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ANNUAL REPORTS ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION SUBMITTED BY THE ILO AND  
UNESCO IN ACCORDANCE WITH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION 1588 (L) AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
RESOLUTION 2785 (XXVI)

Note by the Secretary-General

Addendum

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the Commission on Human Rights the fifth annual report of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on racial discrimination, submitted in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1588 (L) and General Assembly resolution 2785 (XXVI).

Annual report by UNESCO on racial discrimination, submitted in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1588 (L) and General Assembly resolution 2785 (XXVI)

I. General comments

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy wherever economic, social and cultural inequalities affect group relations. To be sure, few countries today go so far as to base their policies on the principle of racial discrimination, and those which still do so, as in southern Africa, are universally condemned. Although racism is disappearing at the political, legal and legislative levels, it continues to haunt the world as a major social phenomenon, and as such it is especially dangerous. Since it is harder to detect, it is harder to fight.

Not only is racial discrimination a brake on the social and cultural development of those who are subjected to it, but it also perverts those who apply it - to use language adopted by experts in 1967 in a Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice.

Aggravating international tension, it thus constitutes a continuing threat to world peace. Accordingly, there are many reasons why racism deserves the attention of all students of the social sciences, and it is in that context that UNESCO approaches it in the fields of education, science, culture and information.

1. Education is viewed not only as a first-rate means of combating racism but also and increasingly as a catalyst which creates unity and identity, and as a means of protecting peoples subjected to domination and victims of discrimination. Education is assuming increasing importance as an instrument of political and economic power and as an instrument for controlling a people's destiny. What is required, therefore, is education of and for oppressed peoples as well as education of dominant peoples or groups against "racism".

Considered from this viewpoint, education raises many problems. Regardless of the differing circumstances, regardless of the type of colonialism exercised, whether in the past or at present, regardless of the existing form of independence, the problem of a common language of instruction, a common language of one's own, seems to be one of the most important factors for liberation and development, not only because language is the vehicle of identity and to some degree conditions the apprehension of reality, but also because the choice of a language is a political one which has consequences of major importance in the internal and international relations of the groups concerned.

This question, which in all communities where there is linguistic diversity arises at the political level in the broad sense of the term, is reflected in practical terms at all other levels, even in the choice of the system of writing, and in the construction of a basic language for the elimination of illiteracy, and for school and out-of-school education. The limitation of access to schooling to one group, for long facilitated and continues to facilitate the preservation of the supremacy and consequently of the political and socio-economic prerogatives of the dominant group over the dominated groups.

Education is also a means of creating a new society, free from the relationships of domination and subordination and from class and racial segregation. Viewed as one of the most effective ways of strengthening the identity of a people and consequently its means of self-defence, it is also perceived as a basic means of training political, economic and technical cadres - the guarantors of their people's political, social, economic and cultural independence.

Closely linked to the problem of training is that of the content and composition of school textbooks which reflect so readily and often for so long the ethnocentrist traditions of the colonial Power and the views and ambitions of the dominant group. What is required is revision of both the conception and the objectivity of textbooks rather than the production of new anti-racist works in the narrow sense of the term.

Lastly, thought and action should be directed to the methods, structures and whole system of education. What is handed on by education does not depend only on what is taught but also on the ways and means by which it is taught. Thus, an egalitarian, self-disciplining and self-administering educational system would seem to offer an additional opportunity for creating just and balanced social relationships, by definition free from economic and socio-racial forms of discrimination.

2. The exact and natural sciences today unanimously reject racist doctrines and condemn them as devoid of any scientific basis. The experts who met at UNESCO \*/ in September 1967 found that "all men living today belong to the same species and descend from the same stock". They pointed out that "the division of the human species into 'races' is conventional and arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatever". Present biological knowledge does not permit us to impute cultural achievements to differences in genetic potential. All the peoples of the world today possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization.

Racism falsifies our knowledge of human biology. Of course, most human groups evaluate their characteristics in comparison with others. That in itself is not dangerous. The falseness of racist theory lies in its assertion that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining the relations established between the groups concerned.

The racist theory of biological inequality was and continues to be traditionally conceived of in terms of differences in intellectual capacities. This has led many researchers to raise the problem of the interpretation of differences in the intelligence quotient observed in different ethnic groups and different social strata. The differences noted are not in themselves disputed, although I.Q. tests show that the results of some groups, particularly minority groups or under-privileged social classes, sometimes are not as good as those of others. Actually, the problem is whether such results show differences in intellectual capacity due to genetic factors or whether they reveal the preponderant influence of the social

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\*/ Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice - Paris 1967.

and cultural environment - an influence, by the way, which is exerted not only at the level of the use and interpretation of the test but also and above all at the level of the preparation of the test itself and the techniques it employs. What is required is not the pure and simple transfer of analysis methods and material from one milieu to another but the adaptation, and even the creation or discovery of endogenous elements. The problem is similar to that posed by the transfer of science and technology between countries of different levels of development.

3. The cultural problem is thus to a large extent involved in the preceding comments concerning biology and genetics. The question is whether certain cultural structures and forms are linked to genetic heredity or are transmitted by society. The most recent research has confirmed that differences in the achievements of different peoples are to be attributed solely to their cultural history. Whereas physical characteristics seem to be hereditary, culture is acquired. Cultural forms and developments are transmitted not by an agent but by a complex social process. Today, the problem of autonomy and cultural diversity has acquired new urgency. The concept of an homogeneous State in which minority groups are subjected to cultural assimilation to the dominant group is receding, and it is being accepted that cultural differences can exist and even co-exist in a single political entity without jeopardizing its integrity and unity. There is increasing recognition that genuine equality implies the right of minorities to preserve their culture, their language and their traditions. The problem, however, is to avoid erring on the side of exclusivism and on cultural pretexts preventing certain groups from taking advantage of scientific and technological progress or from establishing separate political institutions which would prevent minority or dominated groups from participating in general political life and decisions at the national or international level.

Actually, when racist theory is no longer able to invoke biological or genetic differences, it finds other stratagems for justifying injustice and inequality. Disparities between educational and cultural levels are then very often used to mask continued racist beliefs. Discriminatory practices are then camouflaged as regulations concerning citizenship or immigration. Thus, many of the problems which racism presents in the world today spring not only from its overt manifestations but also from the activities of those who discriminate on racial grounds but are unwilling to acknowledge it. It should not be assumed, however, that racist practices always go hand in hand with open racist theory. The problems facing oppressed minorities and peoples today often take the form of an "institutionalized racism". Moreover, clearly racist criteria of discrimination may be concealed behind non-racist criteria. In other words, when one attempts to eliminate racism by legal methods, great attention must be paid to concealed forms of allegiance to it which are often of a cultural nature.

4. The information media, as a sociological phenomenon, have been the subject of recent studies. Nowadays, it seems no longer sufficient to be concerned solely about the stereotypes and the pejorative images and prejudices conveyed by the mass media, since even without these the press and the audiovisual media can still help to strengthen racist attitudes. The context and the manner in which apparently neutral events are presented make it essential for minority or dominated groups to have access to public information media, and to share in their supervision and management at every level. It is necessary to study the way in which information media operate and are controlled in modern societies, how their staff are selected, the degree of sophistication of the information they spread concerning minority groups and the criteria governing the choice of information and news to be disseminated.

Information would seem to be vital, however, to a people struggling for its independence. The ignorance in the world about the motives and the course of such a struggle is a frequent characteristic of interethnic racist relations. Information seems all the more essential for dominated peoples in that it conforms to economic and political interests that constitute further obstacles to the dissemination of known facts and cause them to be disregarded.

Here again, language plays a not unimportant part. Information has difficulty in crossing the barriers of a language, which in certain cases also marks the limits of interests and of spheres of influence.

When information is disseminated and not completely blocked, it is often incompletely presented and it may then be denounced as racist since it is the facts that are favourable to the dominant groups that will be emphasized with a view to mobilizing public opinion and enlisting its support. One can speak of the "racist filtering" of information. The press has often been considered racist, as much because of the ever present possibility of filtering as because of the limitations which, in the final analysis, its sources of financing and its technology impose on it. Public information is in fact dependent on its economic substratum. The reliability of information is also limited at the level of those who are responsible for disseminating it. Being part of a racist structure, they sometimes unconsciously transmit racist ways of thinking. Then too the sensationalist approach and the presentation of certain events in a way to catch the public eye may have effects which are just the opposite of what are very clearly non-racist intentions. The problem for those working in an information agency is not only to avoid unnecessary references to race and the use of derogatory stereotypes, but also to prevent the ideology underlying a television programme or a magazine article from being implicitly racist. That is why it is necessary not only to allow dominated minorities or groups to take part in the management and supervision of the information media and then not merely in questions of direct concern to them, but also to intensify research on the forms that racism assumes to insinuate itself into the field of information.

Although the information media are increasingly important for the spread of knowledge and understanding, their potential is not yet fully known. Continuous research on the social utilization of these media is needed to assess their impact on the development of attitudes and behaviour with regard to race prejudice and racial discrimination. The very fact that they can reach a vast public at extremely varied social and educational levels means that they can play a decisive role in strengthening or eliminating prejudice and its consequences through the amplifier or reinforcement effect that they produce.

## II. Current activities

Apart from the Convention against Discrimination in Education adopted on 14 December 1960, which is the subject of periodic reports and of the Recommendation of the same title, the General Conference, on 19 November 1974 at its eighteenth session, adopted a Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which lays stress on the struggle against discrimination in all its forms and in particular against racism as one of the principal problems facing mankind.

(a) The exact and natural sciences

The Recommendation on the Status of Scientific Researchers adopted by the General Conference on 20 November 1974 at its eighteenth session also draws attention to the need for eliminating racism as a form of discrimination in the spheres of training and of career opportunities.

(b) The social sciences

In the context of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, a committee of government experts will be meeting in January 1976 to prepare a draft declaration on race and racial prejudice for submission to the General Conference at its nineteenth session.

In co-operation with the National Commissions of Australia, the Netherlands, Peru, the USSR and Zambia, the Secretariat is making a comparative study to analyse and evaluate the results obtained in the last ten years in the use of education and information to combat racism and racial discrimination.

In addition to the publication Race, Science and Society, which appeared in 1974, the following are soon to be published:

Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa - Part II - Rhodesia

Race, Status and Power in a Rhodesian Town by Mary Aquira Weinrich,

Rhodesian Policy: its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information.

(c) Culture

In the context of the ten-year plan for the systematic study of oral tradition and the promotion of African languages as vehicles of culture and instruments of life-long education, the UNESCO Secretariat is planning to set up a regional centre at Lusaka which would also serve recently liberated countries such as Mozambique and Angola.

A meeting on the historiography of southern Africa is to be held in August 1976 at the University of Botswana. This will make it possible for southern Africa to associate itself fully with the work of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a "General History of Africa" and thus help to bring the researchers in that region out of their isolation.

This programme is supplemented by the plan to promote indigenous cultures in Latin America, which was adopted by the General Conference at its seventeenth session.

(d) Information

At its eighteenth session, the General Conference requested the Director-General to convene an intergovernmental committee of experts to prepare a draft declaration on the fundamental principles governing the use of the mass information media for strengthening peace and international understanding and combating war propaganda, racism and apartheid. This meeting took place in December 1975, when a preliminary draft text prepared at an expert meeting at headquarters in March 1974 was considered together with the amendments thereto proposed at the eighteenth session of the Conference.

The new draft is to be submitted to the General Conference at its nineteenth session.

The UNESCO Features, the UNESCO Chronicle and the Courier have devoted some of their articles to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination and to UNESCO's activities in that field.

### III. South Africa - Background

The major part of this report will deal with UNESCO's particular concerns: education, science, culture and information. Nevertheless, it is important to put these briefly in the social context of the Republic.

1973-1975 saw no substantial changes in the structure of the apartheid state. Political power remained vested in the all-white South African Parliament. The Government of the Republic continued with its Bantustan policy. Under this policy the "Homelands" would be given "Independence" as "nations" rather than forming part of an all over South African government. These "Homelands" were tribally divided, their areas were mainly territories separated by "white" land and largely unconsolidated even for a single Homeland. Some idea of the problem is seen from the recommendations for Kwa Zulu of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs. The effect of the plan would be to consolidate 44 scattered Reserves and 144 "black spots" into 10 areas. However, the important industrial area Richards Bay was to remain a white area, with a small reserve to its south being kept for Africans who would work at the white industrial complex. Even this partial "consolidation" would entail the mass removal of about 132,000 Africans. The "consolidation" would nevertheless not mean a single territory for Kwa Zulu, would not confer mining rights on the "Homeland Government" and Kwa Zulu would not be economically viable.

However, the Government of the Republic intends to proceed with the "Independence" of the Transkei. This "Independence" is widely expected to be proclaimed in the near future.

The allocation of land remained that of the Bantu Trust and the Act of 1936. This Act supplemented the Natives Land Act of 1913. Some idea of the discriminatory nature of land allocation is illustrated by the density per square mile. It is at present as follows:

<u>Homeland</u>	<u>Density of Population</u>
Transkei.....	122
Ciskei .....	148
Kwa Zulu .....	173
Lebows .....	127
Venda .....	113
Gazankulu .....	104
Bophutha Tswana .....	61
Basotho Qwagwa .....	136
Swazi .....	144

(Figures taken from A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1972, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1973 - p. 168).

The Government's policy is that eventually Africans will become "citizens" of one or other of the Homelands, and likely to return there.

The de jure population then becomes:

<u>Homeland</u>	<u>Density of Population</u> (per square mile)
Transkei .....	212
Ciskei .....	261
Kwa Zulu .....	332
Lebows .....	236
Venda .....	153
Gazankulu .....	252
Bophutha Tswana .....	114
Basotho Qwaqwa .....	7 085
Swazi .....	562

(Figures taken from A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. Op. Cit. p. 168).

The average density of the population in the rest of the Republic, including the Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Africans living there was 35 per square mile.

#### Removal Schemes

Removals from "black spots", i.e. land formerly acquired by Africans outside of the scheduled areas and surrounded by "white" land continues. Africans on these lands are "resettled" in the "Homelands". The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs stated that from 1948 to August 1974, 185 568 Africans from "black spots" had been "resettled" in the Homelands. (House of Assembly Debates 1974, Col. 51). In 1973 alone 10 314 persons or 1 559 families had been removed (House of Assembly Debates, 1974, Col. 270). In 1974, the Pedi "Tribesmen" and others who had settled at Doornkoop, near Middleburg, were forced to move. The Pedi had bought the Doornkoop farm in 1905, it was declared a "black spot" in 1964. Against their wishes they were removed. The new "resettlement" areas had little arable land. The Pedi had before this cultivated maize and vegetables. In February 1975, a spokesman of the Secretary for Bantu Affairs said that the removal of Tswana tribesmen from the land near Taung, Northern Cape, would be carried out by force if necessary (Cape Times, 19 February 1975).

One of the problems of "resettlement", beside the mass removal of people and their belongings, is the fact that the "Homelands" are already overcrowded and there is no employment available.

As far as land allocation for Africans is concerned therefore, the structure of apartheid remains.

#### Wages

In February 1974, the Minister of Statistics gave the following information:

"This Government has been in power for 26 years and in these 26 years, from 1948 to 1973, the consumer index in South Africa has risen by 147 per cent. As against this, the average wage of the white worker



in South Africa has risen by 415.6 per cent in this time. The average wage of the non-white has risen by 366.5 per cent over these 26 years. Now one still has to discount and offset the price increases in these years. When this is done, one finds that the true increase, the increase in the buying power of the average white worker's wages in these 26 years has been 108.6 per cent and 88.8 per cent in the case of the non-whites.

Now, let us look at the latest three years, 1970 to 1973. In these years the consumer price index rose by 23.7 per cent. The average wage of the white worker in this country rose by 28.7 per cent. The average wage of the non-white rose by 45.8 per cent in these three years."

(Hansard Cols. 416-417, here quoted from A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1974, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1975, p. 235).

Mr. Langeschmidt, Managing Director of Market Research Africa was reported as saying: "The wage gap between White and Black has not closed significantly, although it might be closing fractionally in the metropolitan areas ... There is no chance of bluffing ourselves... Africans cannot buy food with percentages. They need hard cash." He illustrated his point with the following table:

	<u>Claimed Monthly Household Income</u>		<u>Percentage Increase:</u>	<u>Increase in Rand per Month:</u>
	1962	1973		
White	R. 258	R. 519	101	R. 261
Indian	91	195	114	104
Coloured	60	143	138	83
African	25	55	120	30

(Quoted from A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1974 published by The South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1975. p. 237).

The same A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa reported that a survey conducted by Quadrant International S.A. (Pty) Ltd. in 1973 indicated that the per capita earnings of Africans in Soweto amounted to R16.70 per month or about seven times less than the White Johannesburg earnings of R114 per month. Moreover, the Soweto per capita earnings figure was double that of the rural African which was R7.60 per month. "It was not surprising, therefore, that by far the most prominent factor in the list of Soweto residents gave of problems facing their families was not enough money."

Average wages at the end of 1973 (in Rands):

	Africans	Coloureds	Asians	Whites
Clothing	69	80	78	378
Textiles	54	90	103	401
Food	65	82	120	355
Tobacco	86	79	-	359
Wood and cork	54	82	122	329
Furniture	75	134	142	373

	Africans	Coloureds	Asians	Whites
Paper and products	89	113	142	408
Printing	98	142	156	356
Leather and products	67	92	107	346
Chemicals and products	74	114	151	404
Rubber products	83	126	127	361
Non-metallic mineral products	63	111	148	390
Basic metal	73	145	157	396
Machinery	80	124	180	397
Metal products	75	137	111	405
Electrical machinery	85	122	125	367
Transport equipment	86	133	153	380
Electricity	80	105	-	415
Gold mines (cash wage only)	21	108	102	396
Coal mines (cash wage only)	21	58	97	421
Construction	71	138	194	408
Banks	88	106	142	314
Building societies	76	117	165	302
Insurance companies	90	124	227	340
Wholesale	63	95	132	335
Retail	52	77	104	179
Motor	63	98	137	298
Licensed accommodation (hotels, etc.)	38	61	88	193
Central government (excluding "homeland" governments)	59	163	232	336
Provincial administration	46	75	122	320
Local authorities	54	107	88	331
Railways, harbours, airways	54	72	55	320

Quoted from A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1973. Published by the South African Institute of Race Relations 1974, Johannesburg. pp. 224-8 and p. 234.

Average weekly wages of Africans in "decentralized areas", i.e. "border industries" (in Rands):

Brits	9	Pietersburg	6
Berlin	10	Potietersrus	6.5
Kimberley	8-9	Rustenburg	8
Ladysmith	8	Richards Bay	9
Newcastle	9	King Williams Town	8
Phalaborwa	8	Babelegi	7
Butterworth	7	Isitheke	7
Umtata	7		

Wage rates differ between all the racial groups, the greatest gap being between Africans and whites.

The difference is greatest in gold and coal mining (even after counting rations and accommodations, which are not included in the present figures).

Apart from mining the difference is remarkable in "decentralized" areas (cf. the stated government policy of encouraging industry in "border" or "decentralized" areas as part of its apartheid policy).

During the scandal which broke out in 1973 regarding wages paid by foreign firms operating in South Africa, much was said about the Poverty Datum Line (PDL). This is generally understood to include only the minimum necessary to maintain physical life (mainly food, clothing, rent, transport, light), and not such items as education, which are included in another criterion - the Minimum Effective Level (MEL) - considered to be the line above which, and only above which, a family can be sustained.

Either line is difficult to calculate because of the growing cost of living. This has hit most consumer products, but food and housing have been rising faster than other items, and particularly affect the least well off.

The following is quoted from a Roneoed document prepared by the University of Cape Town entitled "An Updated Memorandum presenting Information on Black Wages and Poverty in the Cape Town Area".

"In real terms the Poverty Datum Line is hardly a human standard of living. It has been said to be more remarkable for what it excludes than what it includes. No allowance is made for long-term needs as well as many important short-term ones. To mention only some items, it excludes:

1. Furniture and other hire purchase items.
2. Household goods such as crockery, linen, pots and pans.
3. Chemist's and dentist's bills and transport costs to health clinics.
4. Stationery, reading matter and postage costs.

5. Sweets, tobacco, liquor and entertainment.
6. Communication expenses (telephone).
7. Savings and insurance.
8. Money sent to dependent relatives (a major reason for seeking work in the first place).

The above represent items without which it is difficult to subsist. Moreover, in a population group that suffers from the debilitating effects of disease, the minimum budget for health is too low.

The PDL and the MEL are slightly lower in rural areas. The PDL has been calculated at R.60-96 and the MEL at R.75-140 for an average household of five persons. It is obvious from the table of average wages at the end of 1973 (see page 9) that many African, and some Coloured and Asian heads of families are being paid less than the PDL and certainly less than the MEL. Hence there is not only wage discrimination, but some of the wages paid are less than the minimum needed to sustain life.

Because of the low level at which African wages start and the rising cost of living, increases in salary registered between 1973 and 1975 only marginally change the picture.

South Africa continually claims that "its" Africans are better off than Africans in other parts of the continent. There are some indications however that even in the restricted area of average incomes this may not be the case.

The Rand Daily Mail of 15 February 1975, quoted Professor Jan. Stellenbosch as calculating that in 1970 the average per capita income of Africans in the Republic was the thirteenth highest in Africa. Moreover, while the all over average income for Africans in the Republic in 1970 was R.135, in the "homelands" it was R.72.

#### Africans in white areas

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration was reported as saying that 9 000 000 Africans now live in white areas (Cape Times, 17 January, 1975). This represents approximately 50 per cent of the Africans in the Republic.

#### White urban areas: Africans

According to the reports of the Commissioner of the South African Police, the following is the breakdown for people sent to trial for pass law offences:

1969-1970 .....	643 897	26.8%	(% of all cases)
1970-1971 .....	615 075	24.3%	"
1971-1972 .....	615 825 <u>1/</u>	31.8%	"
1972-1973 .....	515 608 <u>1/</u>	24.2%	"

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1/ These numbers include breaking curfew regulations, i.e. being in white areas after the proscribed time, while the figures for 1969-1970 and 1970-1971 do not include curfew cases.

It would seem therefore that there is a marginal decrease in the number of Africans tried under the pass laws. The pass laws - as apart from infringement of these laws - remain in force. Approximately a quarter of the cases concerning Africans heard in court concerned pass law regulations or breaking the curfew regulations.

The figure for pass law offences from 1948 to 1973 was calculated as approximately 10 500 000 Africans. The Rand Daily Mail (February 1975) in its report stated "it exceeds the total number of Africans over the age of 14 in 1973 and is roughly equal to the present number of Africans over 16 - the age at which all Africans, men and women, have to carry reference books".

In 1971 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration announced that the Government intended to establish "aid centres" in order to "legalize" the position of some of the pass law offenders who otherwise would be sent to gaol. In 1972 the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act provided that Africans would be "referred" to rather than "admitted" to aid centres. Centres would also no longer be run in conjunction with the labour bureaux. The powers of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or the Officer managing the "aid centres" remained the same. He could recommend in the case of any African "referred" to the centre that criminal proceedings should not proceed, that the Africans be placed in employment, could issue the requisite documents, or could grant permission for the repatriation of the Africans concerned to their home, last place of residence or any other place.

In 1972, according to the Minister of Bantu Administration, 93 067 Africans were referred to aid centres, of which 17 867 were not subsequently prosecuted. Beside these, the Deputy Minister reported that 9 539 Africans had reported voluntarily to aid centres, making a total of 102 606 handled by those centres. Of these 39 984 were referred to the courts of law. Employment in towns had been found for only 889.

In 1973 the Minister of Bantu Administration gave the number "referred" to aid centres as 139 980. The centres helped 1 628 Africans to get employment. The bulk of them however were sent to the "Homelands" - 92 886.

In 1974, of the 170 685 sent to aid centres, 130 620 had their cases withdrawn from courts, and of those not withdrawn 40 000 had been given prison sentences. The number of those who had their cases withdrawn but who were then "repatriated" to "Homelands" was not given (Rand Daily Mail, 6 February 1975).

In addition to the arrest of Africans found without passes are surprise police raids on African areas. In 1974 one dawn raid near to Belville resulted in the burning of African shacks including in some cases the loss of all possessions and the arrest of 108 people. 33 of the squatters who had lost all their possessions lodged claims for damages against the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (Cape Times, 9 January 1975, Cape Times, 20 March 1975, Cape Times, 26 March 1975).

Theoretically, in terms of the Bantu Labour Act of 1964, Africans "endorsed out" of the urban areas could appeal to the Bantu Commission provided that this appeal was launched within seven days.

However a member of the Black Sash claimed that in Johannesburg "we have several cases on our records where the appeal was lodged within the stipulated time, but nevertheless not considered on the grounds that it has not been made in time". (Rand Daily Mail, 7 February 1975).

The pass laws are part of the massive system of migrant labour. This produces the cheap vulnerable force on which the present South Africa economy depends. One by-product of this is the separation of families, the all male hostels - and the pass laws. None of these have changed.

The Group Areas Act also remains fully in force. Under this act, the Minister of Community Development declared in the House of Assembly that by 1973 the following numbers of families had become disqualified to remain in their previous homes :

"Coloureds"	73 758
Indians	38 678
Chinese	1 233
Whites	1 648

Of these the following numbers of families had been resettled by the end of 1973 :

"Coloureds"	49 145
Indians	29 230
Chinese	71
Whites	1 549

(House of Assembly Debates, 1974, col. 104).

While the basic structure of apartheid remains, "petty apartheid" has in some areas been relaxed. The Nico Malan Theatre is now open to all races, the Colosseum in Johannesburg, the Play House in Durban, and the Three Arts in Cape Town was open to "Coloureds" and Indians on the occasion of the tour of Lovelace Watkins, the Black American entertainer. The SABC awards were open to Blacks for the first time. In December 1973, the Pieter Maritzburg City Council decided to remove signs reserving benches in municipal gardens for persons of different racial groups. The Durban City Council has decided to abolish racial discrimination in queues at rates and licensing offices and in the use of benches in public parks. In some cities, particularly in the Cape, discriminatory signs exist only where these were required by law.

The Prime Minister, however, has indicated that a number of facilities are subject to permit control in terms of the Group Areas Act. These were, for example, the use of restaurants, swimming baths and public vehicles. The provision of separate amenities for the various groups wherever this was practicable or desirable, prevented friction (House of Assembly Debates, 1974, Question cols.24.6).

In concluding this introduction: "petty apartheid" i.e. discrimination in some areas of public life as, for example, parks, some hotels, some theatres, would seem to be easing considerably. Apartheid, on the other hand, i.e. the massive structure on which discrimination in the major cases of land acquisition, the economy, freedom of movement, housing areas, representation at the Central Parliament and in Provincial Councils, etc. remains fully in force.

The rest of this report represents an updating of the UNESCO Report on Apartheid: Its effects on education, science, culture and information, second edition, Paris, 1972. Only those areas in which there are substantial changes have therefore been dealt with. This report should therefore be read in conjunction with the original study.

South Africa Education

Expenditure - The per capita expenditure in education in 1972-73 and 1973-74 according to racial group was the following:

	<u>1972-73</u>	<u>1973-74</u>
<u>Africans in</u> "White" areas	R 22.51	R 28.56
<u>Whites:</u>		
Transvaal	R 343	R 387
Cape	R 470	R 496
Natal	R 531	R 557
Free State	R 476	R 495
<u>Coloureds:</u>		
Primary Classes	R 91.21	
Secondary Classes	R124.52	
<u>Indians:</u>		
Primary Classes	R112.09	R121.22
Secondary Classes	R145.55	R183.49

State Expenditure on Africa Education excluding  
University Education 1972-73 and 1973-74

	<u>1972-73</u> R	<u>1973-74</u> R
Current expenditure		
Department of Bantu Education	27 626 826	35 125 845
Homelands	43 223 579	53 557 458
Capital works		
Department of Bantu Education	137 725	212 073
Homelands and S.A. Bantu Trust	3 337 768	4 108 252
	<u>74 325 898</u>	<u>93 003 628</u>

In spite of increased expenditure, there was a crucial shortage of funds available for African education. Several voluntary collection schemes were expanded during 1974-75 including TEACH, LEARN, and the use of funds from the Bantu Welfare Trust.



In an article in "the Star": (13 May 1974), Frans E. Auerbach calculated the numbers and percentages of persons aged 15 years and over in the Republic of South Africa who had received no schooling at all. He based his figures on the 1960 and 1970 census.

	Total over 15 years	1960	
		Over 15 years with no schooling	Percentage over 15 years with no schooling
Whites	2 082 000	40 400	1.9%
Coloureds	827 000	276 300	38.0%
Asians	264 000	75 900	28.7%
Africans	6 393 000	3 993 100	62.5%
Total	<u>9 566 000</u>	<u>4 385 700</u>	<u>45.9%</u>
		1970	
Whites	2 576 000	23 300	0.9%
Coloureds	1 102 000	259 700	25.6%
Asians	369 000	61 600	16.7%
Africans	8 629 000	4 469 700	51.8%
	<u>12 676 000</u>	<u>4 814 300</u>	<u>38.0%</u>

The percentages of adults in all groups decreased over the ten-year period. However, while in the case of Whites, Coloureds and Asians there was also a decrease in actual numbers, in the case of Africans there was an increase of 476,600.

This is not however the whole story. Africans who had attended school were more likely than other population groups, to have left school before becoming literate even in their "mother tongue". (See "Apartheid: its effects on education, science, culture and information", UNESCO 1972, p. 60).

The drop out rate can be illustrated by the following figures:

Of the pupils who started School in 1973

Pupils starting Sub A	687 990
Continuing through to Sub B	551 095
Continuing through to Std 1	519 547

Of the pupils who started School in 1972:

Pupils starting Sub A	676 317
Continuing through to Sub B	536 818
Continuing through to Std.1	503 396
Continuing through to Std.2	404 711

Of the pupils who started School in 1971:

Pupils starting Sub A	645 285
Continuing through to Sub B	511 224
Continuing through to Std.1	475 848
Continuing through to Std.2	383 026
Continuing through to Std.3	343 301

Drop outs at primary school level does not apply to white children in the Republic since primary education for Whites is compulsory. Potential drop outs therefore are kept at school.

The enrolment of African pupils according to Standard in 1973 was:  
(Bantu Educational Journal, Vol.XX, No.3, April 1974)

Primary	White areas	Homelands	Combined Total
Sub A	285 739	443 033	728 772
Sub B	217 847	333 248	551 095
Std 1	193 736	309 660	503 396
Std 2	144 910	238 116	383 026
Sub Total Lower Primary	842 232	1 324 057	2 166 289
Std 3	118 044	202 562	320 606
Std 4	91 316	151 184	242 500
Std 5	74 201	120 384	194 585
Std 6	69 325	112 130	181 455
Sub Total Higher Primary	352 886	586 260	939 146
Total Primary	1 195 118	1 910 317	3 105 435
Secondary			
Form I	24 058	46 653	70 711
Form II	18 403	37 695	56 098
Form III	12 324	24 851	37 175
Form IV	3 185	8 159	11 344
Form V	1 663	4 073	5 736
Total Secondary	59 633	121 431	181 064

The combined Total of Students was: 1,254,751 in the "White" areas, 2,031,748 in the "Homelands" and 3,286,499 in the entire Republic.

The educational pyramid is demonstrated by the percentage of the total in each class.

<u>Forms</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Sub A	22.17
Sub B	16.77
Std 1	15.32
Std 2	11.65
<hr/>	
Sub-Total	65.91
<hr/>	
Std 3	9.76
Std 4	7.38
Std 5	5.92
Std 6	5.52
<hr/>	
Sub-Total	28.58
<hr/>	
Total Primary	94.49
<hr/>	
Form I	2.15
Form II	1.71
Form III	1.13
Form IV	0.35
Form V	0.17
<hr/>	
Total Secondary	5.51

The enrolment of African Students according to Standard in 1974 was:  
(Bantu Education Journal, Vol.XXI, No.4, May 1975)

Primary	White areas	Homelands	Combined Total
Sub A	293 636	467 199	760 835
Sub B	224 792	352 481	577 273
Std 1	196 919	322 628	519 547
Std 2	151 021	253 690	404 711
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Sub-Total Primary	866 368	1 395 998	2 262 366

	White areas	Homelands	Combined Total
Std 3	126 055	217 246	343 301
Std 4	96 584	163 360	259 944
Std 5	78 732	131 972	210 704
Std 6	74 410	126 017	200 427
Sub-Total Higher Primary	375 781	638 595	1 014 376
Total Primary	1 242 149	2 034 593	3 276 742
Secondary			
Form I	28 596	53 755	82 351
Form II	21 086	42 356	63 442
Form III	14 396	28 192	42 588
Form IV	4 005	10 401	14 406
Form V	2 041	4 691	6 732
Total Secondary	70 124	139 395	209 519

In 1974, there were 3,486,261 African pupils of which 1,312,275 were in the "White" areas and 2,173,988 in the "Homelands".

The percentage in each form was:

<u>Forms</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Sub A	21.82
Sub B	16.56
Std 1	14.90
Std 2	11.61
Sub-Total Lower Primary	64.89
Std 3	9.85
Std 4	7.46
Std 5	6.04
Std 6	5.75
Sub-Total Higher Primary	29.10
Total Primary	93.99

<u>Forms</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
<u>Secondary</u>	
Form I	2.36
Form II	1.82
Form III	1.22
Form IV	0.41
Form V	0.19
<u>Total Secondary</u>	<u>6.00</u>

It is interesting to compare the percentages between the wealthy white areas and the poorer "Homelands". One would expect that, given the higher per capita income in "white" areas that the pyramid would differ.

The following are the percentage for 1974 calculated on the figures quoted earlier.

Standard	White Areas %	Homelands %
<u>Primary</u>		
Sub A	23.38	21.49
Sub B	17.13	16.21
Std 1	15.00	14.84
Std 2	11.51	11.67
Sub-Total Lower Primary	66.02	64.21
Std 3	9.60	9.99
Std 4	7.36	7.51
Std 5	6.00	6.07
Std 6	5.67	5.80
Sub-Total Higher Primary	28.63	29.37
Total Primary	94.65	93.58
<u>Secondary</u>		
Form I	2.18	2.47
Form II	1.60	1.95
Form III	1.10	1.30
Form IV	0.31	0.48
Form V	0.15	0.21
Total Secondary	5.34	6.41

There is therefore a slightly higher percentage of the total African pupils in Secondary Schools in the Homelands than in the White areas - contrary to what would be expected.

It could be argued that the high percentage of African Students in lower grades and particularly in lower primary was due to a recent rapid expansion of primary intake. We therefore referred back to the UNESCO Report on Apartheid: its effects on education, science, culture and information (Paris, 1972) p. 70, Figures as in 1969:

<u>Standard</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Primary	
Sub A	24.48
Sub B	18.04
Std 1	15.56
Std 2	11.69
<hr/>	
Sub-Total Lower Primary	69.77
<hr/>	
Std 3	9.18
Std 4	6.58
Std 5	5.15
Std 6	4.69
<hr/>	
Sub-Total Higher Primary	25.60
<hr/>	
Total Primary	95.34
<hr/>	
Secondary	
Form I	1.65
Form II	1.36
Form III	0.90
Form IV	0.18
Form V	0.11
<hr/>	
Total Secondary	4.20
<hr/>	

The pyramid then remains the same, although the percentage in secondary schools is marginally better in 1974 than it was in 1973. The percentage in secondary school is also higher (6 per cent) than it was when the UNESCO Report was compiled (4.2 per cent). The per cent in Form V increases over the 10 year period 1963-73 from 0.059 to 0.11. The relatively small difference however would not seem to indicate a temporary rapid increase in primary schooling, but rather that a disproportionately large number of African pupils are not proceeding to secondary schools. We therefore turn to school provision.

SCHOOLS AND SECTIONS OF SCHOOLS, 1973 (Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XX, no. 2, March 1974)

SCHOOL OR SECTION OF SCHOOL	REGIONS										HOMELANDS					TOTAL
	Transvaal	O.F.S.	Natal	Cape	Ciskei	Bophutha-tswana	Basotho-Qwaqwa	Lebowa	Cazankulu	Venda	Kwa-Zulu	Transkei	REPUBLIC LIC			
Lower Primary	756	410	468	368	144	164	6	260	47	115	493	294	3 525			
Higher Primary	210	16	35	70	25	76	-	70	19	38	74	4	637			
Primary	793	1 106	388	518	384	410	18	435	167	122	834	1 423	6 596			
Junior Secondary	39	9	20	16	35	48	5	53	10	12	72	46	365			
Secondary	22	6	9	6	10	24	4	18	4	6	17	38	164			

The preponderance of Lower Primary Schools and the relatively small number of Secondary Schools should be noted. This suggests that the small percentage of pupils going on to Secondary Schools is in part due to the lack of schools at secondary school level.

Control of School Buildings

The control of African School buildings in March 1973 was as follows:

Control	Number of Schools	
	<u>"White" areas</u>	<u>"Homelands"</u>
Government or territorial	103	1 849
Community	1 259	3 934
Farm	3 579	-
Mine	85	3
Factory	20	-
Hospital	32	18
Scheduled	26	7
Special	-	13
<hr/> Sub-Total	<hr/> 5 104	<hr/> 5 824
Roman Catholic	153	229
Other Churches and private	9	11
Night schools and continuation classes	71	26
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 5 337	<hr/> 6 090

The number of farm schools should be noted: 3,579. The Standard of educational provision in Farm schools is indicated by the number of teachers. In the 3,579 schools there were 6,426 teachers in 1973 (Bantu Education Journal, Vol.44, no. 4, May 1974).

In the cases of schools controlled by "Mines" there were 85 schools in "White" areas and 3 in "Homelands", making a total of 88. There were at the same time 327 teachers. "Factories" had 20 schools and 65 teachers.

The number of teachers according to Control of school in 1973 was:

Government or territorial	10 229
Community	38 625
Farm	6 426
Mine	327
Factory	65
Hospital	66
Scheduled	108
Special Schools	198
<hr/> Sub-Total	<hr/> 56 044
Roman Catholic	1 724
Other Churches and Private	134
Night Schools and Continuation Classes	417
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 58 319



### Medium of instruction

Problems continue over the medium of instruction. Theoretically the medium of instruction in African schools is the "mother tongue". Mother tongue instruction was supposed to replace English and Afrikaans up to and including standard 8. English or Afrikaans would be taught as a foreign language. English and Afrikaans are the two official languages in the Republic. The lack of knowledge of one of these seriously hinders an African who works or lives outside of the Homelands. In 1963 however the Transkeian Government decided that from standard 4 an official language should gradually be substituted for the mother tongue. Although the officials of the schools concerned could choose between Afrikaans and English, in practice most schools chose English. In 1973 KwaZulu decided that English should be introduced from standard 3. In Lebowa, Bophutha-Tswana and Gazankulu, similar measures were being considered.

Even in "white" areas of the Republic teaching throughout the Primary course in the mother tongue had failed. As from 1975, English and/or Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis will take place from standard 5. The problem of the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is a complex one. It underlines the power of English and increasingly Afrikaans in the world of national politics, national culture - including literature - and above all commerce.

### Textbook provision

Textbook provision in the "Homelands" vary. Each "Homeland" decides its own policy in line with priorities and the availability of finance.

Where education is controlled by the Central Government, newly established schools receive an initial free allocation of one reader per pupil in English, Afrikaans and one African language. After that, one new book in each language is provided annually for every three pupils in the sub-standards and one for every four students from standard 1 to standard 6.

In 1974, the Department of Bantu Education decided to provide within a three year period free textbooks to all pupils from standard 1 to form V. Prescribed books and free stationery were not however to be included. There has been therefore some attempt made at providing textbooks. Provision of textbooks however, is still relatively small and certainly inadequate. It must be underlined that neither school equipment nor textbook provision are in any way equivalent to the provision made for white pupils.

The provision of books for libraries in African schools continues to be seriously inadequate. For 1973-1974 the Government expenditure was R. 173,671. (See A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1974, op cit., p. 347).

Technical training.

The following were the number of African pupils in post-primary technical schools in 1973, according to region (Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XX, No. 5, June 1974).

COURSE	REGIONS					HOMELANDS							TOTAL	
	Transvaal	O.F.S.	Natal	Cape	Ciskei	Bophutha-tswana	Basotho-qwaqwa	Lebowa	Cezankulu	Venda	KwaZulu	Transkei		
Technical Secondary Course														
First year	78	-	-	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	-	162	
Second year	70	-	-	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	-	136	
Third year	67	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	94	
Fourth year	55	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	-	128	
Fifth year	18	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	31	
Total	288	-	-	128	-	-	-	-	-	-	135	-	551	
Advanced Technical Training														
First year	111	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	-	173	
Second year	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	51	
Third year	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	
Fourth year	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	
Total	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	-	269	
Trade Training (Boys)														
First year	141	-	-	-	123	170	41	202	110	130	546	192	1 655	
Second year	103	-	-	-	83	126	8	199	58	98	359	158	1 192	
Third year	71	-	-	-	-	13	-	72	7	35	74	26	298	
Fourth year	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	35	-	63	
Fifth year	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	19	
Total	315	-	-	-	206	309	49	521	175	263	1 013	376	3 227	
Vocational Training (Girls)	45	-	105	-	58	162	69	56	11	11	104	155	776	

Technical secondary courses exist in fact in only three areas: Transvaal and the Cape, in the "White" areas of the Republic and in KwaZulu. Advanced technical training takes place in the Transvaal with 200 pupils and in KwaZulu with 69 pupils, 62 of which are the first year's intake.

Trade training for boys is more widely dispersed, but in the White areas trade training is concentrated in the Transvaal, while nearly one third of the pupils are in KwaZulu.

Enrolment in trade, technical and vocational schools in 1973  
(Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XX, No. 8, October 1974) was as follows:

Advanced Technical courses:

<u>Course</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>
1. Engineering Technicians .....	58
2. Health Inspectors .....	53
3. Health Assistants .....	34
4. Surveying Technicians .....	36
5. Geological Technicians .....	21
6. Public Health Nurses .....	24
7. Water Purification and Sewage Plant Operators .....	20
8. Medical Technologists .....	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>269</b>

Technical Secondary courses:

<u>Course</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>			
	Cape	Transvaal	KwaZulu	TOTAL
1. Building Construction .....	26	38	-	64
2. Electricians .....	-	14	-	14
3. Machine Drawing .....	-	24	-	24
4. Motor Mechanics .....	6	15	-	21
5. Woodwork .....	42	46	29	117
6. Building Drawing .....	-	21	-	21
7. General Mechanics .....	36	102	38	176
8. Applied Mechanics .....	18	28	68	114
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>551</b>

Trade Training: Boys

<u>Course</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>		
	Regions	Homelands	TOTAL
1. General Mechanics .....	-	187	187
2. Concreting, Bricklaying and Plastering.....	83	592	675
3. Electricians and Wiremen's Course .....	-	40	40
4. Electricians - Block Training .....	-	221	221
5. Watchmakers .....	45	-	45
6. Tailoring .....	-	192	192
7. Leatherwork .....	-	123	123
8. Leatherwork and Upholstery .....	-	16	16
9. Plumbing, Drainlaying and Sheetmetalwork...	82	281	363
10. Motor Body Repairmen's Course .....	-	136	136
11. Motor Mechanics .....	-	230	230
12. General and Motor Mechanics .....	-	249	249
13. Upholstery and Motor Trimming .....	-	93	93
14. Carpentry, Joinery and Cabinetmaking .....	105	515	620
15. Painting and Glazing .....	-	37	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>2 912</b>	<b>3 227</b>

Vocational Training: Girls	Regions	Number of Pupils	
		Homelands	TOTAL
1. Assistants in Pre-School Institutions ....	25	36	61
2. Home Management .....	17	43	60
3. Dressmaking (two-year course) .....	77	247	324
4. Dressmaking (four short courses) .....	20	223	243
5. Seamstress and Alteration Hand .....	11	-	11
6. Spinning and Weaving .....	-	77	77
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>776</b>

As far as technical education for whites is concerned there were 75,000 registered technical students in 1969. In 1973 there were 90,000 and more than 95,000 in 1974. (House of Assembly Debates, April 1975, Col. 5007). In addition there were 37,300 registered apprentices (House of Assembly Debates, April 1975, Col. 5008).

Comparative figures for White, Coloured and Asian apprentices  
1972 and 1973 (A Survey of Race Relations in  
South Africa, 1974, Op. Cit. p. 261)

Industry or Trade	Indentured Apprentices					
	White		Coloured		Asian	
	1972	1973	1972	1973	1972	1973
Aerospace	269	548	-	-	-	-
Building	551	650	1 102	789	273	185
Coal Mining	28	27	-	-	-	-
Diamond Cutting	84	90	-	-	-	-
Electricity						
Supply Undertaking	94	103	-	-	-	-
Explosives and Allied Industries	28	34	-	-	-	-
Food (Butchery)	3	6	-	-	-	-
Furniture	21	20	138	156	61	39
Government Undertakings	155	367	7	91	-	1
Grain Milling	1	3	-	-	-	-
Hairdressing	339	453	-	-	1	1
Jewellers and Goldsmiths	16	14	7	-	1	-
Metal (Engineering)	2 747	2 773	203	162	20	25
Mining	561	698	-	-	-	-
Motor	2 113	2 191	177	194	68	70
Printing	506	344	26	26	8	10
South African Railways	1 720	1 635	-	-	-	-
Sugar Manufacturing and Refining	31	26	2	5	2	5
Total	9 267	9 982	1 662	1 423	434	336

The situation in technical training is clear. Not only are less Africans being trained, not only are they being trained at a lower level, but they are not being trained in certain key areas.

Universities

Student enrolment

Student enrolment in 1974 was, according to information compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations, as follows: 1/

University	White	Coloured	Indian	Chinese	African	Totals
Cape Town	8 449	404	82	31	6	8 972
Durban-Westville	-	-	2 342	-	-	2 342
Fort Hare	-	-	-	-	1 029	1 029
Natal	7 198	91	347	8	256	7 900
Orange Free State	6 685	-	-	-	-	6 685
Port Elizabeth	1 967	-	-	-	-	1 967
Potchefstroom <u>2/</u>	6 415	2	-	-	4	6 421
Pretoria	14 313	-	-	-	-	14 313
Rand Afrikaans	2 143	-	-	-	-	2 143
Rhodes	2 299	-	3	39	1	2 342
Stellenbosch	9 284	-	-	-	-	9 284
South Africa <u>3/</u>	26 981	1 177	1 946	60	3 995	34 159
The North	-	-	-	-	1 509	1 509
The Western Cape	-	1 440	-	-	-	1 440
The Witwatersrand	9 855	28	143	231	42	10 299
ZuluLand	-	-	-	-	1 003	1 003
Totals	95 589	3 142	4 863	369	7 845	111 808

- 1/ At the second Tuesday in March in most cases, but as at 30 June for the University of South Africa.
- 2/ The Black students are post-graduate, seconded by Black universities. (See 1973 Survey p. 333).
- 3/ Correspondence courses only. The enrolment includes 1,433 students from outside the Republic.

In African universities in 1973 the course of studies taken was as follows:  
(Bantu Educational Journal, Vol. XX, No. 7, September 1974)

Course of study:

	NUMBER OF STUDENTS															
	FORT HARE				THE NORTH				ZULULAND				TOTALS			
	M	F	T		M	F	T		M	F	T		M	F	T	
Commerce and Administration	115	15	130		119	3	122		97	8	105		331	26	357	
Agriculture	43	1	44		-	-	-		-	-	-		43	1	44	
Arts	162	154	316		305	158	463		190	196	386		657	508	1 165	
Education	78	34	112		182	68	250		166	55	221		426	157	523	
Law	133	17	150		112	10	122		169	13	182		414	40	454	
Theology	11	-	11		18	-	18		6	-	6		35	-	35	
Science	183	98	281		201	80	281		67	12	79		451	190	641	
Surveying	9	-	9		-	-	-		-	-	-		9	-	9	
Other Non-Graduate Students	-	-	-		15	3	18		-	-	-		15	3	18	
TOTAL	734	319	1 053		952	322	1 274		695	284	979		2 381	925	3 306	

Distribution of degrees, diplomas and certificates issued April/May 1973  
(Bantu Educational Journal, Vol. XX, No. 7, September 1974)

	NUMBER OF STUDENTS											
	FORT HARE			THE NORTH			ZUZULAND			TOTALS		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Commerce and Administration	5	-	5	9	-	9	4	-	4	18	-	18
Agriculture	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
Arts	38	28	66	50	22	72	51	20	71	139	70	209
Education	37	14	51	76	13	89	67	18	85	180	45	225
Law	9	-	9	6	-	6	7	-	7	22	-	22
Theology	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	2
Science	23	10	33	8	15	23	5	-	5	36	25	61
TOTAL	117	52	169	150	50	200	134	38	172	401	140	541
DEGREES												
Doctor's Degree	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Master's Degree	2	-	2	2	1	3	-	-	-	4	1	5
Honours Degree	11	2	13	6	-	6	7	-	7	24	2	26
Bachelor's Degree	67	35	102	70	24	94	49	18	67	186	77	263
SUB-TOTAL	80	37	117	79	25	104	56	18	74	215	80	295
DIPLOMAS, CERTIFICATES												
Post-Graduate	21	6	27	18	5	23	14	6	20	53	17	70
Non-Graduate	16	9	25	53	20	73	64	14	78	133	43	176
SUB-TOTAL	37	15	52	71	25	96	78	20	98	186	60	246
TOTAL	117	52	169	150	50	200	134	38	172	401	140	541

The distribution of degrees show only one doctorate for the year 1973, five with Masters degrees, and 26 with an Honours degree. To this number should be added those who take post-graduate courses, mainly through correspondence courses at the University of South Africa: 20 post-graduate degrees in 1973.

This suggests that the bulk of university graduates will enter teaching. Few would have qualified to continue through to research.

In the same year approximately 3 000 White students had received post-graduate degrees, and 1 286 post-graduate diplomas (A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973, Op.Cit. p. 334).



### Students Organizations

Three commissions of inquiry were partly aimed at students organizations:

The Select Committee of Parliament Appointed to Investigate the National Union of South African Students, the Christian Institute, the University Christian Movement and the South African Institute of Race Relations

On 4 February 1972 the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, announced that it was his intention to establish the Committee. He prefixed his speech with a warning on the dangers of international communism and of subversion. Parliament "as the guardian of liberty" would investigate these four organizations by means of a select committee. The Commission was established by a majority vote in the House of Assembly on 10 February 1972 after an opposition amendment calling for the appointment of a judicial committee instead of a parliamentary select committee had been defeated.

The stated reactions of the four organizations was that time could be better spent investigating really serious issues as for e.g. the death of Ahmed Timol in jail, the migrant labour problem, pass laws, African wages and the Immorality Act. All four organizations made a joint statement in which they stated "We wish to make a clear statement that the affairs of each and all of our organizations are open and public. We therefore do not consider an inquiry of any kind to be necessary. But if the Government persists in demanding an inquiry we request the proposed Parliamentary Select Committee be replaced by a judicial commission consisting of three judges of the Supreme Court which would hold its hearings in public".

The Committee afterwards known as the Schibusch Committee was appointed on 15 February 1972. It comprised 6 Nationalist members and 3 United Party members.

The announcement of the Committee was accompanied by action against the executives of NUSAS and the University Christian Movement. At the end of March two executive members of the UCM, Dr. Basil Moore, Director of the UCM, and Sabelo Ntwasa, Director of Black Theology, were placed under house arrest and banned, one was removed from the Seminary, then at Alice and restricted to Kimberley under the Suppression of Communism Act.

In the case of the NUSAS executive, the following present or past members of the Executive were refused passports: Paul Pretorius, Neville Curtis, Barry Streek, John Frankish, Renfrew Christie, Paula Ensor, John Whitehead and Mark Wolfe.

In July 1972, the Select Committee was converted into a commission of inquiry. Its terms of reference were:

- (i) To inquire into, and taking into account the evidence, memoranda and exhibits which were submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Certain Organizations, report on -
  - (a) The objects, organization and financing of the National Union of South African Students, the SAIRR, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and any related organizations, bodies, committees or groups of persons;

- (b) The activities of the aforementioned organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
  - (c) The activities of persons in or in connexion with the aforementioned organizations, bodies, groups of persons and the direct or indirect results or possible results of those activities; and
  - (d) Any related matter which comes to the notice of the Commission and which in its view calls for inquiry.
- (ii) To make recommendations if, in view of the Commission's findings, it appears to be necessary to do so.

The original terms of reference of the Parliamentary Select Committee were as follows:

"To inquire into and report upon the objects, organization, activities, financing and related matters of NUSAS, the SAIRR, the UCM, and the CI, and their subordinate organizations, the Committee to have power to take evidence and call for papers".

The Government Gazette goes on to say:

"In order that the Commission may be better able to carry out this Commission, it has been granted full power and authority to interrogate at its discretion all persons who in its opinion are able to furnish information of the subjects mentioned in its terms of reference or on matters relating thereto; to obtain, inspect and make extracts from all books, documents, papers and registers which in its opinion may contain information of the said subjects; and to conduct investigations into the subject matter of this inquiry in any other authorized manner". The regulations applicable to the operation of the Commission have also been published in the Government Gazette, and include the following:

"No person whose presence at the inquiry is, in the view of the Chairman, not necessary for the performance of the functions of the Commission or is not authorized by these regulations may be present at the inquiry".

"Any witness who appears before the Commission, may only be cross-examined by a person if the Chairman permits it to be done by that person because it is in the Chairman's view necessary in the interests of the functions of the Commission".

"If any person who gave or is giving evidence before the Commission or has been summoned so to give evidence so requests the Commission, no person shall publish in any manner whatsoever the name or address of such person or any information likely to reveal his identity".

"Any witness who appears before the Commission may be assisted by an advocate or attorney only to the extent to which the Chairman permits it".

"No person shall publish in any manner whatsoever or communicate to any other person any proceedings of the Commission or any information furnished to the Commission or any part of any proceedings or information, or suffer or permit any other person to have access to any records in the possession or custody of the Commission or any officer or any person referred to in subregulation (1) of regulation 3, except in the performance of his duties in connexion with the functions of the Commission or by order of a competent court".

"The Chairman, any member or any officer may, for the purpose of the inquiry of the Commission, at all reasonable times enter and inspect any premises and demand and seize any document which is or is kept upon such premises".

"No person shall, except in so far as shall be necessary in the execution of the terms of reference of the Commission, publish or furnish the report of the Commission or a copy or part thereof to any other person unless and until the report has been laid on the Tables of the Senate and the House of Assembly".

"No person may insult, disparage or belittle a member of the Commission or prejudice influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the Commission".

"Clause 12 refers to the oath of secrecy of every person employed in carrying out the functions of the Commission with regard to "any matter or information" which may come to his notice".

"Any person who contravenes any provision of regulations 8, 10, 13 or 14 or wilfully hinders, resists or obstructs the Chairman, any member or any officer in the exercise of any power referred to in regulation 11, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R200 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months".

#### The Van Wyk de Vries Commission of Enquiry

On 9 May 1968, the Minister of National Education, Senator J. de Klerk announced in the Senate that Cabinet Sanction had been granted for the appointment of a commission of enquiry to go into certain matters relating to the universities. He added that the enquiry could include the question of students activities at the universities about which criticism had been raised.

**On 14 May,** Senator de Klerk assured members of the Senate that the enquiry into university matters would include all universities and not only English speaking universities. The membership of the Commission of Enquiry was announced on 9 September 1968.

It consisted of: Prof. H.J. Bingle (Principal, Potchefstroom University); Prof. H. B. Thom (Principal of Stellenbosch University); Prof. O.P.F.H. Horwood (Then Principal of the University of Natal, after Nationalist Senator, now member of Cabinet); Prof. G.R. Bozzoli (Principal of Wits University); Mr. W.C. Du Plessis (Ex Administrator of Namibia); Mr. I.T. Meyer (A former Controller and Auditor-General); Mr. S.C.M. Naude (Director of the Technical College of the Witwatersrand).

The Chairman was Mr. Justice Van Wyk de Vries, a prominent lawyer and prominent Afrikaaner who had, during the Second World War defended many of those charged with various acts within South Africa directed against the allied war efforts. These acts included sabotage. He had headed two boundary commissions, was a director of several companies and an elder of the Gereformeerde Kerk.

It was alleged that Prof. H.J. Bingle was Chairman of the Broederbond's special "task committee" on education, S.C.M. Naude was an associate member of the same task force and that W.C. Du Plessis and Mr. Justice J. Van Wyk de Vries were also members of the Broederbond. The Broederbond is an Afrikaaner secret society dedicated to the furthering of the ambitions of the Afrikaaner. It is known that it is perhaps the most powerful influence in South African political life and that its members play an important role in nearly every arena in South Africa. Its membership remains however secret.

The terms of reference of the Commission were as follows:

To enquire into and report in-so-far as universities for Whites in South Africa and the University of South Africa are concerned, on educational, academic, financing and development aspects of universities, and on any other matters which the Commission may deem to be of importance, with special reference to:

- (i) The steps required to ensure efficient education.
- (ii) The range of study and quality of work, undergraduate as well as post-graduate, required for corresponding degrees, diploma and certificates.
- (iii) The size of classes, departments and universities.
- (iv) The length of the academic year.
- (v) The main reasons for, and measures to check, the high failure rate among undergraduate students.
- (vi) The facilities required for healthy mental and physical recreation for students.
- (vii) Student relations in general, and in particular the role students and student bodies could play, in co-operation with academic authorities, in maintaining a healthy spirit and code of conduct on the campus of modern universities.

- (viii) The most effective methods of teaching and research.
- (ix) The qualifications which the various grades of university lecturing staff should hold and the extent to which such standards are met at present.
- (x) Reciprocal recognition of courses passed by students and the possibility of greater mobility of such students between universities.
- (xi) The adjustment of the Holloway formula (as amended from time to time) or the devising of a new formula for the subsidization of universities to meet present-day requirements in respect of current and capital expenditure.
- (xii) The salary structure as a determining factor in attracting and retaining lecturing staff.
- (xiii) The posts structure and lecturer-student ratio.
- (xiv) Bursaries and loans for students.
- (xv) Future policy in connexion with the development of universities in the country and in view of the urgency of the matter, to give priority to the financing scheme and, if necessary to submit an interim report on this matter so that the basis of subsidization for 1970 and the succeeding years may be determined.

In addition to these major commissions of enquiry affecting universities there was the Turfloop Commission of Enquiry into unrest at the tribal University of the North. Its main objects seemed to have been SASO and any links between SASO and the Black Academic Staff Association at Turfloop. Its Chairman was Mr. Justice Shyman.

Two Acts, introduced by the Deputy Minister of Justice were relevant to Student activities. The Affected Organization Act and the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act.

According to the Act an "affected organization" means an organization where "if the State President is satisfied that politics are being engaged in by or through an organization with the aid of or in co-operation with or in consultation with or under the influence of an organization or person abroad, he may, without notice to the first-mentioned organization, but subject to the provisions of Section 8, by proclamation in the Gazette declare that Organization to be an affected organization".

The Act provided that

"No person shall

- (a) ask for or canvas foreign money for or on behalf of an affected organization.

- (b) receive money from abroad for or on behalf of an affected organization, or receive or in any other manner handle or deal with such money with the intention of handing it over or causing it to be handed over to such an organization or with the intention of using it or causing it to be used on behalf of such an organization;
- (c) bring or cause to be brought or assist in bringing from abroad into the Republic any money for or on behalf of an affected organization, or bringing or cause to be brought in from abroad any money into the Republic with the intention of handing it over or causing it to be handed over to such an organization or with the intention of using it or causing it to be used on behalf of such an organization".

The Minister may appoint a person as registrar of Affected organizations. This Registrar or any person acting under his written authority, may at all reasonable times enter upon any premises there to inspect and extract information from or make copies of any documents relating to the finances of an affected organization and may, if in his opinion it is desirable for practical reasons, remove any such document to any other premises for those purposes.

The registrar may also issue an order prohibiting any person in whose possession or under whose control such money (received and believed to be received in contravention of the act) is from disposing thereof in any manner whatsoever. "Maximum penalties for contravention was laid down as R 10,000 or five years or both for the first conviction and R 20,000 or ten years or both in the second and subsequent convictions. The Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill was designed" to amend the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956, so as to delete the definitions of certain expressions and to define or further define certain expressions; to further regulate the power to prohibit gatherings in certain instances and the manner of publication of such a prohibition, to amend certain penalty clauses; to transfer the power of a magistrate to close places to certain police officers; and to substitute the words "State President" and "Republic" for the words "Governor-General" and "Union" and to provide for incidental matters". (Riotous Assembly Amendment Bill as read a first time).

The 1974 Amendment Act altered the definition of a gathering. It no longer meant as previously "any gathering, concourse, or procession, through or along any public place, of twelve or more persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful". In the amendment a "gathering" now means any gathering, concourse, or procession of any number of persons. Where there is a blanket ban imposed on gatherings, the word covers "a gathering, concourse or procession of any number of persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful". A magistrate may, under the amendment, without recourse to the Minister of Justice, prohibit any or every gathering, or any particular meeting, or any specified kind of gathering, at a specified place or everywhere in his district, for a period not exceeding 48 hours, if he has reason to believe that the public peace is seriously threatened. The Minister may prohibit any or every gathering, or any particular gathering, or any specified area or everywhere in the Republic, for any period or during specified periods if he deems such action to be necessary or expedient for the maintenance of public peace, if he has reason to apprehend that such hostility will be endangered if a particular person were to attend a gathering. The 1974 Act makes it an offence to attend a prohibited gathering. A police officer of or above the rank of warrant officer may call upon the persons attending the gathering to disperse. He may then in a loud voice call, in each of the official languages for the gathering to disperse within a time he

specified. The necessity in the former act to repeat the order and information three times is dispensed with. It should be noted that these two acts also affect freedom of information. They are cited in this part of this report only because of their effects on Students organizations in particular.

In August 1974, the Schlebusch Commission submitted its final report on NUSAS (The National Union of South African Students).

The Commission charged that a NUSAS leadership training programme had aimed at producing radicals with leftwing views. This group undertook the political indoctrination of young people, propagated anti-South African views and promoted Black consciousness and favoured a policy based on a polarity of Black-White South Africa leading to a confrontation.

Among the activities NUSAS had done was to start a wages campaign. This the Commission charged and was really a means to another end - that of political change to overthrow the existing order in South Africa and to replace it, with some anti-capitalist System sometimes described as "Black Socialism". Moreover NUSAS had collected money abroad for prisoners convicted of security offences. NUSAS, according to the Commission, received money from abroad including money from the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund both of which, according to the Commission, had links with Liberation Movements. The Commission was also convinced by the evidence that people and organizations were encouraging an arms boycott of South Africa in order to bring about a radical change of the existing order. This was a form of subversion against the State. Steps should be taken to combat it.

On 13 September 1974, the Minister of Justice announced that NUSAS together with its three subsidiary bodies NUSED, NUSWEL and Aquarins, had been declared Affected Organizations and was no longer allowed to accept foreign financial aid.

Beside the **Schlebusch** Commission set up to enquire into the activities of certain organizations, a commission of inquiry into universities was set up under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice J. Van Wyk de Vries. They submitted their report in February 1975.

The Rand Daily Mail, 12 February 1975, reported that according to the report, the first step to rid South Africa's English language universities of the "unhealthy **state** of affairs" should be to break the "iron hold" of NUSAS on the Students Representative Councils.

The second step, should be to bar the political machine NUSAS had created from universities. In order to ensure this, the University Act of 1955 should be amended to enable a university to forfeit its State subvention in cases where university councils failed to take effective action where students or teaching staff went beyond one sphere of competence of the universities.

The purpose of the proposed legislation was :

- (a) to break the link between Students Representative Councils and NUSAS or other similar undesirable inter-university organizations.
- (b) to control and eventually eliminate the political action of students.

- (c) to control any conduct of students leading to the disruption of university courses or damage to buildings and property.
- (d) to strengthen the authority of university councils in order to permit them to take immediate action to bring any situation under control. The Commission recommended that the University Act should be amended so that if the Minister was satisfied that any inter-university Organization or student Organization was engaging in political activities, or was seeking to promote any political aim in a non-academic manner, he could by notice in the Government Gazette declare such an Organization to be an "undesirable Organization".

These recommendations went further than the recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission.

"The Commission are confusing the peaceful transition from one social order to another with the violent and rapid replacement of the existing social structure. NUSAS has worked consistently for the creative restructuring of society so that a system would evolve in which justice and equality could prevail. The Commission have sought to show that change in the existing structures, and revolution, are one and the same thing. Clearly, they are two distinct concepts and the Commission are either naive or deliberately misleading. Finally, NUSAS has time and again reiterated its condemnation of violence, be it to precipitate radical political change or to perpetuate the existing social systems. Nowhere was this mentioned in the Commission's report, and we submit that these facts were omitted to sustain the preconceptions shared by members of the Commission. We find no other adequate explanation of these and other crucial facts.

"The Commission conclude from "evidence" placed before them that the "leadership group" is totally opposed to the entire existing order in South Africa, including the Capitalist system, and prevailing societal norms with regard to relationships between parents and children, students and teachers etc. These are absolute statements on the political affiliations of the leadership and once again they are not substantiated because, we believe, they cannot be substantiated. We maintain that while there is consensus on a broad level that change in the existing structure is necessary, the extent of the desired change differs greatly both within the leadership group and more particularly without. For NUSAS to be a legitimate student organization there has to be a great diversity of opinion, and we maintain that this is one of the reasons why NUSAS has existed for longer than both the Nationalist and United Parties.

"Finally, we have to deal with the Commission's contention that NUSAS leaders oppose liberalism. The NUSAS Constitution is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is essentially a humanistic and liberal document. It is true to say that NUSAS and NUSAS leaders oppose a certain kind of liberalism which in the South African context is nothing short of white paternalism; but against the background of the NUSAS Constitution, we find it



extraordinary that the Commission have claimed; to have proof of the fact that NUSAS leaders oppose the doctrine of Liberalism. Once again the Commission either does not comprehend the meaning of the concepts of Liberalism, or else it is attempting to insinuate that because NUSAS leaders reject a certain type of Liberalism, it is therefore pro-communism".

In 1973, Mr. Henry Isaacs, President of the all Black SASO (South African Students Organization) was banned. In addition, several members of SASO were banned, while others escaped to Botswana. One ex-student Mr. Tiro, was killed by a parcel bomb in 1974.

On 24 September 1974, the Minister of Justice prohibited, until 20 October 1974, any meetings held anywhere in the country by or on behalf of SASO or the Black People's Convention. This was presumably in order to stop pro-FRELIMO rallies which both organizations were reported as having planned. Some of these meetings were nevertheless held at the University of the North (Turfloop). In the latter case, a minor riot took place and police used force.

As a result of further tension, the University had to be closed immediately. For the Rector, Professor J.L. Bostoff, the problem was the anti-White sentiments of Blacks (Star, 30 September 1974) while African lecturers pointed to segregation in housing for Black and White Lecturers, the absence of social mixing, the inability for Black lecturers to be employed outside of their 'tribal' college and the isolation of Black Students.

The police case presented by Mr. Krijnauw to the Turfloop Commission was that SASO was working for the overthrow of the State by revolution. It was the activities of SASO that had led to unrest at the University of the North. He read several memoranda to prove that the directives of SASO showed a Marxist orientation and that it was dedicated to the liberation of the Black people, claiming that the White Government was politically corrupt and the whites racists. He was quoted as saying that SASO's philosophy was based on dialectic materialism as voiced by Karl Marx. "The philosophy fits in very easily with the so-called Black consciousness - Black's beautiful approach" (Rand Daily Mail, 25 March 1975).

### Information and Culture

This section should be read in conjunction with pp. 149 to 253 of "Apartheid: Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information", UNESCO Press, Paris 1972. We have added in particular fuller details on South African propaganda.

The most important change since the UNESCO Report on Apartheid has been the Publication Act, No.42 of 1974. The slant of this new Act is contained in the opening paragraph "In the application of this Act the constant endeavour of the population of the Republic of South Africa to uphold a Christian view of life shall be recognized".

The Publication Control Board is replaced by a Directorate of Publications whose director, deputy director and up to three assistant directors all appointed by the Minister of the Interior.

A series of Committees will decide in the first instance whether publications or objects, films or public entertainments are undesirable or not. The Directorate will appoint as many of these committees as they deem necessary, each consisting of not less than three members. Their period of office would be determined on appointment. Members would be chosen from a panel of persons compiled annually by the Minister and supplemented as considered desirable. The Minister himself indicates who in his opinion is fit to be Chairman of the committees. The Executive Committee of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the South African Indian Council will be each invited to appoint an advisory Committee to advise the main Committee, when requested to do so, in regard to questions relating to the exhibition of films to members of their respective groups.

Members of the public or Customs Officers will be entitled to request the Directorate to arrange for a committee to examine any publication or object. The Directorate also has the power to submit any publication or object to a Committee. Reasons for their decisions will be given by the Committee and may be communicated on request to the interested parties.

A committee may declare a publication, or a publication and all subsequent issues of it, to be undesirable. It may prohibit the importation of publications published by a specific publisher or dealing with any subject. It may prohibit the possession by any person of a publication or object deemed undesirable. Exceptions from these provisions may be granted by permit.

The prohibition of the possession of a publication or object must be referred at once by the Directorate to the Publications Appeal Board. Persons who produce, distribute, import and possess a prohibited publication or object will be committing an offence except for certain categories of information, e.g. publications of a bona fide religious nature etc. The Minister may authorize anyone to enter any place where publications or objects are publicly displayed or are sold or hired out, or if it is reasonably suspected that any undesirable publication or object is printed or reproduced there. The authorized person may examine any publication or object which is suspected of being undesirable and may seize a publication or a copy of it or an object if it appears to contravene the Act. A report must be made to the Directorate. There is a provision for an appeal to the Publications Appeal Board for a prescribed fee. Decisions may also be reviewed after the lapse of two years, on request and for a prescribed fee.

"Definition of "undesirable":

"Any publication or object, film, public entertainment or intended public entertainment shall be deemed to be undesirable if it or any part of it

- (a) is indecent or obscene, or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
- (b) is blasphemous or is offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- (c) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;
- (d) is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- (e) is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order;
- (f) discloses with reference to any judicial proceedings
  - (i) any matter which is indecent or obscene or offensive or harmful to public morals;
  - (ii) any indecent or obscene medical, surgical or physiological details the disclosure of which is likely to be offensive or harmful to public morals;
  - (iii) for the dissolution or a declaration of nullity of a marriage or for judicial separation or for restitution of conjugal rights, any particulars other than -
    - (bb) a concise statement of the allegations, defences and counter-allegations in support of which evidence has been given;
    - (cc) submissions on any point of law arising in the course of the proceedings, and the decision of the court thereon;
    - (dd) the judgement and the verdict of the court and any observations made by the judge in giving the judgement.

The general penalty is a fine of not more than R 500, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both.

There are, however, more severe penalties for persons convicted more than once of offences in relation to:

- (i) the production of undesirable publications or objects, their distribution, or (should this have been prohibited) their possession or importation;
- (ii) the exhibition or publication of films in contravention of prescribed conditions;

- (iii) the giving of any public entertainment in conflict with any prohibition or condition imposed.

These penalties are:

on second conviction, a fine of not less than R 500 and not more than R 1,000, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both,

on a third or subsequent conviction, a fine of not less than R 1,000, or imprisonment for a period of not less than six months, or both."

Among the things that the Act did was to make it possible to criticise the Board only if it does not insult, disparage or belittle any member. The Rand Daily Mail commented: "A look into the files of the Publication Control Board reveals many statements which could fall within this description. Professor Walter Battiss described a ban on a painting by Modigliani as 'incredible and pathetic' last year. Others described the same ban as the 'height of absurdity' and 'nonsense'. The censors themselves have, in the past, been described as 'deaf' and 'unmaking'". (Rand Daily Mail, 22 March 1975)

In 1973, the then Publications Board banned 855 publications and 34 other objects. During the period 1973-1975 Afrikaaner writers were for the first time affected by the bans. André Brink, the novelist, had his latest novel banned, and Breyten Breytenbach, the Afrikaaner poet, had his book of poetry "Skynt" banned on 20 June 1975. Both had been members of the Bestigers (See UNESCO: Apartheid, its effects on education, science, culture, information - Paris 1972, pages 198-199). Breytenbach had won the writing awards for the best book published in Afrikaans in 1968 and 1969.

#### South African Propaganda

South African Propaganda is aimed at several objectives:

- (a) To counteract the growing disquiet in the world about South Africa's racial policies. This propaganda seeks to present apartheid, or separate development or more recently the "multi-national" policy of South Africa in a favourable light. It also makes much of South Africa's "stability" in an "unstable" continent, progress towards the "independence" of the Bantustans, and stresses the possibility for peaceful evolution within South Africa and "détente" with the rest of Africa.
- (b) To increase foreign investments in the Republic as well as expanding markets for South African produce and particularly in making inoperative the United Nations General Assembly's call for economic sanctions.
- (c) To increase the military potential of South Africa by seeking military alliances and in purchasing sophisticated military weapons.
- (d) To break the geographical and political isolation of South Africa by promoting cultural, scientific, academic and sporting exchanges and visits to the Republic.

- (e) To lay the basis for the future legitimization of Bantustan "governments".
- (f) To recruit skilled white workers and so "solve" the manpower problem created by its racial policies.
- (g) To increase its tourist potential.

The Propaganda campaign can be broadly divided into several categories:

- (a) Propaganda coming directly from the South African Government itself;
- (b) Propaganda through the South African Foundation; (c) recruitment drives either through the Board of Immigration or through private friends, or through TRANSA, a private South African Organization which receives a subsidy from the South African Government. It recruits in the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland;
- (d) Propaganda through groups sympathetic to South Africa in a given country, e.g. the 1820 Settlers Association in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, South Africa Association, the Werkgeessen Schaps Nederland-Zuid-Afrika (WNZA) also in the Netherlands, the Frienden Van Zuid Afrika (Belgium). Of particular importance the Club of 10 (United Kingdom) which pays for pro-South African advertisements in the British National Press, and the Aklengroep Zuid Afrika (AZA) in the Netherlands. Some of the most effective propaganda for South Africa however comes from returning visitors, e.g. the Trampelene Champion in the 1974 Trampelene International Competition held at Johannesburg, a black citizen of Trinidad and Tobago representing the United States in the Johannesburg finals being interviewed by Mrs. June Gonsalves over the television network in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, January 1975. "Official" South African propaganda would normally be banned.

In this report, we will confine ourselves to three areas:

- (a) Propaganda of the South African Government.
- (b) The South African Foundation.
- (c) Recruitment drives for skilled workers.

#### Propaganda of the South African Government

The Minister of Information explained the importance of South African propaganda in the following terms:

"I think it is necessary that we should pause for a few moments at the concept of what the task of this department really is. We, and not only we, are in reality involved in a war of words. At the moment the world is fighting not only for financial advantage or the conquest of countries, but to conquer the minds of mankind for various philosophies. In this struggle which is being waged between different countries and different world tendencies, attempts are made from all sides to conquer the minds of people by influencing them with subtle or blatant propaganda or by any means whatever. It is in this propaganda war that the Department of Information and its officials are fighting in the very front-line on behalf of South Africa". (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5045)

The extent of Government propaganda was to be conceded.

The Minister: "We do not want to refer to specific actions and methods, for it has been our experience that our enemies use the details which we make available in that manner as a basis for a counteroffensive against us. Therefore we think that, with a view to the sophisticated war on words which is being waged at the moment, we should not lay our cards on the table for them ... we shall present the report in an altered and abbreviated form ... with fewer particulars than at present". (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Cols. 5099 - 5100)

This task of propaganda was not only to be left to the Government. All people, particularly writers and the Press were to be "careful of what they write and say of South Africa".

"In conclusion I want to make an appeal once again to everyone in this House and outside and to all facets of our Press, to display in their writing and thinking the responsibility which is required by the circumstances in which we find ourselves... Therefore I want to respect the request that writers and speakers should be careful of what they write and say in respect of matters in South Africa... The diplomacy which is at present the order of the day is not a show of force, but a game of chess in which one makes a move, and then sits quietly watching one's opponent to see what he is going to do and then plans in advance and makes the next move. In that regard reports and speeches can bedevil everything if these are not carried out with the greatest circumspection". (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Cols. 5106 and 5107)

The extent of the known propaganda included the publication of a brochure "This is South Africa" in ten languages and distributed free, (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5099); a booklet "History of South Africa" (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5099); "Thousands of books, hundreds of thousands of brochures with coloured photographs and numerous film strips and films" (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5101). Advertisements in the London "Times" amounted to approximately R 1,800 per publication (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5052). The Department of Information publishes the yearbook of South Africa written "primarily for overseas consumption" (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5064)

The publications also included the South Africa Digest with an overseas circulation of over 50,000, "Panorama" with a circulation of 70,000 inside South Africa and 200,000 overseas. The Department of Information also co-operates closely with the South African Broadcasting Corporation which in 1970 produced 260 new films. A film on the South African general elections was distributed in 118 countries (South Africa Digest, Pretoria, 21 May 1971) while 31.5 million Americans would have seen 22 films on South Africa distributed free to television, cinemas, schools and universities (South Africa Digest, Pretoria, 5 November 1971). The South African Broadcasting Corporation also broadcasts for 23 hours a day in 9 different languages to 24 regions in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, North America and Australia (South Africa Digest, Pretoria, 29 November 1974).

In addition, the Ministry brings over "foreign newspaper editors, opinion-formers and decision makers" (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5067). The success of this last programme was outlined by the Deputy Minister of Information:

"I should like to mention two or three other aspects... We had the opportunity of inviting a recognized journalist from Austria to this country as our guest. Upon his return, he wrote 35 different articles over a period of about six weeks, which appeared in newspapers and for publication in Austria, articles which were objective and favourable towards South Africa and its people. If that same space had to be bought, we would not have been able to buy it even for R 200,000... One of the results of years of careful planning by the Department and its officials concerning the type of visitor who should be invited here from a country such as France, is that there are daily and/or weekly publications in two-thirds of the provinces of France in which favourable and objective reports appear about South Africa. The position is that even at this stage 2,600,000 copies of those publications are published, which are read by approximately 11 million people in a country such as France". (House of Assembly Debate, April 1975, Col. 5085)

The Ministry had also intervened in a BBC debate and hinted at more to come. The Minister stated in the House:

"The BBC has at last presented something of ours. I am grateful that this happened. For 20 years now we have been struggling to persuade the BBC to do this. There is so much criticism at the moment that (I) would prefer to say nothing about what is going to happen there - at the BBC, not here. In my opinion, the BBC was for the first time what it says it wishes to be, namely an objective reporter. They then gave us an opportunity to make a film of the same length, stating our case. Afterwards a panel discussion was held... In any case in America as well as in Austria and other countries we regularly succeed in having the so-called equal time principle applied...". (House of Assembly Debate, Wednesday, 30 April 1975, Col. 5065)

The film referred to was "Last Grave at Dimbasa". The reply on the BBC was given by Mr. L.E.S. deVilliers, from Pretoria, Mr. V. Delport, Director of Information at the South African Embassy in London and Mr. C.T. Lalendlel, black lecturer at the tribal College of Fort Hare.

Propaganda has also aimed at emphasizing "different nations", i.e. justifying racial separation by emphasizing cultural differences as well as laying the ground for the legitimization of eventual "Bantustan independence". This propaganda could include something as harmless as a display of "cultural heritage". This is illustrated by the Minister speaking in the House of Assembly:

"I just want to say that we are going out of our way, by means of publications, etc. to re-emphasize the separate identity of the various Bantu people. We single out important events which elucidate the identity of the people. I want to mention a single example pertaining, in fact, to the Zulus. As far as their cultural heritage and works of art, etc., are

concerned, the Department has compiled a wonderful collection. This collection was exhibited abroad... We even received a letter from Chief Minister Buthelezi congratulating us and thanking us for the exhibition of Zulu art overseas, to acquaint people with the Zulu nation as a separate nation". (House of Assembly Debate, 30 April 1975, Col. 5057)

An EP Study Kit on South Africa published by Education Productions Ltd. was widely publicized including in the Times Educational Supplement. It purported to treat of "The Republic of South Africa, its history, regional geography, politics, economics, everyday life, and art and literature in two filmstrips with notes, 7 workcards, 7 data sheets, teaching notes and a number of colourful auxiliary items, beautifully and durably boxed". Its retail price was only £1 + VAT. It was in fact published in collaboration with the South African Embassy according to a footnote at the end of the column of text in the advertisement.

It should be noted that the type of propaganda has changed over the past years. A more "positive" approach is now used, e.g. the caption "Could the next Olympics be in Pretoria, South Africa" in advertisements placed in the Guardian, Times and Observer (United Kingdom).

Other advertisements included "Could an Organization like NATO have a base in Simonstown, South Africa?" and "Could the headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa be in Johannesburg, South Africa?".

Increasing attention is being placed on liberal-moderately left periodicals and public, i.e. those who hope for gradual change without an armed confrontation.

The architect of the present propaganda offensive is the new Secretary, Dr. Eschel Roodie, who immediately on his appointment rapidly reorganized the Information Service, increased expenditure and employed black South Africans in the lower rungs of the Service abroad. These, while serving with the South African Embassy were nevertheless considered as being trained for the impending "independence" of the Bantustans. Their appointment therefore, while certainly of great propaganda value, represented no changes in the policy of separate development. The importance of propaganda can be shown by the increasing budget of the Department. In 1969 it was R 4 million. By 1974, it was R 10.65 million. Expenditure abroad, as opposed to internal expenditure represented about 65% of the total budget.

It was also rumoured that the glossary magazine "To the Point" published in Amsterdam was in fact sponsored by the South African Government. We have found no clear evidence of this however, although a rapid analysis of its slant would seem to indicate that it reflects the policy of the South African Government. To the Point's Senior Editor was, according to the Guardian, formerly Director of the Information Office in London.