting. It is, however, well recognised that prior to 1962 large sums were spent illicitly on European liquor and brews of all kinds. What the sums thus spent amounted to will never be known. One positive improvement as a result of releasing European liquor to the Bantu has been the improvement in the relationship between the Bantu and the Police, as the unending raids for the detection of liquor are no longer necessary, and it is now no crime to have unconsumed liquor on one's premises.

Deficits on Bantu Revenue Account

While in the early days the income from locations exceeded expenditure, that ceased to be the position over sixty years ago, except for the years 1939 and 1940 when there were small surpluses. And while for many years the deficits were moderate, the contribution from Rates Fund is now substantial as the attached table reflects. During the last twelve years the deficits have varied from a quarter of a million Rands to as much as R913,481 in 1963, and have totalled R7,064,666 in the last thirteen years. The deficits on the Bantu Revenue Account have been a cause of constant debate in the Council Chamber, and in the last two Budget Debates the rejection of the budget has been moved unless the estimates were framed so as to make the Bantu Revenue Account self-balancing, on the principle that the services provided should be limited to those for which the Bantu could afford to pay. This I understand is the policy of the Resettlement Board. The contrary opinion is that until Bantu wages for the majority are truly economic a measure of subsidisation will remain essential. Furthermore, it is a principle of modern government that the poorer section of the population should be assisted by the community as a whole.

Medical services

Although the Johannesburg City Council was fully aware of the responsibility of the Provincial Administration to provide curative services, as these were only available at the Non-European Hospital at Hospital Hill, the Council decided in 1927 to provide a curative service at Pimville, both in view of the dire need and the distance of that Township from the City. Authority was derived under the then Natives (Urban Areas) Act. These services were conducted by the Native Affairs Department which employed a part-time medical officer. Subsequently they were extended to Eastern and Western Native Townships.

A clinic was opened in Orlando Township in 1932 and a small cottage hospital, today used as a child health and maternity unit, was donated by Mrs. D. F. Corlett and built at Orlando in 1933. It then provided accommodation for eleven patients. Parallel with these curative services provided by the Council, the Health Department developed Child Welfare Clinics and in 1935 also subsidised a district midwifery service. As the population of the townships increased more facilities were provided but it became apparent that complete reorganisation of the services with a full-time medical and other staff was necessary. In January 1939 these services were transferred to the Medical Officer of Health. At the end of the war conditions arose in the Bantu areas which created problems far different from those existing today. The squatters camps at Shantytown and later at Tobruk created intolerable environmental conditions. Unmade streets were fringed with mushrooming shelters of the crudest and most ineffectual sort—tin, sacking, cardboard—served by hastily erected communal latrine and ablution blocks which poured water into a quagmire approach. Through all this, health inspectors struggled and battled against illegal traders in foodstuffs and milk from unpermitted sources. In 1947 a clinic which operated under incredibly difficult conditions in a marquee tent was established in Moroka to cater for the Moroka emergency camp.

Today Soweto is served by 6 general clinics offering curative and midwifery services, and 6 family health clinics. The staff employed solely on Bantu health services numbers 500 at present, and includes posts of Assistant Medical Officer of Health, six Family Health Medical Officers, three Tuberculosis Medical Officers. These posts were created in the post-war period which has also seen a general increase in the numbers of doctors, health visitors, nurses and clerks. In 1947 the Transvaal Provincial Administration purchased the Baragwanath Hospital, which had been established in 1941 by the British Imperial Army for the treatment of troops who had developed tuberculosis in the Middle East. The first two wards of this new hospital, which was to cater for the Bantu people of Soweto, were opened in December 1947. On the 1st May, 1948, the great move from the Johannesburg Non-European Hospital took place, and within five days approximately 800 patients, together with the staff, were moved from the grossly overcrowded conditions of the old hospital. Today there are 2,133 beds in use and when the approved building programme is completed Baragwanath will have 2,500 beds. The Council's clinics and other services are closely linked with the Baragwanath Hospital. It is interesting to note that with a population of 190,000 just after the war, the number of clinic attendances was approximately double this figure, while today the same ratio obtains and a population of half a million registers just over one million clinic attendances annually. However, the distribution of the cases attending clinics has changed from general daily sick attendances to child health and tuberculosis clinic attendances indicating a shift in emphasis of staff and patients towards the public health rather than curative services.

In the field of immunisation there is a completely different picture from the immediate post-war era. The proportion of attendances for immunisation against diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, smallpox and tuberculosis has not been included in the figure previously quoted. In the years following the war only approximately 1,000 immunisations per year were

performed, whilst now considerable emphasis is placed on this valuable aspect of public health. In 1963 large campaigns were conducted during which in 14 days over 105,000 immunisations were administered, while later in that year a further 162,000 immunisations were performed in 18 days. Over and above these intensive campaigns, the present annual immunisations number well over a half-million procedures. During the period under review poliomyelitis vaccine, first in an injectable form and later in the oral form, became available and contributed greatly to the reduction in the number of cases reflected in the epidemic upsurge of this disease in the early 1950's. B.C.G. immunisation against tuberculosis has recently been made sufficiently safe to be freely used, and although the results of this immunisation cannot yet be assessed it is expected that the use of this vaccine will prove invaluable in the control of tuberculosis.

In the maternal health service the number of deliveries has quadrupled and ante-natal clinics which were formally conducted weekly at two clinics are now conducted daily at almost all of the six clinics. Where, in the post-war period, 311 of every 1,000 Bantu babies born died within the first year of life, this figure was considered to be the acme of achievement in that it was the lowest in the history of Johannesburg. It is now calculated that some 40 new born per 1,000 die within the first year of life. This dramatic improvement can be ascribed not only to the improvements in living conditions, but also to the intensity of home visiting by health visitors and the efficacy and availability of the child health advisory services.

The advances in medical knowledge applied to public health during this period have nowhere been more dramatic than in the therapy of tuberculosis. The emphasis on the problem of tuberculosis has shifted from the hopelessness of the pre-war concept of rest in hospital and cod liver oil, to one of specific treatment with an armamentarium of useful medicines coupled with the need for the early detection of the disease and rapid rehabilitation. Tremendous strides have also been made in the social services available to tuberculous and in the treatment facilities at hospitals and settlements. This period has also seen a change in the use made of Bantu nurses. In 1937 the first Bantu nurse was appointed to the staff of the City Health Department, and shortly after the war for the first time three Bantu trained health visitors were appointed. At this time the European health visitors were engaged in district work, while some Bantu nurses were employed on unskilled work such as interpreting for the doctors. Slowly Bantu nurses have been given more and more responsibility in providing a service for their own people and at the same time the opportunities for acquiring post-qualification experience and training. Today lay interpreters have freed nurses for more responsible duties consistent with their training. Twenty-five Bantu health visitors are employed in the service and six Bantu nurses hold other senior positions, with European health visitors now holding administrative and supervisory positions. The future will undoubtedly bring the Bantu nurses into positions of still greater responsibility. Today the problems in the Bantu areas are becoming more and more similar to those in the European areas. As time progresses the preventive aspects of health in terms of preventing unnecessary child and maternal deaths and preventing outbreaks of infectious disease will become ever more a matter of routine, and greater emphasis will be able to be given to the promotive aspects of health in the building up of a

sound, healthy population in a healthy physical, social and psychological environment. In 1959 the Provincial Administration undertook to subsidise the Council in large part for the conduct of the curative and midwifery services, which had at all times been the Provincial responsibility. The eventual takeover of these services by the Provincial Administration will permit the City Health Department to direct all its endeavours to the vast promotive and preventive medical services which are its rightful responsibility (e.g. tuberculosis, etc.)

Halls

In any community, but I think it can be said particularly so in a Bantu community, meeting places to discuss local and national affairs are essential. Before the Council was able to build halls, the Bantu who wanted to talk about their new environment and the politics of their homeland gathered on the koppies and in the open spaces of Soweto. There is a constant clamour for meeting places and 15 halls have now been built at a cost of up to R50,000 each. Here the men meet to discuss their differences and the changing political patterns of their society, and the women for sewing classes, social gatherings, cooking demonstrations and the running of their special interests such as creches, youth clubs and fund raising. There the society weddings, dances and beauty contests which are very much a part of life in Soweto are held. The youth attend body building classes, go in for boxing and play badminton and other games, and the younger children engage in group activities after school. In addition to the 15 large halls there are 23 smaller ones. The need for more of these amenities is self evident, and the only limiting factor is capital. Symphony concerts and theatre productions have been successfully staged in the bigger halls. The Council has embarked upon an ambitious R400,000, 1,500 seat theatre in the new Civic Centre in Soweto, which will provide a very much larger meeting place for the future, and will be the finest Non-European theatre in the country.

Social Welfare and other services

Welfare services started in a small way in the early 1930's and were initially largely confined to the distribution of foodstuffs, but club work and housecrafts were started on a small scale, and recreation in the form of tribal dancing and football. Now this section, the Recreation and Community Services Branch, has a staff of over 700 members and the various facilities provided, such as catering for families suffering from tuberculosis, the rehabilitation and youth services, the sheltered employment workshop, the recreational and cultural services, and the horticultural work for improving the appearance of Soweto have an annual bill of R1,000,000 per annum.

The large industrial expansion in Johannesburg and resultant demand for Bantu labour, coupled with the rising cost of living, draws large numbers of Bantu women into employment. To assist them, the Council encouraged and helped with the development of creches. The first creche was established at Western Native Township in 1937. Voluntary organisations together with the City Council have increased the number of Bantu creches to their present total of fifty, and their value cannot be over-emphasised. Young children who would otherwise be left to wander aimlessly in the streets are housed and fed during the day, and taught the principles of hygiene, health and social living.

An excellent example of the extent to which development in the Department has taken place, is shown in the sporting sphere. From a very small beginning with one sports organiser, the Recreation Section has grown to its present size. It now controls three major stadia, 86 sportsfields, tennis courts, swimming pools, playgrounds, etc. Every code of sport found in the European areas is also provided in Soweto.

Grants-in-aid

The Council is aware of the needs of the Bantu in the whole field of social development, and has continually given encouragement and support to private initiative in the establishment of voluntary welfare organisations. Grants-in-aid are annually made available to properly registered welfare organisations, and also to other deserving institutions which fall outside the scope of the National Welfare Act but which perform a worthwhile service in allied fields. Progress made in this field is reflected in the following figures—While in the financial year 1956/57, 15 creches received grants-in-aid to the value of R8,000 in the financial year 1966–67, subsidies of R28,547 have been approved for 34 creches. The total amount distributed by the Council in grants-in-aid has risen from R50,220 in 1956 to R137,348 in 1965. These figures do not include an amount of approximately R15,000 granted by the Council annually for educational bursaries.

Education

Education in any society is the measure of its advance. In Soweto the Department of Bantu Education caters for schooling of children up to matriculation. School attendance is not compulsory, but the demand of the people for education appears to be insatiable, and only funds are the limiting factor in the provision of schools, teachers and equipment. 76,000 children attend school which is approximately 70 per cent of the children of school going age. Were it not for the Bantu family's lack of means and the limited facilities, the proportion would be higher. There are 120 schools in Soweto of which five cater for Standard VII to matriculation. The Bantu education system, although not the responsibility of local authorities, is observed closely by the Council which is anxious to ensure that children receive the training which will equip them for successful community living. More and more school buildings will undoubtedly be needed in the future. The Council is responsible for the provision of buildings for lower primary schools (i.e. up to Standard II) and, since 1955 the Bantu Education Department and the School Boards for higher primary and secondary schools. 72 lower primary schools have been built by the Council, containing 595 classrooms, each at an average cost of R12,000 per school of ten classrooms. This includes ancillary buildings such as offices, storerooms and toilets. This ceiling of R1,200 per classroom set by the Bantu Education Department was reasonable until recently, but the steep rise in the cost of materials and labour now makes it difficult to build within the set limit. The majority of parents in Soweto make a direct contribution to the capital cost of building these schools as an amount of 18 cents is included in the monthly house rental. Only in the older schemes, i.e. prior to 1955, where in the majority of cases school buildings had already been provided, is no 18 cent levy made. Since the school levy was instituted in 1956, R569,321 has been collected to 30th June, 1965. R499,055 has been spent, leaving a balance as at 30th June, 1965 of R70,266.

Vocational Training Centre

Immediately after the war, the Council was confronted with the problem of juvenile delinquency on a large scale and, among other measures, it started the Vocational Training Centre in Soweto, to provide some form of skilled basic training, firstly, to keep these boys off the streets, and, secondly, to provide them with a skill which would ensure better employment. The school started in a very small way with approximately forty pupils, and the first buildings were erected by these youngsters under the tutelage of an experienced European teacher. It has grown over the years to the present institution where proper academic and technical training is given in building construction, bricklaying, plumbing and drain laying, and electrical wiring. Previously instruction was also given in tailoring and motor mechanics, but these courses were abandoned some years ago. The present enrolment of the school is approximately 180 boys who pay an annual fee of R8, and who undergo a four year intensive course of training. On graduation they receive certificates which are recognised by the appropriate State Departments, and they are immediately absorbed in the Council's building and technical teams working in Soweto.

Management of the Non-European Affairs Department

Another important injunction placed on local authorities by the first Urban Areas Act in 1923 was the requirement to appoint an officer to manage its Department of Native Affairs. The officer so appointed can not assume duty until he has been personally approved and licenced by the Minister, nor can he be removed from his office or have his emoluments reduced without the prior approval of the Minister. In the early days the Council's Department of Native Affairs, as it was then called, was managed by an officer appointed in terms of this section assisted by two other officers who also required the prior approval of the Minister to function as Location Superintendents. These three men together with the Chief Clerk and one typist comprised the Department at its inception. From that time it has grown to the position where the present staff consists of a Manager, Deputy Manager, five Assistant Managers and 447 European and 3,124 Bantu personnel. The Department is divided into a number of main divisions, namely, the Head Office Administration, the Townships Administration Branch, Urban Areas Branch, Coloured and Asiatic Branch, Liquor Branch, Employment, Influx Control and Registration, Welfare, Recreation and Community Services. The Department is to a very large extent a self-contained organisation, and although it has been found expedient for the City Engineer, Treasury and Health Departments to establish separate branches of their Departments solely concerned with the Bantu areas, the Non-European Affairs Department remains the co-ordinating agency responsible for overall direction, policy, and framing of financial estimates. It operates its own parks, recreation and nursery branch, and constructs and maintains its own playing fields as well as being responsible for vast beautification schemes involving the planting of thousands of trees and the construction of large public gardens every year. The Department operates through the channel of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council to which the Manager submits a monthly written report, and this Committee, in addition to the meeting described, is also required by the Council to hold periodic meetings with the Joint Bantu Advisory

Board. The decisions of the Non-European Affairs Committee on the Manager's recommendations are referred for final approval to the Management Committee and the City Council respectively, except for such items in respect of which the Committee has delegated authority. Management of Non-European Affairs in a large urban centre is an extremely complex matter requiring profound experience, wisdom and a genuine desire to understand and improve the lot of the urban Bantu.

There is no more important person in the administration than the Location Superintendent who is in daily touch with the residents in the area under his jurisdiction. His job is a combination of many for he is a peace officer, welfare officer, rent collector, marriage guidance counsellor and adjudicator in tribal squabbles; he is a returning officer and chairman of the Advisory Board whose members look to him as arbitrator in disputes, a statistician on whose figures the provision of medical and other services depends. Added to all this he has at his fingertips all the legislation and regulations to ensure that law-abiding citizens enjoy the right to live and work in Johannesburg, and the criminal is brought to book through the various channels of justice, and he is the liaison officer with all the other Departments of the Council in respect of the conditions under which the Bantu live in an urban community. To assist the Superintendents and to act as a close link with the Bantu people, is a team of 560 Bantu graded staff whose salaries range from R45 to R134 per month. Top administrative posts in the tribal areas are available to Bantu personnel, and the duties of Bantu clerks in Soweto provide a good training ground for men of high calibre, and as responsibility grows with experience, increasingly more complicated decisions are being left to these men. The Department is in daily consultation with the State Department of Bantu Administration and Development on a host of administrative, financial and legal issues, as well as with other State Departments involved one way or another with the government of the Bantu. The Department has to deal with complicated legislation and a multitude of regulations which affect every Bantu in the urban area. His right to be there. His right to live there. His right to work there. His right to have his wife with him and raise a family there. His right to move from one urban area to another, and a host of other matters affecting his day to day life in the city. The main objective of the management of the Department can perhaps be expressed as a desire to ensure a contented, well housed, prosperous, fully employed, healthy and happy Bantu community able to provide the services required of workers in a large and dynamic industrial and commercial complex, and to foster good race relations between the Bantu, Coloured, Asiatic and European communities making up the cosmopolitan population of Johannesburg.

Advisory Boards

From the time of the first passing of the Urban Areas Act in 1923, provision was made in the law for the establishment of Native Advisory Boards by local authorities to assist in the administration of their Bantu townships. These Boards were given certain limited statutory powers, perhaps the most important of which in the early days was the requirement that the local authority was compelled to consult the Advisory Board before any regulation affecting the Bantu township could be made, amended or withdrawn.

Johannesburg has always treated the Advisory Board system seriously and has done all in its power to make these Boards fully functioning adjuncts of its administration by affording proper recognition and payment to the members, and by treating the principle of consultation seriously and not merely paying lip service to it. In addition, it has devoted considerable time and trouble to the training of Board members in the principles of local government with particular reference to correct budgeting and preparation of financial estimates of income and expenditure. There are ten Advisory Boards functioning in Johannesburg, which meet monthly in their own townships under the chairmanship of the local European Township Superintendent when purely parochial matters are discussed. Once a month all ten Boards meet as a single Joint Board under the chairmanship of the Manager, and at these meetings any matter affecting the Bantu population of Johannesburg is free to be discussed as well as policy matters, new legislation, amendment to existing laws and regulations, etc., etc. The meetings are well attended, are extremely lively and a very high standard of debate has developed over the years. Usually the meetings are attended by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner as well as the officer commanding South African Police. Other senior municipal officials attend the meetings when issues affecting their departments are on the agenda.

The Government's policy is now to ensure a closer link between urban administration and the Bantu homelands and with a view to this provision was made in the law for the establishment of Urban Bantu Councils in terms of Act No. 79 of 1961. These Councils when established can be granted quite far reaching statutory powers, including the levying of a rate on the Bantu in the area under their jurisdiction, the establishment and control of community guards doing certain aspects of police work, as well as responsibility for influx control, exclusion of unauthorised persons and the performance of certain technical functions for which purpose they are empowered to employ suitably qualified personnel. Johannesburg is anxious to try out this new system, but difficulties have been experienced in the drafting of suitable regulations to cover local conditions, and thus far it has not been possible to establish such a Council. There are only two of these Urban Bantu Councils functioning in different parts of the country, but both operate on a very small scale and cannot really be regarded as an indication of the success, or otherwise, of the proposed system.

The present Advisory Boards as constituted in Johannesburg consist of four elected and two nominated members for each of the ten Boards. Elections held in December of each year, are conducted on a party basis and are hotly contested by the candidates. Considerable eagerness is shown by candidates seeking election, as the post carries considerable prestige as well as certain definite administrative advantages in that the member is recognised and permitted by the Department to make representations on behalf of his constituents in regard to such matters as influx control, occupation of houses, and the issuing of documents of identification, permits for employment, etc. Comment is sometimes made in other towns that the Advisory Board system is a failure in that it only attracts agitators to its ranks and, because of its lack of real power, is nothing more than a grievance committee. In answer to this, Johannesburg has found that the success of the Boards is in direct ratio to the degree of

recognition afforded to members by the Council, and the earnestness with which its deliberations and recommendations are treated.

The people of Soweto

My review has so far dealt with the living conditions, with housing, with medical services, with administration and many other aspects of Soweto. I would now like to say something about the people who live in Soweto, for the purpose of all this development was to make a home for them, for those who had left the rural areas to work in the city. They were a pastoral people whose agricultural methods were primitive, who now found themselves restricted in the land available to them, and especially in times of drought found it difficult to provide for their families. So they came to the cities to work, to earn the cash which would provide them with the food they needed, and many other goods that they now found displayed in the cities. At first it was the men who came and worked for short spells, returning home to join their families and only coming back to the city when funds had given out. It was indeed a very different way of life from that in their homelands, and they were not equipped, with their tribal beliefs and training, for the new life in the towns and cities. Instead of the sun being their timepiece, they had to work to the inelastic and unsympathetic clock of the white man, and instead of working within the circle of the clan, where everyone knew everyone else, they were among strangers who did not care or worry about them. They heard unfamiliar tongues they did not understand.

Everything about life in the city was different. There were no kinsmen with whom they could consult, they had to make decisions on their own, their food was different, their dress, their medicine, and instead of a barter economy ready cash was necessary. In the clan initiative was not encouraged, but in the city the opposite was the case. They were judged on their merits and were expected to develop individuality. At home there was respect for the elders, but the daily battle of life in the city gradually obscured this, and self came first. What an adjustment to make! The migratory worker, away from his wives, could not be expected to observe tribal sanctions and restraints, and so began the process which has caused a most heartrending upheaval in the structure of Bantu society, particularly in family life. In days gone by, while customs varied from tribe to tribe, pre-marital pregnancies would have had serious consequences for both parties, but in the towns no such sanctions existed and illegitimate children became accepted without the lift of an eyebrow. The transfer of cattle by kinsmen of the bridegroom to the kinsmen of the bride was a symbol of the alliance of the two kin groups and many consequences flowed therefrom, one being that a widow and her children would be cared for, but this does not apply in the city. The lobolo system has lost its old meaning for there are no means of transferring cattle in the city, yet it persists in circumstances which destroy its original purpose, and the earning capacity of the bride often determines the lobolo demanded.

In rural communities women tilled the field and harvested the crop, but in the city there was no such work, so they joined the throngs seeking work for cash. As a result many children grew up without discipline or the desire for regular employment, and lived by their wits. The role of the women of the tribe

was well defined and very different from that of women in western societies, but what a change was brought about on coming to an urban area.

Over the years greater skills were acquired and the men tended to return home at less frequent intervals; instead the women now started to come to the city, and by 1927 the ratio of men to women in Johannesburg was six to one. As more and more houses were provided by the newly created Native Affairs Department a trend which continued until at the outbreak of war in 1939 the ratio of men to women was three to one, and today the Bantu population is approximately one-third men, one-third women and one-third children. Many of the children have lost contact with the rural areas and do not know their parents' homeland.

Today the women of Soweto play an ever-increasingly important role in the structure of a stable society, they are the stimulating force in educating children and in many households they skimp and scrape to find the funds to enable the children to acquire the knowledge they were unable to obtain.

One of the ever present problems is of making ends meet. Poverty in rural areas is one thing, because there people share, but in the city cash is required for everything—for rent, for food, for clothing, and for medicine. Fortunately, however, in these days of full employment and more adequate wages, the hardship of a large portion of the Soweto population has been mitigated, but life is a struggle, especially if the men gamble, drink or spend their money on girl-friends.

This city of E-Goli is the melting pot into which people of varying tribal backgrounds, various stages of education and civilisation have been thrown, and what are the results? I can only marvel at the resilience, at the good humour, the philosophical attitude and extreme good sense of the people. Their houses are well-kept, their gardens neat, they dress tidily and often well. Who would have thought thirty, twenty, even ten years ago, that so many skills would have been acquired by these country people. Today there are Bantu matrons at Baragwanath hospital, and a thousand Bantu students trained there have qualified as nurses by passing the same examinations as set for European students by the South African Nursing Council. Municipal treasury officials, builders, bricklayers, drain layers, electrical wiremen, lorry drivers have acquired skills thought beyond their capacity a short time ago. Artists are trained in the City's art centre, who exhibit in London, Paris and New York. There are actors and producers of plays and composers. They have done well for themselves, these Bantu people of ours, in a comparatively short time. I know, and you know, that all is not well, all is not as it should be. When there is a social upheaval people get hurt, and it will take time, patience and understanding to heal the wounds caused by the destruction of a social order before another could take its place. The beliefs of the Bantu, the concepts of kinship, the belief in ancestral spirits, the belief in signs, in omens good and bad, the belief that one can be bewitched, that one can bewitch one's enemy, the beliefs in the witch-doctor's occult powers, in his medicines—these and many others are deep rooted and will be a part of Bantu thinking for generations to come.

In Soweto today a class structure is emerging based on education, occupation, wealth and way of life. Possession of material goods is a symbol of success

and status. The better educated, professional persons, teachers, shopkeepers, nurses, senior officials in administration, tend to form the elite of society. There are church associations, choral societies, football clubs, school associations, chambers of commerce, advisory boards cutting right across ethnic grouping, and these activities determine one's associates and place in the new society and increasing interest is being shown in the amenities provided by the Council, namely, concerts, film shows, sporting events, libraries, and books in hospitals, to mention a few, which are filling a very real need. Unfortunately there are also, as in other large cities the city slickers and spivs, the people who want to make money the easy way, not caring whom they rape or rob, or how they maim. I often feel that today the greatest need in Soweto is to find some way of providing the law-abiding citizen with protection from the molestation of his fellows. The urban dweller of today has travelled a long way on the path of material progress, and his standard of living, his abilities, his outlook and those of his city-bred children are vastly different from those of yesteryear.

Conclusion

Was I right in my introduction in saying I had a story to tell? A story of indifference, degradation, of appalling slums, of high mortality rates, of neglect, and then a story of achievement on a massive scale, a story of the acceptance of responsibility by the Mother City for the well-being of the Bantu people of Soweto. A story of material development, but also a human story of people who have been forced within a short space of time to make adaptations, to change age-old concepts and customs, to change patterns of living and of working. Material progress has resulted, and will continue. Further adaptations will be necessary, and the granting of further responsibilities and participation in administration must follow. Means must be found to develop leadership amongst the urban Bantu, and outlets for their aspirations. In my opinion the Johannesburg City Council, operating as it must within the compass of present legislation, must develop the Advisory Boards and Urban Councils as the outlets for leadership and responsibility. The Urban Council must be given administrative authority within the capabilities of its members. It must be more than advisory.

What has been acceptable in housing standards to date will be rejected in years to come. As land within reasonable limits of the city is used up, buildings of the future will need to be multi-storey. This will require further adaptation to changes in living patterns. The younger generation will acquire skills not possessed by their parents, and new employment outlets will have to be found.

My colleagues on the Council and the Council officials have had a sense of purpose and mission without which the material provision alone would not have enabled so vast a congregation of country people of differing tribes and tongues to adapt themselves to urban conditions. My colleagues and the officials, while aware of what has been done, are equally aware that complacency has no place in this age of change. They are aware, too, of the restless ambitions of the Bantu for a greater participation in what South Africa has to offer.

It will be our endeavour to maintain a co-operative relationship between the Council and the people of Soweto, so that even greater progress can be achieved.

INDEX TO SCHEDULES

Summary of Capital Expenditure, Houses Built, Hostel Beds, Rents, Deficits on Native Revenue Account, Kaffir Beer Sales and Profits, Bantu Services and Bantu Transport Levy Contributions	73
Analysis of Capital Expenditure on Native Revenue Account Years ended 30th June, 1918, 1928, 1939, 1947, 1953 and 1965	72
Statement of Expenditure—Bantu Services Levy Fund	74
Native Revenue Account—Sources of Funds and Analysis of Interest Paid	75
Allocation of Beer Profits and Analysis of Expenditure on Medical Services	76
Acts passed since 1945 affecting Non-European Administration	77
Bantu Population Pyramid—Metropolitan Johannesburg 1946–1960.	82
Bantu Population Pyramid Soweto 1965	82
Estimated Bantu Population of Johannesburg 30th June, 1965 and Projection of Bantu Population—Soweto 1965–1980	80
Bantu Population—Soweto—30th June 1965 by Age and Sex	80

Native Revenue Account: Capital Expenditure

Details	1918	1928	1939	1947	1953	1965
	R	R	R	R	R	R
Land	700	86,560	240,567	1,298,732	2,641,334	2,451,337
Buildings	37,432	664,581	1,635,449	4,338,247	8,231,541	27,773,749
Machinery and Plant	3,113	3,113	34,304	66,027	44,058	314,906
Tools	—	—	688	2,112	216,501	277,049
Motor Vehicles	—	—	7,362	45,379	126,710	454,672
Furniture	643	975	33,169	75,537	100,280	330,387
Layout	34,138	45,917	6,691	38,235	75,572	348,013
Fencing	—	17,732	92,100	137,290	188,806	267,324
Livestock	111	111	4,676	14,002	21,908	—
Tennis Courts	—	—	379	379	7,932	13,174
Stormwater Drainage and Sewers	—	1,742	700	78,298	200,325	8,250,339
Railway Siding	11,470	11,470	8,594	9,994	9,721	9,721
Water Supply	12,063	32,200	66,396	166,852	149,031	3,780,385
Roads	—	7,546	25,935	141,934	364,104	3,404,759
Tramway Extension	—	—	3,500	3,500	3,500	—
Lighting	—	1,194	23,548	87,230	127,420	2,616,825
Medical Appliances	—	—	20	35	32	17,638
Swimming Pool	—	—	1,534	1,536	1,482	54,686
Orlando Government Housing Scheme	—	—	809,348	—	—	—
Bridges	—	—	—	43,819	53,633	122,298
Gas Supply	—	—	—	7,687	7,687	7,687
Playing Fields	—	—	—	—	39,409	324,405
Office Machinery	—	—	—	4,982	17,854	155,359
Sundry Debtors: House Selling Schemes	—	—	—	—	8,576	2,485,559
Meters	—	—	—	—	—	24,265
Bowling Greens	—	—	—	—	—	4,032
Cost of Raising Loans	5,857	21,955	—	—	—	—
	105,527	895,096	2,994,960	6,561,807	12,637,416	53,488,569

City of Johannesburg: Extracts from Native Revenue Account

Year ended	Cumulative Capital Expenditure	Number of Houses Built Cum. Total	Number of		Rents Nett	Deficit on NRA debited to Rates	Kaffir Beer Sales Profit		Annual Contributions by employers to	
			Hotel Beds Available Cum. Total						Bantu Services Levy Fund	Bantu Transport Services Levy
1918	105,527									
1919	221,022									
1920	253,672	77	1,688							
1921	368,874	227	1,688							
1922	318,158	227	1,688							
1923	358,066	227	1,688							
1924	368,104	485	1,688							
1925	542,112	1,085	1,688							
1926	674,174	1,485	2,280							
1927	797,684	1,585	2,280	75,131	30,976					
1928	895,096	1,852	3,600	80,373	33,620					
1929	987,700	2,625	3,250	86,872	41,556					
1930	1,050,746	2,625	3,400	108,145	35,153					
1931	1,161,528	2,845	3,400	119,626	41,327					
1932	1,222,650	2,945	3,400	121,965	47,545					
1933	1,507,908	3,612	4,072	126,974	51,014					
1934	1,716,682	5,229	4,122	167,804	36,665					
1935	1,881,532	5,608	4,122	209,782	6,486					
1936	2,012,504	5,608	5,323	234,805	13,288					
1937	2,107,824	5,920	6,892	251,029	41,393					
1938	2,855,438	8,700	6,912	294,468	46,262	31,068	14,186			
1939	2,994,960	8,700	6,912	336,335	468 Cr.	118,500	65,536			
1940	3,141,686	8,700	6,912	337,560	24,863 Cr.	188,894	127,504			
1941	3,354,656	8,700	7,202	310,927	26,418	255,534	125,094			
1942	3,619,276	9,450	7,202	326,693	55,609	203,038	107,398			
1943	3,672,890	9,450	7,202	335,649	56,673	201,892	94,544			
1944	4,084,066	9,473	7,270	341,248	44,212	339,560	198,122			
1945	4,741,496	9,573	7,270	342,104	61,441	458,970	242,954			
1946	5,397,916	9,691	9,141	373,538	245,299	256,978	114,552			
1947	6,561,807	10,298	10,538	443,984	364,862	417,558	95,904			
1948	8,364,516	11,032	10,538	584,536	191,798	573,378	243,674			
1949	9,609,788	12,668	10,538	663,133	328,404	654,094	362,430			
1950	10,840,814	16,577	10,538	753,613	483,916	744,890	349,448			
1951	11,702,388	17,086	10,538	839,664	655,513	828,046	350,262			
1952	11,937,820	17,086	10,538	858,180	671,810	998,840	403,152			
1953	12,637,416	17,765	10,538	968,562	697,225	1,229,660	479,670	523,128	135,782	
1954	13,798,756	18,254	10,539	1,079,034	273,517	1,403,068	732,460	1,115,682	278,920	
1955	15,491,136	18,346	10,543	1,142,952	341,716	1,646,406	854,312	1,230,282	298,292	
1956	18,983,402	23,926	10,543	1,339,887	258,104	1,784,392	815,692	1,314,096	309,504	
1957	22,652,428	24,178	20,666	1,714,120	429,401	2,058,082	1,050,202	1,360,934	318,752	
1958	29,296,540	33,505	20,666	2,348,262	431,820	2,217,056	1,079,076	1,421,518	665,206	
1959	36,068,172	43,018	20,666	2,873,887	243,160	2,589,712	1,290,990	1,473,330	722,104	
1960	40,907,214	51,714	24,310	3,106,213	686,250	2,691,090	1,299,768	1,400,642	647,606	
1961	44,156,082	55,554	24,310	3,390,402	852,209	2,819,873	1,239,913	1,404,739	559,419	
1962	46,934,247	58,890	24,398	3,516,503	731,357	3,027,558	1,468,791	1,564,699	517,541	
1963	50,042,554	58,293	26,873	3,652,230	913,481	3,228,043	1,464,418	1,443,152	535,202	
1964	51,877,747	60,902	26,871	3,760,241	731,905	4,215,378	1,824,974	1,550,213	566,977	
1965	53,488,569	62,475	26,871	3,889,028	474,520	5,204,223	2,223,296	1,711,527	605,877	
						40,355,781	18,718,322	17,533,942	6,161,182	

*Statement reflecting Johannesburg City Council's Collection and Expenditure
of Bantu Services Levy Fund.*

	R	R
Total collections 1.1.53 to 30.6.65		17,533,942
Less: Administration and Collection costs		485,126
		17,048,816
 Total Expenditure to 30.6.65:		
Direct Charges and Grants	10,012,335	
Loans	1,742,181	11,754,516
		5,294,300
<i>Unspent Balance</i>		1,691,254
Expenditure on Loans repayable to Fund		6,985,554
Balance in Fund at 30.6.65 (After making provision for repayment of all loan expenditure)		16,062,262
 <i>Approved Bantu Services Projects as at 30.6.65:</i>		
Approvals at 30.6.65	16,106,238	
Less: Expenditure to 30.6.65	11,754,516	
		4,351,722
Amount still required on approved projects	4,351,722	
Unspent balance available	5,294,300	
		9,646,022
Excess of funds available to approved projects	942,578	
		10,588,600
 Net Income of Fund is estimated at:		
for year ended 30.6.66	1,473,900	
 <i>Approved Projects as at 30.6.65 for Soweto</i>		
Sub-Outfall and Link Sewers		2,035,179
Water Mains		2,095,047
Olifantsvlei Sewage Disposal Works		2,395,570
Street Lighting		696,405
Widening and re-alignment of Roads		212,319
Electricity Supply		1,213,896
Water Towers and Reservoirs		889,485
Roads and Bus Routes		3,644,057
Survey and Lay-out		106,184
Clearing of Sites		23,200
Nightsoil Intake		6,258
Sanitation: Latrine Grants		
Reticulation Fittings and Installation		2,721,882
Sundry Expenditure		66,756
		16,106,238

Native Revenue Account Source of Funds as at 30th June, 1965.

	R	R
Government Loans amounted to		22,794,261
Loans from Bantu Services Levy Fund		1,691,252
Loans from outside bodies (Mining Houses and Soldiers Housing Organizations)		6,096,764
Advance from Council's Consolidated Loans Fund		4,308,602
Advance from Council's Capital Development Fund.		423,060
		<hr/>
		35,313,939
<i>Less:</i> Temporary advance to Rate Fund		656,048
		<hr/>
		34,657,891
Accumulated Surplus of which:		
Grants from Bantu Services Levy Fund	9,940,085	
Loans Redeemed	8,890,593	18,830,678
		<hr/>
		R53,488,569
		<hr/>

Rates of Interest on Loans.

Of the money borrowed from the Government:

R	
8,281,261	was lent at $\frac{3}{4}$ % interest on the basis of National Housing Commission formulas
114,732	was lent at $3\frac{1}{2}$ % interest
2,445	was lent at 4% interest
1,563,659	was lent at $4\frac{1}{2}$ % interest
2,135,320	was lent at $4\frac{3}{4}$ % interest
9,947,425	was lent at $4\frac{7}{8}$ % interest
212,122	was lent at 5% interest
1,678,884	was lent at $5\frac{1}{2}$ % interest
1,797,478	was lent at 6% interest

R25,733,326 R25,733,326 of which R22,794,261 is still outstanding as reflected under the heading of Source of Funds.

The loan from the Bantu Services Levy Fund bears interest at $\frac{3}{4}$ %. The loan from the Mining Houses is at $4\frac{7}{8}$ % and from the Soldiers Housing Organizations at $1\frac{1}{4}$ %. The rate charged by the Consolidated Loans Fund and the Capital Development Fund varies from year to year depending upon the average paid by the Council during that year, and in 1964-65 was at the rate of 4.353%. Of the funds provided by the Government since 1952

- R2,305,930 is at $\frac{3}{4}$ %
- R1,564,112 is at $4\frac{1}{2}$ %
- R2,106,534 is at $4\frac{3}{4}$ %
- R9,918,577 is at $4\frac{7}{8}$ %
- R 214,504 is at 5%
- R1,761,211 is at $5\frac{1}{2}$ %
- R1,733,231 is at 6%

Allocation of Bantu Beer and Liquor Profits:

	<i>Year Ended 30.6.65</i>
<i>One-Third Profit:</i>	
Bursaries	2,783
Grants-in-Aid	108,231
Vocational Training Centre	46,168
Medical Services Urban	122,995
Medical Services Townships	474,503
	<hr/> 754,680
<i>Two-Thirds Profit:</i>	
Losses on Sub-economic Housing Scheme:	
Contributions to Capital Outlay	180,000
Eastern Bantu Township	70,597
Jabavu	160,218
Orlando East	262,095
Orlando West	149,421
Pimville	195,464
Tour of Homelands	8,662
Medical Services, Recreation, Social Welfare, etc.	62,232
Unallocated Profit	420,669
	<hr/> 1,509,358
GRAND TOTAL	<hr/> R2,264,038 <hr/>

Medical Services:

For the year ended 30th June, 1965, the gross expenditure was as follows:

	R
Health Inspection and Sanitation	31,178
Nursery Schools	25,526
Medical Services in Locations	1,225,766
Infectious Diseases	11,606
Tuberculosis	359,603
Venereal Diseases	1,182
Medical Examination at Registration Centre	38,868
Waterval Hospital	141,671
Ambulance Services	200,731
	<hr/> 2,036,131
Refunds received from Government.	716,671
Refunds received from the Province.	424,947
Other Income.	138,365
	<hr/> 1,279,983
	<hr/> R756,148 <hr/>

ACTS PASSED SINCE 1945 AFFECTING NON-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
ADMINISTRATION.

<i>Title of Act</i>	<i>No. of Act</i>
Native Education Finance Act, 1945	29 of 1945
Native Reserves (S.W.A.) Act, 1945	44 of 1945
Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1945	43 of 1945
Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945	25 of 1945
Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946	28 of 1946
Coloured Persons Settlement Act, 1946	7 of 1946
Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1946	42 of 1946
Native Laws Amendment Act, 1947	45 of 1947
Asiatic Laws Amendment Act, 1948	47 of 1948
Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1949	53 of 1949
Native Laws Amendment Act, 1949	56 of 1949
Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1950	15 of 1950
Group Areas Act, 1950	41 of 1950
Immorality Amendment Act, 1950	21 of 1950
Native High Court Amendment Act, 1950	46 of 1950
Population Registration Act, 1950	30 of 1950
Bantu Authorities Act, 1951	68 of 1951
Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Prevention of)	52 of 1951
Native Building Workers Act, 1951	27 of 1951
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1952	65 of 1952
Native Laws Amendment Act, 1952	54 of 1952
Native Services Levy Act, 1952	64 of 1952
Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, 1952	67 of 1952
Squatting Amendment Act, 1952 (Prevention of illegal)	24 of 1952
Bantu Education Act, 1953	47 of 1953
Native Building Workers Amendment Act, 1953	38 of 1953
Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, 1953	48 of 1953
Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953	49 of 1953
Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1954	44 of 1954
Disability Grants Amendment Act, 1954	49 of 1954
Native High Court Abolition Act, 1954	13 of 1954
Natives Resettlement Act, 1954	19 of 1954
Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, 1954	18 of 1954
Representation of Natives Amendment Act, 1954	36 of 1954
South West Africa Native Affairs Administration Act, 1954	56 of 1954
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1955	6 of 1955
Group Areas Development Act, 1955	69 of 1955
Group Areas Further Amendment Act, 1955	68 of 1955
Land Settlement Amendment Act, 1955	31 of 1955
Native Administration Amendment Act, 1955	13 of 1955
Native Building Workers Amendment Act, 1955	60 of 1955
Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Act, 1955	59 of 1955
Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1955	16 of 1955

<i>Title of Act</i>	<i>No. of Act</i>
Criminal Procedure Act, 1955	56 of 1955
Vocational Education Act, 1955	70 of 1955
Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1956	36 of 1956
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1956.	52 of 1956
Native Administration Amendment Act, 1956	42 of 1956
Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act, 1956	64 of 1956
Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1956	69 of 1956
Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, 1956.	10 of 1956
Population Registration Amendment Act, 1956.	71 of 1956
Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956	17 of 1956
Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1956	36 of 1956
Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, 1956.	73 of 1956
Group Areas Act, 1957	77 of 1957
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1957.	57 of 1957
Housing Act, 1957.	10 of 1957
Native Laws Amendment Act, 1957.	36 of 1957
Native Laws Further Amendment Act, 1957	79 of 1957
Native Transport Services Act, 1957	53 of 1957
Wage Act, 1957	5 of 1957
Witchcraft Suppression Act, 1957	3 of 1957
Housing Amendment Act, 1958	24 of 1958
Native Taxation and Development Act, 1958	38 of 1958
Native Trust and Land Act, 1958	41 of 1958
Trespass Act, 1959	6 of 1959
Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1959	33 of 1959
Bantu Investment Corporation, 1959	34 of 1959
Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959 (Promotion of)	46 of 1959
Group Areas Development Amendment Act, 1959.	81 of 1959
Housing Amendment Act, 1959	72 of 1959
Native Affairs Act, 1959	55 of 1959
Native Building Workers Amendment Act, 1959	56 of 1959
Population Registration Amendment Act, 1960.	30 of 1960
Separate Amenities Amendment Act, 1960 (Reservations for)	10 of 1960
Unlawful Organisations Act, 1960	34 of 1960
Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1959	33 of 1959
Bantu Councils Act, 1961 (Urban)	79 of 1961
Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1961	55 of 1961
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1961.	23 of 1961
Bantu Beer Act, 1962	63 of 1962
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1962.	49 of 1962
Housing Amendment Act, 1962	5 of 1962
Native Laws Amendment Act, 1962.	46 of 1962
Better Administration of Designated Areas Act, 1963	51 of 1963
Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 1963	76 of 1963
Bantu Labour Act, 1964	67 of 1964
Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 1964	42 of 1964
Housing Amendment Act, 1964	53 of 1964

<i>Title of Act</i>	<i>No. of Act</i>
Education Act, 1964 (Bantu Special)	24 of 1964
Bantu Homelands Development Corporation Act, 1965	86 of 1965
Group Areas Amendment Act, 1965.	56 of 1965
Housing Amendment Act, 1965	49 of 1965
Community Development Act, 1966.	3 of 1966
Housing Act, 1966.	4 of 1966

In addition to the Acts knowledge is required of the regulations framed under the various Acts.

ESTIMATED BANTU POPULATION AS AT 30TH JUNE, 1965.

<i>Bantu in Council controlled areas in Soweto.</i>		377,249
Living in Houses	363,087	
Living in Hostels	14,162	
	<hr/>	
<i>Bantu living in areas controlled by Bantu Resettlement Board</i>		118,861
Living in Houses	116,212	
Living in Hostels	2,649	
	<hr/>	
TOTAL		496,110
<i>Bantu living in the City area</i>		118,525
Living in Houses at Eastern Native Township	3,260	
Municipal Hostels	12,400	
Municipal Compounds for Council employees	8,863	
Housed in flats, offices, commercial buildings, hotels, boarding houses, schools, hospitals, etc.	33,702	
Domestic servants in Private Homes	60,300	
	<hr/>	
<i>Bantu housed on Mines</i>		21,973
<i>Bantu living in Peri Urban Areas</i>		77,200
Alexandra	52,000	
North of Johannesburg	14,000	
South of Johannesburg	11,200	
	<hr/>	
TOTAL		713,808
		<hr/>

SOWETO (COUNCIL CONTROLLED) POPULATION PROJECTION 1965-1980

The Bantu population of Soweto is characterised by very high birth-rates (between 38 and 42 per thousand population) and steadily declining death-rates (1965-11.85 per thousand population). In addition, the sex/age composition of the population seems favourable to a high rate of Natural Increase (the excess of births over deaths).

The population includes relatively large numbers of young adults, that is, persons who are of an age to produce children and of an age of low mortality.

These three factors—high birth-rates, relatively low death-rates and the sex/age composition of the population—imply that the Bantu population of Soweto will grow very rapidly in the future.

Projections of the Bantu population living in Soweto, for the period 1965–1980 bear out this prediction. The projections imply that the population will increase very rapidly over the next 15 years—from 363,087 persons in 1965 to 518,215 persons in 1980 (Appendix). The average annual rate of increase would be in the region of 2.4 per cent as compared with an estimated 1.6 per cent for the White population.

*Bantu Population Projections for Soweto (Council Controlled)
Living under Family Conditions 1965–1980*

Year	Total Population
1965	363,087
1970	408,799
1975	460,268
1980	518,215

*Age and Sex Distribution—Bantu Population Soweto (Council Controlled)
as at 30th June, 1965.*

Age Group (Years)	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0–4	29,232	16.60	29,544	15.80	58,776	16.19
5–9	26,943	15.30	28,235	15.10	55,178	15.20
10–14	25,886	14.70	24,870	13.30	50,756	13.98
15–19	16,905	9.60	17,203	9.20	34,108	9.39
20–24	12,680	7.20	15,520	8.30	28,200	7.77
25–29	9,685	5.50	15,520	8.30	25,205	6.94
30–34	9,157	5.20	13,650	7.30	22,807	6.28
35–39	10,742	6.10	11,406	6.10	22,148	6.10
40–44	9,333	5.30	8,415	4.50	17,748	4.89
45–49	9,333	5.30	7,667	4.10	17,000	4.68
50–54	6,692	3.80	4,114	2.20	10,806	2.98
55–59	4,050	2.30	3,179	1.70	7,229	1.99
60–64	2,289	1.30	2,992	1.60	5,281	1.45
65–69	1,585	0.90	2,431	1.30	4,016	1.11
70–74	705	0.40	1,122	0.60	1,827	0.50
75–79	352	0.20	561	0.30	913	0.25
80–84	352	0.20	374	0.20	726	0.20
85 and Over	176	0.10	187	0.10	363	0.10
TOTAL	176,097	100.00	186,990	100.00	363,087	100.00
Percentage	48.5		51.5		100.00	

Areas of ground in Soweto

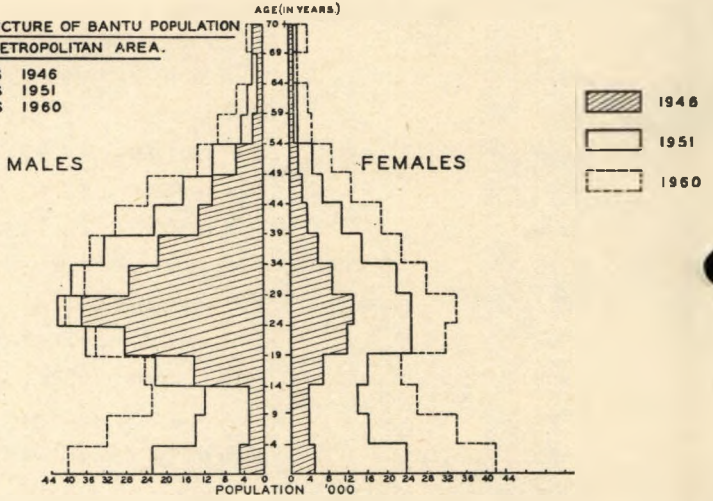
The purchases of ground in the areas to the south-west of Johannesburg are reflected in the following table of the areas of ground owned from time to time:

1910	69.7 morgen
1920	69.7 morgen
1930	1,349 morgen— 4.4 sq. miles
1940	1,972 morgen— 6.5 sq. miles
1950	5,208 morgen—17.2 sq. miles
1958	6,936 morgen—23.0 sq. miles
1961	7,861 morgen—26.0 sq. miles
1962	7,872 morgen—26.1 sq. miles
1963	7,903 morgen—26.2 sq. miles
1964	7,903 morgen—26.2 sq. miles
1965	7,904 morgen—26.2 sq. miles

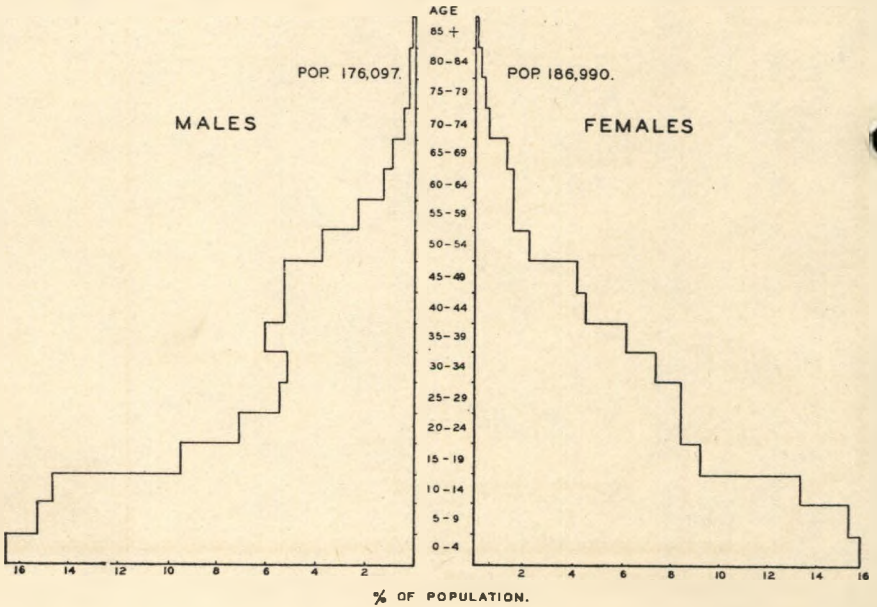
This excludes the area of ground purchased by the Resettlement Board in Diepkloof and Meadowlands, adjacent to the Council's Housing schemes.

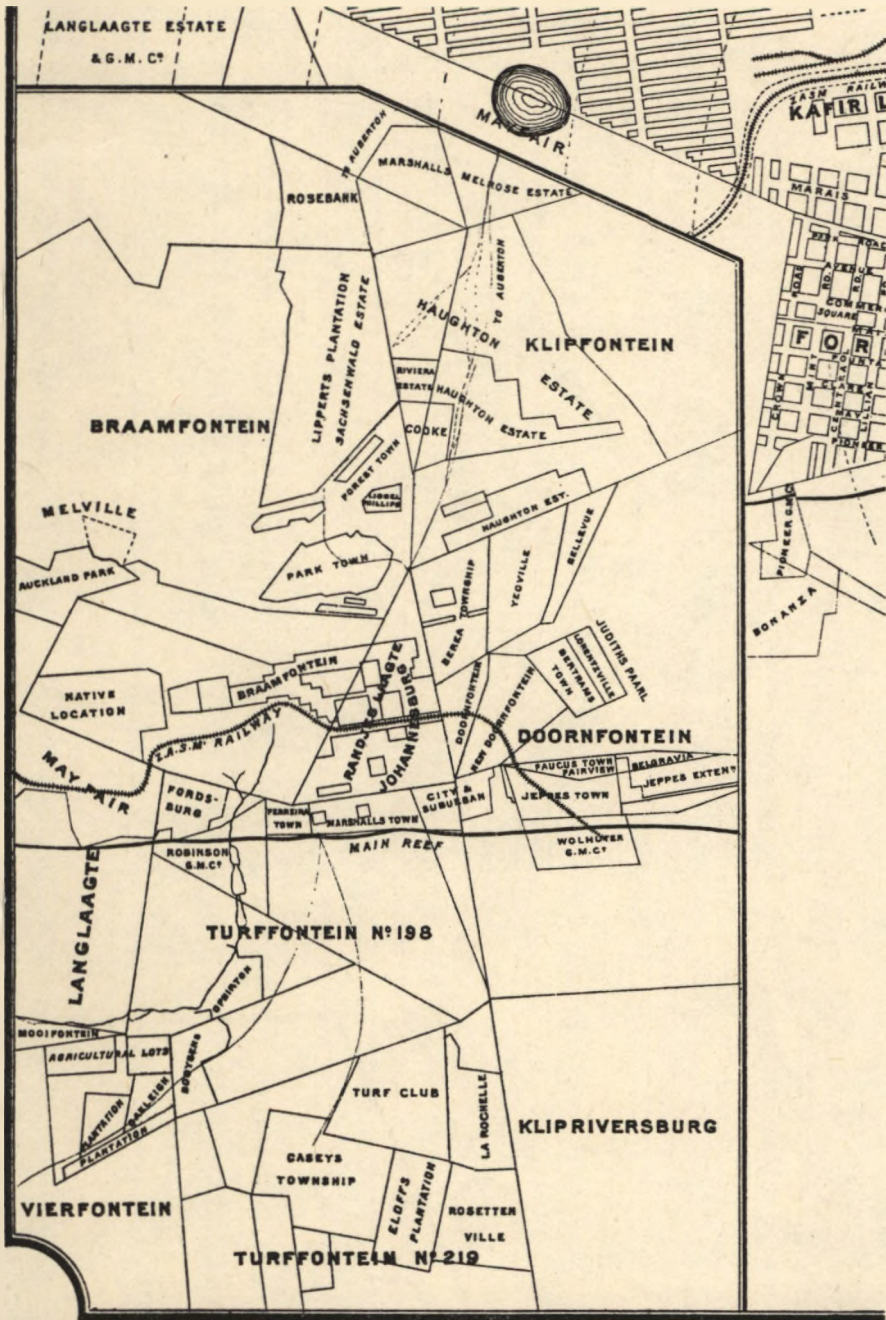
AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF BANTU POPULATION
JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA.

CENSUS 1946
CENSUS 1951
CENSUS 1960

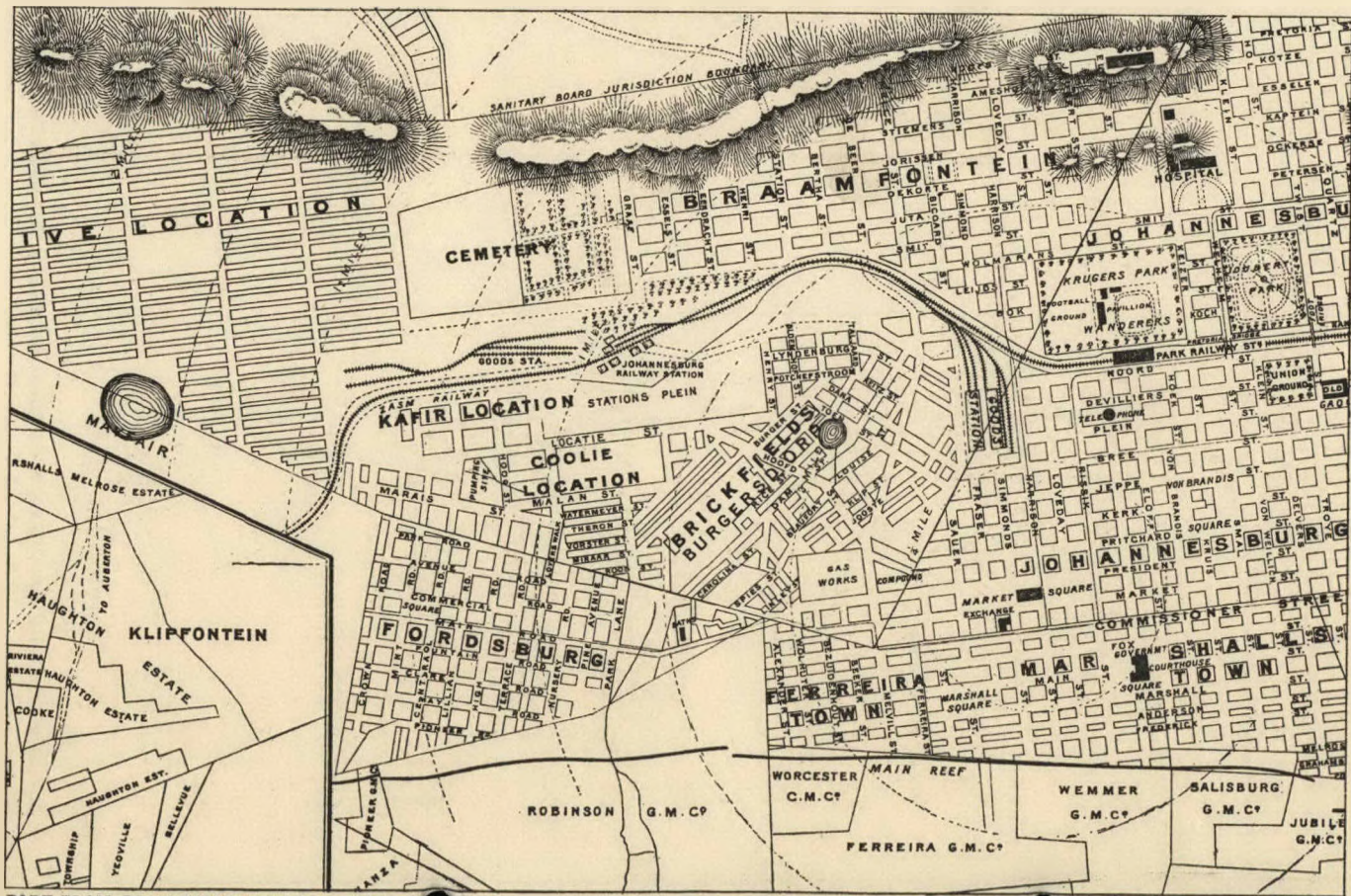


AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF BANTU POPULATION
SOWETO 1965.





PLAN OF JOHANNESBURG AND SUBURBS - 1897



PART PLAN OF JOHANNESBURG - 1897



The Brickfields - 1889



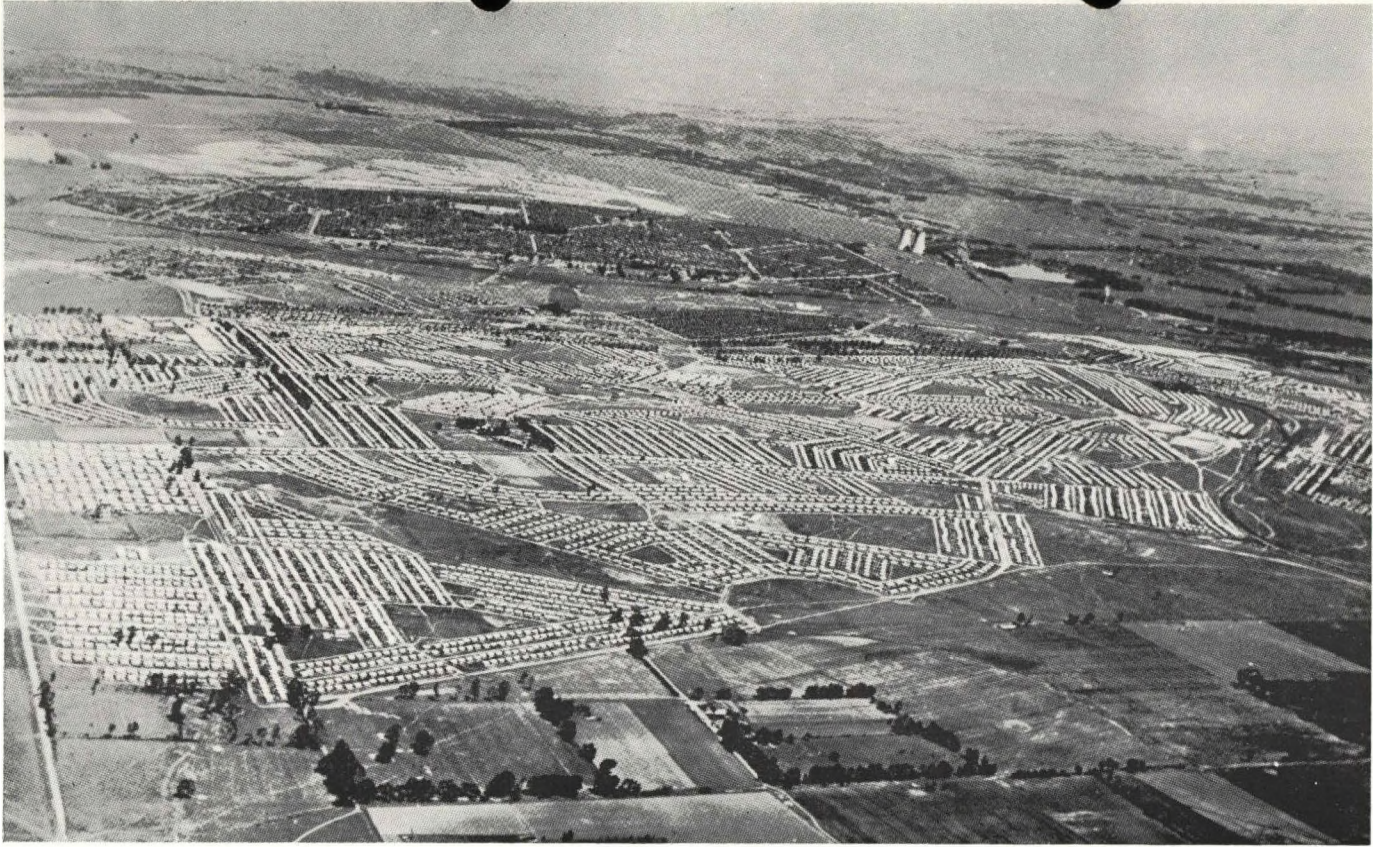
A house in Shantytown - 1945



Moroka Emergency Camp with new Orlando West houses in background.



Maintenance of houses in Orlando West.



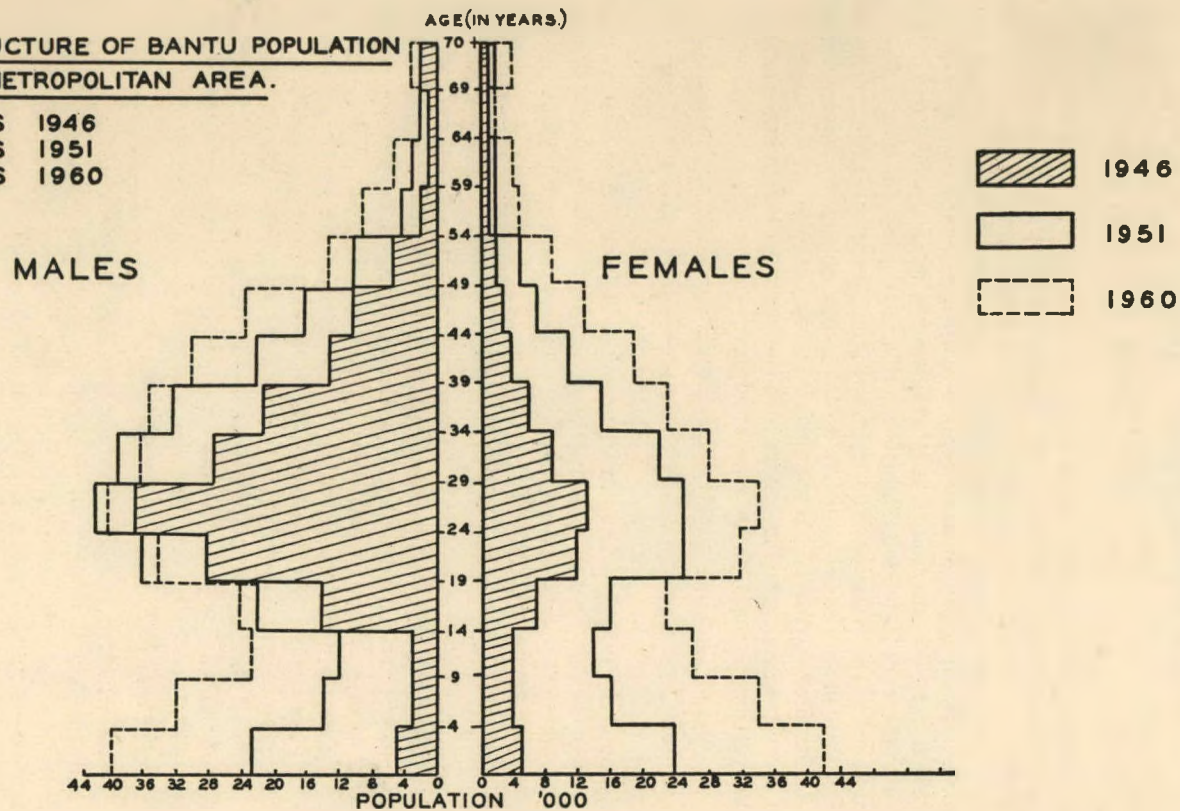
Aerial view of Soweto from the West.



A general view of Soweto.

AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF BANTU POPULATION
JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA.

CENSUS 1946
 CENSUS 1951
 CENSUS 1960



A 'City' within a City—The Creation of Soweto

Aerial Photography and Geography

W. J. DAVIES

The acceptance of Geography as a course of study in the Science faculties of the world universities heralds a new era for a once purely philosophical and qualitative discipline. Such acceptance has been accelerated by the increasingly scientific attitude adopted by geographers, accompanied by a trend towards the quantification of data to be analysed. Not the least among such attitudes and trends has been the adoption of aerial photography as an essential geographical aid. The successful adoption of such scientific approaches, however, calls for a higher level of specialisation; an ideal Geography Department being composed of specialists in various fields such as geology, meteorology, statistics, sociology, etc. In the same way, aerial photographic utilisation requires, if not a specialist, then at least someone who has had an adequate basic instruction in the elements of photogrammetry and photo-interpretation.

The Diploma course in Photogrammetry as offered by the Department of Land Surveying at Natal University (Durban), provides such a basic instruction. But for the geographer, such a course is too detailed, and, as is to be expected, is orientated towards the special problems of the land surveyor. What is needed is a diploma course that would provide a very basic groundwork in the essentials of photogrammetry, followed by a more detailed evaluation of the interpretative aspects of aerial photography.

Training of this type should involve what might be called "elementary photogrammetry"—streamlined photogrammetry, stripped of its more complex mathematical phases. In other words, the simple working techniques that one must know to put photos together, make elementary maps, measure heights, and observe stereo-pairs under the stereoscope. The detailed photogrammetric aspect being dealt with elementarily, the emphasis of the course is envisaged as being placed on photo-interpretation techniques and their practical application. However, one cannot simply "study photos"; one must know what is specifically required from the photograph and be able to proceed logically to extract that which is required. This suggests that the photo-interpreter would have to have considerable training in the discipline concerning which he is interpreting; whether it be geology, forestry, agriculture, etc.

To specialise too narrowly, however, would be to defeat the aim of the type of course proposed. Training a geologist in photo-interpretation would, for instance, produce a photo-geologist, and so on. The type of person who would seem to be most suited to such a course would be one who has taken geography as a major subject for either an Arts or a Science bachelor's degree. As a first step it would be essential to limit candidates to such a category. At a later stage, when the course has been firmly established, various specialist fields could be introduced in the particular departments concerned.

The additional financial requirements of the implementation of such a course could be borne, in part at least, by the various bodies that would be able

Collection Number: A1132

Collection Name: Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Location: Johannesburg

©2016

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

This collection forms part of a collection, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.