

LIST OF WITNESSES OTHER THAN OFFICIALS OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

- W.S. Pela,
- G.G. Xorile,)
P.R. Mosaka,) Native Advisory Boards.
P. Vundla,)
- M.F. Molyneaux,
- H. Miller, M.P.C.,
- Miss Joane Pim, Chairman, South African Association of Youth Clubs.
- Mrs. D.A. Stewart,)
Mrs. E. Cochrane,) National Council of Women.
Mrs. L. Rostovsky,)
- Mrs. D.A. Stewart, Organiser, African Selp-Help Association.
- Mrs. S. Khali,)
Mrs. Nikani,)
Mrs. A. Mavimbela,) Members, African Selp-Help Association.
Mrs. Bengu,)
Mrs. Nokwe,)
- L.J. Silberman, Chairman, Southern Transvaal Branch, South African
Institute of Estate Agents.
- O. Tembo, Secretary-General, African National Congress.
- T.T. Nkobi, National Organising Secretary, African National Congress.
- Dr. W. Hoernlé)
Dr. Ellen Hellman,) South African Institute of Race Relations.
R. Ballinger,)
Miss M. McClarty,)
- Rev. K.M. Nkabinde,
- S. Ndzimande,
- J. Majoro,
- C. Bhendile,

Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves,

Father Rakale,

Rev. G. Hayse,

Rev. B. Holt,

P.F. Barnard,

J. Lewsen,

A. O'Dowd,

Mrs. M. Friedman,

}
} Liberal Party of South Africa.
}

B.V. Mudau,

C.W. Ramusi,

S. Motauenyane,

}
} South African Non-European Social Workers' Association.
}

D.C. Themba, of "The Drum".

E. Ndhlovu, Representative of Zulu Paramount Chief.

J.P. Tutu,

H.P. Mtembu,

E. Gumandi,

A. Mkize,

}
} Zulu Royal Council.
}

Rev. O.S.D. Mooki,

Rev. N.B. Tantsi,

}
} Transvaal Inter-denominational African Ministers'
} Association.

P.M. Lengene,

T.S. Moses,

C.L. Matloporo,

}
} Joint Native Advisory Boards.
}

LIST OF OFFICIALS OF THE CITY COUNCIL WHO GAVE EVIDENCE.

W.J.P. Carr,
W.A. Barnfather.
D.T. Nicholas,
J.M.K. Chalker,
R. Schjolberg,
D.A. Smart,
Corporal Joseph Mahlobo,
Constable R. Nkosinyane,
Constable G. Cebekulu,
Corporal J. Mafokeng,
Constable M. Mlandu,
Constable M. Sitiki,
Constable D. Ngcona,
Mrs. H. Mafokeng,
Mr. Rantho,
Mr. Boyang,
Mr. Dlnkulu,
Mr. Tsoku,
Mrs. I. Henderson,
Miss E.T. Hlatswayo,
R.C.W. Martin,
D.C. Simpson,
G.L. Gird,
L.J. Coetzee,
N.M. McArthur,
W. M'Tinkulu,
S. Mhlangu,
H. Nkomo.

MANAGER'S FIRST REPORT ON ETHNIC GROUPING.

No. 16/1954.

1. WESTERN AREAS CLEARANCE AND RESETTLEMENT SCHEME : SETTLEMENT OF NATIVES WITH DUE ATTENTION TO ETHNIC GROUPS.

The following letter has been received through the Town Clerk from the Secretary, Advisory Committee for Western Areas Clearance and Re-settlement Scheme :-

" I have the honour to inform you that it is the Minister's wish that the settlement of the Meadowlands-Diepkloof area should take place with due attention to the ethnic groups of the Natives concerned.

Discussions in this connection have taken place between the Manager, Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council and officers of this Department, and I shall be glad if this matter may now be placed before your Council with a request for the necessary co-operation please."

As is indicated in the letter above a meeting took place in Pretoria on the 7th April, 1954, when the Deputy Manager and I met a number of officials from the Union Department of Native Affairs to discuss the general principles of housing Natives in urban municipal locations on an ethnic grouping basis. The Assistant Director of Native Education on behalf of the Government, stressed the importance of children being educated through the medium of their mother tongue. It is compulsory for this to be done at present up to Std. 2, but in the Government's view it would be advisable to apply this measure after the second standard as it is considered that this would be to the best advantage of the child.

He went on to say that the same applies to Native teachers who are at present educated through the medium of English and Afrikaans and he

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claimed that they seldom mastered these languages fully. He acknowledged that it would be difficult to find proper means of educating teachers in the Bantu languages at present in the absence of equivalents for technical terms but he felt that this could be overcome. The Government intends to organise schools on a mother tongue basis and unless ethnic grouping is practised in locations, children may have to travel considerable distances to attend school. It is claimed that an intensified community spirit will arise where people are so grouped and that in consequence schools must reap the benefits from such a development.

It was reported that in so far as Meadowlands and Diepkloof are concerned, it has already been decided that there should be a school with 10 classrooms for each 400 houses. The schools are to be erected from housing funds; handed over to the Council and let at an economic rate of interest of 7% to the Bantu Education Division. It was felt that with an intensified community spirit less school breakages could be expected. It was the Minister's wish that all new locations should be developed on the basis of ethnic grouping and that that was the policy of his Department.

In reply I indicated that the arguments advanced by the Government in support of racial grouping were the intensification of community spirit and the allegation that without ethnic grouping children may have to walk longer distances to attend school plus some rather doubtful advantages claimed as far as schooling generally was concerned, and I contended that none of these factors justify the policy of ethnic grouping in the case of Johannesburg where some 20,000 families will have to be removed, as part of the western areas scheme. In so far as the experience of this Department over the last 25 years is concerned it has been patently demonstrated that the segregation of the various Native tribes on a racial or tribal basis is conducive to racial strife invariably culminating in bloodshed. That was the result of an intensification of the community spirit. This aspect was

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clearly demonstrated many years ago at the Wemmer Native Hostel when a particular employer insisted on engaging only Natives from one particular tribe and asked for all his employees to be housed together. This group very rapidly developed a spirit of racial arrogance and frightened and intimidated Natives from other tribal groups living in the same hostel. These banded themselves into their own racial groups for self defence and before long we had serious fighting at the hostel almost every weekend; invariably between rival racial groups. That experience was repeated at the old Salisbury and Jubilee Compounds long since demolished. As a result of these experiences the Department has always taken care to ensure that Natives living either in the hostels or the locations are interspersed on a racial basis in order to prevent the emergence of large racial groups fundamentally antagonistic to members of other races. The most recent and tragic example of the latent hostility between the various ethnic groups of the South African Native tribes is the rioting which took place in Newclare during the last two years when the "Russians" consisting exclusively of Basutos attacked elements from other tribes so persistently and so violently that finally mass exodus of the Nguni speaking people from south Newclare resulted and in the absence of alternative accommodation this movement gave birth to two large squatter outbreaks in north Newclare costing the Council considerable worry, trouble and expense before the problem was finally solved by the removal of the displaced persons to Moroka. I indicated that in my opinion the arbitrary separation of peoples on a racial basis was psychologically unsound and gave rise to the emergence of arrogance and militant racial consciousness which in the case of primitive peoples, such as South African Bantu, was always fraught with a very real danger of large scale rioting and civil disorder.

In my opinion no real arguments have been advanced to justify such a very serious step which I consider to be completely retrogressive.

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The issue is complicated in the case of Johannesburg by the size and complexity of our population groups and it would be a very serious thing to have say 5,000 Zulu families living in a position adjacent to an equal number of Basutos or Xosas etc. with possibly only a road separating the two groups. Tribal fighting breaking out between such large groups may necessitate military operations to restore order.

Another factor which must not be disregarded is the thousands of Native families who have inter-married as between the different racial groups and the position of the children from such unions would be unnecessarily complicated by the introduction of ethnic grouping.

Another important factor is that the size of the different racial groups varies enormously, e.g. in our areas the Sesuto speaking groups predominate and smaller aggregations of Zulu, Xosa, Pondo, Baca and Shangaan are to be found in all our locations. If each group is to be treated justly and on an equal basis this might result in unnecessary duplication of public amenities as presumably each group must be served with its own clinics, halls, shops, schools etc. Such a process could easily become extremely uneconomic without any consequential increase in efficiency or utility.

In my opinion nothing has occurred to suggest the advisability for such radical change in the living habits of our urban Natives and I think that the embarking on such a theoretical policy may result in very serious disadvantages becoming apparent without any practical advantages accruing.

In conclusion I may say that the Native Location Advisory Boards are unanimously opposed to any suggestion of ethnic grouping and I have no doubt that the broad mass of the people are also opposed to any such suggestion.

I RECOMMEND :

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That the Secretary, Advisory Committee for Western Areas Clearance and Resettlement Scheme be advised that the Council regrets that it cannot agree with the suggestion of the Hon. the Minister for Native Affairs that the settlement of the Meadowlands-Diepkloof area should take place with due attention to the ethnic groups of the Natives concerned for the reasons set out in this report.

LETTER OF THE SECRETARY OF NATIVE AFFAIRS
TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES ON ETHNIC GROUPING.

Department of Native Affairs,
P. O. Box 384,
PRETORIA.

26th August, 1954.

TO ALL LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

PLANNING OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS FOR BANTU IN URBAN
AREAS : ETHNIC GROUPING.

1. To ensure that there will be absolute clarity on what is meant by "Ethnic Grouping" in Urban residential areas, attention is invited to the following facts which form the basis for the Ethnic division of the South African Bantu :-

- (a) The eastern half and especially the coastal regions of the Union are inhabited by Bantu whose affinity through their language, history and culture is such that they can be grouped together under the main classification "Nguni". The Xhosa speaking Bantu of the Eastern Cape and Transkei, the Zulu of Natal, the Swazi of Swaziland and Eastern Transvaal, and the "Ndebele" (commonly known as "Mapoggers") who live in the Central and Northern Transvaal, belong to the Nguni group.
- (b) The central and western parts of the Union, especially the Northern Cape, the Free State and Transvaal are inhabited by Bantu whose affinity through their language, history and culture is such that they can be grouped together under the main classification "Sotho". The Basotho of Basutoland and the Eastern Free State, known as South Sotho, the Bantu of Northern Cape, Western Transvaal and Bechuanaland, known as Western Sotho (Tswana), and the majority of the Bantu

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of Central and Northern Transvaal, known as Northern Sotho - with the Pedi of Sekukuniland as best known sub-group - belong to the Sotho group.

(c) Apart from the two main groups, "Nguni" and "Sotho", there are two smaller Ethnic groups, viz. the Venda who live mainly in the Louis Trichardt - Sibasa region; and the Tsonga group which resides in the North Eastern Transvaal.

(d) To gain an idea of the percentage composition of Bantu Ethnic groups of South Africa, the Department made the following estimate based on the 1946 Census:-

Nguni	: 64.04 (Xhosa 31.8, Zulu 27.5, Swazi 2.8, Ndebele 1.94).
Sotho	: 28.50 (S. Sotho 10.1, W. Sotho 8.0, N. Sotho 10.4).
Tsonga	: 3.40.
Venda	: 1.80.
Other	: 2.26.

2. Based on definite advantages that result from Ethnic grouping, the Department has accepted as general policy that Bantu residential areas in urban areas are to be planned on an Ethnic basis.

Local Authorities presently busy with the planning of Bantu residential areas are therefore kindly requested to plan in such manner that provision will be made for the separate grouping of the more important Ethnic groups.

3. Even in existing locations, Ethnic grouping should be applied systematically. The Department fully appreciates that it will not be possible to apply this system immediately in full in locations which are already occupied. It can be done gradually when houses are rebuilt or become vacant and are allotted to Natives belonging to the Ethnic group for which that area in which the house is situate, has been zoned. It is also possible that there may be Natives who would move voluntarily from one Ethnic group to the one to which they belong.

4. There are a number of advantages attached to the Ethnic grouping system of which a few of the more important may be mentioned.

A. EDUCATION.

- (a) Education of Children in the home language will be simplified and improved and the benefit which they will derive from education will be enhanced accordingly.
- (b) Similarly, it will simplify the task of the teacher.
- (c) Schools can be so sited that they are within easy reach of the children of the same Ethnic group.
- (d) It will lead to the development of an intensified community spirit.

B. TRIBAL DISCIPLINE.

- (a) Better contact can be kept with tribal authorities.
- (b) Inhabitants will look up to their leaders who derive their influence from their status in the tribe of the district of origin.
- (c) Such leaders will become known to and will be recognised by Municipal officials, because they will be inclined to maintain discipline and insist upon law and order similar to that in their home environment.

C. BANTU AUTHORITIES.

- (a) It is desired to grant the Bantu in urban areas - as well as the Bantu in Bantu areas - some measure of self-government with a view to replacing the Native Advisory Boards by bodies which will, under supervision of the local authority be responsible for certain executive duties.
- (b) The constitution of such bodies will be based on principles which are understood by the Bantu.

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- (c) Consequently these bodies will function more efficiently under a system whereby Natives whose laws and customs are identical are so grouped that they live together in the same area.
- (d) With such grouping Native courts may be established to deal with matters similar to those disposed of by Chiefs, etc. in the Reserves.
- (e) Such courts can also deal with certain criminal offences without creating ill-feeling, as would be the case should there be similarity or Ethnic affiliation.

D. MUNICIPAL CONTROL.

- (a) This control will be simplified and improved.
- (b) A location superintendent who is fluent in one language can be found easily. Few people are, however, conversant with all the different Native languages.
- (c) Native Clerks, Police, etc. can be selected from the group they are to serve. Consequently there will be the minimum of friction, and such officials will be able to execute their duties more efficiently.
- (d) Municipal control will benefit by the discipline mentioned under B, which advantage will not exist should Ethnic grouping not be applied.

5. A certain measure of anxiety still exists with some local authorities that clashes will occur when the system of Ethnic grouping is applied. The Department is, however, not aware of a single instance where faction fights originated solely because members of the two sides belonged to different Ethnic groups or even tribes. Thorough analysis of the few instances where unrest occurred in the past in certain urban areas showed that the cause could not be attributed to tribal enmity but rather to the absence of discipline which would have been in force had Ethnic grouping been in operation.

6. For the reasons mentioned above this system has for many years been applied on the mines where Natives are housed in compounds in separate Ethnic groups. Had the system led to faction fights, and consequent loss of working hours, the mining industry would, without doubt, never have applied it.

7. It is of course not expected that provision should be made for all the small Ethnic groups in every location. In the case of Daveyton, at Benoni for instance, separate residential areas for the Nguni and Sotho groups are being planned whilst a third area is provided for the other smaller groups. Local authorities must therefore determine which main groups are present in their areas and plan accordingly with a separate area for the smaller groups. Where, as a result of the sizes of sub-groups within the main group, it is practically feasible, separate residential areas should be planned and occupied by such sub-groups.

If, for example, members of the Sotho group form the greater majority in any urban area, that part of the location in which they should reside, should be so planned so as to provide for the residence in separate areas of the Northern-, Western-, and Southern Sotho sub-groups. (It may be mentioned in passing, that it has been found that without exception Natives who squatted unlawfully in peri-urban areas, settled themselves in Ethnic groups and it is therefore apparent that they elected to reside with people of their own group.)

8. The larger local authorities must as far as possible ensure that where more than one residential area is planned within the Native area the Ethnic grouping should be so arranged that identical groups in the different residential areas will remain contiguous. Radial planning will simplify division i.e. different sectors which develop radially away from the axis in such a manner that each sector has its "hinterland". If possible it will be desirable to set aside a whole superintendency or even larger residential area for each group. It must also be borne in mind that provision should be made in each area for sites for schools, recreation grounds, churches, etc. For every 400 residential sites, a site for a school of 10

classrooms should be provided. The above remarks are supplementary to the "Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships" which was issued by the National Housing and Planning Commission.

9. The Department insists that for the housing of single Natives, cottage hostels should in future be provided as they are not only cheaper than multi-storied buildings, but also make Ethnic grouping possible on a basis similar to that applied in mine compounds. This grouping must in future also be applied in hostels.
10. In cases of inter-marriage, it is recommended that the families concerned be given the choice of area in which they wish to reside during their sojourn in the urban area.
11. All local authorities are kindly requested to introduce Ethnic grouping as soon as possible. In this connection it will, of course, be necessary to enlighten the Native Advisory Boards, and in order to ensure their co-operation, the advantages of the system as set out above should be explained to them carefully and tactfully.
12. Any advice required in order to implement the system as soon as possible will be furnished on request by this Department without delay.

W.W.M. EISELEN.

SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

MANAGER'S SECOND REPORT ON ETHNIC GROUPING.

My original report, in which I stressed the apparent difficulties of ethnic grouping, was based on ethnic grouping in its entirety, i.e. on a tribal basis. As it is now the Government's intention that the grouping should be on a language basis the fears previously expressed do not stand out in the same relief, although one must not lose sight of the fact that grouping of Natives in any form has been opposed by the Natives and could quite conceivably lead to difficulties and trouble as they are of the opinion that it will accentuate their tribal difficulties.

I have said previously that from the experience gained by my Department over the past 25 years segregation of the various tribes on a racial or tribal basis is conducive to racial strife and one cannot say to what extent racial antagonism will be reduced or allayed if Natives are grouped not on a tribal basis but according to their language groups.

The Secretary for Native Affairs states in his circular that his Department is not aware of a single instance where faction fights originated solely because members of the two sides belonged to different ethnic groups. The Department's experience does not bear this out. The absence of discipline referred to by the Secretary as the cause of clashes may be the case, but such clashes became, whatever the cause, clashes between rival factions or tribes.

Surveys taken in Orlando some years ago and the Western Areas more recently suggest that, so far as Johannesburg is concerned, the Native population could be divided into three main language groups:-

	<u>Orlando Survey</u>	<u>Western Areas Sample Survey.</u>
Nguni	52%	29%
Sotho	40%	59%
Others (including Venda and Shangaan)	8%	12%

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These two surveys would appear to contradict each other if applied to Johannesburg generally, but I think it can conveniently be taken that a mean average between the two would give a reasonable reflection of the main language grouping of the Johannesburg Native population:-

Nguni	-	40%
Sotho	-	50%
Others	-	10%

In giving these percentages a note of warning must be struck. Included in the Nguni group, so far as Johannesburg is concerned, are Zulu, Xosa and Swazi speaking Natives. In the Sotho group are Northern and Southern Sotho and the Tswana groups, and in the third group, Shangaan (which itself can be divided into at least eight other language sub-groups) and Venda.

All these groups of languages have differing degrees of similarity but in some cases the similarity is not evident at all and a Native of one tribe, even within the relevant group, would not necessarily readily understand a Native from another tribe within the same group.

As an aside it might be mentioned at this juncture that the Native is more in favour of the preservation of the purity of his particular tribal language than the grouping of languages, which would tend to make for a common language within the group.

Notwithstanding the advantages of language grouping as opposed to pure tribal grouping, there are still inherent difficulties in the former from an administrative point of view.

Ignoring Meadowlands for the moment, which has its own peculiar difficulties attendant in its layout, and facing the issue of language grouping in

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the Council's new townships one must bear in mind, in the planning of an area, the necessity for separate amenities, such as schools, clinics, offices, churches, recreation facilities, etc. for each group which could increase the cost of administration. In large new housing schemes the cost would not be so evident as superintendencies or units could be created according to the language group requirements. For instance if 10,000 sites are to be laid out in one area, 5,000 could be ear-marked for the Sotho group with approximately 1,666 sites to a unit. 4,000 to the Nguni group with 2,000 sites to a unit and 1,000 to the third group under one superintendent. It is at once apparent that the superintendencies are not the same size - three are of the normal size in the Sotho group; two are too large in the Nguni group and one is too small in the third group. Parity could be obtained by providing sites to fit the language units but one cannot say, in any way accurately, whether the percentages given as applicable to Johannesburg are correct. Experience alone will be the deciding factor in the absence of further surveys and research.

A further complication which would arise is the extent of intermarriage among the tribes.

... In a recent sample survey taken in the Western Areas the extent of intermarriage, ignoring the foreign Native, varied between 12% and 47% but the revealing feature of the attached Table "A" is the degree of intermarriage within the basic language groups. For instance only 11% of the Southern Sotho married outside their basic group - although it will be noticed that very few Northern Sotho married Southern Sotho stressing, even within the group, the degree of segregation between these two tribes. In the case of the Tswana group only 2% married outside their basic language group. In the case of the Shangaan however, 40% married outside their group.

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In the absence of any other surveys in Johannesburg in this regard, the percentages in Table "A" will have to be accepted merely as a guide to the size of Johannesburg's Native population.

Although the Minister of Native Affairs and the National Housing Commission have said that future Native housing shall be economic, Johannesburg, as a local authority, cannot, in my opinion, ignore the fact that by far the larger proportion of its Native population is sub-economic and cannot afford economic housing. To this extent, therefore, the language groups will, in due course, have to be housed in sub-groups according to their income.

It is stated in the above circular (paragraph 3) that even in existing locations grouping should be applied systematically. Experience alone will tell whether such a system is practical and capable of achievement.

In paragraph 6 of the circular it is stated that the system has been applied on the mines for many years. In my opinion no comparison should be drawn between mine Natives and the ordinary urban Native, because the conditions are quite different, but in any case the number of clashes which have occurred on the mines gives rise to some doubt as to the efficacy of ethnic grouping. Notwithstanding that, however, one must not lose sight of the fact that the Mine Authorities are able to exercise far greater disciplinary control over their "single compounded" employees than a local authority can over its thousands of tenants living under family conditions.

The Secretary for Native Affairs states (paragraph 7) that where, as a result of the sizes of sub-groups within the main group, it is practically feasible, separate residential areas should be planned and occupied by such sub-groups. I think it is apparent therefore that, as far as possible, and within reasonable limits, tribal grouping is to be implemented wherever

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possible. As pointed out in my report No. 16/1954 to the Non-European Affairs Committee this can be fraught with difficulties.

If the Sotho group is to be divided into sub-groups as suggested in paragraph 7 of the circular, the percentages could be taken as follows, although they are far from conclusive in the absence of more detailed statistics -

Northern Sotho	7%)	} = 50%
Southern Sotho	23%)	
Tswana	20%)	

Similarly with the Nguni group -

Zulu	24%)	} = 40%
Xosa	11%)	
Swazi	5%)	

The above percentages are taken from both the Orlando and Western Areas surveys referred to earlier. A more general survey might indicate totally different percentages.

In terms of paragraph 8 of the circular local authorities are to ensure that grouping should be so arranged that identical groups in the different residential areas will remain contiguous. I feel that possibly the City Engineer should report on this particular aspect of planning and I have suggested accordingly to him.

In regard to the housing of single Natives (paragraph 9), there is no objection from this Department's point of view to the provision of cottage hostels, but here again one must stress that the single Natives will be living under similar conditions to that existing on the mines at the moment

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and tribal clashes may occur.

Ethnic grouping has not been practised previously, and I do not know whether the Department of Native Affairs would suggest any buffer zones between the various groups but the City Engineer would presumably want to know the manner in which future townships are to be planned. If extensive buffers are to be provided obviously the land available for houses will be reduced.

At the meeting of the Western Areas Resettlement Committee on the 16th July, 1954, it was suggested, in so far as Meadowlands is concerned, that the Council should seek guidance on ethnic grouping from the Minister of Native Affairs, and notwithstanding the above circular, it might be as well to obtain the Department's attitude on the actual planning of new townships if language grouping is to be adopted by the Council.

All Local Authorities are requested to introduce ethnic grouping as soon as possible and to inform the Native Advisory Boards of the proposals. I would suggest that the Advisory Boards are called together jointly to meet the Non-European Affairs Committee in order that the matter can be put to them, in the light of the changed circumstances as revealed in this latest circular from the Department of Native Affairs.

While accepting the principle of ethnic grouping on a language basis, for the three main groups of South African Bantu, as demanded by the Secretary for Native Affairs, I wish to make it clear that in my opinion the step is an ill-advised one and the possibility of inter-racial animosities and antagonisms will be accentuated, so the responsibility for any disorders which may eventuate in the future must be borne by the Government.

I RECOMMEND:

- (a) That an urgent special meeting of the Non-European Affairs

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