

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1973 the South African Reserve Bank stated that the gross domestic product at current market prices increased by 16 per cent, compared with 11½ per cent in 1971/72.¹ However, the *real* gross domestic product increased at about the same relatively low rate of between 4 and 4½ per cent. On the other hand, the *real* gross national product increased at a rate of 5½ per cent as a result of a very significant change in terms of trade resulting from sharp increases in prices of some of the country's most important export products, particularly gold. The Reserve Bank went on to say: "With the rate of increase in the prices of imported goods declining and with the further increase in the price of gold and other export commodities during 1973, the terms of trade may be even more favourable for the calendar year 1973, and the rate of increase in the *real* national product may be substantially higher for 1973 than that of the *real* domestic product."

The mining sector's contribution at *current* prices to the gross domestic product, which had increased by more than 14 per cent in 1971/2, increased by 44 per cent in 1972/73. Agriculture's contribution also increased by 22 per cent.

Although total domestic demand had not increased substantially, a stronger revival seemed possible in the near future and the situation appeared very conducive to a further acceleration in the overall growth rate of the economy.

The Economic Development Programme has predicted that "the G.D.P. at market prices, expressed in terms of 1971 prices, will increase by R5 153 million, from R13 607 million in 1971 to R18 760 million in 1977, if an average growth rate of 5.5 per cent per annum is realised". The Government has accepted that the target rate of growth for 1972-1977 should be set at 5½ per cent.²

The Reserve Bank reported that the balance of payments on current account showed a marked improvement from a deficit of over R400 million in 1971/72 to a surplus of nearly R270 million in 1972/73. The net inflow of capital declined from R578 million in the previous year to R235 million in 1972/73. This was

¹ The gross domestic product at market prices was provisionally valued at R13 740 million in the calendar year 1971 and R15 404 million in 1972 (S.A. Reserve Bank *Quarterly Bulletin*, September 1973).

² Department of Planning, *Economic Development Programme for the Republic of South Africa, 1972-1977*. Pretoria, the Department, December 1972.

attributable to: (a) more favourable conditions for raising capital in the domestic market; (b) large repayments of official loans; (c) a switch from foreign to local financing of international trade induced by the lower interest rates obtaining in South Africa; and (d) exchange control measures introduced by the United Kingdom. The total gold and other foreign reserves increased to an all-time record of well over R1 300 million at the end of June 1973.

The rand, which had depreciated to about 15 per cent below the level of 15 August 1971, appreciated by about 3 per cent in October 1972, by about 6 per cent with the 10 per cent devaluation of the dollar in February 1973, but depreciated again with the downward floating dollar by about 3 per cent in April and May and was then revalued by 5 per cent on 5 June 1973. This brought the average effective exchange rate to about 5 per cent below the 15 August 1971 level or to approximately its level on 31 October 1967.

In August the Minister of Finance announced sales-duty concessions by which, he said, consumers would benefit to the extent of more than R30 million per year.³

On the question of South Africa's membership of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) the Reynders Commission has said:⁴ "It is the considered opinion of the Commission that, particularly from an export point of view, a withdrawal from GATT would bring in its wake incalculable risks for South Africa and that, all things considered, the country should maintain its membership."

On the labour front, the Reserve Bank reported that during the nine months ended on 31 March 1972, total non-agricultural employment was 1.8 per cent higher than during the same period in 1971. Noticeable increases were recorded in mining, commerce, and the Post Office. Unemployment of White, Coloured, and Asian people stood at 10 521 persons in June 1973—a decline from 0.72 per cent to 0.6 per cent of the total number of these groups employed. (Reliable statistics on African unemployment are not available.)

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

General

The question of the role of foreign investment in the South African economy was mentioned on pages 173-4 of the 1971 issue and on pages 218-230 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

At the end of 1972 the Black People's Convention (a political movement embracing African, Coloured, and Asian people) passed the following resolution which it later embodied in the text of

³ *Star*, 24 August.

⁴ Commission of Enquiry into the Export Trade of the Republic of South Africa, R.P. 69/72, P.78.

letters sent in January to thirty-one foreign companies with interests in the Republic:¹

"... this congress noting:

- * The role played by foreign investors in maintaining and supporting the economic system of South Africa,
- * that this system is designed for maximum exploitation of Black people,
- * that the riches and resources of this country belong to Blacks as their birthright,
- * that foreign investors claim their presence in this country contributes towards the development of the black community,
- * that this claim is disputed by the reality of the Black experience in this country,

Therefore resolves:

- * To reject the involvement of foreign investors in this exploitative economic system,
- * to call upon foreign investors to disengage themselves from this White controlled exploitative system,
- * to give the national executive a mandate to make known our stand on foreign investors both in this country and overseas through all available channels."²

The president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr. J. D. J. de Necker, said that foreign capital and know-how could be valuable but warned against the dangers of increasing foreign control over the South African economy.³ However, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Louwrens Muller, opening the congress of the AHI, said that South Africa needed foreign entrepreneurs to launch undertakings in the Republic, preferably in partnership with South Africans, and warned that care should be exercised in this matter.⁴ (See section on finance.)

The Institute of Race Relations issued the following policy statement on this question in January:⁵ "World-wide attention is currently being focused on foreign investment in South Africa. The S.A. Institute of Race Relations' national Executive Committee considered the matter at its recent meetings in Johannesburg and approved of the following statement:

'The South African Institute of Race Relations is convinced that vigorous economic expansion providing more and better employment opportunities for South Africa's rapidly growing population is essential to bring about those forms of political, economic and social change required for the development of the full potential of all the peoples of this country. In the conviction that continued economic growth associated with enlightened

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 January.

² See section on restriction (banning) orders on persons.

³ *Star*, 16 January; *Rapport*, 25 Februarie.

⁴ *Star*, 2 May.

⁵ R.R. 15/73.

employment practices and work conditions, as set out below, are necessary for South Africa's progress, the South African Institute of Race Relations considers that continued investment, both local and foreign, is required.

'The Institute emphasises the necessity for all employers to follow employment practices and provide work conditions and opportunities for workers of all racial groups consistent with the modern conception of the social responsibility of employers, including workers' participation in matters affecting wages and employment conditions. Such employment practices should include payment above the relevant Poverty Datum Line, and, wherever this is economically feasible, not less than the Minimum Effective Level. Employers should also make every effort to provide training for all workers irrespective of race, and to promote and pay workers according to the criterion of merit and not race.

'Employers should also try to give all their employees job security, and to provide other benefits generally accepted in the modern world as part of a worker's rewards, such as paid annual sick leave, and medical and pension schemes'."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, raised the question of the attention being focused by various bodies on employment practices in the Republic in the House of Assembly:⁶

"There is one matter which I want to raise here, to a certain extent because I became involved in it during my visit to Britain two weeks ago. This matter is the political implications—please note, political implications—of this campaign for increased wages for non-White workers in South Africa in the case of foreign companies operating here in our country. As hon. members will perhaps know, several pressure groups and the United States have over a period of years waged such a campaign against us. Now this phenomenon has also reared its head in Great Britain and, according to reports received this weekend, in West Germany as well. As hon. members may perhaps know, the British Labour Party insisted on and also succeeded in ordering a parliamentary sub-commission to inquire into this whole matter. The object of this commission is to inquire into labour practices of British firms doing business in South Africa. . . . I discussed this matter fully with the British Foreign Secretary when I saw him a few weeks ago. We do of course have nothing to hide in this regard. Now it appears that the Department of State of the United States of America published a guide which is being distributed among American firms doing business in South Africa, a guide urging, *inter alia*, that higher wages be paid to non-Whites employed by these American firms. I want to say here that there ought to be no uncertainty or misunderstanding in the mind of any person as to what the South African Government's policy in regard to wages

⁶ Hansard 12 cols. 5431-5433, 30 April.

is, for this has repeatedly been made clear, here in this House as well. It should be remembered by those waging this campaign that we in South Africa have a system of free enterprise, and that foreign firms are receiving the same privileges here as do South African firms, and that we accept that they ought to undertake the same responsibilities. This includes the obligation to improve the welfare of their employees and to ensure equitable labour practices. . . . Improvement in conditions of service, narrowing the gap in the wage structure between Whites and non-Whites, has been Government policy for a long time, although our hon. Prime Minister has rightly warned against excessive and reckless action in this regard. A great deal has already been accomplished in this regard. We are telling the outside world that we are proud of it. . . . However, in particular I want to address those people who have caused the searchlight to be focused on South Africa in this regard. In the first place, they should display the courage and admit to the fact that it was South Africa itself which took the initiative. In the second place, I want to put a very pointed question to those bodies. . . . I want to ask whether it is not time to display the same interest in regard to the lot of millions upon millions of workers in other parts of the world. Can we accept that their humanity will induce them to cause the searchlight to be focused on other parts of the world, too, where workers are worse off than is the case here in South Africa? If they are really so philanthropic, they ought to be just as and even more concerned about workers elsewhere in the world."

The Justice and Reconciliation division of the South African Council of Churches⁷ has said that it is against the withdrawal of foreign investment "because this leaves the shareholder with no opportunity to influence company policies". However, it also recognised "the great importance of moral protest expressed in withdrawal". The S.A.C.C. has received a grant of R18 000 a year for three years from the Christian Aid division of the British Council of Churches to finance an investigation into wage structures in South Africa.⁸

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, said that he would maintain his "don't invest in South Africa" call on future trips outside the country.⁹ (See section on travel documents and citizenship.) During a visit to the U.S. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi again called for foreign companies to "engage constructively" in the struggle to improve working and living conditions for Africans in the Republic and warned that the withdrawal of foreign investment would inflict enormous suffering on his people.¹⁰

The Trust Bank has mounted a campaign against economic

⁷ *EcuNews Bulletin* 13/73, 7 May.

⁸ *EcuNews Bulletin* 10/73, 13 April.

⁹ *Sunday Express*, 10 June.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 June.

boycotts of South Africa in a number of foreign countries. This comprises a series of advertisements in newspapers and other periodicals with signed statements by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana, and Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo of the National Union of Clothing Workers of S.A., stressing that economic sanctions would be harmful to S.A. Blacks.¹¹

In December 1972 a panel consisting of Dr. C. F. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute of S.A.; Mr. W. H. Thomas, senior lecturer in the Department of Economics at the University of Cape Town; Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Councillor of the KwaZulu Government; Mr. L. C. G. Douwes Dekker, assistant secretary of the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Tvl.) and chairman of the Urban Training Project; Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu; and Professor L. Schlemmer, director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal and chairman of the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations, was appointed to investigate the employment conditions at the Palabora Mining Company (PMC) in the light of the overall employment conditions in South Africa. The major shareholding in P.M.C. in 1972 was: Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, 38,9 per cent; Newmont Mining Corporation, 28,6 per cent; Norddeutsche Affinerie, 1,8 per cent; South African Public Institutions, 11,2 per cent; Industrial Development Corporation of S.A., 0,5 per cent; National Selection-Industrial, 3,5 per cent; seven nominee companies, 7,3 per cent; ADR Holders (U.S. public), 7,6 per cent; and non-resident individuals, 0,6 per cent. In June 1973 the panel issued its report entitled *Management Responsibility and African Employment in South Africa*. This included a concise if brief macro-economic perspective on South Africa. Among the authors' observations were the following (p. 25):

"It is usually argued that a high growth rate, which requires high levels of capital formation, postulates the need to keep production costs low in order to increase re-investable profits. Any steps which might increase costs of production, such as e.g. improvements in black wages and conditions of employment, are seen as dangerous for the profit rate, reinvestment and the growth rate. In this way a high growth rate and improvement in black labour's position are often viewed as alternatives. . . . No broad generalisation is possible, since the conclusion depends on estimates put on a number of variables, e.g. the rates of personal and company taxation, the growth of white income levels and savings, growth of labour productivity, the inflow of capital, the growth of non-essential government expenditure, growth of black disposable income and its impact on domestic consumer demand etc. It seems erroneous to argue that black conditions of employment cannot be improved just because all the other variables are assumed to be fixed and since in that case rising wage costs would retard the growth rate. It has to be acknowledged that the movement towards improved conditions of employment necessitates some fundamental

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 and 27 September.

change in the economy which, in order to succeed, has to be accompanied by other comprehensive adjustments. If the possibility of this is denied, the basic argument of the withdrawal school . . . would actually hold, i.e. that no lasting improvements for blacks are possible within the existing politico-economic structure of the country."

Their analysis of the possible role of foreign investment in progressive developments in South Africa, together with careful consideration of the arguments for and against both withdrawal and constructive engagement, led the authors to conclude (page 137) that, "The panel is opposed to a policy of withdrawal with respect to the investment of foreign capital in South Africa. The alternative policy of constructive engagement is proposed by the panel, in line with the thinking of most South African leaders and many overseas critics . . . For the future development in South Africa foreign investment, in particular inside the homelands, is seen to play a crucial role. Investment which is geared to the demands of responsible management should thus be actively encouraged."

United Kingdom¹

In 1972 a study critical of investment in South Africa written by Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christabel Gurney, entitled *The South African Connection* was published.

The British newspaper *The Guardian* published a series of articles, beginning in March and continuing through to May, criticizing the employment practices of selected British companies operating in South Africa. These provoked wide-spread interest and evoked considerable reaction.

The Trade and Industry Sub-committee of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Public Expenditure instituted an inquiry into the wages and working conditions of African workers employed by British firms in the Republic. This inquiry was still in progress when this *Survey* went to press. The Department of Trade and Industry published its guidelines to British firms investing in South Africa. (The visit of a delegation from the Trades Union Congress to the Republic is described under the section on trade unions.)

In the wake of the *Guardian* exposé and the Select Committee hearings some companies made public aspects of their employment practices, recent improvements in wages and working conditions, and future intentions. Some of these companies stated that improvements were already in the pipeline but had been hastened by the publicity focused on foreign investors in the Republic. Detailed information on selected companies may become available when the Select Committee issues its report.

¹ Much of the information in this section has been culled from press reports, too numerous to mention individually.

Associated Portland Cement (Whites) increased the weekly wage of its lowest-paid category of African workers from R7,82 to R11,04 per week, an increase of over 40 per cent, while its higher-paid category's wages rose to R35,42 (for African drivers of earth-movers, cranes, and lorries.)

The chairman-elect of Barclays Bank visited South Africa to look, among other things, at the employment conditions of the bank's black workers. In April Barclays granted a twelve per cent increase in African wages.

The British Steel Corporation announced that it would spend about two per cent of its annual profits on local development programmes. This would amount to more than R10 000 a year. It also agreed to aim at securing *earnings* of black employees above the *poverty datum line* (P.D.L.)—then about R85 in Johannesburg according to some estimates.

Cadbury-Schweppes said that it kept its minimum wages above the secondary PDL and had raised wages twice in 1973. Cape Asbestos Company (Charter Consolidated) increased its African wages by about 25 per cent in line with the general increase in African mine wages. Since January 1972 it had increased African wages in its factories by 40 per cent. It had also arranged for a PDL study in a rural area from which mine labour was recruited.

The Caysier-Irvine Group announced that all African seamen working in its ships would be paid the equivalent of the British rate. This amounted virtually to doubling the rate from about R80 to R160 per month. A. Cohen and Company increased the African wages at its South African subsidiary, Metal Sales Company Ltd., and announced that further increases were likely.

The Courtauld Group, which had been subjected to some very blunt criticism, sent the personal assistant of its chairman and the company's chief medical officer to South Africa to investigate allegations about its employment practices. It later doubled the wages of African workers on its forestry estates and wattle plantations and substantially improved accommodation, rations, and sanitary and health facilities. It also said that wages would be reviewed twice a year. The general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of S.A. said later that several manufacturing companies in which Courtauld had substantial interests had raised their minimum starting wage to R20 per week for men and R12,50 per week for women with family allowances of R3,00 per week for workers with five years' experience and allowances of R1,50 per child, up to a maximum of four children. Wages would be reviewed every six months. A medical aid scheme was being introduced as well as a pension scheme for workers with more than ten years' service. A bursary scheme for employees' children was also being introduced.

English Calico said that the wages of workers at its South African subsidiary, Natal Thread Company, had been increased by

65 per cent in 1973. G.E.C. said that it was company policy that no employee should be paid less than the PDL (then R85 per month according to some estimates). All wage rates as well as other benefits were being examined. I.C.I. announced that its minimum rate for adult male black workers was R20,50 per week.

Lord Stokes, chairman of the Leyland Motor Corporation, visited South Africa and said that the local company was reviewing its wage scales, other benefits, and its job structure. A wage increase amounting to 30 per cent in some instances was announced later. This brought the minimum wage to R81 per month.

The London and Australian General Exploration group granted a 20 per cent increase at two mines but absolute *cash* wages, nevertheless, remained very low.

The Metal Box Company of S.A. said that it was paying unskilled labourers R62,40 per month. Its black wage rates were 45 per cent above the prescribed minimum wage laid down in Government Wage Determinations. In the last 18 months its black wage bill had increased by some R833 000. It later raised its minimum unskilled wage to R78,05 per month and also stated that it would welcome the establishment of proper black trade unions.

Pilkington Brothers stated that more than 90 per cent of its workers were remunerated at rates above the *minimum effective level*. It also had an extensive system of other benefits.

For a concise description of the past practices, present conditions, and future intentions of Palabora Mining Company (principal shareholders being Rio Tinto-Zinc and Newmont Mining Corporation) readers are referred to the publication *Management Responsibility and African Employment* mentioned earlier in this section.

Shell and British Petroleum have accepted that the minimum effective level should be the target for minimum wages in the near future. In 1973 their minimum wage for a single black worker was R94,80 per month while the average wage for black workers was R150,42 per month. Shell's top wage scale for black workers is R302-R500 per month. In 1967 black workers had constituted only 1,8 per cent of the "staff" as opposed to the "labour" categories but by June 1973 they constituted 14,1 per cent. These companies have contributory pension funds whereby workers in the "staff" category contribute 5 per cent of their wages against 18 per cent contributed by the company, while in the "labour" category workers contribute 5 per cent and the company 23,5 per cent. Fringe benefits are estimated to cost the companies R32 per worker per month on average. They also provide bursaries for employees and their children.

Slater Walker Securities was also criticised rather severely for its employment practices in South Africa. As far as can be ascertained, its response was the most immediate of any of the

British companies to be publicly censured. It sent a senior executive at short notice to the Republic to investigate the allegations. The following statement to its shareholders was released in April:

"Your Board, in conjunction with the Board of Slater, Walker Securities (U.K.), recently instituted an investigation into the pay and working and living conditions of the non-European workers employed by SWS (S.A.) and its subsidiary companies.

"This investigation consisted of an examination of the rates of pay and other benefits received by all non-European workers. There were visits to the companies involved and to several of the wattle farms of the Natal Tanning Extract Company Limited (NTE). Working and living conditions were inspected at first hand. There were discussions with many of the workers and an interview with the Chief of a Zulu tribe of 70 000, some of whom were employed by NTE. There were also discussions with a local Bantu Affairs Commissioner, with the head of the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa and with the head of the Natal Employers' Association.

"The result of the investigation has been to determine that in four out of its five subsidiary operating companies SWS (S.A.) pays well above average wages and has a progressive labour relations policy, including pension funds and joint consultative machinery. In the remaining company, NTE, which accounts for 16% of SWS (S.A.) profits, pay and conditions are inadequate. The situation is partially explained by the company having a rural work force in a rural area which is different in many respects from an industrial work force in an urban area.

"The investigation has identified areas of concern. Consequently, NTE and SWS (S.A.) have prepared a nine point action programme for immediate implementation to improve pay and conditions of its African workers.

- "1. The average wage rate of all African agricultural workers at NTE will be increased by approximately 50% in 1973 and the wage rate of the lowest paid African workers will be increased by 100%.
2. The company will shortly launch, in conjunction with a number of other corporations, a major programme of independent research into the economic and social conditions of African agricultural workers.
The principal objective of this research will be to determine new methods whereby companies can help their African workers to make further improvements in their working and living conditions. The research will also produce an independent assessment of Poverty Datum Lines (PDL) for different parts of the country and different types of worker, and wages of NTE workers will be increased to at least this level by early 1974.
3. Free milk will be provided for all children of employees and the meat content of the ration will be increased.
4. Free protective clothing will be issued to all male employees.
5. Investment in new housing and facilities will be increased substantially.
6. Twelve schools will be built and equipped on company land, subject to the relevant government authorisation.
7. The proportion of the workers' medical expenses to be met by the company will be increased from 33% to 90% and clinics, with resident nurses, will be opened on some farms with a view to introducing them on all. Children will be examined by a doctor once a month.

8. Workers' consultative committees will be set up on all farm districts.
9. A Personnel and Welfare Officer for African employees will be appointed at NTE Head Office.

"In addition, the Board of SWS (S.A.) is appointing a Manager for non-European Employee Relations to report directly to them on pay and working and living conditions of all non-European personnel of all companies in the group. The company fully accepts its responsibility for ensuring that wages paid and benefits enjoyed by its non-European workers are in excess of the recognised PDL's in the different areas. The company regards this as an absolute minimum, and will continue to improve the standard of its employees' pay and conditions."

The Standard Bank has donated R10 000 to a pre-school project (for Indians) in Lenasia (an Asian township near Johannesburg).

Tate and Lyle stated that the wages of African workers on its plantation in South Africa had risen by 75 per cent since it acquired the company four years ago. A twenty-five per cent wage increase, in line with that given by the S.A. sugar industry, was later announced.

Unilever stated that its policy was equal pay for equal work irrespective of colour and that in ten years African wages had increased by 162 per cent against an increase of 71 per cent for Whites.

Wilson Rowntree negotiated substantial increases for its workers with the Sweet Workers' Union. Labourers' minimum wages were increased to R17,00 per week (a rise between 1972 and mid-1973 of nearly 62 per cent for women and over 30 per cent for men).

The Church of England general synod could come to no definite decision on the question of investments in companies with a stake in South Africa. The British Council of Churches commended a report which opposed further emigration from Britain and Ireland to South Africa.

United States

Rather detailed information on the policies and activities of the Nixon Administration, the Democratic Party, and various groups in connection with investment in South Africa was given on pages 223-230 of last year's *Survey*.

In February the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of African Affairs issued a document entitled *Employment Practices of U.S. Firms in South Africa* which contained information on what some U.S. companies were doing in S.A. together with suggestions on improving employment practices. In his testimony to the Africa sub-committee of the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. David Newsom, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, put the American stake in S.A. at \$1 000 000 000 which constituted 25

per cent of all U.S. investment in Africa as a whole and 15 per cent of foreign investment in the Republic. He said that in the last five years American investment in other parts of Africa had been rising at 15 per cent compared with a rate of 12,8 per cent in the Republic.¹ Mr. Newsom had also visited London and Bonn to see what the British and German governments' views on the issue were.

The Church Project's² campaign to file shareholder resolutions with U.S. companies operating in Southern Africa continued in 1973 with challenges of one kind or another issued to the following twenty-five companies: American Metal Climax, Inc.; Bethlehem Steel Corporation; Burroughs Corporation; Caterpillar Tractor Company; Chrysler Corporation; Continental Oil Company; Eastman Kodak Company; Exxon Corporation; First National City Bank; Foote Mineral Company, Inc.; Ford Motor Company; General Electric Company; General Motors Corporation; Good-year Tire and Rubber Company; IBM Corporation; ITT Corporation; Mobil Oil; Newmont Mining Corporation; Phelps Dodge Corporation; Phillips Petroleum Company; 3M Company; Texaco, Inc.; Union Carbide Corporation; Weyerhaeuser Company; Xerox Corporation. Events in this regard were covered by a series of proxy statements issued from time to time by the Church Project while the Africa Policy Information Centre of the African American Institute gave more detailed coverage to this campaign in a bulletin, *Update*. The latter also issued summary notes of a seminar on Southern African corporate proxy issues held on 28 March 1973. Of eleven companies asked to disclose certain information about their operations in S.A., seven agreed to do so voluntarily while another four allowed disclosure resolutions to appear on their proxy material. In these four instances the disclosure resolutions were easily defeated at corporate annual meetings but some of the information requested was released later. *Update* for September 1973 contained a useful analysis of the limited information that the companies challenged were prepared to release.

Congressman Charles Diggs has introduced a Bill to disqualify American companies from receiving any U.S. Government contract unless their South African subsidiaries eliminate racial discrimination as far as the law in South Africa allows. This Bill would create an appointment for a U.S. Government official to monitor the activities of American companies in South Africa. Its introduction was being considered by the Congressional House judiciary sub-committee.³

In South Africa Mobil Oil offered to grant KwaZulu R10 000

¹ It should be pointed out, however, that the exchange controls unfavourable to South Africa imposed by the Johnson Administration will expire at the end of 1974. (*Star*, 28 March.)

² See pages 225-6 of last year's *Survey*.

³ *Star*, 21 September.

a year for five years for the development of the homeland.⁴ Mobil and Caltex adopted the *minimum effective level* as the target for their basic black wage in the near future. Caltex's basic minimum in August 1973 was R89,91 per month while that of Esso, which had a small staff of sixty, was R113,75. Caltex's average monthly wage was R117 for Africans, R150 for Coloured people, and R220 for Asians. Mobil's average wage for all black employees was R136 per month. Mobil's top black wage was on the scale R458,33 - R541,66 per month, while Caltex's was R333 - R416 per month, and Esso's top black wage was R118,50.⁵

General Motors offered to lend R500 000 to the Port Elizabeth City Council to build 100 houses in Coloured residential areas with their workers being given preference over other applicants for completed houses. A further R100 000 a year was to be made available to eligible employees to assist them to purchase their own homes.⁶ A further donation of R400 000 spread over three years was made to provide sports facilities for Africans and Coloured people in Port Elizabeth.⁷ Chrysler announced that its minimum rate for a factory worker provided an average monthly income of R93,15 with the highest hourly-paid black workers earning R243,00 per month. All jobs in the factory were evaluated and graded into a wage structure providing for black job advance and a training scheme was established.⁸ Ford (S.A.) raised its minimum wage to R102 a month.⁹

Kelloggs introduced a bursary scheme for the children of its black employees in high schools and at advanced educational levels and hoped that it would be able to do the same for primary school pupils in 1974.¹⁰ The Polaroid franchise holders, Frank and Hirsch, said that during their two-and-a-half year "experiment" wages had undergone dramatic changes. Whereas 98 black employees had been earning less than R70 per month when the changes were first instituted none were in mid-1973. There had been 61 blacks in the bracket R70-R103 but this had risen to 103, with those earning above R130 per month rising from 22 to 50. The new absolute minimum for black workers was R81 per month rising to R90 after a year's experience. The current average black wage was R128 per month and the top black wage R347. Certain senior black staff might be allowed to participate in the firm's profit fund in the near future.¹¹ Kodak stated that its lowest grade African and Coloured employees were receiving R103 per month on a scale rising to approximately R300 with other benefits applying equally to black and white employees. There was a

⁴ *Star*, 2 March.

⁵ *Cape Times*, 11 August.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 May.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22 August.

⁸ *Sunday Times*, 10 June.

⁹ *Eastern Province Herald*, 14 April.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 March.

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 April.

housing loan plan which could not be applied equally to Africans because of Government restrictions on home-ownership, but on the other hand Africans received education loans which other employees did not.¹² Colgate-Palmolive dismissed black employees who had stopped work in support of demands for higher pay during the wave of industrial unrest at the beginning of 1973.¹³

Western Europe

The annual report of the German-South Africa Association noted¹: "The mass media of the Federal Republic, the Evangelical Church and the Ecumenical Movement, as well as the whole Left-wing intellectual sectors of our public life, continue to engage in battle against the Whites of Southern Africa and against German firms participating in the development of that region".

Mrs. Lenelotte von Bothmer, a Social Democratic member of the foreign affairs committee of the Bundestag, asked the Federal Government to investigate the wages and working conditions of black workers employed by West German firms operating in the Republic.²

Siemens issued a schedule of its black wages which indicated that 580 black workers with less than six month's service earned an average wage of R88 per month. Its highest African wage was R171 per month and its highest Coloured wage was R185 per month. About 203 labourers on construction sites in rural areas were being paid R60 per month. It had a non-contributory medical aid scheme for white employees and for selected black employees; a non-contributory pension fund for all staff, and granted 30 days sick leave a year which was extended to 45 days in cases of accident on duty.³ Siemens later said that while the *average* black wage in the lower grades was R88 per month it was possible that some workers were being paid less than R65.⁴

There is little overt criticism in France of French investment in South Africa. The only hard data on black wage scales in French concerns is that of Total Oil in mid-1973 when its lowest black wage was R92,08 per month and its highest wage being paid to a black was R400,38.⁵

In the Netherlands a campaign was launched against Philips for its South African operations.⁶

The Danish Government ordered an investigation into the wages being paid by Danish companies in South Africa.⁷

¹² *Star*, 8 June.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 February.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 January.

² *Ibid.*, 28 April.

³ *Ibid.*, 5 May.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 June.

⁵ *Cape Times*, 11 August.

⁶ *Volkskrant*, 17 February; *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

⁷ *Star*, 29 March.

In the wake of a report on Swiss involvement in South Africa, produced by the Centre for Europe and the Third World and entitled *Suisse-Afrique du Sud: Relations économiques et politiques*, the Swiss Government said that it had not the power to give orders to private Swiss firms and added that as far as it knew employees of Swiss subsidiaries in South Africa enjoyed wages and working conditions which compared favourably with those of other foreign investors.⁸ Mr. Collins Ramusi, the Lebowa Minister of the Interior announced, after a meeting with senior executives of the Swiss pharmaceutical company Ciba-Geigy, that the company had agreed to introduce the principle of equal pay for equal work with immediate effect, to provide training facilities for their African employees, and to give science scholarships for African students at the University of the North.⁹

Canada

In June *The Gazette* (Montreal) carried an exposé of the wages and working conditions at the following Canadian firms operating in South Africa: Alcan, Bata, Massey-Ferguson, Falconbridge (South West Africa/Namibia), and Sun Life Assurance. Massey-Ferguson said that their lowest wage earned by an African was R73,18 per month while the highest was R219,55. The average gross monthly salary for African workers was R97,58 and the company had pension and bursary schemes.¹⁰

THE COST OF LIVING

In its annual report the South African Reserve Bank referred to what is presently one of South Africa's most pressing problems: the high rate of price increases. Between June 1972 and June 1973 consumer prices on the seasonally adjusted index rose by 10,1 per cent. If the average of the monthly indexes for 1972/73 were to be compared with the average for the preceding year the consumer price index rose by 8,2 per cent. (See Reserve Bank report for an explanation of the different statistical measures.) Food (16,5 per cent increase) and services, including housing, (9,5 per cent increase) were among the major contributory factors in the sharp rise in consumer prices.

Wholesale prices of goods for domestic consumption which had accelerated by 7,3 per cent in 1971/72 rose very sharply by 13,3 per cent in 1972/73. The main contributory factor was a sharp rise in the prices of South African produced agricultural goods which rose by 23,7 per cent.

The Government has appointed a standing advisory com-

⁸ *Star*, 10 September.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 July.

¹⁰ *Star*, 18 May.

mittee on inflation,¹¹ while the Ministry of Economic Affairs has issued a booklet entitled *Inflation and our Welfare*.

MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS

In past issues of this *Survey* estimates of minimum living standards in different areas calculated by various agencies have been provided as they became available. The question of a measure for defining poverty levels has now entered a controversial phase in South Africa.

The method of calculating any *poverty line* was generally based on that adapted by Professor Edward Batson from earlier British models to suit the South African situation. Batson's technique, first applied in the early nineteen-forties, had become honoured by long use. Franklin in his discussion of minimum living standards for the International Labour Organisation said: "To a greater extent than Rowntree in his later studies Batson tends to confine the concept of minimum needs to things needed to support life in the short run. . . . However, Batson is not entirely rigorous in confining minimum needs to things needed to support life. There are references to customary standards in the determination of most of the requirements on his list, i.e. he makes some allowance for conventional necessities."¹¹ Batson uses two terms: the *poverty datum line* (PDL) and the *minimum effective level* (variously, effective minimum level and minimum efficiency level). The former consists of certain selected items including food, clothing, rent, transport for wage earners, fuel and light, and cleansing materials. It is a *datum* which can be applied to a single individual or to families of any given size and is based on a calculation of the lowest possible costs. The above items only maintain a household in good health by Western standards in the short run. It is evident that it is not a measure of human needs. His studies led Batson to conclude that a family could meet its actual needs and utilise its budget efficiently only when family income exceeded the PDL by some 50 per cent. This measure is known as the minimum effective level (MEL).

Among those who adopted Batson's approach in the nineteen-sixties was the Durban sociologist Professor H. L. Watts.² In recent times Professor J. F. Potgieter, Director of the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth, has used Watts' method with one principal and very important difference: whereas Watts had used a single daily food ration table compiled by the Department of Agricultural and Technical Services to derive

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July.

¹ N. N. Franklin. The concept and measurement of "minimum living standards". IN: *International Labour Review*, 95 (4), April 1967: 271-298.

² (a) H. L. Watts. The poverty datum line in three cities and four towns in the Republic of South Africa, 1967. Durban, Natal University Press, 1967.

(b) H. L. Watts. Poverty. IN: *Some implications of inequality*. Johannesburg, Spro-cas, 1971: 40-57.

basic dietary requirements, irrespective of race, Potgieter has used the Department's revised data which provide separate tables for each racial group. This affects the cost of the food component for black groups to a considerable extent. Potgieter's PDLs are thus lower than those of others also using Batson's basic approach but retaining the single daily food ration table.³ Table A lists various estimates of the PDL and the MEL in certain areas based on Batson's method (with some variations).

In 1973 the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa undertook a comprehensive investigation of minimum living standards. It accepted some of the items conventionally used in previous PDL's but revised others. Two reports on this investigation were issued.⁴ The Bureau defined two measures of minimum living standards: the *minimum subsistence level* (MSL) and the *humane standard of living* (HSL) which makes provision for more items than the MSL. In comparison with all previous studies these are very stringent measures indeed. The Bureau calculated both the MSL and HSL for black households ranging from 1 to 8 plus in size.

The Bureau's comprehensive report requires careful scrutiny by those interested in income levels and minimum wage fixing. Particular attention should be devoted to the preface, purpose, scope, and methodology of this study as well as to the components of the MSL and HSL. Table B lists the estimates of the MSL and HSL in rand per month in various areas for a household of *five persons*.

It is clear that the various criteria being employed are leading to some confusion. Readers with a particular interest in this subject would be well-advised to compare the various studies which have been mentioned in this section.

³ J. F. Potgieter. The poverty datum line in the major urban centres of the Republic. Port Elizabeth, Institute for Planning Research, April, 1973.

⁴ (a) Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. Pretoria, the Bureau, 1973.

(b) Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. Summary report. Pretoria, the Bureau, 1973.

TABLE A

The Poverty Datum Line and Minimum Effective Level in Some Areas in 1973

Area	Race	Household Size	PDL (Rand per month)	MEL (Rand per month)	Month
Johannesburg ^a	African	5	81,58	122,37	May
Johannesburg ^a	African	6	74,68	112,02	March/April
Johannesburg ^a	Coloured	5	83,00	124,50	March/April
Pretoria ^a	African	6	75,44	113,16	March/April
Pretoria ^a	Coloured	5	85,00	127,50	March/April
Vereeniging (Sebokeng) ⁷	African	5	89,48	134,22	February
Vereeniging (Sebokeng) ⁷	African	1	28,06	42,09	February
Bloemfontein ^a	African	6	74,55	111,82	March/April
Bloemfontein ^a	Coloured	5	78,79	118,18	March/April
Kroonstad ^a	African	6	83,55	125,32	March
Kroonstad ^a	Coloured	5	81,17	121,76	March
Parys ^a	African	6	85,69	128,54	March
Parys ^a	Coloured	5	77,48	116,22	March
Durban ^a	African	5,2	97,67	147,21	June
Durban ^a	African	6	78,13	117,19	March/April
Durban ^a	Coloured	5	84,68	127,02	March/April
Ladysmith ^a	African	6	74,66	111,99	March/April
Empangeni ¹¹	African	6	70,12	105,18	March
Cape Town ^a	African	6	81,80	122,70	March/April
Cape Town ^a	Coloured	5	98,58	147,87	March/April
Cape Town ¹¹	African	6	92,49	138,73	April
Cape Town ¹¹	Coloured	5	99,71	149,56	April
Port Elizabeth ^a	African	6	78,58	117,87	March/April
Port Elizabeth ^a	Coloured	5	89,86	134,79	March/April
East London ^a	African	6	76,63	114,94	March/April
East London ^a	Coloured	5	88,38	132,57	March/April
Uitenhage and Despatch ^a	African	6	76,44	114,66	March/April
Uitenhage and Despatch ^a	Coloured	5	87,12	130,68	March/April
Grahamstown ¹²	African	6	66,32	—	March
King William's Town ^a	African	6	68,96	103,44	March/April
King William's Town ^a	Coloured	5	75,74	113,61	March/April
Transkei Rural Areas ¹³	African	7	53,73	63,94	December 1968
Kimberley ^a	African	6	78,48	117,72	March/April
Kimberley ^a	Coloured	5	85,79	128,68	March/April
Kimberley ^a	African	6	93,93	140,90	March
Kimberley ^a	Coloured	5	90,23	135,35	March

Sources:

^a Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, *Bantu Family Budget*. Circular dated 25 July. (The J.C.C.'s PDL includes taxation, medical expenses and education which are not normally included in the conventional PDL. It adds certain other items to give a *minimum family budget* of R91,14 in this instance. The MEL has been calculated by the writer and gives a slightly inflated figure by conventional standards resulting from the inclusion of the items mentioned above.)

⁷ J. F. Potgieter. *Op cit.*, page 60. (This study does not provide figures for the MEL although Potgieter mentions this measure. These figures have been supplied by the writer.)

(References for this table continued overleaf.)

TABLE B

The Bureau of Market Research's Minimum Subsistence Levels and Humane Standards of Living for Five-Person Households in Certain Areas in May 1973¹⁴

Area	Race	MSL (Rand per month)	HSL (Rand per month)
Alberton	African	58,73	75,96
Benoni	African	58,31	76,82
Boksburg	African	58,66	75,38
Brakpan	African	62,12	79,56
Cape Peninsula	African	68,82	89,17
Cape Peninsula	Coloured	72,72	94,27
Durban	African	63,26	81,91
Durban	Indian	72,02	99,83
East London	African	61,83	80,61
Germiston	African	58,13	75,55
Johannesburg	African	62,11	79,58
Kempton Park	African	60,94	78,23
Krugersdorp	African	56,63	72,85
Port Elizabeth	African	65,07	85,86
Port Elizabeth	Coloured	71,24	94,37
Pretoria	African	54,54	71,21
Roodepoort	African	59,81	77,67
Springs	African	58,20	74,51
Uitenhage	African	64,62	85,62
Vereeniging/Vanderbijlpark ...	African	58,48	76,94

⁷ Vereeniging Chamber of Commerce. Does your Bantu employee receive a living wage? *IN: Vereeniging Chamber of Commerce Newsletter*, March 1973. (This PDL also included a number of items not conventionally included in the PDL. The MEL is thus considerably inflated.)

⁸ Garment Workers' Union of South Africa. Memorandum of proposals by the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa for the revision of main agreement for the clothing industry, Orange Free State and Northern Cape . . . Johannesburg, the Union, 1973, Annexure "A". (There was an error in the calculation of the African MEL for Kroonstad, corrected here.)

⁹ P. N. Pillay. A poverty datum line study among Africans in Durban. Durban, University of Natal, Dept. of Economics, Occasional paper No. 3, 1973, Appendix, Table A1. (This PDL is for a weighted mean household of 5.2 persons. It includes taxation.)

¹⁰ Institute for Social Research and South African Institute of Race Relations (Natal Region). Unpublished paper.

¹¹ Michael Hubbard. The poverty datum line and effective minimum level for African and Coloured families in Cape Town, April 1973. Cape Town, S.A.I.R.R., 1973. (This study includes tax, health and education which are not normally included in the conventional PDL.)

¹² Rhodes University, Wages and Economics Commission. The poverty datum line: Grahamstown: March 1973. Grahamstown, the Commission, April 1973, circular. (This is a primary PDL, i.e. it excludes rent and transport.)

¹³ Johann Maree. Problems of definition and measurement of the underutilisation of labour in the traditional rural sector of an economy with migrant labour. . . . University of Sussex, unpublished dissertation, 1972 p. 68-79. (This study used a variation in the approach to calculating the PDL and MEL. The data are badly out of date but are included here as there is a lack of similar data in rural areas in the Republic. Several studies of rural poverty datum lines are in progress.) A draft memorandum was presented to the S.A. Agricultural Union later in the year suggesting that a cash wage of R42 per month—if no food and clothing were provided—would meet the minimum subsistence needs of the family of an agricultural labourer. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.)

¹⁴ Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. P. 27.

INCOME LEVELS, WAGES, AND POVERTY

The 1970 population census indicated that, at that time, roughly 25,1 per cent of the White, 1,2 per cent of the Coloured, and 2,6 per cent of the Indian population had a total income of R2 000 or more per annum. The numbers and percentages in each income group are contained in Table C. Similar figures for the African population are not available and will probably not be issued since it appears to be difficult to provide reliable estimates in their case.

TABLE C

Total Income by Racial Group 1970 (White, Coloured, Asian)¹

	White Number 1 845 320	Per Centage 92,3	Coloured Number 1 214 300	Per Centage 93,4	Asian Number 398 260	Per Centage 91,2
	Per		Per		Per	
Rand	White	Centage	Coloured	Centage	Asian	Centage
None	1 998 850	53,7	1 300 740	64,4	436 730	70,7
0— 400	139 420	3,7	374 560	18,5	49 020	7,9
400— 799	151 800	4,1	193 980	9,6	59 360	9,6
800—1 199	159 480	4,3	73 300	3,6	29 440	4,8
1 200—1 599	193 190	5,2	33 930	1,7	18 680	3,0
1 600—1 999	141 510	3,8	18 690	0,9	8 760	1,4
2 000—2 499	191 530	5,1	25 170	1,2	16 010	2,6
2 500—2 999	135 900	3,6				
3 000—3 999	264 760	7,1				
4 000—5 999	212 990	5,7				
6 000—9 999	96 120	2,6				
10 000+	38 170	1,0				
Query	2 820	0,1	1 060	0,1	140	0,0
	3 726 540	100,0	2 021 430	100,0	618 140	100,0

The Bureau of Market Research updated black household incomes between 1970 and 1973 according to the latest Peromnes salary survey and then tabulated the percentage of black households whose total income fell *above* the MSL and HSL in May 1973. Data for each family size were provided.² Table D below lists the *total* figures only of multiple households in certain areas.

Detailed information on expenditure patterns of black households in the five main metropolitan areas of South Africa in 1970 was contained in a further report issued by the Bureau of Market Research.³ (See also pages 233-5 of last year's *Survey*.)

In March 1972 the Productivity and Wage Association conducted a comprehensive national African Wage Survey which was briefly mentioned on pages 235-6 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

¹ Department of Statistics, Population Census 6 May 1970. Sample Tabulation: Personal Income—Whites, Coloureds and Asians. (Percentages calculated by writer.)

Of those people with no recorded income children under the age of 15 years and women of 15 years and over accounted for the following numbers and percentages:

² Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. Pages 30-43.

³ Bureau of Market Research. Market potentials of consumer goods and services for Non-White population groups in the five main metropolitan areas of the Republic of South Africa in 1970. Research report no. 34 of 1973.

TABLE D

Percentage of Multiple Households Whose Total Income Fell Above Their MSL and HSL by Sex of Household Head and Area According to the Bureau of Market Research

Area	Race		Male	Female
			%	%
Cape Peninsula	African	MSL	83	58
		HSL	64	42
Cape Peninsula	Coloured	MSL	92	86
		HSL	85	81
Durban	African	MSL	72	60
		HSL	54	45
Durban	Indian	MSL	81	78
		HSL	69	65
East London	African	MSL	63	52
		HSL	48	33
Johannesburg	African	MSL	82	71
		HSL	73	56
Kempton Park	African	MSL	80	90
		HSL	66	80
Krugersdorp	African	MSL	83	43
		HSL	70	29
Port Elizabeth	African	MSL	75	50
		HSL	54	24
Port Elizabeth	Coloured	MSL	98	80
		HSL	94	80
Pretoria	African	MSL	82	67
		HSL	64	51
Uitenhage	African	MSL	67	42
		HSL	49	33

Early in 1973 the services of the Productivity and Wage Association were incorporated in a programme called "Operation Progress" under the auspices of the National Development and Management Foundation (NDMF). During March 1973 a further survey was conducted, extended this time to all black employees (i.e. Coloured and Asian employees were also covered). Some 1 780 completed questionnaires covering 258 748 black employees were returned. The 1973 wage survey redefined the 1972 job categories and reduced the number from eight to six. These range from number one where the job involves a few simple, highly repetitive tasks through to number six which is for artisans who have served a recognised apprenticeship. Further improvements in the 1973 wage survey were (a) that separate tables were provided for the average wages of men and women, and (b) separate tables distinguished the main industrial areas from minor industrial areas. Tables E, F, G, H and I give the respective average wage rates by race and sex for the whole of South Africa and South West Africa.

TABLE E
Operation Progress: Average Wages: African Men
 March 1973

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Average weekly wage	R 13,46	R 16,14	R 18,16	R 22,21	R 25,47	R 32,06	
Average % increase over last year	20,78%	20,86%	20,08%	16,54%	17,04%	19,94%	
Total employees reported	No. 109 278	No. 46 643	No. 28 789	No. 13 436	No. 5 554	No. 2 482	206 182

Of these African male workers, 26 047 or 12,6 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week which would exclude them from contributing to or benefitting from the unemployment insurance fund.

TABLE F
Operation Progress: Average Wages: African Women
 March 1973

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Average weekly wage	R 8,89	R 9,31	R 11,66	R 14,61	R 20,06	R 23,23	
Average % increase over last year	13,23%	23,18%	18,79%	15,10%	5,86%	16,69%	
Total employees reported	3 963	2 042	1 724	855	280	18	8 882

Of these African female workers, 5 494 or 61,9 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

TABLE G

*Operation Progress: Average Wages: Coloured Men
March 1973*

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	15,70	21,52	26,78	32,12	36,85	41,48	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	12,88	11,77	9,66	11,36	13,27	8,45	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	5 876	5 389	4 449	2 497	1 300	914	20 425

Of these Coloured male workers, 1 441 or 7,1 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

TABLE H

*Operation Progress: Average Wages: Coloured Women
March 1973*

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	11,82	10,05	19,36	22,62	21,42	26,23	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	12,69	21,05	8,36	11,11	16,28	12,41	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	2 750	2 661	2 229	1 291	214	82	9 227

Of these Coloured female workers, 2 613 or 28,3 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

TABLE I
Operation Progress: Average Wages: Asian Men
March 1973

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	8,13	16,61	20,90	26,04	35,52	45,02	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	18,24	17,62	16,08	12,33	13,17	9,73	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	4 346	2 100	2 602	3 038	1 634	311	14 031

Of these Asian male workers, 3 472 or 24,8 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

For practical purposes the data by area and industry contained in this wage survey are more useful than the overall national figures.⁴

Peromnes Salary Surveys indicate that, on a percentage basis *per capita* earnings of black South Africans have been rising relatively faster than white earnings. Between September 1970 and March 1973 earnings of Whites (men and women) rose by 17,5 per cent, those of Asian men by 20,9 per cent, those of African men by 29,8 per cent and those of Coloured men by 38,3 per cent. In the year ended April 1973, white remuneration rose by 7,3 per cent whereas African men's earnings rose by 16,6 per cent. The earnings of Coloured men virtually stood still in this period.⁵

Market Research Africa (Pty) Ltd. has estimated that there are some 634 000 young white adults between the ages of 16 and 24 in the Republic and South West Africa. Of these 54 per cent work full-time and a further 2 per cent part-time. The estimated average monthly income of these young persons is R139 for men and R117 for women.⁶

In a speech at the opening of a furniture factory at Babelegi, the Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, said: "To me the most important principle is not the starting wage of an unskilled labourer. Of course I must appeal to you to pay a 'living wage', and surely in industry anything less than R14 a

⁴ National Development and Management Foundation. *Operation Progress. Wage Survey 1972-1973*. Johannesburg, the Foundation, 1973.

⁵ The information given has been extracted from a brief report in the *Financial Mail* of 4 May since these surveys are not available to the general public.

⁶ Market Research Africa. *A new look at youth*. Johannesburg, Market Research Africa, 1973.

week cannot be claimed to constitute a 'living wage'. The real crux of the pay issue lies, however, in the fields of training, promotion and advancement. Unless industrialists create opportunities and facilities for, and give active and sincere encouragement to training and advancement of their Black labour force, how can I be expected not to take issue with them."⁷

In January the Institute of Race Relations and the South African Institute of Personnel Management jointly sponsored a conference on "Closing the Wage Gap". In his opening address, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said that everyone in South Africa was now beginning to appreciate that there was something wrong in the wage situation in South Africa. He emphasised that prosperity was indivisible and no-one gained from the ignorance and poverty of others, and went on to say that three of the important issues which had to be faced were education, the phasing out of migrant labour, and the rate for the job.⁸

Among the other papers delivered at this conference and published subsequently were:

Dr. Arndt Spandau. *National income in South Africa: its growth and distribution*. RR. 3/73.

Professor Sheila T. van der Horst. *National income in South Africa: its growth and distribution*. *Lead-in paper*. RR. 11/73.

Mr. J. H. Thomas. *The wage structure in the clothing industry, South Africa*. RR. 86/73.

Mr. D. A. Etheredge. *Wages, productivity and opportunity*. RR. 1/73.

These papers dealt in some detail with complicated economic issues and lack of space in a publication of this nature precludes a brief and, therefore, probably meaningless evaluation of their contents. They are recommended to readers with a special interest in these matters. However, a point to note, in view of the deliberations at this conference where attention was focussed on "belt-tightening" and "size-of-the-market" economic theories is the following comment from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Export Trade of the Republic of South Africa (Reynder's Commission):⁹ "The Commission has repeatedly referred to the fact that the size of the local market in many cases places a definite limit on the extent to which local manufacturers can benefit from economies of scale and/or prevents them from exploiting fully the decrease in cost per unit which can be had with increased utilisation of capacity. This reduces their ability to compete with overseas firms in the South African market and even more so in the international market."

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

⁸ *Race Relations News*, January 1973

⁹ R.P. 69/1972. p. 411-412.

WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY

The Minister of Labour said in April 1973¹ that there were 187 industrial council agreements in force but these included 84 agreements which provided for benefits such as pension and provident funds, medical aid and training schemes and other benefits. In other words, there were 103 *main* agreements in force. There were also four conciliation board awards and 75 wage determinations in force. The numbers of workers affected were:²

	White	Coloured	Asian	African
Industrial council agreements	196 603	212 660	60 419	528 193
Conciliation board awards ...	1 257	4 715	48	7 931
Wage determinations ...	111 310	57 726	17 063	304 036
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	309 170	275 101	77 530	840 160

This means that the salaries and wages of some 1 501 961 workers were covered by statutory *minimum* wage regulating instruments in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act or the Wage Act. Between the end of 1971 and the end of 1972 the number of White, Asian, and African workers covered by industrial council agreements showed a small decline, but Coloured workers increased by 19 745 (10,2 per cent). It is not possible to provide a meaningful comparison in respect of wage determinations since, according to the Minister's information, one determination seems to have been dropped between 1972 and 1973. This might merely mean that the industry was being re-investigated or that the determination had been superseded by some other instrument (presumably a conciliation board award). Nevertheless, the number of Africans covered by this wage regulating mechanism showed an increase of 10 932 (3,7 per cent).

The *Financial Mail* lists the names and addresses of industrial councils in its annual *Business Diary* and the Trade Union Council of South Africa issued a fact paper entitled *Industrial Councils in South Africa* in 1973. These publications are to a certain extent complementary. A comprehensive study of the industrial council system in South Africa has still to be undertaken. The South African Institute of Race Relations has issued a compendium of all wage determinations current in South Africa at 30 June 1973. This contains a brief analysis of some of the major issues involved in this system of *minimum* wage fixing and will, hopefully, be updated by subsequent fact papers on each determination as it is revised.³

¹ Hansard 9 cols. 619-621, 6 April.

² This was the position at 31 December 1972 in so far as agreements and awards were concerned. The figures in respect of wage determinations reflect the position at the time of the Wage Board's investigation of the particular industry. The actual number of workers covered by wage determinations could, thus, be much higher.

³ Laura Metter, *et al.* Wage determinations current in South Africa at 30 June 1973, Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1973.

The Minister of Labour has said that the efforts of the (Central Bantu) Labour Board at industrial council meetings in 1972 had resulted in additional wages of R32 000 000 being paid to 400 000 African workers.⁴ (This amounts to an average *per capita* increase of R1,54 per week in 1972—not noticeably generous in any terms.) In terms of Section 20 (8) of the Wage Act inspectors of labour are entitled to call upon employers to pay amounts due to the workers concerned (usually resulting from underpayment in terms of a wage determination or licence of exemption—whether accidental or deliberate). The Minister of Labour said that the following amounts were paid in this connection over the last five years:⁵

Year	<i>Paid to inspector for transmission to employee</i>	<i>Paid by the Secretary to the Cons. Rev. Fund</i>	<i>Paid by the Cons. Rev. Fund to the Secretary for pay- ment to the em- ployee</i>
	R	R	R
1968	96 607	7 488	1 535
1969	126 484	8 957	2 483
1970	129 977	6 791	1 657
1971	138 052	5 386	1 549
1972	112 540	7 193	738

The rather small amounts recorded above could indicate (a) that South African employers are particularly meticulous in observing rates of remuneration contained in wage regulating instruments issued under the Wage Act; (b) that workers are inadequately informed of their rights to seek restitution; and/or (c) the Department of Labour is inadequately equipped to “police” this provision effectively. This phenomenon may be the result of a combination of any one or more of the reasons mentioned. Unfortunately, the Minister was not asked for similar information on the industrial council system.

Two further contributions to the “wage debate” appeared in the *South African Journal of Economics*. In the first,⁶ Dr. Dudley Kessel examined Hume’s⁷ argument that raising black wages by, say, 15 to 20 per cent a year for five years would not have a marked inflationary impact on the economy. He concluded that increasing African wages in manufacturing by 20 per cent a year over a five-year period would raise prices by 7,2 per cent in that period against Hume’s 3,7 per cent. If Coloured and Asian earnings were subject to a yearly increase of 10 per cent at the same

⁴ Hansard 1 cols. 48-9, 5 February.

⁵ Hansard 18 col. 1006, 14 June.

⁶ Dudley Kessel. Non-White wage increases and inflation in South Africa. *South African Journal of Economics* 40 (4), December 1972: 361-376.

⁷ Ian Hume. Notes on South African wage movements. *South African Journal of Economics* 38 (3), September 1970: 240-256.

time this, together with the African increase of 20 per cent, would push prices up by nearly 11 per cent in the five-year period. Kessel tentatively suggests that a yearly increase of 12.8 per cent in black wages and a 3 per cent increase in white wages might be a more acceptable method of trying to keep down the inflationary impact of black wage increases. This would also involve the use of price controls so that a greater share of the burden of redistribution would fall on entrepreneurs, shareholders, etc., than on the working man.

Dr. Arndt Spandau⁸ examined Pursell's⁹ interpretation of Wage Board policy. Spandau points out that the White/African differential in several economic sectors "suggests that whatever the payability of a particular sector (may be), it is the Whites who enjoy the fruits of economic strength. Their Bantu workmates, however, no matter how profitable the industry in which they are engaged, usually receive wages just high enough to compensate for the most necessary expenditures on food, clothing and transport. . . These figures speak against Pursell's 'new deal' hypothesis. A real improvement of Bantu relative incomes must first rely on the enhancement of wages in sectors where the payability is greatest."¹⁰

Information on the activities of the students' wage commissions on (white) English-speaking campuses was given on pages 243-245 of last year's *Survey*. The students continued these activities in 1973. In June 1973 NUSWEL (the welfare arm of the National Union of South African Students) issued a newsletter entitled *Facts 2: The Wages Commissions*. This gives a brief history of the establishment of the wages commissions together with an outline of their activities and policies. In Cape Town the Students' Wages Commission and employers' groups are reported to have established a co-operative relationship.¹¹ The Cape Town commission presented the following evidence to the Wage Board additional to that reported in the 1972 issue of this *Survey*:

1. Cement manufacturing industry. November 1972. Recommendations for the prescribed minimum wages of unskilled labourers were R16,00 per week in 1973 rising to R18 in 1974 and R20 in 1975.
2. Mineral waters manufacturing industry. November 1972. Recommendations for unskilled labourers were R13,00 per week in 1973 rising to R16,25 in 1974 and R20,31 in 1975.
3. Watch patrol services. July 1973. Recommendation for the minimum wages of watchmen to be increased to R20,00 per

⁸ Arndt Spandau. South African Wage Board policy: an alternative interpretation. *South African Journal of Economics* 40 (4), December 1972: 377-387.

⁹ (a) Donald E. Pursell. Bantu real wages and employment opportunities. *South African Journal of Economics* 36 (2), June 1968: 87-103.

(b) Donald E. Pursell. The impact of the South African Wage Board on skilled/unskilled wage differentials. *The Eastern Africa Economic Review* 1 (1), June 1969: 73-81.

(c) Donald E. Pursell. South African labour policy: 'new deal' for Non-Whites? *Industrial Relations* 1, 1971: 36-48.

¹⁰ Spandau. *Op cit.* p. 385-7.

¹¹ *Financial Mail*, 27 April.

week, but certainly no lower than R16,70, which is the rate prescribed for watchmen in the general unskilled determination for the Cape.

The University of the Witwatersrand commission presented evidence to the Board in the following instance:

Bread and confectionery industry. February 1973. Recommended that the prescribed minimum wage for the lowest category of worker should be R22,67 per week based on a "realistic" *minimum effective level* or R20,28 based on a "conservative" one but certainly no lower than R13,52 based on a "conservative" *poverty datum line*. A further recommendation was that an escalator clause linked to the consumer price index should be provided.

During the wide-spread strikes in Natal (see relevant section of this chapter) the Minister of Labour had the following to say:¹² "It is unfortunately the case that employers were only prepared to grant wage increases, which they had previously opposed, as a result of the situation which then arose. It is a great pity that they only then agreed to do so. There is the case of a specific employer in a specific industry who at a Wage Board inquiry during the past year maintained that the basic wage for the worker could not be increased by 92 cents per week. They opposed the increase which was proposed only last year by the Wage Board. But just before the strike was imminent, the same concern was prepared to increase the wages immediately by R2 per week." The Minister later said:¹³ "It is my pleasure to announce that I have decided to issue an instruction to the Wage Board to revise five existing wage determinations relating to unskilled labour in a series of industries in the principal areas." He went on to say that he hoped the Board would be able to submit its recommendations within two months. (It is important to note that these particular wage determinations were not yet two years old and were, thus, being re-investigated in what was probably a uniquely short period.)

The Wage Board sat in the major urban centres to consider the wage clauses of the respective general unskilled labour determinations in April 1973.¹⁴ It also received written representations from the following groups:

Employers' Groups

- (a) The Cape Employers' Association
- (b) The Natal Employers' Association
- (c) The Durban Chamber of Commerce
- (d) The Natal Chamber of Industries

¹² Hansard 2 cols. 566-7, 13 February.

¹³ Hansard 3 col. 1073, 20 February.

¹⁴ Department of Labour. Report of the Wage Board to the Hon. the Minister of Labour by division A of the Wage Board. Unskilled labour: amendment to wage clause: wage determinations 328, 330, 336, 338 and 340. 30 April 1973.

Employees' Groups

- (e) The Central Bantu Labour Board
- (f) Trade Union Council of S.A. (an *ad hoc* committee)
- (g) South African Institute of Race Relations
- (h) The Wages Commission (University of Natal)
- (i) The Wages Commission (University of Cape Town)
- (j) The Wages and Economics Commission (University of the Witwatersrand)
- (k) The United Wages Action, Durban.

Groups (g) - (k) all recommended a minimum weekly wage of about R21,00 per week for an adult male labourer. The *ad hoc* committee of TUCSA did not make any specific recommendation but considered that wages should be substantially increased and laid particular emphasis on the "civilised standards of life" section in the Wage Act. In Durban and Johannesburg numbers of African workers attended the Wage Board's public sittings. The Wage Board subsequently recommended the following minimum rates for a male labourer of 18 years and over:

Area	First Year	Second Year	Thereafter
	R	R	R
Cape Peninsula	14,50	15,50	16,50
Durban	13,00	14,00	15,00
Port Elizabeth	13,00	14,00	15,00
East London	10,00	11,00	12,00
Johannesburg, Witwatersrand and Pretoria	13,00	14,00	15,00
Bloemfontein	12,00	13,00	14,00
Kimberley	12,00	13,00	14,00

The Wage Board's recommended new minima were described as still being "deplorably low" by Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn M.P., then the United Party's chief spokesman on labour, while the general secretary of TUCSA, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, warned that these new rates would do nothing to quell African labour unrest. The new minimum for the area was described as "totally ridiculous" by one Durban employer whose firm had been hit by the earlier strikes.¹⁵ The South African Institute of Race Relations lodged "its very strongest objections to the low level of the minima . . . being proposed in each respective instance." It pointed out that "in no instance will the proposed minima for adult males reach the stringent poverty levels calculated in March/April 1973 *even at the end of the two-year spread*". It also rejected the principle whereby the cash differential between the minima proposed for women and men would increase in every instance.¹⁶

In spite of objections the Board's proposals were promulgated in the *Government Gazette* as the new prescribed minima. (The writer cannot recall any instance in recent times when objections to proposed wage rates lodged by workers' representatives or

¹⁵ *Star*, 18 May.

¹⁶ A summary of these objections appeared in *Race Relations News*, June 1973, p. 6.

sympathetic organisations have been sustained by either the Board or the Minister of Labour.)

Brief information on an investigation by the Board into the commercial distributive trade was given on pages 245-246 of last year's *Survey*. The Board issued its report on 9 March. Objections were lodged by the National Union of Distributive Workers and this delayed the promulgation of a new determination. There were threats of a national strike in the trade.¹⁷

The Minister of Labour later in the year used powers conferred upon him by the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act (see relevant section of this chapter) to accede to the request of employers by raising wages in the Civil Engineering and Roadmaking Industries without a prior investigation by the Wage Board.¹⁸

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Data on economically active White, Coloured, and Asian people, based on the 1970 population census, were given on page 248 of last year's *Survey*. Similar information on the African population has now become available. This data is summarised in Table J.

TABLE J¹

Economically Active Africans in 1970

<i>Economic Sector</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
Agriculture	1 359 340	655 040	2 014 380	38,3
Mining	603 740	1 500	605 240	11,5
Manufacturing	441 460	70 080	511 540	9,7
Electricity	32 040	220	32 260	0,6
Construction	262 360	1 880	264 240	5,0
Commerce and Finance	295 360	53 900	349 260	6,6
Transport	138 200	1 420	139 620	2,7
Services	340 180	724 040	1 064 220	20,2
Unemployed	118 880	165 020	283 900	5,4
	<u>3 591 560</u>	<u>1 673 100</u>	<u>5 264 660</u>	<u>100,0</u>

Some 9 771 700 Africans, or 65,0 per cent of the total African population, fell in the unspecified and not economically active categories. The data included the number of foreign Africans (490 060) in the Republic at that time and 452 800 of these were

¹⁷ *Star*, 10 and 15 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 May; *Sunday Tribune*, 20 May.

¹⁸ Government Notices R.1818 and R.1819 of 5 October.

¹ Calculated from: Department of Statistics, Statistical News Release P. 11/69. Population census 1970: Industry — Bantu national units, 11 December 1972.

economically active. The writer, like many others, feels that the unemployment figure bears little relation to reality. The Institute of Race Relations issued a paper on employment trends entitled *Some notes on the economically active population 1960 and 1970* (RR. 78/73). This also gives data on the economically active persons in each occupational group.

The Minister of Statistics has given the following *estimates* of the economically active persons at the end of 1972:²

<i>Race</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
White	1 607 000	18,5
Coloured	754 000	8,7
Asian	197 000	2,3
African	6 130 000	70,5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8 688 000	100,0
	<hr/>	<hr/>

If these figures are accepted as a rough guideline, it appears that between the May 1970 population census and December 1972 the economically active population increased by roughly 109 500 White (7,3 per cent), 50 400 Coloured (7,2 per cent), 17 000 Asian (9,4 per cent), and 865 300 African (16,4 per cent) people. (It is not possible with these bare statistics to establish how many new African workers would have been absorbed by the agricultural sector and by subsistence agriculture in particular.)

African labour bureaux and employment contracts

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave figures for the number of labour bureaux at the end of 1972:³

Regional labour bureaux	9
Local labour bureaux	416
District labour bureaux	405
Territorial labour bureaux	7
Tribal labour bureaux	296

These figures show no change over the position at the end of 1971.

African workers do not register at regional or territorial labour bureaux. The Minister gave the following figures for African workers registered in each defined category of labour at local and district bureaux during 1972:⁴

² Hansard 10 cols. 652-3, 13 April.

³ Hansard 10 cols. 666-7, 13 April.

⁴ Hansard 16 cols. 943-5, 29 May.

	<i>Local Bureaux</i>		<i>District Bureaux</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>S.A. Nationals</i>	<i>Foreign Africans</i>	<i>S.A. Nationals</i>	<i>Foreign Africans</i>	
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	89 612	4 783	312 906	13 299	420 600
2. Manufacturing	569 558	10 834	32 133	941	613 466
3. Mining and quarrying	46 475	4 182	54 569	47 153	152 379
4. Construction	271 647	5 951	38 408	2 576	318 582
5. Wholesale and retail trade	214 581	3 119	5 780	51	223 531
6. Financial institutions	16 003	265	567	—	16 835
7. Private transport ...	34 126	383	2 015	10	36 534
8. Accommodation and catering	91 356	2 014	3 356	18	96 744
9. Other private business services	47 246	610	2 666	141	50 663
10. Public corporations ...	41 669	2 694	7 002	374	51 739
11. South African Railways and Harbours	67 927	4 903	10 857	91	83 778
12. Government Departments and Provincial Administrations ...	130 524	1 798	9 471	91	141 884
13. Local authorities ...	119 133	2 460	8 829	36	130 458
14. Semi-government organisations	10 146	152	1 511	18	11 827
15. Domestic servants ...	561 798	8 746	27 869	174	598 587
16. Other	117 772	2 483	2 773	22	123 050
	<u>2 429 573</u>	<u>55 377</u>	<u>520 712</u>	<u>64 995</u>	<u>3 070 657</u>

These figures show a decline over the end of 1971 of 400 126 African workers (11,5 per cent). The fact that the numbers for affiliated mines were included in 1971 but not in 1972 would account for this.

Of the South African workers, some 357 527 were attested for registration at tribal bureaux and the vast majority of these could be regarded as migrant workers. However, this gives only part of the total picture. The majority of foreign Africans registered (120 372) could also be regarded as migrant workers, as could most African miners (414 333) on mines affiliated to Mine Labour Organisations Limited (see section on mining). Thus, at least some 892 232 African workers could be positively identified as migrant workers. This figure would be substantially increased if the significant numbers of domestic servants and workers in construction, manufacturing, and accommodation and catering services who are also migrant workers could be identified.

The discrepancy between the number of registered African workers and the total figure for the economically active African population can be explained (a) by the vast numbers of Africans involved in subsistence agriculture in the homelands, and/or (b) farming in what are called "black spots" in the so-called white areas, and/or (c) living as labour tenants or squatters on white

farms, and/or (d) if they belong to certain classes of African (including professional men and women, ministers of religion if they are also marriage officers, and certain categories of teacher and public servant) who do not have to register. It is also not possible to give a meaningful "guesstimate" of the number of Africans "illegally" employed in "white" areas.

In December 1966, the African "labour complement" of employers in the Western Cape was "frozen" as from a certain fixed date earlier that year since the Western Province is, in terms of Government policy, a "Coloured labour preference area".⁵ Figures given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development indicate that between June 1971 and June 1972 the number of African men working in the Western Cape fell by 11 407 from 134 348 to 122 941—a decrease of 8,5 per cent—while the number of African women rose by 1 130 from 13 467 to 14 597—an increase of 8,4 per cent.⁶

In his opening address to the Transkei Legislative Assembly on 23 March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education said that a record number of 225 000 Transkeian citizens entered the labour market in the Republic of South Africa during 1972 and that they earned an estimated R60 000 000 during that year.⁷ (This would give a rather low average, monthly *per capita* income of R22,22. It is, however, difficult to assess how reliable these estimates of earnings are. It could be inferred that a substantial number of these Transkeian workers must be employed in mining, agriculture, and domestic service where wages are extremely low.) In his policy speech the Transkei's Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said: "formal labour agreements could be negotiated with the Republican Government to obtain not only better pay but more favourable working conditions for Transkei citizens employed in the Republic. Better pay for these people will benefit the individuals concerned but also the Transkeian Revenue Fund by way of higher general tax collected in the Republic and in which we have a 21 per cent share."⁸

The Transkeian Minister of the Interior announced the introduction of "a specialised training scheme for the training of selected labour bureau clerks as employment officers; officers who will not only be concerned with routine placement duties but who will also be required to motivate workseekers and to ensure the selection of the right man for the right job instead of the present-day 'hit-or-miss' method of first-come-first-served."⁹

At the end of 1972, Dr. Francis Wilson's impressive study of

⁵ Muriel Horrell, *Legislation and race relations*, Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1971, p. 41-2.

⁶ Hansard 2 col. 128, 16 February.

⁷ Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1973, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

the South African migratory labour system appeared.¹⁰ This book draws together a vast array of facts relating to migrant labour, weighs the arguments for and against the system, and having decisively rejected it, puts forward six concrete proposals for its gradual elimination. A slightly different view of migratory labour in its South African context was provided by Dr. R. T. Bell.¹¹

Non-Africans registered as unemployed

The Minister of Labour gave the following figures for persons registered as unemployed in his department's ten inspectorate areas at the end of December 1972:¹²

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asian</i>
Administrative and clerical ...	1 989	223	358
Commercial	576	124	142
Skilled trades	390	559	218
Services	315	191	81
Transport	147	256	148
Operatives and semi-skilled ...	427	1 227	615
Unskilled	548	869	280
Other categories	227	18	28
	<u>4 619</u>	<u>3 467</u>	<u>1 870</u>

These 9 956 unemployed persons constituted roughly 0,4 per cent of economically active White, Coloured, and Asian people at the end of 1972. This showed a very slight increase over the 1971 figure. The trend continued during 1973 with a further increase to 10 521 by June 1973.

African unemployment

It remains difficult to obtain reliable data on the extent of unemployment and underemployment among the African population. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there were 86 594 Africans (26 891 in the homelands alone) registered as unemployed in July 1972.¹³ Professor J. H. de Lange, professor of economics at the University of the Orange Free State, has guesstimated that African unemployment is rising at the rate of 100 000 a year.¹⁴ (In this connection see the chapter on the African homelands for the gap between workers coming onto the market and the creation of employment opportunities in the Transkei.)

It has been estimated that in 1968 in two districts in the Transkei the unemployment of men and women of 16 years and older was as high as 22½ per cent. The "unemployed" in this

¹⁰ Francis Wilson, *Migrant labour in South Africa*. Johannesburg, S.A.C.C. and Spro-cas, 1972.

¹¹ R. T. Bell, *Migrant labour: Theory and policy*. *South African Journal of Economics* 40(4), December 1972: 337-60.

¹² Hansard 10 cols. 631-2, 10 April.

¹³ Hansard 1 col. 37, 9 February.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 May.

instance included those doing no work at the time of the survey, nor having worked over the previous four months, those owning no land, having no right to land use anywhere, those not working as farm assistants nor fulfilling household tasks (in the case of women).¹⁵

Unemployment Insurance

The Minister of Labour said that at the end of December 1972 the accumulated funds of the Unemployment Insurance Fund amounted to R158 622 376 (an increase over 1971 of R5 368 428). During that year the fund had received R28 142 893 in contributions from employees (29,8 per cent), employers (23,2 per cent), the State (13,2 per cent) and interest (33,8 per cent) at an average rate of nearly 6,5 per cent. It had paid out R21 720 764 in benefits (89,9 per cent) and administration costs (10,1 per cent).¹⁶

An interesting article on the Unemployment Insurance Fund appeared in the *Financial Mail* on 2 March. The contributions and benefits payable mentioned in this article are contained in Table K below:

TABLE K

Contributions and Benefits in Terms of the Unemployment Insurance Fund

Group	Earnings R per week	Employer's contribution Cents per week	Employee's contribution Cents per week	Benefit payable R per week
1.	Up to 4,50	1	1	Up to 2,45*
2.	4,51-7,50	2	2	Up to 3,50*
3.	7,51-10,50	3	3	4,55
4.	10,51-13,50	4	4	5,60
5.	13,51-16,50	5	5	6,65
6.	16,51-19,50	6	6	7,70
7.	19,51-22,50	7	7	8,75
8.	22,51-25,50	8	8	9,80
9.	25,51-28,50	8	9	10,85
10.	28,51-31,50	8	10	11,90
11.	31,51-34,50	8	11	13,30
12.	34,51-50,00	8	12	15,40
13.	50,01-65,50	8	13	17,50
14.	65,51-82,00	8	14	20,30

*For groups 1 and 2 the fund pays out respectively R2,45 and R3,50 per calendar week, or three quarters of the contributor's weekly earnings, whichever is the less.

It must be stressed that Africans, unlike other workers, are excluded from contributing and thus from deriving any benefits until they are in group 4 where their weekly wage is R10,51 or more. Critics of the Unemployment Insurance Act, or more specifically its implementation, maintain that for the more lowly-paid workers it is more a form of special taxation than a social security benefit.

¹⁵ Johann G. B. Marce. Problems of definition and measurement of the underutilisation of labour in the traditional rural sector of an economy with migrant labour. Unpublished dissertation.

¹⁶ Hansard 9 cols. 616-7, 6 April. (The writer cannot be sure whether these figures are correct. There seems to be a difference in the amounts given.)

RESERVATION OF WORK

No new job reservation determinations were promulgated in either 1972 or 1973. (See page 254 of last year's *Survey* for exemptions from job reservation determinations. A similar question for more recent information was not put in 1973.)

The Economic Development Programme stated that "in order to attain the higher growth rates (i.e. 5½ or 6 per cent per annum) it would, therefore, be necessary to give Non-Whites, within the framework of Government policy, improved training and to utilise their services more effectively by giving them work of a more advanced nature."¹ This view was endorsed by the Reynder's Commission which stated *inter alia*²: ". . . At present there would appear to be very little statutory constraints on the employment of Coloureds and Asians in the various job categories. With regard to the Bantu, however, various types of restrictions on the occupational and geographical mobility of this group exist stemming mainly from political and sociological considerations, including the attitudes of some trade unions and businessmen. . . . There is a clear tendency for Whites to move away from secondary industry into white-collar jobs. Coloureds and Asians follow in the wake of Whites moving first into higher semi-skilled and skilled blue-collar jobs and then into white-collar occupations. If this movement is not to leave crippling gaps especially in manufacturing industry, Bantu will have to fill these gaps. Consequently provision will have to be made for a much greater degree of mobility than at present for Bantu to move up the occupational ladder, that is to say, the occupational mobility and training of Bantu will have to be adapted to these changing conditions, which in turn, however, presupposes an adaptation of statutory and traditional restrictions as well as the attitude of some trade unions and entrepreneurs in this regard."

Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, in the speech cited earlier in this chapter had this to say of job reservation:³ "A . . . point, which should be as obvious as it needs to be emphasised, is that job reservation is definitely out in the homelands. On this point there must be complete clarity and finality. It goes without saying that White workers with skills not yet acquired by my people will always be more than welcome in BophuthaTswana. But they must have a genuine willingness to teach and convey their skills to my people. But no semblance of job reservation can be tolerated. Surely you will appreciate that its underlying principle is totally in conflict with our basic human dignity and self-respect."

It has been customary in this section to record pleas for the elimination of job reservation and reaction to such pleas. It

¹ Department of Planning. *Op cit.* p. 41-2.

² R.P. 69/1972, p. 394-5.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

seems that the idea that economic growth is incompatible with the rigid white protectionist measures associated with what is known as "job reservation" is gaining much wider acceptance. No useful purpose would accordingly be served by itemizing the minutiae of the debate on this issue. Only really significant trends or statements will be recorded in future. (See, however, the relevant sections of this chapter for developments in particular sectors of the economy.)

The Prime Minister, opening the annual conference of the Motor Industries Federation, said: "It should be clear that in terms of Government policy there is nothing to prevent employers, with the co-operation of the trade unions, taking the necessary steps to bring about improvements in the productive use of non-White labour."⁴ This statement was regarded as being particularly significant.

MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES, AND TRAINING

Manpower and shortages

Early in 1973 the Department of Labour released its *Manpower Survey No. 9* which related to the situation as at 30 April 1971. This excluded domestics in private service and persons engaged in agriculture but covered all other industries and occupations. This survey indicated that there was a shortage of some 95 655 White and Coloured workers in the Republic or about 5 per cent of such workers. Acute shortages were recorded in the following areas of employment: (a) Professional, semi-professional and technical, 16 585 Whites; (b) Managerial, executive and administrative, 1 410 Whites; (c) Clerical, 8 265 Whites; (d) Sales and related work, 2 532 Whites; (e) Mining and quarrying, 985 Whites; (f) Transportation, delivery and communications, 10 089 Whites; (g) Metal, plastics, machinery parts, and *operatives* in the motor industry, 2 768 Whites; (h) Clothing and textiles, 2 205 Coloured women; (i) Supervisors and other skilled and semi-skilled, 2 028 Whites and 1 510 Coloured people; (j) Service capacities, 4 595 Whites and 2 183 Coloured people; (k) Labourers, 6 035 Coloured men. In addition there were the following shortages in specific sectors:

<i>Industry or Trade</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Artisans</i>	<i>Apprentices</i>
Metal and engineering ...	White	5 892	1 299
Electrical trades	White	2 047	220
Motor trades	White	2 177	611
Building trades	White	6 844	1 146
	Coloured	1 306	371
Ladies' hairdressing ...	White (women)	588	979

It should be borne in mind that the Department of Labour's data

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 October.

in this regard is rather out of date by the time that it is released to the public and that its figures do not always accord with those issued by organised commerce and industry in the private sector. The Minister of Planning has said that there will be a shortage of 22 000 white workers by 1977.¹ The Economic Development Programme² pointed out that white employment fell short of projected targets by 7 500 in 1970 and by 13 200 in 1971 whilst black employment exceeded projections by 52 200 in 1970 and by 51 700 in 1971.

The Reynder's Commission³ recommended that "increased and continuous attention should be given by the Government, the trade unions and employers to the occupational mobility, particularly of Bantu employees, along the lines indicated in the White Paper on the Decentralisation of Industry.⁴ This concerns very largely the whole question of job reclassification."

Training

In January the Secretary for Labour, Mr. D. J. Geysler, said that the scheme whereby adult white males could be trained as artisans in certain trades had been revised and improved. Training would not exceed three and a half years.⁵ In the House of Assembly in March the Minister of Finance made the following announcement:⁶ "In order to provide for the labour needs of border area industries and industries located within the Bantu homelands, a training programme has been initiated in terms of which factory operatives and industrial workers receive formal pre-service training with Government aid. The Government is conscious, however, of the great need of industries in the White areas for better trained Bantu industrial workers, also in order to improve productivity. An Inter-departmental Committee has therefore been appointed to investigate the desirability and practical feasibility of a system of pre-service training and in-service training of Bantu workers for industrial categories of work in White areas duly released for Bantu persons." The Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H. J. van Zyl, is chairman of this committee which consists of representatives of the Departments of Bantu Education, Bantu Administration and Development, Labour, Industries, Planning, as well as the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Decentralisation Board and the Industrial Development Corporation.⁷ In April the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said⁸: "Skilled artisans will not be trained under the schemes mentioned in the Budget

¹ *Star*, 29 March.

² Department of Planning. *Op. cit.* p. X.

³ R.P. 69/1972. p. 397.

⁴ See pages 199-200 of the 1971 issue of this *Survey* for a summary of these recommendations.

⁵ Department of Information. Press Release 6/73(P), 5 January.

⁶ Hansard 8 col. 3534, 28 March.

⁷ *Financial Mail*, 19 April.

⁸ Hansard 11 col. 685, 24 April.

Speech. The scheme for industries in border areas and industries located within the Bantu homelands provides for the training of factory operatives and industrial workers only. The scheme contemplated for the White areas is still being worked out by the Inter-departmental Committee. The intention is to provide pre-service and in-service training to Bantu workers for industrial categories of work which by law they are permitted to carry out. The jobs for which they will be trained will therefore be on semi-skilled and operative level."

As an outcome of the Inter-departmental Committee's recommendations, the Minister of Bantu Education subsequently announced that his Department would establish eight manual training centres in African residential areas, at a capital cost of R2 000 000, where basic training would be offered in a variety of subjects as part of the school curriculum. From Std. V onwards, children would attend these centres for at least an hour a week. From Form II, pupils doing practical Junior Certificate courses could choose one or two of the following subjects, to each of which they would devote about four hours a week: woodwork, metal work, mechanical practice, building practice, welding, electrical practice, work in plastics, and the operation of punch cards for computers. Adult factory workers would be offered after-hours industrial training at these centres.

In addition, an amount of R1 200 000 would be made available to set up private industrial training centres in industrial complexes in white areas, to serve industrialists with common training needs. The running costs of such training centres would be the responsibility of industrialists who would be allowed tax concessions in this regard. Among the courses which could be offered to black workers were motor and machine maintenance and service, fork-lift operation, machine dismantling, sewing-machine operation, basic mechanical practice, woodwork and machining, finishing, basic electrical work, laboratory practice, punch-card and computer operation.

The Minister's announcement was widely welcomed.⁹

The National Development and Management Foundation issued a paper entitled *Effective use and advancement of your Bantu workers* and is offering training courses either publicly or on an in-company basis. In an article entitled *Manpower training in South African commerce and industry*,¹⁰ Dr. Arndt Spandau pointed out that comparatively few White, Coloured, and Asian youths register for an apprenticeship and that while the training of these apprentices is inadequate in many respects, the training of Africans is almost non-existent. He said: "Even enlightened firms hardly provide any institutionalised training at all. In the factories, most training is done on-the-job, i.e. under the instruc-

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail, and Star, 24 October.*

¹⁰ *FCI Viewpoint, February 1973: 5-7.*

tion of the foreman rather than under the auspices of a centralised Training Centre. Foremen and journeymen, however, are pre-occupied with production rather than with the instruction of their charges. On-the-job training is, therefore, generally less effective than institutionalised training."

The business equipment industry registered a training scheme with the Department of Labour with a levy of R1,50 per employee per month on each employer in the industry on a Republic-wide basis.¹¹ Nearly 2 000 White, Coloured, and Asian motor mechanics have received specialised training through one or more of a variety of courses run by Toyota South Africa at its service training centres in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The company is investigating schemes for training Africans, subject to the necessary governmental approval.¹² The Motor Industries Federation is to launch a campaign to stimulate the training of about 20 000 garage repair-shop assistants, "half-way up the ladder to full artisan status."¹³ Of particular interest in regard to training in the motor industry is Spandau's *On-the-job training on the assembly-plant of a South African motor vehicle producer: a case study*.¹⁴

The M.L. Sultan Technical College (for Indians) introduced a course to train technologists for the sugar industry.¹⁵

Immigration

White immigration is officially regarded as an important supplement to the Republic's skilled manpower needs. See the chapters on population and foreign affairs for information in this regard.

Apprentices

The Minister of Coloured Relations said that the following numbers of Coloured apprentices were receiving tuition in 1972:¹⁶

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Number</i>
Welders	20
Electricians	170
Carpenters	524
Motor mechanics	139
Other trades	2 154
	3 007

The Minister also announced the establishment of a training centre for Coloured people under 21 years in the Cape Peninsula.

¹¹ Government Notice No. R.1067, 22 June 1973.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17 May.

¹⁴ *Rhodesian Journal of Economics* 6(4), 1972: 26-45.

¹⁵ *Fiat Lux*, March 1973: 32.

¹⁶ Hansard 17 cols. 969-970, 7 June.

Training will begin in January 1974 or as soon thereafter as possible. Initially the training course will be for motor mechanics only but the facilities could be expanded to cover other trades if necessary. The duration of the course will be three years and upon conclusion trainees will take the trade test applicable to apprentices in the motor trade.¹⁷ This has been welcomed by the Motor Industries Federation.¹⁸

The Minister of Indian Affairs said that the following numbers of Indian persons had enrolled for training in 1972 and 1973:¹⁹

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
	<i>1972</i>	<i>1973</i>
Welders	44	37
Electricians	41	56
Carpenters	87	88
Motor mechanics	270	293
Bricklayers and plasterers	115	95
Plumbers and sheetmetalworkers ...	24	22
Radio workshop mechanics	22	17
Fitters and turners	66	57
Woodworkers	132	380
House painters	27	28
	828	1 073

The South African Sugar Millers' Association is establishing a R800 000 apprentice training centre at Mount Edgecombe. This will cater initially for some 100 White, Coloured, and Indian youths at the same rates of pay. At a later stage the millers may introduce training facilities for African apprentices in Zululand.²⁰

EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

General

The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey of private establishments conducted by the Department of Statistics.¹ They relate to the month of May and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer:

¹⁷ Department of Information. Press Release 156/73 (K), 30 May.

¹⁸ *Financial Mail*, 8 June.

¹⁹ Hansard 12 cols. 755-6, 30 April.

²⁰ *The South African Sugar Journal*. November 1972. p. 502-3, 505.

¹ Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 5 September.

	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i> R	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
White ...	281 700	-0,5	385	9,4
Coloured ...	212 300	4,0	101	14,8
Asian ...	78 500	1,6	106	12,8
African ...	687 800	3,8	70	16,7
	<u>1 260 300</u>			

In the wake of student unrest at the University of the Western Cape (for Coloured people) the Cape Chamber of Industries issued what was described as a "private and confidential" circular to employers. This apparently read: "The president of the Chamber, Mr. J. J. Abdenhalden, has advised that it has come to his notice that certain agitators are planning, through the strategy of gaining suitable employment, to foster industrial unrest within the ranks of the Coloured labour force. Employers are strongly advised, therefore, to ensure that acceptable references are provided, and checked, before employment is given. While the vast majority of work seekers are undoubtedly of good faith, some, who may recently have been students at the University of the Western Cape, may be exceptions, and employers are cautioned accordingly."²

The Clothing Industry

Employment and earnings in this sector in May 1973 have been calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i> R	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
White	10 100	-5,6	378	14,9
Coloured ...	57 700	3,0	80	15,9
Asian	23 800	-0,4	78	13,0
African	35 500	6,6	69	25,5
	<u>127 100</u>			

Black South Africans constitute 92 per cent of the labour force in this sector and the indications are that it will have to rely even more heavily upon Coloured and African labour in the future.

Wage increases for garment workers were granted by employers in the wake of the Durban strikes (see relevant section of this chapter).³

Three hundred and fourteen students of all races were en-

² *Sunday Tribune*, 23 September.

³ *Garment Worker*, 20 March and 13 April.

rolled for courses by the Training College for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) in 1972.⁴

The Textile Industry

Employment and earnings in this sector in May 1973 have been calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Average numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly gross cash earnings R	Per centage increase over 1972
White	8 200	2,5	401	9,6
Coloured	16 000	3,2	90	13,9
Asian	5 600	0,0	103	14,4
African	64 100	7,7	54	14,9
	<u>93 900</u>			

Average African earnings in textiles in May 1973 were among the *lowest* in the manufacturing industry. They were rivalled only by wood and cork but whereas the ratio of average White/African wages in the case of the latter was 6,1 : 1, in textiles the ratio was 7,4 : 1. This sector was rather heavily involved in the Durban strikes, and pay increases for the more lowly-paid workers resulted. One employer in particular was engaged in what could be described as a running battle with trade unionists. In September there had apparently been a diminution in the struggle between the unions and the particular employer.⁵ It seems that the South African Cotton Manufacturers' Association has asked the Minister of Labour to fix minimum wages in all cotton factories and moves are afoot to establish an industrial council in this section of the industry.⁶

The Motor Industry

In February the Minister of Labour said that according to figures furnished by industrial councils the following numbers of people were employed in the motor industry in 1972:⁷

	Numbers employed
White	47 674
Coloured	15 011
Asian	4 096
African	67 263
	<u>134 044</u>

⁴ Information supplied by the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal). 11 December 1972.

⁵ *Financial Mail*, 14 September.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

⁷ Hansard 2 cols. 125-6, 16 February.

In January General Motors South Africa increased its minimum rate of pay for black workers to 44 cents an hour and 46 cents after employees had served the company for six months. The Chrysler plant in Pretoria raised its minimum wage for African workers to R77,25 a month (which seems to have been generally in line with the recently concluded industrial council agreement in the Eastern Cape) with the average wage paid to its black workers rising to R93 per month. It also introduced a Christmas holiday bonus of two weeks' wages, a medical scheme for black workers, and a plan to help employees with their children's education. Ford announced in April that its minimum wages for black workers had been increased to 53 cents per hour, which it believed to be amongst the highest in the manufacturing industry as a whole and certainly in the automobile industry.⁸ (See also section on foreign investment.)

Wages and earnings in other manufacturing industries

Employment and earnings in the following industrial groups in May 1973 have been calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Food		Beverages	
	Average numbers employed	Average monthly gross cash earnings	Average numbers employed	Average monthly gross cash earnings
		R		R
White ...	20 200	355	5 300	360
Coloured ...	19 200	82	6 100	79
Asian ...	8 800	120	400	193
African ...	88 900	65	13 800	76
	<u>137 100</u>		<u>25 600</u>	
	Tobacco		Footwear	
	Average numbers employed	Average monthly gross cash earnings	Average numbers employed	Average monthly gross cash earnings
		R		R
White ...	1 100	359	2 300	361
Coloured ...	1 200	79	12 100	94
Asian ...	—	—	16 000	99
African ...	1 900	86	5 500	75
	<u>4 200</u>		<u>35 900</u>	

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 27 January; 28 April.

	<i>Wood and Cork</i>		<i>Furniture</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	6 400	329	6 300	373
Coloured ...	6 500	82	9 200	134
Asian ...	1 300	122	2 000	142
African ...	46 500	54	19 600	75
	<u>60 700</u>		<u>37 100</u>	
	<i>Paper and Products</i>		<i>Printing</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	7 500	408	17 700	356
Coloured ...	5 100	113	8 000	142
Asian ...	3 700	142	1 900	156
African ...	15 800	89	8 500	98
	<u>32 100</u>		<u>36 100</u>	
	<i>Leather and Products</i>		<i>Rubber Products</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	700	346	5 800	361
Coloured ...	4 200	92	2 200	126
Asian ...	600	107	700	127
African ...	1 800	67	14 200	83
	<u>7 300</u>		<u>22 900</u>	
	<i>Chemicals and Products</i>		<i>Non-metallic Mineral Products</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	21 700	404	16 400	390
Coloured ...	5 800	114	8 100	111
Asian ...	2 100	151	600	148
African ...	38 400	74	76 700	63
	<u>68 000</u>		<u>101 800</u>	

		<i>Basic Metal</i>		<i>Metal Products</i>	
		<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
			<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...		32 000	396	35 300	405
Coloured ...		1 600	145	11 000	137
Asian ...		600	157	4 900	111
African ...		48 200	73	95 400	75
		<u>82 400</u>		<u>146 600</u>	
		<i>Machinery</i>		<i>Electrical Machinery</i>	
		<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
			<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...		27 400	397	17 000	367
Coloured ...		4 000	124	9 400	122
Asian ...		500	180	1 300	125
African ...		33 100	80	20 300	85
		<u>65 000</u>		<u>48 000</u>	
		<i>Transport Equipment</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
		<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
			<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...		26 000	380	14 300	406
Coloured ...		14 900	133	10 000	98
Asian ...		1 500	153	2 200	121
African ...		38 000	86	21 600	73
		<u>80 400</u>		<u>48 100</u>	
		<i>Electricity</i>			
		<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
				<i>R</i>	
White ...	...	10 200	8,5	415	5,6
Coloured ...	...	600	0,0	105	7,1
Asian ...	...	—	—	—	—
African ...	...	<u>17,500</u>	7,4	80	9,6
		<u>28 300</u>			

Developments in the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries were described on pages 255-258 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*. In March the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of S.A. announced interim pay increases to the lower categories of workers to compensate for the rapid rise in the cost of living on the following basis:⁹

	<i>December 1972</i>	<i>March 1973</i>
	<i>cents per hour</i>	<i>cents per hour</i>
Category F	34c	37c
Category G	28c	31c
Category H	25c	28c
Category I	24c	27c

In September the National Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry accepted trade union representations that further relief was required and agreed that the following further increases in basic rates should be made: Categories A to AA, 6 cents per hour; Categories AB to D, 5 cents per hour; all other grades, 4 cents per hour with the deletion of Category I, thus giving a rock-bottom minimum of 32 cents per hour. The Council went on to say: "Concurrent with the remuneration changes, steps will be taken to enable the opening up of certain jobs in the Rate C categories to African employees on a controlled basis through an arrangement involving applicants to the Industrial Council and the issue of authorisation for this purpose by the Industrial Council. The parties will be required to conclude the formalities necessary to give effect to the decision of the Council." It was estimated that 8 000 skilled jobs (additional to the 10 000 released from the "closed shop" provisions in respect of category D in 1972) could be progressively filled by African workers in terms of this relaxation.¹⁰

Pulp and paper manufacturers have also succeeded in getting four trade unions in the industry to "accept in principle" that black workers be permitted to do more skilled work connected with engineering in the industry.¹¹

Unilever South Africa, the food, soap, and toiletries group, announced that its basic minimum weekly wage, which was increased from R14 to R16 in November 1972, was further increased to R18,50 from February and then to R21 from June.¹² Premier Milling increased its workers' wages by R2 000 000 in February and extended other benefits as well.¹³ A new wage structure for rubber process workers has also been introduced by Sarmcol at its Howick plant.¹⁴

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 March; *Star*, 2 March.

¹⁰ *Star*, 13 September; *Sunday Express*, 23 September.

¹¹ *Sunday Times*, 26 August.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3 June.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 June.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 September.

THE DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

General

Information on Government policy in connection with the decentralisation of industries is contained in previous issues of this *Survey*¹ and in a booklet by Muriel Horrell, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1973, entitled *The African Homelands of South Africa*, as are developments in connection with the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act of 1967.²

In 1973 Oxford University Press published Dr. Trevor Bell's important study *Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa*. This is a valuable examination of the options presented by decentralisation together with an examination of the practical implementation of the policy thus far.

Incentives applicable to decentralisation

In mid-1960 the Government offered certain concessions to industrialists as an inducement to divert industry to border areas. These incentives were augmented in May 1964, again in September 1968, and yet again in June 1971.³

At the end of 1972 the Decentralisation Board issued a schedule of augmented concessions offered to industrialists at designated growth points. The table on the following page lists the concessions available subject to certain conditions.⁴

Selected growth points

In February the Cabinet gave its approval to the expansion of iron ore mining facilities at Sishen in the Northwestern Cape. This is coupled with the construction of an 860 kilometre railway line from Sishen to Saldanha Bay, where a bulk harbour for 250 000 to 300 000 ton carriers is to be built. The railway line and harbour will apparently fall under the control of the S.A. Iron and Steel Corporation. This decision proved to be controversial and the press reported that it had caused some dissension within the Cabinet itself.⁵

Physical Planning Act

The Government gave the following information on applications made by industrialists for the establishment or extension of

¹ 1964 pages 165-173; 1968 pages 96-102; 1969 pages 95-100; 1970 pages 104-109; 1971 pages 209-225; 1972 pages 194-203 and 276-286.

² 1967 page 107; 1968 page 94; 1969 page 92; 1970 page 86; 1972 page 278.

³ (a) Muriel Horrell, *The African Homelands of South Africa*. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1973, pages 101-105.

(b) *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1971*, pages 211-213.

⁴ (a) Board for the Decentralisation of Industry. Report on Activities for the period 1 January to 31 December 1972.

(b) *Financial Mail*. Decentralisation: Supplement to *Financial Mail* March 30, 1973.

⁵ *Star*, 15 February; *Sunday Express*, 18 February; *Rapport*, 17 June.

factories in "controlled" areas between 19 January 1968 and 31 March 1973.⁶

	Transvaal	Western		Totals
		Cape	Other Areas	
Applications received	8 769	768	1 399	10 936
Applications granted	7 908	644	1 228	9 780
Applications refused	693	111	137	941
Applications under consideration	168	13	34	215

This gives an overall refusal rate of some 8,6 per cent, with the refusal rate in the Western Cape being the highest at 14,5 per cent, followed by the other "controlled" areas at 9,8 per cent, and the Transvaal (mainly the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area) at 7,9 per cent. (See also the section on African labour bureaux and employment contracts.) The total number of potential African employees affected by refusals during this period was 61 908 (an increase between 1 February 1972 and 31 March 1973 of 9 690 employees or 18,6 per cent).

Proclamation 227 of 5 October 1973 established further "controlled" areas in the Cape, the Orange Free State, and Natal.

Progress in decentralised areas

In its report for the year ended 1972 the Decentralisation Board reported a further marked decline in the number of decentralisation applications received from manufacturing concerns. (The trend in 1970 and 1971 thus continued.) The decline was attributed in part to the general slowing down in the industrial sector. The Board's present target is to provide employment for approximately 14 000 additional African workers a year in secondary industry in the homelands and border areas.

The direct additional investment in projects finalised during 1972 was estimated to be R48 000 000, which could create employment for an additional 7 633 people consisting of 7 103 Africans and 530 Whites. In the 12½ years from June 1960, when the decentralisation programme began, employment had been created in the decentralised areas, including homeland areas, for an additional 107 404 people of whom 85 554 were Africans, 10 714 were Whites, and 11 136 were Coloured or Asian people.

Employment in the Durban/Pinetown complex, which is also officially regarded as a border area, is not included in the figures given above since decentralisation assistance is not given there.

From 1960 until the end of 1972, the total direct additional investment (excluding investments in basic services) by both the private and the public sectors in secondary industry in all decentralised areas was estimated at R575 000 000 (an increase over 1971 of R48 000 000 or 9,1 per cent). By the end of 1972 gross commit-

⁶ Hansard 10 cols. 653-4, 13 April. (It will be recalled that an "extension" of a factory was defined in the Act as any increase in the number of African employees.)

ments by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in the form of loans, share capital, and industrial buildings amounted to R143 080 000. Industrialists who had been financially assisted by the IDC had themselves invested R295 000 000 in the projects concerned. In the homelands the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation had committed some R30 500 000 in respect of land, buildings, and loans to industrialists who had established undertakings on an agency basis. In this respect the contribution of the private sector amounted to R26 500 000 (this shows a very marked increase over 1971 of R7 200 000 or 37,3 per cent). The balance of the total estimated investment of R575 000 000 was contributed by the private sector in various ways.

During June 1971 it had been decided that industrialists should be reimbursed by means of cash grants for their immediate and direct costs in connection with the physical removal of their factories and personnel. By the end of 1972, an amount of R198 584 had already been paid out to 25 industrialists in this respect.

Tax and interest concessions granted by the end of 1972 were estimated at R30 980 000. (An increase of R3 580 000 since 1971.)

Commitments for the housing of key white personnel between 1965 and the end of 1972 amounted to R16 700 000. (An increase since 1971 of R4 400 000.) Some 1 295 residential units had been erected. (An increase of 272 on 1971 figures.)

Railway rebates granted between 1 May 1964 and the end of 1972 were estimated to total R4 040 000. (This means that these rebates amounted to some R1 014 000 in 1972.) Harbour rebates granted between 1 December 1968 and the end of 1972 were estimated at R190 500, of which R68 500 was granted in 1972.

The Minister of National Education (for the Minister of Planning) said⁷ that by the end of March 1973 the Government had spent R35 837 546 and the IDC R3 726 501 on the development of industrial townships in border areas. (This shows a marked increase of R14 604 456 since the end of 1971.) The Government had also spent some R233 000 in this way in other decentralised areas outside the homelands. By the end of December 1972 the Government had spent R51 259 000 in border areas and R21 685 000 in other decentralised areas outside the homelands on water schemes partially or wholly serving the areas concerned.

Industrial conciliation in border areas

The Minister of Labour said⁸ that 30 wage determinations and 49 industrial council agreements applied in border areas. One wage determination and six council agreements applied specifically to border areas and not to metropolitan areas as well. As at 31 December 1972 seven exemptions had been granted from council agreements covering the textile industry; clothing industry (Transvaal);

⁷ Hansard 10 col. 652, 13 April.

⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 633-6, 10 April.

about R324 a year (R27 a month) in the Cape, about R234 a year (R19,50 a month) in Natal, about R228 a year (R24 a month) in the Orange Free State, and about R220 a year (R18,33 a month) in the Transvaal. Domestic workers on farms were in receipt of the lowest *cash* wage: some R67 a year or roughly R5,58 per month.

In February the South African Agricultural Union announced that it was to hold top-level discussions on the earnings of African farm workers.¹ The Natal Agricultural Union in May called upon approximately 8 700 farmers in that province to review their labour policies. It recommended a 25 per cent wage increase, which would increase the total wage bill by about R6 750 000.² The N.A.U. has also devised a pension scheme which black workers can join if they wish.³ An impressionistic report on "ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed" Zulu farm workers whose "wages are often so low that they cannot even afford blankets" appeared in the *Sunday Tribune* on 15 July. The general validity of the findings contained in this report was regarded as questionable by the president of the N.A.U.⁴ The S.A. Sugar Association increased its wage bill by R9 000 000, about R4 500 000 resulting from a new industrial council agreement. This covers both workers employed by the S.A. Cane Growers' Association and skilled and semi-skilled mill workers falling within the ambit of the Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employers' Association. In the case of the latter, the new minimum *cash* rate rose to a range of between R10 and R14 a week, with the all-inclusive minimum for a first-year labourer ranging from R17 to R19 if housing, fuel, light, food and medical schemes were included.⁵

The Sugar Association also set up a R5 000 000 fund with the primary purpose of providing financial assistance to small, sub-economic growers who did not have access to normal credit facilities.⁶

Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, said that he was so concerned about the treatment of his people by white farmers that he wanted a commission of inquiry to be appointed to look into their working conditions.⁷ The Minister of Agriculture was apparently investigating the possibility of encouraging farmers to provide better housing for their workers with financial assistance from the State.⁸

The Students' Representative Council's Wages Commission at the University of Cape Town provided a brief survey of the history and present conditions of workers in the agricultural sector

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May; *Star*, 22 June.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.

⁴ *Sunday Tribune*, 15 July.

⁵ *Financial Mail*, 30 March.

⁶ *Fiat Lux*, March 1973: 23.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March.

⁸ *Rapport*, 20 May.

in a paper entitled *Farm Labour*. The two following interesting although incomplete reports on plantation workers were issued by the Wages Commission of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg):

A socio-economic survey into the Saligna Forestry Development Co., at Eston, Natal.

A socio-economic survey into the Government forestry estates of Sihleza at Harding, Nkonzo at Creighton, Ingwangwane at Riverside, Sarnia at Bulwer, Ingeli at Weza and the State Saw Mills at Weza.

A Department of Statistics *News Release* dated 2 July gave data, based on a complete survey of all boards, on employment and gross cash earnings of workers employed by control boards established under the Marketing Act. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1973 and monthly averages have been calculated by the writer:

	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>
White	1 632	384
Coloured	169	47
Asian	2	—
African	538	61
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 2 341 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 1 277 African labour tenants had been found to be "redundant" in Natal in 1972. Sixty-one of these had been evicted and resettled by his department. This shows a marked decline over 1971 figures. In Natal in 1972 there were 16 350 labour tenants.⁹ (The writer cannot explain the discrepancies between these figures and those given by the Minister for 1971 and mentioned on page 289 of last year's *Survey*.)

The Minister also said that 36 agricultural labour liaison officers inspected 15 628 farms in 1972.¹⁰ (It could be inferred from these figures that, on average, a liaison officer would inspect nearly 1.4 farms per day if he worked a six-day week or nearly 1.7 farms per day if he worked a five-day week.)

The Minister of Prisons said that 357 inspections into the housing, feeding, and working conditions of prisoners hired out as farm labourers were carried out in 1972.¹¹

⁹ Hansard 18 cols. 1003-4, 13 June.

¹⁰ Hansard 10 cols. 667-8, 13 April.

¹¹ Hansard 17 col. 9559 5 June.

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

According to *Mining Statistics, 1972* issued by the Department of Mines (with the per centage change between 1971 and 1972 calculated by the writer), the average numbers of persons employed in mining during that year were:¹

	<i>All mines</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Gold mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Coal mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>
White	83 699	- 2,2	37 651	- 1,4	7 495	3,8
Coloured	7 914	2,7	353	2,6	48	2,1
Asian	730	-21,1	21	10,5	255	-3,0
African	593 086	- 5,8	374 469	- 3,1	67 540	-1,8
	<u>685 429</u>		<u>412 494</u>		<u>75 338</u>	

Calculating from figures given for the totals paid in salaries, wages, and allowances, the monthly average cash earnings per head, together with the percentage increase over 1971, were:

	<i>All mines</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Gold mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Coal mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>
	<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>	
White	391	8,3	396	4,8	421	0,0
Coloured	82	3,8	108	8,0	58	- 3,3
Asian	125	27,6	102	14,6	97	15,5
African	24	14,3	21	16,7	21	10,5

The value of the rations, accommodation, and other benefits provided for black workers was not stated but white mineworkers also receive certain benefits not taken into account here. However, in his report for 1972, the Director of Rand Mines Health Department stated that the *annual* cost of feeding an African miner amounted to R70,42 while hospital costs per African miner were R17,10 (i.e. the *monthly* cost to the mines of these two principal benefits was R7,29 per African worker — an increase of 4,6 per cent over 1971. Hospital costs had risen more sharply than feeding costs.) It is not known whether Rand Mines' costs in this regard are representative of the industry as a whole.

Later information indicates that by May 1973 while White, Coloured, and Asian employment in mining and quarrying had declined, African employment had risen by 3,7 per cent. Average monthly gross *cash* earnings in May were: White, R437; Coloured, R102; Asian, R136; African, R30. In other words, average cash earnings had increased by about 11,8 per cent for Whites, 24,4 per cent for Coloured people, 8,8 per cent for Asians, and 25 per cent for Africans, since 1972.² There is some distortion in

¹ R.P. 37/1973, Tables 1 and 3.

² Calculated from: Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 5 September. (The writer regards *Mining Statistics* as a more reliable source than these occasional news releases. The latter are useful, however, as an indication of the latest trends.)

these data resulting from the time lag between the implementation of wage increases for different classes of worker. A brief description of negotiations and wage increases follows later in this section. It should be noted that while the ratio between white/black wages in this sector has been reduced the *cash* gap has increased considerably.

The composition of the African labour force of members and contractors of Mine Labour Organisations Limited, i.e. most of the gold mines and certain coal and other mines, as at 31 December 1972 was:³

<i>Area from which recruited</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	
Cape	65 750	15,87	
Natal	4 479	1,08	
Orange Free State	6 673	1,61	
Transvaal	10 275	2,48	
<i>Sub-total</i>			21,04
Lesotho	78 492	18,94	
Botswana	17 471	4,22	
Swaziland	4 273	1,03	
<i>Sub-total</i>			24,19
East Coast	100 236		23,58
Tropicals	97 713		31,19
	129 207		
	<u>414 333</u>		<u>100,00</u>

Although the employment of native-born Africans on these mines rose marginally by 655 between 1971 and 1972 it dropped as a percentage of the total labour force by 1,36 per cent. Foreign Africans constituted 78,96 per cent of the labour force at the end of 1972 compared with 77,60 per cent at the end of 1971. There was a significant increase of 9 841 mineworkers from Lesotho and a very marked increase of 21 447 from tropical territories including Malawi.

Anglo American Corporation was the largest single employer of labour from this source with 117 986 workers — an increase of 4 968 or some 4,4 per cent on 1971. The collieries as a whole employed only 34 774 workers recruited by this agency.

The free market price of gold topped the \$100 an ounce level in May and reached the record price of \$126 in June.⁴ Union Corporation announced the opening of a new gold mine to come into operation in 1977/78 at Jurgenshof in the Orange Free State.⁵

The powerful (white) Council of Mining Unions disbanded in February, leaving the Mine Workers' Union on its own, as a result of the acceptance by the South African Engine Drivers', Firemen's and Operators' Association and the South African Re-

³ Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Limited. Report for the year 1972.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 May and 6 June.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 22 September.

duction Workers' Association of the Chamber of Mines' offer to accord workers belonging to these two unions mine official's status. This means that the Chamber of Mines will negotiate separately in future with the MWU and the Federation of Mining Unions to which five artisan unions belong.⁶

As various (white) trade unions entered into their separate negotiations with the Chamber of Mines in March, the Chamber announced an increase of approximately 26 per cent in African mineworkers' rates of remuneration on the gold and coal mines at a cost of R27 000 000 to the industry.⁷ Anglo American Corporation announced that the average 26 per cent increase to 120 000 African workers on its gold and coal mines would raise average *cash* wages to about R32 per month. It increased the minimum rate for underground workers from 60 to 80 cents per shift for a twenty-six shift month, giving an initial novice's wage of R20,80 per month, with an increase after six months to 82 cents per shift or R21,32 per month. The maximum wage for 800 African supervisors on Anglo's mines was raised from R68 to R104 per month, while that for operators was increased from R30 to R57 and that of unskilled workers from R26 to R42 per month. The *maximum* rate of remuneration for workers on the surface (mainly in personnel and training) was fixed at R222 per month (presumably only in the short-term). Anglo's Dr. Alex Boraine said that there was a carefully planned schedule to improve the lot of black workers until "every employee has a civilised humane wage".⁸

Johannesburg Consolidated Investments also raised its minimum rate for African novices on gold mines to R20,80 per month, but on its coal mines its new minimum cash rate was raised to R16,90 per month for workers underground and R14,30 for workers on the surface. Average earnings at the new rates of remuneration will range between R25,60 and R33,60 per month.⁹

Both Anglo and J.C.I. provided estimates of the value of accommodation, food, and other services given to African mineworkers: the former at R25 and the latter at R22 per month. If these payments in kind are added to *cash* wages, the average *total* wage for an African mineworker is about R55 per month which brings their *total* wages roughly into line with only the very lowest levels of average African *cash* wages which obtain in other sectors of the economy (the agricultural sector, of course, being a notorious exception). It should be borne in mind that various payments in kind, including social security benefits, are made in many other sectors, e.g. construction, hotel trade, etc.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5, 9, 10, 12, 25 and 26 January and 8, 9, 10 and 13 February; *Star*, 9, 12, and 22 January.

⁷ *Sunday Express*, 25 March.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26, 27 and 30 March; *Financial Mail*, 30 March and 5 April; *Sunday Tribune*, 8 April.

⁹ *Ibid.*

In June the results of the MWU's negotiations with the Chamber were announced. The white mineworkers' increase added some R10 000 000 to the wage bill from July and covered 10 000 members of the union. In other words, white miners received, on average, a *cash* increase of over R80 per month or nearly three times the new average monthly *cash* wage of African miners. This increase comprised a R50 basic increase plus a R30 attendance bonus aimed at reducing absenteeism plus a discretionary bonus. The new *minimum* rate for a general miner would be about R330 per month. Lump sum payments of R75 for May and R95 for June would also be paid since the new rates would only come into effect in July. The MWU had apparently made the following concessions in exchange for these more than handsome wage increases:

1. trained and competent African workers are permitted to enter working places after blasting and to start work without awaiting a white miner's permission;
2. in working places where blasting has taken place the white miner can instruct a black supervisor to carry out the safety inspection;
3. black supervisors can inspect places where there has been no blasting on the instruction of a white miner who need not be present until two hours later;
4. the number of black supervisors in a forty-five man gang has been increased from three to five;
5. Africans trained for the job are allowed to point out to African drillers the position and direction of holes to be drilled for purposes other than blasting or support;
6. blacks are allowed to prepare primers and press home charges within sight and under the personal supervision of a white miner;
7. blacks are permitted to convey whites in underground locomotives with a designed speed not in excess of 16 km/h.¹⁰

In July the 7 000 white artisans on the gold mines received wage increases of R100 per month adding some R8 400 000 to the wage bill. These increases consisted of a basic R50 plus a R50 "responsibility allowance" which is apparently tied to white co-operation in black job advancement. A white journeyman, given maximum bonuses and the annual service increment, can thus earn as much as R450 a month without overtime. Each artisan union which operates under the umbrella of the Federation of Mining Unions has entered into a separate agreement with the Chamber of Mines on the use of African artisan "aides". About 12 000 to 14 000 African workers seem likely to be affected in this move at black job advancement. Mr. Tom Murray of the S.A. Boilermakers' Society claimed that the mines had indicated

¹⁰ *Star*, 7 June; *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 June; *Financial Mail*, 15 June.

that these "aides" would be able to earn between R100 and R150 a month but the Chamber categorically stated that wages had not been decided upon and that it would be a matter for individual mining houses. Mr. Murray retorted that if these aides did not get between R100 and R150 "it will not be African advancement but African exploitation".¹¹

Later in July the Mine Surface Officials' Association and the Underground Officials' Association were granted a 15 per cent increase in basic wages for most of their 13 000 members and a double cheque in lieu of holiday pay. (At a rough guesstimate this would add another R6 000 000 to the wage bill.)¹²

The newly-formed South African Technical Officials' Association (arising out of the disbanded Engine Drivers' and Reduction Workers' unions mentioned earlier) which had received wage increases of R80 when it abandoned trade union membership for official status in February pressed for a further 20 per cent increase in July. After threats of "working to the book" the Association accepted a 15 per cent increase in August.¹³ (At a rough guesstimate these two wage increases would have added a further R3 900 000 to the wage bill.)

This would indicate that in 1973 the wage bill for Africans who constitute about 90 per cent of the labour force in the gold and coal mining industry was increased by roughly the same amount as that of white mineworkers who constitute only 10 per cent of the work force. If the bounty flowing from the increased price of gold continues to be distributed along these lines the "money-gap" between white/black average earnings will continue to increase in the most deplorable way.

In April about 30 white mineworkers struck for overtime pay at the East Driefontein Gold Mine at Carletonville.¹⁴

During the night of 11 September twelve African miners were killed and a number of others wounded when the South African Police were called in to Anglo American's Western Deep Levels Mine at Carletonville. Eleven were shot by the police while one other was stated to have been killed by rioters.¹⁵ The Minister of Police issued the following statement (recorded here in full):¹⁶

"At about 8 p.m. on 11 September the compound manager of the Western Deep Levels Mine reported to the Police at Carletonville that the Black miners in the compound were threatening him and his Black mine policemen with violence, and were throwing stones at him and damaging mine property. This compound houses 8 470 Black males.

"A major of the South African Police and 21 policemen

¹¹ *Financial Mail*, 6 July.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 July.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19, 24, and 25 July; *Star*, 1 August.

¹⁴ *Sunday Times*, 8 April.

¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 and 13 September; *Star*, 13 September.

¹⁶ Department of Information. Press Release 272/73 (P) dated 12 September.

went to the scene. On their arrival they were confronted with an infuriated crowd brandishing sticks and dangerous weapons. The police were met with a barrage of stones and were eventually forced to use teargas. The rioters retired for a short distance and then renewed their attack on the police. When the teargas had no effect the major ordered a baton charge, but the stone throwing increased and the number of rioters augmented. The rioters surrounded the police in semi-darkness and the police were forced to use their firearms. During the fracas the rioters extensively ransacked the beerhall and kitchen and were assaulting other miners in an attempt to get them to join the riot. In the process one of the Black miners was hacked to death by the rioters and numerous others were injured. In an effort to protect the property and other black workers from death and serious injury and in protection of their own lives the police were forced to fire.

"In a report to the police the compound manager stated that he had never seen such a riot in his 20 years of employment.

"I wish to emphasise that the police had nothing to do with the wage dispute between the management and the employees. The police are there only to keep law and order and do not interfere in wage disputes as such. The necessary investigation and post-mortem enquiries will take place as soon as possible."

The chairman of Western Deep Levels said: "We may have made a mistake in our wage structuring . . . maybe in the African mind we have done them an injustice."¹⁷ The Prime Minister, addressing a National Party meeting, deplored the fact that lives were lost and extended his sympathy to the next of kin. He said however, that the incident was "not a strikers' demonstration but a looting mob out to destroy life and property with dangerous and murderous weapons".¹⁸ The United Party's spokesman on justice, Mr. M. L. Mitchell, M.P., said: "as the police themselves will be the first to acknowledge, shooting people to maintain law and order is a last resort and a matter of grave public concern. It is fortunately a rare occurrence in our country". Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. (Progressive Party), commented that if a force properly trained in various riot control methods had been used "the ghastly shootings on the mine would probably never have taken place . . . The lesson to be learnt from this is that adequate machinery must be set up through which African workers can voice their grievances about pay and other work conditions. The actual shooting calls for an immediate independent inquiry." Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, condemned the shootings as "an indication that a Black life is regarded as very cheap in South Africa." The prominent African trade unionist, Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, expressed her condolences to the families of the workers who died and said: "As a Black trade

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 September.

¹⁸ *Star*, 13 September.

unionist I have always advocated that African trade unions be recognised so that such incidents could be avoided. If there were proper communication with the employer at this mine, I am quite certain that this could have been avoided." Mr. Geoff Budlender, chairman of the national council of the National Union of South African Students, commented: "Incidents like this will continue until the Government and industries give attention to the basic underlying issues — full trade union rights for Africans and payment of human wages. As long as heads of industry are able to fix wages unilaterally on the basis of increased profits, starvation wages will continue and more tragedies of this sort will result." On the other hand, the leader of the ultra-right Herstigste Nasionale Party, Dr. Albert Hertzog, said that the incident stressed the dangerous situation which had been created by the Government's economic policy and weak handling of the country's affairs.¹⁹

About eighty (white) University of the Witwatersrand students forced their way into Anglo American's headquarters in Johannesburg on 12 September to demand an open enquiry into the shootings. They demanded that workers' representatives, economists and trade unionists be party to such an inquiry.²⁰ The leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff also called for a full judicial commission of inquiry so that "the underlying causes of the disturbance, the activities of the crowd and the action of the police" could be properly examined.²¹ This call was endorsed later by Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American.²² At a mass meeting on the University of Cape Town campus white students acclaimed a motion passed by an overwhelming majority calling upon Mr. Oppenheimer to reconsider his position as the university's chancellor if he did not comply with a request to promote genuine (African) trade unions and raise wages.²³ Six hundred students at the University of Durban-Westville (for Indians) attended a prayer meeting for the dead miners and started a collection for their dependants. A similar fund was launched by the Nusas branch at the University of Natal in Durban. The black South African Students' Organisation condemned the shootings, but said no amount of condemnation would bring the miners back to life.²⁴ African students at the University of the North expelled their Students' Representative Council because it had failed to arrange a protest against the shootings.²⁵

By 18 September police armed with automatic weapons and dogs who had mounted a guard on the mine had been withdrawn,

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 September.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 14 September.

²² *Ibid.*, 18 September.

²³ *Ibid.*, 14 September.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 September.

but the repercussions continued.²⁶

Among the dead miners were five migrant workers from Lesotho and two from Botswana. Both governments asked their labour representatives in Johannesburg and Roodepoort for reports.²⁷ They also strongly criticised what they regarded as the South African Government's delay in giving them official information of the deaths of their citizens.²⁸ The Lesotho Government declared a national day of mourning on the day on which the five dead Basotho were flown home. About 30 000 Basotho attended a ceremony at Maseru Airport where King Moshoeshoe II and Lesotho's Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, placed wreaths on the coffins and made the first contributions to a special Carletonville Victims' Fund started by the Lesotho Government to aid the dead miners' dependants. Eight representatives of Anglo American and Western Deep Levels mine, including the manager of Anglo's gold division, attended the ceremony. Apparently the South African Government was not officially represented.²⁹

The Transkeian Minister of the Interior said he was "shocked" to learn that two workers from the Transkei were among the dead.³⁰ Chief Buthelezi received a telegram of condolence from Anglo American in respect of one Zulu worker who had been shot dead.³¹

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, announced at the opening of the Orange Free State National Party Congress that his Government would refuse to allow into South Africa any United Nations observer who might be sent to attend the inquest into the deaths of the black miners.³²

Seventeen African workers were charged with public violence in the Carletonville Magistrates Court in September.³³ Bail of R20 each was fixed and the case was remanded to 12 October. Among those charged was a Swazi, Mr. James Malambe. The Swaziland Government appointed counsel to watch the proceedings on its behalf.³⁴

The inquest into the deaths of the African miners started in Oberholzer on 8 October and lasted nearly three weeks. The Chief Magistrate of Bloemfontein presided. Mr. T. L. Blunden, Attorney-General of Lesotho, was present while Mr. I. Maisels, Q.C., with him Mr. J. H. Conradie, appeared for relatives of the dead Basotho and kept a watching brief for the Lesotho Government. Mr. Ike Matlare of the Botswana Attorney-General's

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 September.

²⁷ *Star*, 13 September.

²⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 and 15 September; *Star*, 15 September.

²⁹ *Star*, 20 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

³⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

³¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 September.

³² *Star*, 19 September.

³³ *Star*, 27 September.

³⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October.

office represented relatives of the dead Batswana and kept a watching brief for his Government. Also present was Mr. J. Barroso of the Portuguese Labour Office. (It appears that two migrant workers from Mozambique were amongst the dead.)³⁵

According to evidence given by the general manager of Western Deep Levels, Mr. A. Von Holdt, the events of 11 September were the culmination of discontent in connection with wages which had first manifested itself on 4 August, i.e. a month before the shootings. Some 70 to 100 disaffected machine operators were involved in the disturbances on the fatal night when the police were called in. The mine had a complement of some 60 security men and arms and tear-gas were available to them. Of the use of these security men on the night in question Mr. Von Holdt said: "It is our policy not to involve our own security force, if at all possible, in a disturbance of this nature, because of the cruel feelings that could be generated with the force living in close proximity to the workers. In addition, they are not trained for this type of work."³⁶

In presenting his findings in a 70-minute judgment on 25 October, the chief magistrate said that the deaths of the eleven miners were not due to any act or omission by any person amounting to an offence. The men died from gunshot wounds after being shot by the police in the execution of their duty. Separate findings were delivered in respect of each of the eleven fatalities. The magistrate criticized one police officer on the grounds that he should have fired warning shots before giving the order to shoot down the leader of the mob.

At the time of going to press, the inquest on the twelfth miner killed during the course of the riot, but not shot by the police, had not yet been held.³⁷

A further 10 per cent increase in African mineworkers' wages from 1 December was later announced by the Chamber of Mines.³⁸

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION

The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey conducted by the Department of Statistics. They relate to the month of May and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer:¹

³⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October.

³⁶ *Star*, 9 October.

³⁷ *Star*, 25 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

³⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November.

¹ Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 5 September.

	Average numbers employed	Per cent increase over 1972	Average monthly gross cash earnings R	Per cent increase over 1972
White	58 900	-0,2	408	10,6
Coloured	47 500	1,5	138	8,7
Asian	5 700	0,0	194	20,5
African	276 800	0,8	71	18,3
	<hr/> 388 900			

The Bantu Building Workers' Act of 1951 enabled Africans to be trained and employed as skilled building workers for work in African areas only at lower rates of pay than workers of other races. The Minister of Labour said that up to the end of 1972 altogether 6 028 Africans had obtained registration as building workers in terms of this Act. This is an increase of nearly 10 per cent over the 1971 figure. The main trades in which these workers had been trained were: blocklaying, 74; bricklaying, 3 041; bricklaying and plastering, 347; carpentry, 1 168; carpentry and joinery, 54; electrical wiring, 23; joinery, 1; painting, 477; plastering, 411; plumbing, 432. It would seem that more bricklayers, carpenters, painters, plasterers, and plumbers are being trained than other tradesmen. A further 454 Africans were in training under this Act by the end of 1972.² The Minister of Labour announced his intention to amend the schedule to this Act to provide for substantial increases in the prescribed *minimum* rates of pay for Africans trained under this Act. The new minima for "Bantu building workers" are likely to be 60 cents an hour (R27 per week) in Cape Town; 55 cents an hour (R24,75 per week) in Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Pretoria (central area); and 53 cents an hour (R23,85 per week) in East London, Pietermaritzburg (central area), Bloemfontein (central area), and Kimberley (municipal area). The most welcome aspect of this new determination is that the prescribed minima have been tied to increases in the consumer price index.³

The first group of Africans has successfully completed the course for "Bantu survey technicians" at Mmadikoti Technical College near Pietersburg. This course includes mathematics, applied mechanics, survey study, engineering drawing, physical science, cartography, geography, administration, photogrammetry, motor vehicle maintenance, and town planning.⁴

Roberts Construction introduced a non-contributory pension scheme covering its 17 000 black workers which guarantees a *minimum* pension of R15 per month for the lowest-paid rural

² Hansard 9 col. 616, 6 April. (It would appear that in the some 21 years since this measure was enacted, on average, some 287 skilled African building workers were trained each year.)

³ This rate has accelerated in the last few years.)

⁴ Government Notice No. 1034 dated 15 June.

⁵ *Sunday Times*, 3 June.

worker. To qualify for the pension the employee must have had at least 10 years' service with the company.⁵

On pages 233-4 of the 1971 issue and on page 300 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey* details of various exemptions from certain job reservation provisions in the building industry were given. An exemption of this nature was contained in Government Notice No. R. 585 of 13 April. It confirmed a previous exemption from Work Reservation Determination No. 13 granted in 1972 in respect of a new agreement for the building industry in the Western Cape Province.

The issues connected with skilled manpower shortages and job reservation were outlined on pages 232-4 of the 1971 *Survey* and on pages 301-2 of the 1972 *Survey*. In May the Minister of Labour announced his intention to direct the Industrial Tribunal to make an investigation of job reservation in the building industry in the Republic and called for representations in this regard.⁶

In July the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, and the White Building Workers' Union warned the Master Builders' Association that it would be detrimental to the industry as a whole if the Minister was asked to intervene in labour problems.⁷ It was later announced that the Minister of Labour had postponed issuing his directive to the Industrial Tribunal until 1974.⁸ Mr. Gert Beetge, leader of the White Building Workers' Union, said that he would be prepared to allow African artisans into the industry provided that minimum wages were raised from R1,40 to at least R2,00 per hour and if the rate-for-the-job was strictly enforced.⁹

EMPLOYMENT IN FINANCE AND COMMERCE

The employment figures given below are based on a complete quarterly survey conducted by the Department of Statistics. They relate to the second quarter of 1973 and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer:¹

<i>Banks</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centge increase over 1972</i>	<i>Per centge monthly gross cash earnings R</i>	<i>Average increase over 1972</i>
White	46 531	5,6	314	8,3
Coloured	1 794	25,2	106	21,8
Asian	635	49,1	142	15,5
African	5 780	10,9	88	23,9
	<hr/> 54 740			

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 January.

⁶ Government Notice No. 738 dated 4 May.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 July.

⁸ *Sunday Tribune*, 5 August.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 20 September.

In March, Mr. S. M. Motsuenyane, president of the National African Chamber of Commerce, announced that the Registrar of Financial Institutions had agreed in principle to register an African bank in the Republic. Between R1 000 000 and R5 000 000 would be required for this purpose and 49 per cent of the total shareholding would be in the hands of African private investors, 21 per cent would be held by homeland governments, and 30 per cent by white financial institutions.² Barclays Bank said later that they were considering joining with other (white) banks to set up this new African bank. Barclays had 1 700 000 customers' accounts in South Africa, of which 600 000 belonged to Africans.³ Barclays has apparently also worked out a new scheme for assisting African businessmen with financial loans.⁴

In answer to a shareholder's question, Dr. Jan Marais, chairman of Trust Bank, said that the company paid all its employees on the basis of merit, regardless of colour. About 16 per cent of the staff were black and the positions they filled included cleaners, artisans, clerks, tellers, sales and administrative staff.⁵

The Minister of Finance has announced a Cabinet decision based on the third report of the commission of inquiry into fiscal and monetary policy in the Republic. Apparently foreign control over a South African bank will have to be reduced to 50 per cent within a reasonable period of "say 10 years".⁶

The News Release mentioned above also gave data on employment and earnings in building societies. These, too, relate to the second quarter of 1973 and are based on complete quarterly surveys. Monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer:

<i>Building Societies</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Percentage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i> R	<i>Percentage increase over 1972</i>
White	9 122	7,6	302 ⁷	-0,7
Coloured	314	13,0	117	4,5
Asian	156	31,1	165	5,1
African	1 718	9,3	76	15,2
	<u>11 310</u>			

White, Coloured, and Asian average wages would all have been eroded by the rise in the cost of living unless they were suitably adjusted later in the year.

Sanlam, the South African insurance giant, has decided to strip its buildings of all discriminatory signs, to do away with

² *South African Digest*, 6 April.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 June.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail* (Township Edition), 25 August.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May.

⁶ *Star*, 10 May.

⁷ It is not immediately apparent why average wages should have declined, even minimally, for white employees. There may have been a spate of resignations of senior staff and a large intake of young recruits. There may also be an error in the figures given.

separate lifts and counters for white and black people, and to pay black staff the same salaries as white staff in similar jobs.⁸

The same News Release gave data on employment and earnings in insurance companies, also based on complete quarterly surveys. These, too, relate to the second quarter of 1973 and monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer.

<i>Insurance Companies</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>
			<i>R</i>	
White	25 669	-2,1	340	7,6
Coloured	3 318	12,6	124	7,8
Asian	734	12,2	227	7,1
African	4 179	2,3	90	16,9
	33 900			

White, Coloured, and Asian average wages in this sector would also have been eroded by the rise in the cost of living unless there were adjustments later in the year.

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 2 July gave data, based on quarterly sample surveys, on employment and gross earnings in the wholesale, retail, motor trades and in licensed accommodation establishments. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1973 and monthly averages and percentage increases in the wholesale and retail trades have been calculated by the writer. The motor trade and accommodation establishments are being included here for the first time and no percentage increases are thus given.

<i>Wholesale</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i>	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>
			<i>R</i>	
White	77 100	0,3	335	4,7
Coloured	20 400	2,5	95	13,1
Asian	10 100	4,1	132	10,9
African	82 300	0,7	63	8,6
	189 900			

Provided that there were no suitable adjustments later in the year white earnings here would have been eroded by the rise in the cost of living. African wages would have barely kept pace.

⁸ *Sunday Express*, 2 September.

<i>Retail</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i> R	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
White	125 100	2,4	179	11,9
Coloured	32 800	4,1	77	16,7
Asian	16 900	1,8	104	9,5
African	112 100	0,5	52	13,0
	<u>286 900</u>			

<i>Motor</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i> R
White	44 300	298
Coloured	10 600	98
Asian	3 100	137
African	51 700	63
	<u>109 700</u>	

<i>Licensed Accommodation Establishments</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i> R
White	9 300	193
Coloured	6 600	61
Asian	5 000	88
African	32 300	38
	<u>53 200</u>	

In many instances Africans, and in some instances Coloured and Asian people, employed by hotels would also receive payments in kind by way of accommodation, food, and clothing. Some Whites would also receive these payments in kind.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Central Government

In a Statistical News Release dated 5 July, the Department of Statistics gave employment figures for the Central Government together with estimates of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1973. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given. It should be borne in mind that employees in the service of homeland governments are no longer included in these statistics and this could account for the apparent decline in the employment of Africans and Whites.

	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i> R	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>
White	102 881	-1,5	336	7,7
Coloured	35 068	7,4	163	2,5
Asian	8 387	7,3	232	5,0
African	110 594	-14,1	59	3,5
	<hr/> 256 930			

In February the Minister of Finance announced a general salary increase by way of a 15 per cent pensionable allowance from 1 April, 1973.¹ This covered all officials and employees in the Public Service and included the services and employees of the provincial administrations. It was later extended to teachers as well.

The report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the year ended 30 June 1972² showed that between 1970/71 and 1971/72 the ratio of police to 1 000 of the population rose slightly from 1,40 to 1,48. The shortfall between the authorised and actual establishment of white policemen in that year was 1 575 and that of black policemen 658. The shortfall of white civilian employees was 145 and of black 40. Staff wastage during that year amounted to 1 881 Whites and 806 Blacks. The Reserve Police Force consisted of 15 806 Whites and 3 524 Blacks.

The Minister of Police said that the strength of the Police Force at the end of 1972 was:³

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>African</i>
Officers	1 901	7	3	10
Warrant Officers	2 106	—	—	—
Chief Sergeants	—	6	3	18
Senior Sergeants	—	27	16	125
Sergeants	5 000	250	148	2 028
Constables	7 427	1 053	549	10 807
Others	2 409	32	9	316
	<hr/> 18 843	<hr/> 1 375	<hr/> 728	<hr/> 13 304

This shows a decline of 322 Whites, 56 Coloured people, 15 Asians, and 204 Africans since 1971.

Examples of comparative salary scales in the police force were given on page 311 of last year's *Survey*. There has been no change in these scales but the police also received the 15 per cent pensionable allowance granted to the public service on 1 April.

The Minister of Police also said that nine police stations in KwaZulu, eight in the Transkei, one in the Ciskei, one in Gaza-nkulu, three in Lebowa, one in BophuthaTswana and eleven in

¹ Hansard 3 cols. 898-9, 19 February.

² R.P. 23/1973.

³ Hansard 4 cols. 229-30, 27 February.

other areas of the Republic were being administered by Africans. Seven were being administered by Coloured people and one by an Indian.⁴

At the opening of the Transkei Legislative Assembly the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced the establishment of a High Court for the Transkei. Four magistracies were being administered by Africans and there were fourteen African assistant magistrates at the remaining twenty-two magistrates' offices. Whereas in 1963 there were only two legally qualified African officers in the Transkei, there were twenty at the present time.⁵

The Minister of Prisons said that 427 Whites and two Coloured people held commissioned rank in the prisons service. Five posts for Coloured/Asian commissioned officers and three for Africans were vacant but were expected to be filled in the near future. Two African commissioned officers had been transferred to the Transkeian Government in 1972.⁶ Examples of comparative salary scales for prison warders were given on page 313 of last year's *Survey*. The Deputy Commissioner of Prisons has drawn attention to the unfavourable working conditions in the service compared with the police and defence force.⁷

The Minister of Defence gave a detailed breakdown of *maximum* local rates of pay for African labourers employed in each command of the South African Defence Force. These ranged from as low as R276 per annum (R23 per month) at Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal to R1 080 per annum (R90 per month) at Saldanha in the Western Province.⁸ The South African Navy has started recruiting (white) women to the permanent staff.⁹ A new national service scheme has been instituted whereby a limited number of youths doing eighteen months or twenty-four months service instead of the usual twelve months will complete their commitments in one stint without having to return to camp every year for five years after their initial training. Those completing eighteen months will receive a R900 lump sum bonus if they are officers or R750 if they are other ranks, officers serving twenty-four months a bonus of R3,600, and other ranks R3 000.¹⁰

The Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs said that, apart from posts in education, there were 85 authorised posts for Whites (filled by 80 people) and 18 for Coloured people (filled by 15 people) on the establishment of the Department of Coloured Relations. In South West Africa the authorised establishment of this Department was 56 posts for Whites (filled by 44 people), 35 posts for Coloured people (filled by 35 people), and

⁴ Hansard 1 cols. 59-60, 9 February.

⁵ Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1973, p. 2.

⁶ Hansard 3 cols. 199-200, 23 February.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 October.

⁸ Hansard 11 cols. 741-4, 27 April.

⁹ *Sunday Express*, 7 January.

¹⁰ *Star*, 20 September.

54 posts for Rehoboth personnel (filled by 14 people). In the Administration of Coloured Affairs there were no authorised posts for Whites and 2 976 posts for Coloured people. Of the latter, 591 were filled by Whites (presumably on a temporary basis) and 1 961 by Coloured people.¹¹

The Minister of Indian Affairs said that, apart from posts for teachers, there were 636 authorised posts (35 of them vacant) on the establishment of his Department. Of those, 160 were occupied by Whites and 441 by Indians. The most senior post occupied by an Indian was that of education planner on the salary scale of R5 760—R6 000 (plus 17½ per cent).¹²

In connection with authorised posts, apart from those for teachers, in his Department, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that of the 2 911 posts, 2 128 were occupied by Whites and 783 by Africans. The most senior post occupied by an African was that of lecturer in the law training unit on the salary scale R3 000 x 120—3 600 x 150—4 050.¹³

Dr. J. J. S. Weidemann has given the following information on employment (excluding labourers) in the Public Service in certain homelands:¹⁴

	Year	Whites		Africans		Totals
		Number	Per Centage	Number	Per Centage	
Transkei	1968	328	10,4	2 821	89,6	3 149
	1969	310	9,7	2 877	90,3	3 187
	1970	295 ¹⁵	8,5	3 191 ¹⁶	91,5	3 486
	1971	279	7,2	3 581	92,8	3 860
Ciskei	1969	202	32,1	427	67,9	629
	1970	203	28,6	508	71,4	711
	1971	209	25,7	605	74,3	814
Basotho Qwaqwa	1969	20	14,2	48	85,8	141
	1970	23	11,5	73 ¹⁷	88,5	200
	1971	14	10,0	126 ¹⁷	90,0	140
BophuthaTswana	1969	263	36,3	461	63,7	724
	1970	295	37,1	501	62,9	796
	1971	260	30,8	583	69,2	843
Lebowa	1969	186	41,9	258	58,1	444
	1970	239	13,9	1 479	86,1	1 718
	1971	201	23,8	645	76,2	846
Venda	1969	45	77,6	13	22,4	58
	1970	61	5,9	970	94,1	1 031
	1971	89	24,0	282	76,0	371
Gazankulu	1969	48	29,4	115	70,6	163
	1970	80	29,9	188	70,1	268
	1971	96	26,6	265	73,4	361

¹¹ Hansard 8 cols. 525-6, 26 March.

¹² Hansard 11 col. 681, 24 April.

¹³ Hansard 3 cols. 157-8, 20 February.

¹⁴ J. J. S. Weidemann, Tuisland- en Grensgebied ontwikkeling—Die Betekenis Daarvan en die Vordering wat Gemaak Word. IN SABRA *Journal of Racial Affairs*, January 1973, p. 9.

¹⁵ Includes four members of the S.A.P.

¹⁶ Includes 101 members of the Transkei Police.

¹⁷ Teachers.

	Year	Whites		Africans		Totals
		Number	Per Centage	Number	Per Centage	
Owambo	1969	32	47,1	36	52,9	68
	1970	46	21,8	165	78,2	211
	1971	55	41,4	78	58,6	133

In the wake of the report by the Wages Commission, mentioned in the section on agriculture, the Department of Forestry in Natal announced an investigation into working conditions and granted wage increases.¹⁸

Provincial Administrations

The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section gave employment figures for the Provincial Administrations together with estimates of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1973. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

	Numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly salaries and wages	Per centage increase over 1972
			R	
White	100 516	2,1	320	7,7
Coloured	15 822	13,1	75	5,6
Asian	2 403	2,9	122	11,9
African	81 605	3,1	46	9,5
	<u>200 346</u>			

Local Authorities

The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section also gave employment figures and earnings based on a sample survey for Local Authorities (municipalities, etc.). These figures include the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-urban Areas, the Bantu Resettlement Board, and the Natal Local Health Commission and relate to the first quarter of 1973. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

	Numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly salaries and wages	Per centage increase over 1972
			R	
White	50 000	0,8	331	5,8
Coloured	19 100	2,1	107	5,9
Asian	3 900	2,6	88	22,2
African	120 400	-0,5	54	8,0
	<u>193 400</u>			

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16, 17 and 20 April.

The municipality of Durban was hit by the black workers' strikes of January and February (see relevant section) during which a 15 per cent increase (or a minimum of R2 per employee per week) was granted. This brought the basic minimum to R60,66 per month.¹⁹ At the time of these strikes the wages of the lowest-paid workers in certain Witwatersrand municipalities were: Randfontein, R37,27 per month; Kempton Park, R43 per month; Randburg, R37,27 per month; Benoni, about R52 per month;²⁰ Alberton, about R37 per month.²¹

The Cape Town City Council granted its black employees increases of 12,5 per cent (see pages 244 to 245 of last year's *Survey* in this connection), while the Pietermaritzburg City Council also increased the wages of its African workers by up to 50 per cent in some instances.²² Pretoria City Council increased black wages by between 11 and 18 per cent and Randfontein increased black wages by 15 per cent from April 1 and by a further 5 per cent in July.²³ Alberton and Krugersdorp also granted a 15 per cent wage increase, while Benoni raised its black wages by 33 per cent (which would bring its basic minimum to about R69 per month).²⁴ Edenvale granted an average black wage increase of 22 per cent and Randburg set its new black minimum at R65 per month.²⁵

In February African bus drivers employed by the Johannesburg City Council expressed their discontent with wage rates then current. After negotiations a settlement was reached whereby the Council granted a 3 cents an hour increase additional to a general 25 per cent increase for black municipal employees coming into effect on 1 July. The latter raised the minimum rate of African male employees by R13,35 from R47,67 to R61,02 per month.²⁶ After a work stoppage by African bus drivers in Springs, a settlement was reached between the Council and these employees which raised the maximum wage from R26 to R36 per week.²⁷

EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAILWAYS, HARBOURS AND AIRWAYS ADMINISTRATION

The Minister of Transport gave figures on employment and earnings in the South African Railways and Harbours Administration at the end of 1972.¹ The monthly average wages together with per centage increases have been calculated by the writer.

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 February.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 10 February.

²¹ *Star*, 20 March.

²² *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 February.

²³ *Ibid*, 30 March.

²⁴ *Star*, 20 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 and 28 February.

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February; *Star*, 24 May.

²⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 February and 30 June.

²⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 July.

¹ Hansard 2 cols. 78-9, 13 February.

	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1971</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages R</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1971</i>
White	108 729	-2,5	320	0,6
Coloured	15 855	4,1	72	1,4
Indian	1 195	-15,2	55	1,9
African	99 538	0,04	54	1,9
	<u>225 317</u>			

A general salary increase of 15 per cent was granted to all staff members with effect from January 1973.² A spokesman for the Ministry of Transport later confirmed that an average black wage increase of 22 per cent, compared with the white increase of 15 per cent, had been granted.³ All servants of the Administration receive benefits such as travelling concessions, annual free passes, and medical treatment, while certain workers are issued with uniform clothing. Some also receive a rent subsidy or accommodation in departmental houses and others participate in a departmental food scheme. Such benefits cannot be readily evaluated.

The following figures supplied by the Minister gave a clearer picture of the wage structure in the administration:⁴

<i>Monthly wage</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Per centage</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Per centage</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Per centage</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
R50 or less	—	0,0	20	0,1	—	0,0	37 641	37,9
R51 —								
R100 —	2 020	1,8	14 101	89,9	1 112	90,9	59 062	59,4
R101 —								
R200 —	35 972	32,0	1 539	9,8	112	9,1	2 685	2,7
R201 —								Less than
R300 —	46 968	41,7	36	0,2	—	0,0	4	0,1
R301 —								
or more	27 562	24,5	—	0,0	—	0,0	—	0,0
	<u>112 522</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>15 696</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>1 224</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>99 392</u>	<u>100,0</u>

From further information it appears that 13 302 or 11,8 per cent of the Whites earn more than R400 per month.⁵ On the other hand, no Coloured person earns more than R272 per month, no Indian more than R156 and no African more than R218.⁶ This does, however, show improvement over last year's figures for more black employees are moving into rather better paid grades.

The Report of the Railways and Harbours Board for the year ended 31 December 1972,⁷ showed that in the 32 826 "bread and butter" grades there were 6 550 vacancies (19,95 per cent) while there were 2 548 vacancies (54,48 per cent) in the 4 677 training

² Department of Information. Press Release 443B/72(P) dated 1 December 1972.

³ *Star*, 10 February.

⁴ Hansard 10 col. 647, 10 April. (No date was specified.)

⁵ Hansard 7 col. 494, 20 March. (No date was specified.)

⁶ Hansard 3 cols. 202-4, 23 February.

⁷ R.P. 56/73.

and entry grades. This shows a further deterioration in the manpower situation since 1971 and it should be noted that these figures do not include artisans.

The introduction of African employees as "train marshalls" was mentioned on pages 319-320 of last year's *Survey*. Altogether 3 445 black candidates were tested and 1 468 were selected for training in 1972. The Board reported that at least 85 per cent of the selected candidates completed training satisfactorily and more than 80 per cent were considered successful on the job.

Figures for the numbers of black employees temporarily employed on work normally performed by white graded staff as at 28 February 1973 were:⁸ 277 Coloured people, 134 Indians, and 2 646 Africans. The *daily* wages of these employees were:

	<i>Minimum Rate</i>	<i>Maximum Rate</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
Coloured	2,81	6,00
Indian	2,46	6,00
African	1,96	5,11

The increase in these wage rates ranges from 22½ to 45 per cent, a marked improvement although the African minimum is still obviously very low. The numbers of black staff performing work previously done by unskilled and ungraded white staff were: 50 Coloured people and 343 Africans at the following *daily* rates of pay:

	<i>Minimum Rate</i>	<i>Maximum Rate</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
Coloured	2,35	3,50
African	1,73	2,31

Here, too, wages have been increased by between 20½ and 30 per cent.

South African Railways is appointing 34 Africans as crane drivers and 87 Africans as forklift drivers in place of Whites in Durban Harbour, a move of considerable importance.⁹

There is a shortage of some nine white officers, 402 white other ranks and 202 black other ranks in the South African Railways and Harbours Police.¹⁰

EMPLOYMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs has given the following employment and earnings figures in his Department as at 31 March 1973 (percentages calculated by the writer):¹

⁸ Hansard 10 cols. 646-7, 10 April.

⁹ *Star*, 8 September.

¹⁰ Hansard 1 col. 51-2, 9 February.

¹ Hansard 9 cols. 627-8, 6 April.

Annual Salary	White	Per centage	Coloured	Per centage	Asian	Per centage	African	Per centage
R600 or less	—	0,0	1 053	22,6	10	1,6	7 929	52,5
R601 —								
R1 200	793	1,9	2 829	60,7	306	49,8	6 941	46,0
R1 201 —								
R2 400	22 294	54,6	704	15,1	293	47,6	200	1,3
R2 400 plus	17 761	43,5	73	1,6	6	1,0	33	0,2
	40 848	100,0	4 659	100,0	615	100,0	15 103	100,0

The Minister announced a general salary increase consisting of a 15 per cent pensionable allowance as from 1 April 1973. He also said:² "Advantage is also being taken of this opportunity to narrow the gap between the wages of White and non-White members of staff". Calculating from other data given by the Minister³ and using figures at the end of March each year as a base, it appears that African employment in the Post Office increased by 2,9 per cent in 1971, 8,1 per cent in 1972, and 6,9 per cent in 1973.

The Post Office is employing 33 Africans, 5 Coloured people, and 4 Indians in its administrative division. The highest salary being paid to an African is on the grade R2 880—R3 240 per annum, that to a Coloured person is on the grade R3 840—R4 320 per annum, and that to an Indian is on the grade R3 840—R4 320.⁴

The Minister said that the numbers of black workers temporarily occupying posts in "white" areas usually occupied by white staff were: 182 Coloured postmen and one messenger; 211 Asian postmen; and 451 African postmen and two messengers.⁵ (This shows a rather sharp decline over the previous year's figures. This could be explained if formerly "white" posts had been transferred to the black establishment.)

There was an estimated shortage of some 414 technicians and 1 100 telephone electricians in the Department.⁶ Sixty-six (white) women were appointed as telephone electricians—a formerly all-male preserve.⁷

The Postmaster-General, Mr. Louis Rive, said that blacks will be used "in the lower echelons" of technical jobs in the Post Office in co-operation with the (white) Staff Association.⁸ The chairman of the Council of Post Office Engineers, Mr. Louis Zerbst, said that the number of professional Post Office engineers had dropped from 225 per million telephones in 1961 to 142 at the present time.⁹

² Hansard 3 col. 900, 19 February.

³ Hansard 16 cols. 951-2, 30 May.

⁴ Hansard 1 col. 60, 9 February.

⁵ Hansard 10 col. 651, 12 April.

⁶ Hansard 4 col. 272, 2 March.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 14 June.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 31 August.

The following information on positions occupied by black personnel was released in October:¹⁰

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>
Postmaster, Grade III	7
Postmaster, Grade IV	33
Superintendent	2
Clerk	334
Postal Assistant	521
Counter Aid	29
Chief Inspector of uniformed staff ...	1
Senior Inspector of uniformed staff ...	13
Inspector of uniformed staff	115
Senior postman	135
Postman	1 930
Senior telephonist	6
Telephonist	228
Foreman	163
Postal Aid	3 247
Messenger	1 415
Charwoman	147
Telephone Electrician	68
Learner Telephone Electrician	100
Senior Telephone worker	282
Telephone worker	3 579
Labourer	9 402
	<hr/>
	21 757

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

The most recent figures available to the writer on the remuneration of domestic servants in certain areas were contained in Table 6.1 of a Report, 11-03-07, by the Department of Statistics which gave the average monthly wages paid to full-time general servants in October 1971, where payments in kind represent *employers' estimates*. Some extracts are:

	<i>Cash</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>increase</i>
				<i>1970/71</i>
Cape Town:				
African woman	26,59	26,14	52,73	5,2
Coloured woman	25,38	26,88	52,26	8,6
Port Elizabeth:				
African woman	19,18	23,22	42,40	15,0
Coloured woman	17,63	24,45	42,08	15,3
East London:				
African woman	14,36	20,47	34,83	8,8
Kimberley:				
African woman	14,80	18,59	33,39	7,6
Pietermaritzburg:				
African man	17,35	19,81	37,16	10,2
African woman	16,44	20,17	36,61	10,6

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 October.

	<i>Cash</i> <i>R</i>	<i>Kind</i> <i>R</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>R</i>	<i>Percentage</i> <i>increase</i> <i>1970/71</i>
Durban:				
African man	14,67	20,90	35,57	6,4
African woman	17,59	20,89	38,48	12,4
Pretoria:				
African man	21,47	22,50	43,97	14,0
African woman	18,70	23,62	42,32	15,0
Witwatersrand:				
African man	26,61	25,26	51,87	13,2
African woman	21,61	22,79	44,40	15,2
Bloemfontein:				
African woman	13,86	21,25	35,11	12,1
Vaal Triangle:				
African woman	16,90	20,15	37,05	10,3
O.F.S. Goldfields:				
African woman	16,56	19,95	36,51	20,3

In April the Students' Wages and Economics Commission at the University of Cape Town produced a *Report on the Wages and Laws affecting Domestic Servants in Cape Town*. This suggested that a domestic servant with three children whose husband contributed 24 per cent of the household's food, clothing, and educational costs plus *all* fixed items, would require a minimum wage of R63,92 per month in Cape Town based on the standard of the *minimum effective level*. If the employer provided food and clothing for the domestic worker then the minimum *cash* wage required on this basis would be R54,21 per month. A further suggestion about a "fair wage" which would exclude the earnings of another breadwinner was made. This recommendation was for a wage of R97,68 per month or R87,97 if payments in kind were deducted.

In September, Mrs. Sue Gordon, Southern Transvaal Regional Secretary of the South African Institute of Race Relations, who is closely associated with the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project, published a booklet entitled *Domestic Workers: a handbook for housewives*. This recommended, *inter alia*, a minimum cash wage of R45 per month for a domestic worker in 1973 with annual increments based on the rise in the consumer price index. Other recommendations were that daily workers should receive a minimum of R3 for an eight-hour day while chars engaged in piece-work should be paid a minimum of 60 cents an hour. A complementary pamphlet entitled *To the Domestic Worker* was widely distributed in the Johannesburg area at the same time. (This referred to the minimum cash wage of R35 per month for living-in domestic workers proposed in 1971.)

DOCKWORKERS

See pages 325 to 328 of last year's *Survey* for an account of the industrial unrest in South Africa's major ports during 1972. In January the Students' Wages and Economics Commission at the University of Cape Town published a brief evaluation of events

in this connection entitled *An assessment of the work-to-rule carried out by stevedores in Cape Town during October and November 1972*. As a result of the Wage Board investigation mentioned on pages 325 and 327-8 of last year's *Survey*, the Minister of Labour gazetted Determination No. 348 of 1972, which fixed the following new *minimum* weekly wage rates for stevedoring hands in the major ports of the Republic.¹¹

Cape Town		Port Elizabeth		East London		Durban	
Rate R	Per Centage increase	Rate R	Per Centage increase	Rate R	Per Centage increase	Rate R	Per Centage increase
16,00	39,1	14,50	36,2	14,50	40,1	14,50	48,7

However, if the rise in the cost of living in each of the areas mentioned above were to be taken into account, the *real* rise in the value of these prescribed *minima* ranges from about 12 per cent in Port Elizabeth to about 22,6 per cent in Durban.

OTHER AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT

Universities

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 20 September gave employment figures and total earnings, based on a complete quarterly survey, in Universities during the second quarter of 1973. These figures covered full-time as well as part-time staff and this could well distort overall average earnings. Monthly average earnings and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer:

	Numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly salaries and wages R	Per centage increase over 1972
White	12 839	3,8	465	18,3
Coloured	1 787	11,1	124	19,2
Asian	468	3,3	157	16,3
African	5 470	7,2	73	23,7
	<hr/> 20 564			

The activities of the Students' Wages Commissions in connection with black wages and working conditions on the (white) English-language campuses were described on pages 328-9 of last year's *Survey*. A similar movement began on black campuses with students at the University of Durban-Westville (for Indians) petitioning the authorities for a minimum wage of R71 a month for black workers on that campus.¹

In January the University of the Witwatersrand adjusted African wage rates by adding R71 000 to their black wage bill with

¹¹ Government Notice No. R2311 dated 15 December 1972.

¹ *Drum*, 22 December 1972, p. 52.

annual increments in April accounting for a further R26 000. At the new rates female and single male unskilled employees now start at R56 per month, rising by R4 per month annually to R80. Married male unskilled workers will get R72 per month. Semi-skilled workers would get R72 rising to a maximum of R96. The wages of skilled African workers were also being reviewed. Annual merit increases will also be made. The university's African employees also receive subsidised meals, medical attention, generous leave conditions, and a non-contributory pension fund.² Black workers at the university have formed a Black University Workers' Association.³ The Students' Representative Council is to ask students registering in 1974 to contribute R2,50 each towards allowances for black staff.⁴

The University of Natal decided to increase the minimum wage for its lowest paid black workers from R456 a year to R816 (R68 per month) with the maximum rising from R960 a year to R1 152 (R96 per month). The new rates will affect about 860 black workers on the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses.⁵

A sample survey conducted by the Students' Representative Council at the University of Stellenbosch indicated that some 75 per cent of the University's black workers were remunerated at rates either on or below the poverty datum line. The students estimated that it would cost the university some R28 500 to raise wages to a more respectable level and suggested that if the university could not afford this amount students' fees should be raised by R3,50 each.⁶

Churches

Brief information on salaries and wages in the Churches was given on page 182 of the 1971 issue and on page 330 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

The Anglican Diocese of Natal decided to pay equal salaries to black and white clergymen from January 1974—seven years earlier than originally planned—and to raise the monthly stipend to at least R200 a month. This decision is expected to cost the diocese an extra R40 000 annually. About 40 per cent of the Anglican priests in Natal are black. Present stipends for rectors are: White R1 440 per annum; Indian, R1 165; and African, R1 001.⁷ The Anglican church school, Michaelhouse, has raised pupils' fees following wage increases of R5 per month for black men and R3 for black women employed at the school. This will bring the basic starting salary to R57 a month and the decision affects about 180 black workers.⁸

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 January.

³ *Weekend World*, 20 May.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March; *Financial Mail*, 16 March.

⁶ *Rapport*, 10 June.

⁷ *Star*, 2 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October.

⁸ *Star*, 30 March.

The 1973 wage bill for the 122 clergymen (including the bishop, bishop suffragan, the dean, and five archdeacons) in the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg was about R230 000 (giving an average monthly wage of some R157). The present monthly cash stipend for priests is:

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>
	R	R
White	107	154
Coloured	91	146
African	84	135

All clergy are provided with a house and free water and electricity. Transport is provided for parish work, but not for personal use. The stipends of white clergy were frozen four years ago and will not be increased until 1976 when black/white parity is reached and all clergymen will receive a 15 per cent increase.⁹

Apparently in the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk a (white) dominee receives a stipend of R5 724 after five years' service, plus a free house and travelling expenses and sometimes other benefits as well. In the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk—probably the most powerful denomination in the Republic—the starting salary for a (white) dominee is R3 000 a year increasing to R5 400 after seventeen years' service. The average annual income of a minister of the Presbyterian Church was R3 600 with the usual clerical benefits of house, etc. A parson in the Methodist Church starts at R2 120 and can hope to rise to R2 568 after more than thirty years' service.¹⁰

The Press

On 9 June the *Cape Times (Business Report)* published the results of an investigation into black wages paid by South African newspaper groups. The following data has been extracted from this detailed article:

South African Associated Newspapers' Wages in April 1973

	<i>Rand per week</i>
Minimum	16,98
Average	21,12

The average on the lowest (basic) rung was R17,93 per week.

Cape Times Wages in 1972

	<i>Typographical Union</i>	<i>Non-Union</i>
	<i>Rand per week</i>	<i>Rand per week</i>
Maximum	72,50	41,00
Minimum	21,25	15,50
Average	46,08	25,32

The *Cape Times'* minimum for workers over 18 years of age is R17 per week.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 October.

¹⁰ *Sunday Express*, 13 May.

Natal Mercury's Wages in 1973

	<i>Rand per week</i>
Maximum	25,25
Minimum	17,00
Average	20,00

Perskor's Wages in 1972

	<i>Rand per week</i>
Maximum	20,00
Minimum	12,76
Average	15,90

Argus Group's Minimum Rates in January 1973

		<i>Rand per week (in the first 6 months of employment)</i>
Unskilled labourers	Durban	16,50
	Factory labourers	
	Johannesburg	18,00
Day cleaners	Cape Town	17,50
	Durban	18,50
	Johannesburg	17,25
Night cleaners	Cape Town (women) ...	13,50
	Durban	16,50
	Johannesburg	17,75
Canteen assistants	Cape Town	17,50
	Johannesburg	17,25
	Durban	18,50
Messengers	Johannesburg	18,00
	Cape Town	16,50
	Durban	18,50
Drivers	Johannesburg	22,75
	Durban	19,00

Johannesburg Stock Exchange

African workers at the Stock Exchange petitioned management to raise the minimum starting wage to R112,53 per month with a pro rata increase of 50 per cent for African workers in other grades.¹¹ The management rejected the appeal but agreed to raise the starting salary of married men from R80 to R100 per month and to grant increases of between 5 and 10 per cent to other workers.¹²

The Merchant Marine

The South African Marine Corporation announced a wage increase of about 25 per cent on average for its 1 000 Coloured seamen (of whom 210 are classified as petty officers). A trainee deckhand's starting wage would rise from R45 to R72 per month; an ordinary seaman's from R80 to R100; and an able seaman's from R108 to between R125-R130 rising to R200. Petty officers would be able to earn up to R3 600 a year in basic pay. However, the increased wage rates would coincide with a complete reorganisation of duties on board ship. The average total complement of

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June.

¹² *Ibid.*, 28 June.

officers and crew on the typical medium-sized cargo liner had been about 45 people and this would be reduced to about 39.¹³

Private Transport

The strike by 300 of PUTCO's black bus drivers was mentioned on pages 331-2 of last year's *Survey*. An African union, the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, was formed in the face of some employer resistance.¹⁴

The Bay Passenger Transport Company in Port Elizabeth raised the wages of its lowest paid African workers from R13,35 to R18,04 a week.¹⁵

TRADE UNIONS

General

The Minister of Labour said that the number of registered (i.e. White, Coloured, and Asian) trade unions at the end of 1972, and their membership figures at the end of 1971 (except for a few instances where trade unions had already submitted 1972 returns) were¹:

Types of Union	No. of unions	Membership		
		White	Coloured and Asian	Total
White	88	368 236	—	368 236
Coloured and Asian ...	48	—	71 613	71 613
Mixed	42	52 781	133 225	186 006
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	178	421 017	204 838	625 855

It would appear that very roughly 7,5 per cent of the economically active population are members of registered trade unions or, since Africans cannot belong to registered trade unions, roughly 25,3 per cent of White, Coloured, and Asian economically active persons belong to registered trade unions. Of the economically active persons who may belong to registered trade unions, it would appear that very roughly 14,9 per cent belong to trade unions which confine their membership to Whites, while a further 2,9 belong to unions where membership is confined to Coloured and Asian people. (See page 333 of last year's *Survey* for other provisions applicable to racially-mixed unions. There was no change in this position in 1972.) The trade Union Council of South Africa issued a useful fact paper on trade unions entitled *The trade union movement in South Africa*.

From 29 to 31 January 1973, the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-racial Studies at Cape Town, held its third research work-

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 July; *Financial Mail*, 13 July.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 March, 14 April and 12 May.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 March.

¹ Hansard 9 cols. 621-2, 6 April.

shop on *The Responsibility of Organised Labour in a Developing Plural Society*. This was attended by some 36 participants and 34 observers and was sponsored jointly by the Institute and the Trade Union Council of South Africa. A wide variety of major papers and lead-in papers, to be published shortly, covered the role of the trade union movement in South Africa in some depth. Among the major contributions were:

Dr. Fritz Opel (Industriegewerkschaft Metall für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland): *The role of German organised labour in the process of socio-economic development.*

Professor Marshall W. Murphree (Centre for Inter-Racial Studies, University of Rhodesia): *Organised labour and Black economic advancement in Rhodesia.*

Charles Levinson (International Chemical Workers' Federation): *The new dimension of trade unionism.*

Professor Herbert A. Levine (Labour Education Centre, Rutgers University): *Organised labour and development of Black Americans.*

Mr. Jeffrey Lever (University of South Africa): *White organised labour and the socio-economic development of Non-White South Africans.*

Professor Edward Feit (University of Massachusetts): *White worker attitudes towards the new black skilled worker — South Africa and Great Britain.*

Mr. Charles Diamond (Graduate School of Business Administration, University of the Witwatersrand): *The economic perspective on organised labour and socio-economic development.*

Mr. J. J. Scheepers (Former Divisional Inspector of Labour): *Industrial legislation in relation to Non-White development with particular regard to the functions of Industrial Councils and Wage Board Determinations.*

Mr. Robert L. Kraft (Trade Union Council of South Africa): *The role of a co-ordinating body in equalising conditions of employment.*

Mr. L. C. G. Douwes Dekker (Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry, Transvaal): *The role of trade unions in improving social services.*

Miss Anna Scheepers (Garment Workers' Union of South Africa): *Trade Unions face challenge.*

Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar (Trade Union Council of South Africa): *The importance and responsibility of leadership and leadership development in the labour movement.*

In March the Students' Representative Council's Wages Commission at the University of Cape Town issued a *Charter of Workers' Rights* embodying the following principles:

1. EVERY WORKER, REGARDLESS OF RACE, COLOUR OR CREED, SHOULD HAVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN RESPECT OF TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT.
2. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE THE PLACE OF HIS/HER WORK WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.
3. EVERY WORKER SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREE ASSOCIATION AND THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE.
4. EVERY WORKER SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AFTER ALL NON-DISCRIMINATORY CONCILIATION PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED.
5. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE PAID NOT LESS THAN THE EFFECTIVE MINIMUM LEVEL.

6. NO WORKER SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO WORK OVERTIME, AND WHERE OVERTIME IS WORKED, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED PER WEEK INCLUDING OVERTIME SHOULD NOT EXCEED 56 HOURS.
7. THE RATES OF OVERTIME SHOULD BE AS LAID DOWN IN THE FACTORIES, MACHINERY AND BUILDING WORKS ACT, BUT EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE PAID THE EFFECTIVE MINIMUM LEVEL BEFORE OVERTIME IS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.
8. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO THREE WEEKS LEAVE PER ANNUM.
9. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO TWENTY-ONE DAYS SICK LEAVE PER ANNUM WITH FULL PAY.
10. ALL WORKERS SHOULD QUALIFY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, PENSIONS AND MEDICAL BENEFITS.

African Trade Union Rights

It has been customary to quote at this point specific pleas for the extension to African workers of trade union rights enjoyed by workers of other races. Public attention has been more sharply focussed on this issue during the past year or so than it has probably ever been in the past. Although there is no consensus at the present time, an increasing number of prominent businessmen are becoming aware of the need to grant collective bargaining rights, if not full trade union rights, to African workers. White, Coloured, and Asian labour leaders whether on the "right" or on the "left" are also giving renewed attention to the question. Lack of space prevents full documentation of the minutiae of the general debate in a publication of this nature. What will be recorded in future is the formation and dissolution of African trade unions, together with significant changes of policy by the labour movement, employers, and political parties.

On 20 February Mrs. Helen Suzman M.P. (Progressive Party) moved the following motion in the House of Assembly²: "That this House is of the opinion that full trade union rights should be extended to African workers and requests the Government to introduce legislation to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, accordingly." During the debate Mr. J. M. Henning M.P. reaffirmed the Government's stand when he stated³: "We are convinced that the organisation of Bantu workers in the Bantu trade unions in the White area is not in the interests of South Africa." The Minister of Labour endorsed Mr. Henning's statement when he said⁴: "We keep on saying that the Government believes that on the basis of experience gained in this country with Bantu trade unions in the past, and the way in which these were also applied as political instruments, it is not in the interest of South Africa that Bantu trade unions should be recognised." (The Minister

² Hansard 3 cols. 1026-1040.

³ *Ibid.*, col. 1047.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 1071.

reiterated the Government's opposition to trade union rights for Africans from a number of public platforms during the year.) Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn M.P., at that time the United Party's chief spokesman on labour matters, summarized his party's policy in the following statements⁵: "Can you imagine something more unrealistic than that — to give full trade union rights to all our Black workers? . . . I think that if you give the same rights, the right to organise themselves into trade unions and to strike, to those people (migrant workers) as to the sophisticated permanent workers, whether Black, White, Coloured or Indian . . . you will be totally unrealistic. It cannot be done." He went on to say that "educated", "civilised", (African) workers, journalists for example, should be allowed to join existing unions or become "affiliated" to unions. In established industries where the "rate for the job" became necessary and effective (skilled African) workers should be affiliated "perhaps as groups if you wish" to the existing unions in the particular industry. However, for the majority of unskilled African workers the works committee system should be allowed to develop with the encouragement of larger associations of works committees based on industries or geographic areas where necessary.

Towards the end of 1972 the Trade Union Council of South Africa canvassed its affiliated unions, on the question of African trade unions.⁶ At TUCSA's annual congress in Durban in August fifty affiliated unions representing more than 190 000 White, Coloured, and Indian workers unanimously adopted the following resolution⁷: "In view of the fact that the government is unlikely at this stage to give full recognition for the unionisation of African workers into the registered trade union movement, conference recommends that individual affiliates of the council take steps to examine practical ways to establish parallel union organisations for African workers. Conference suggests to affiliates that they proceed individually to set up such organisations along such lines as agreed to by the affiliates themselves, so that at some future date recognition will be given by the government to such de facto working examples of practical and responsible labour organisations for African workers. Conference also instructs the TUCSA secretariat to prepare information papers on problems, procedures, and techniques, relating to the establishment of such parallel organisations, as planning guidelines for affiliates."

The Confederation of Metal and Building Unions also took a decision on the organisation of parallel African Unions.⁸ Its

⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 1051-1054.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 and 5 January.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 16 August.

⁸ This confederation consists of the following seven unions: (a) S.A. Boilermakers', Iron and Steel Workers', Ship Builders' and Welders' Society; (b) Amalgamated Engineering Union of South Africa; (c) Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers; (d) Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers; (e) Iron Moulders Society of S.A.; (f) S.A. Electrical Workers' Association; and (g) Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union.

chairman, Mr. E. H. MacCann, released the following statement in August⁹: "The decision to go ahead and set up parallel African unions has been taken after repeated attempts to interview the Prime Minister to discuss the grave problems facing our members by the probable undermining of living standards by the influx of Africans into jobs formerly the preserve of White, Coloured and Indian employees. In spite of several approaches to the Prime Minister, he declined to give us a hearing, and apparently considers that the new Industrial Relations Regulations Amendment Act will provide sufficient protection for the White, Coloured and Indian workers. In our view the works committee system provided for under this Act constitutes a danger to our membership because there is no effective control over their activities. Only a trade union registered in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act can effectively and responsibly look after workers' interests. We feel that if a man, whatever his colour, is doing work falling within the scope of a registered trade union, he should be a member of that union. However, since this is not allowed in terms of present legislation, and since the Government has indicated it will not alter the law in this respect, we have come to the conclusion that our only alternative is to set up parallel organisations to represent Africans. There is nothing in the law to prevent such organisations being formed. . . . Furthermore, we believe African trade unions are inevitable and that it is in the interests of industrial peace and economic progress that a start be made now to train responsible African union leaders." (See page 339 of last year's *Survey* in this regard.) Mr. G. de C. Malherbe, director of the Building Industries Federation of South Africa, said employers in the building industry were ready to accept the CMBU's plan. On the other hand, Mr. E. P. Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, said: "As far as we are concerned, the new Bantu Labour Regulation Act provides for Black participation at the industrial council level, with the Central Bantu Labour Board, when matters of wages and conditions for Bantu workers are being discussed."¹⁰ The following new unregistered unions had been formed or were being formed at the time of going to press: The (Black) Metal and Allied Workers' Union in Natal with 1 800 members; the (African) National Union of Textile Workers with 1 600 members in Natal and 400 members in the Transvaal (mainly in the cotton manufacturing section of the industry); and the (African) Union of Clothing Workers in Natal with about 400 members.¹¹ (See also section on private transport.)

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 August.

¹⁰ *Star*, 3 August.

¹¹ Information supplied by the unions. (See also *Financial Mail*, 30 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 June and 27 July.)

Visit by the British Trades Union Congress

In October a delegation from the British Trades Union Congress visited South Africa in spite of growing pressure within the British labour movement after the Carletonville shootings, to cancel the visit. The party was led by Mr. Victor Feather, former general secretary of the TUC, and included Mr. Jack Jones, chairman of the TUC's international committee; Mr. J. A. Hargreaves, head of the TUC's international department; Mr. Cyril Plant, of the Inland Revenue Staff Union; and Mr. Dan McGarvey, head of the Boilermakers' Union. During their stay the delegation met with a wide variety of South Africans from all racial groups and of different political complexions both from within and outside the labour movement.¹²

After their meeting with African trade unionists representing ten unions with some 20 000 members — virtually the entire African trade union movement in the country — Mr. Cyril Plant said he was surprised that TUCSA had not done more to assist African trade unionism. He went on to say: "The situation is crying out for assistance, and we have got to see more impetus given to the Africans. We can see they want to help themselves but they don't know how."¹³ The delegation also met the Prime Minister and Mr. Feather issued the following statement after their meeting¹⁴: "We had a very full discussion, particularly on the question of trade union recognition and the procedures for the recognition of a voluntary collective bargaining. This was not just a matter of words — it was at times blunt, but at all times courteous. The Prime Minister left us in no doubt about the policy and aims of his Government. I think the phrase he used in particular was that he wanted to see trade unionism developed on an evolutionary (manner) and by way of orderly advance. When we asked about the question of the time side for such advancement, and of course the speed for such advancement, there was no time put on that. It was something that would have to be judged in the light of developments." The Prime Minister later made it known that he had used the phrase "collective bargaining" and not "trade unionism" throughout his conversation with the TUC delegation. Mr. Feather commented: "I see no difficulty — they are one and the same thing."

Mr. Feather later criticised white miners in South Africa for failing to organise their African colleagues into "some semblance of trade unions",¹⁵ After a meeting which was described as cordial by both sides, Mr. Wally Grobler, secretary of the conservative (white) Confederation of Labour, said¹⁶: "We told

¹² *Sunday Times*, 23 September; *Natal Witness*, 2 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 October.

¹⁵ *Star*, 11 October.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 October.

the TUC that for the time being we supported the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, which provides for African works committees. The Act must be given a chance to prove itself. But at some time it may prove itself inadequate. Then we would reconsider our policy." Mr. Jack Jones, who is general secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, said he was appalled at wages and conditions among African stevedores at the Cape Town docks. He advised the stevedores to organise a union and also said he would investigate the position of stevedoring companies with British connections upon his return to the United Kingdom.¹⁷

The International Labour Movement

Mr. Irving Brown, executive director of the African American Labour Center, has warned the South African Government that unless the black labour force is allowed to organise — to form proper unions with powers of negotiation — the industrial future of the Republic is grim. He went on to say: "We are ready (to train black unionists) if KwaZulu is ready. Whether they are able to invite us or not is basically the question of whether they actually have independence under the homelands policy. . . . We have good contacts in South Africa and we have talked about how assistance in the training field could be arranged."¹⁸

Thirty-three African states have set up the Pan-Africa Trade Union Organisation (alternative title, Organisation of African Trade Union Unity) with headquarters in Accra and Mr. Dennis Akumu, secretary general of the Kenya Federation of Labour, has been appointed general secretary. The new organisation has been promised full financial support by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and can be expected to adopt a militant anti-apartheid stand.¹⁹

The executive committee of the International Organisation of Employers gathered together at the ILO conference in June passed a resolution which noted "with concern that discrimination based on apartheid continues to be declared the official policy practised in the Republic of South Africa in spite of deep-rooted social forces of change that are at work and of which some of the South African employers are the prime movers". The resolution also denounced job reservation and deplored the exclusion of the majority of the labour force from trade unions.²⁰ A resolution adopted unanimously by 450 trade unionists, representing 115 countries, at the close of the two-day ILO conference called on trade union organisations: (a) strongly to oppose emigration of skilled labour to South Africa; (b) to bring pressure on economic

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 16 October.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 May.

¹⁹ *Sunday Tribune*, 13 May.

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 June.

and financial groups which collaborate with South Africa to cease such collaboration; and (c) to boycott the loading and unloading of goods to and from South Africa and/or Namibia (South West Africa) as well as South African ships and aircraft. The resolution also proposed that consumers' organisations boycott all South African goods imported into their countries.²¹ It had originally seemed that the prominent South African trade unionist, Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, a member of the South African group of observers, would be allowed to address the assembly but this was prevented.²²

The ILO conference itself passed a unanimous resolution calling on governments to sever political, cultural, commercial, and diplomatic relations with South Africa and to stop public and private investment in the Republic. Trade union organisations were urged to press their governments to refuse to supply arms or any other form of military assistance and to close their ports and airports to South African ships and aircraft.²³

THE BANTU LABOUR (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES) ACT

The Machinery

This Act established alternative machinery in lieu of full trade union rights for Africans some twenty years ago. Its principal instruments were the Central Bantu Labour Board, Regional Bantu Labour Committees, and (African) works committees at plant level in establishments employing not less than twenty African workers.

The Minister of Labour said in March that the Central Bantu Labour Board consisted of four members.¹ All of these were Whites. He said later that there were only three members (presumably a vacancy had occurred) of whom the chairman was an official on the fixed establishment of the Department of Labour while the other two members were appointed on a contract basis but in a full-time capacity at an annual salary of R5 100. As a full-time body the Board met daily and in the last three years had also attended the following meetings²:

	1970	1971	1972
Industrial council meetings	20	6	8
Wage Board sittings	6	3	9
Meetings with representatives of industrial councils ...	2	4	3
Regional Bantu labour committee meetings	12	12	12

In March twelve Regional Bantu Labour Committees existed in the following principal industrialised urban areas:³ Johannesburg, Benoni, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Germiston, Klerksdorp,

²¹ *Sunday Express*, 17 June.

²² *Sunday Times*, 17 June.

²³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.

¹ Hansard 5 col. 355, 7 March.

² Hansard 7 cols. 484-5, 20 March.

³ Hansard 5 cols. 355-360, 7 March.

Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. These committees consisted of three White and five African members in Johannesburg, Benoni, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Germiston and Klerksdorp; of two White and five African members in Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, East London and Port Elizabeth; and one White and five African members in Cape Town. While a committee is located in a principal city its jurisdiction often extends over several magisterial districts. The Benoni committee, for instance, covers Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Springs, Nigel, and Delmas. Ten of these committees were established on 30 April 1954, while those for Pietermaritzburg and Klerksdorp were established on 25 April 1969. The Chairman of every regional committee is a white official on the fixed establishment of the Labour Department who is designated as a Bantu Labour Officer. He is remunerated according to his rank in the Public Service. African members of regional committees are paid an allowance of R3,25 per meeting plus travelling expenses and are also reimbursed for the actual loss of wages incurred in attending to their duties.

The Regional Committees were liaising with the following numbers of *statutory* works committees (at plant level) in January 1973:⁴

Johannesburg Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	7
Benoni Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	3
Vereeniging Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	1
Krugersdorp Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	4
Germiston Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	3
Pretoria Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	3
Durban Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	2
Cape Town Regional Committee	...	...	...	...	1
					24 ⁵

It thus appears that four Regional Bantu Labour committees, namely those in Klerksdorp, Pietermaritzburg, East London, and Port Elizabeth, were in contact with *no* statutory works committees. According to the Minister of Labour, these regional committees also liaise with *non-statutory* works committees when this is considered necessary but details of such consultations are not available.

The 9 June issue of *Drum* carried an interview with Mr. W. F. Koch, a divisional labour inspector, who is chairman of six of the seven Regional Bantu Labour Committees in the Transvaal (Pre-

⁴ Hansard 7 cols. 485-7, 20 March.

⁵ According to the Report of the Department of Labour for 1971 (R.P. 75/72) there were 19 525 registered factories in the Republic employing 743 761 African workers, an average of 38 African workers per factory. While there is considerable variation in the size of factories, it is quite clear that neither African workers nor their employers, nor perhaps the authorities, set any great store by this system during the twenty years of its existence.

toria being the exception). The regional committees over which Mr. Koch presides are entrusted with the onerous task of endeavouring "to further the interests of Bantu in relation to their employment" in the magisterial districts of Johannesburg, Heidelberg, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Springs, Nigel, Delmas, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Randfontein, Oberholzer, Germiston, Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom. Among the duties and functions of a regional committee are: (a) to maintain contact with employees with a view to keeping itself informed of conditions of employment of employees in its area generally and in particular trades; (b) to submit from time to time reports on any labour disputes which exist or are likely to arise; and (c) to assist in the settlement of labour disputes. Mr. Koch has expressed his view of African trade unions in the following terms: "To start with, African trade unions are not recognised by law. They are in a mess, with several groups of people claiming to represent black workers. I've known your (African) trade unions from the time of Kadalie,⁶ and I've never known a single one to work in the interests of the black worker." Mr. Koch's opinion was endorsed by Mr. S. S. Mahlangu, a veteran member of the Johannesburg regional committee, who said "We don't have the right people to run trade unions. All we have are people who will incite workers to strike. I condemn trade unions for Africans. I am a businessman. When I employ somebody, I have to calculate my costs and profits before I can decide how much to pay him. So when we go to negotiate on behalf of workers I have both sides of the question in mind." On the other hand, Mr. F. S. Mncube, of the same regional committee says: "Universally, trade unions represent workers. This should be the case with us, but because these are not recognised, we have to make use of available machinery. Only the people involved will understand the tremendous improvements in workers' conditions we have brought about through this committee. There has been a steady improvement in salaries, thanks to our work. In some cases we have been able to get workers up to a hundred per cent increase. It is just unfortunate that not every firm has a works committee. The success of a works committee is dependent on the attitudes of the employer and the employee. Where these are satisfactory, the system works quite well." The only African member of this regional committee who is an employee, rather than self-employed or retired, says: "Very few workers know of the existence of the regional committees and fewer know that they have the right to form works committees. The only time we come in contact with workers is when there is already a dispute at a particular firm." Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the (African) National Union of Clothing Workers has said of the Johannesburg regional committee:⁷ "Most

⁶ Clements Kadalie was a prominent African trade unionist in the nineteen-twenties. His autobiography, *My Life and the ICU*, was published by Cass in 1970.

⁷ *Star*, 7 June.

of these people have not even worked in industry. They have no idea of the aspirations of African workers."

On 10 April the Minister of Labour said that there were 31 statutory works committees then functioning (an increase of 13 over last year's figures).⁸ There was one each in Boksburg, Brakpan, Cape Town, Germiston, Isando, Kempton Park, Kimberley, Lawley, Meyerton and Springs, two each in Alberton and Durban, four each in Johannesburg and Roodepoort, and nine in Pretoria. However, some 161 non-statutory works committees were also known to be functioning (an increase of 44 over last year's figure).

The South African Institute of Personnel Management held a seminar in Johannesburg in May on "Works Committees that Work". This was attended by seventy-five delegates. It published an article on works committees which included a typical works committee constitution in the August issue of *People and Profits*.

During 1972 Bantu labour officers dealt with 80 African labour disputes, the Central Bantu Labour Board dealt with one and the Wage Board with none.⁹

One Department of Labour official in each of the Department's nine inspectorates has been designated a Bantu Labour Officer while two each in Johannesburg and one each in Pretoria, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town, have been designated Assistant Bantu Labour Officers.¹⁰ This shows some improvement over last year's figure.

The Proposed Amendment

During the Durban strikes the Minister of Labour had the following to say about the use made of the machinery created by the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act:¹¹ "What is very significant is that only 18 such committees have been established. At one stage there were 40. I am saying this for the sake of those who now claim that the Bantu have a need for trade unions. I think that these eighteen statutory committees, which were established at the request of Bantu workers, can also bargain. Apart from this another system of communication has developed in the labour world in recent years. This is namely, the non-statutory works committees. Let us take such a committee at a factory as an example. The management of such a factory, as well as appointed Bantu and elected Bantu workers, are represented on such a non-statutory committee. These, then, are the groups comprising a non-statutory committee. Of these kind of committees 118 have been established in South Africa. While this process was continuing, over the years, I asked employers for suggestions which

⁸ Hansard 10 cols. 632-4, 10 April. (The Minister gave the names of the establishments concerned.)

⁹ Hansard 17 col. 953, 4 June.

¹⁰ Hansard 2 col. 132, 16 February.

¹¹ Hansard 1 col. 54, 5 February.

could lead to the improvement of this works committee system for which the Act makes provision. To my disappointment I must state today that I have over the years received no positive reaction from employers to my request as to how the works committee system may be improved."

In April the Minister published his proposals for amending the Act and called upon persons who wished to do so to submit their representations.¹² He later said:¹³ "A draft Bill for general information and comment was published. . . . (It) evoked wide interest, and comment as well as proposals for its improvement were received from most of the major employers' organisations, from trade unions, individual employers and other bodies.

"With a few exceptions the reaction to the proposals was positive, and the preponderance of this comment points to a marked desire for the existing Act to be made as effective as possible. Quite a number of useful suggestions were received and have been included in the Bill. After consideration of the comment further amendments were decided on, with the result that the Bill differs considerably from the published draft Bill.

"The draft Bill was also submitted to the 12 regional committees established in terms of the Act. The proposed amendments were, with a few exceptions, welcomed by the regional committees. The regional committees are in favour of the existing system being retained and expanded."

Several organisations commented publicly on the draft Bill. Mr. D. C. Krogh, then director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said:¹⁴ "We have told the Government that the Bill is a modest step in the right direction but that we will soon be making more far-reaching and comprehensive proposals as to what is required." The Natal Chamber of Industries submitted its own representations which called *inter alia* for co-ordinating councils of works committees in the same industry.¹⁵ Mr. E. P. Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, said:¹⁶ "By and large we go along with the Bill. We made certain minor suggestions to improve consultation in some areas." The Association of Chambers of Commerce supported the proposals in principle but nevertheless felt that a *de facto* situation would arise where African trade unions would emerge. It also felt that the employers should be consulted before works committees were established in their organisations. However, it submitted no recommendations to the Government.¹⁷ The Durban Chamber of Commerce welcomed and approved, in principle, the draft proposals as "being a step in the right direction".

¹² Government Gazette 94 (3844) dated 4 April 1973.

¹³ Hansard 17 col. 8390, 6 June.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April.

¹⁵ *Star*, 25 April.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Star*, 16 May.

It included the following points among its submissions:¹⁸

"The proposals nowhere oblige the employer to take cognizance of the works committees in any way, nor do they prevent him from holding himself aloof from the works committees when and however they are formed and thus nullifying the whole object of the proposals. It is no answer to this omission to claim that it is implicit that employers will recognise, consult and negotiate with such committees.

"It seems that the proposed Liaison Committee on which both employer and employee are represented is an essential feature to ensure that employees will negotiate, and the Chamber believes that this type of committee should be established in at least the larger undertakings as a forum for negotiation.

"This being as it may, the Chamber most strongly urges that suitable provision be made in the proposals to oblige employers to recognise, consult and negotiate with their duly established works committees on all matters of mutual interest, and especially in regard to those conditions of service and matters relating to Bantu employees' employment or welfare.

"The Chamber has expressed its preference for the liaison committee as the standard form, but has no emphatic views in this regard provided that provision is made as urged above for the employers to negotiate with works committees in whatever form they are created.

"The Chamber believes that works committees should exist in all undertakings employing a certain minimum number of Bantu employees.

"The power entrusted to the Inspector of Labour in this regard is doubtless a step in the right direction, but should be used with discretion.

"The Chamber believes that the Regional Bantu Labour Committees serve little useful purpose in their present or contemplated form and function, although the proposed amendment of Section 9(2) is again a step in the right direction.

"The Chamber believes that these Regional Committees should be re-constituted to include Bantu representatives and should be entrusted with actual settlement of disputes, save only for a final appeal to the Minister.

"The Chamber contends that, apart from the White Chairman who should be appointed by the Minister, the members should be drawn in equal numbers from employers on the one hand and from Bantu — possibly nominated by Industrial Councils or Co-ordinating Committees within industries, trades or occupations . . . and/or from works committees, on the other. In this way, Bantu will be represented by Bantu at this senior level.

"The Chamber contends that actual settlement of disputes

¹⁸ Letter to the Secretary for Labour dated 19 April 1973.

should be entrusted to such re-structured regional committees because, by its nature, it will be more familiar with local conditions than a more remote body; affected Bantu employees will be more aware of the machinery concerned with its cause than if a more remote body were involved, and decisions can, and should be reached with less delay."

The Trade Union Council of South Africa condemned the draft Bill which, it predicted, "will almost certainly lead to a situation of unparalleled chaos and industrial unrest". TUCSA pointed out that the "meaningful creation of works committees" would probably lead to the establishment of some 50 000 independent, individual works committees. It called upon the Government to abandon the proposed legislation and to consider rather an amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act which would enable African workers to join registered trade unions.¹⁹

The Urban Training Project maintained²⁰ that "a works committee system can in fact only function satisfactorily when all workers are involved in effective industry wide trade unions". Among its submissions were:

- (a) that provision should be made for works committees to hold report back meetings with their African colleagues while formulating objectives and after any important meetings with their employers;
- (b) that there should be co-operation between a works committee chairman and an industrial council agent where this was applicable during inspections etc.;
- (c) that Bantu labour inspectors should be responsible for advising works committees in their areas of relevant Wage Board investigations so that written representations and oral evidence could be submitted to the Board;
- (d) that works committees should be empowered to negotiate conditions of service with their employers in addition to communicating the "wishes and aspirations" of their work-mates;
- (e) that nominees of the Central Bantu Labour Board or Bantu labour inspectors should be obliged to consult works committees or any other African workers' organisations before attending industrial council meetings for a particular industry, and that works committee representatives should accompany the labour officials to such meetings.

The Urban Training Project also felt that the provisions for the establishment of liaison committees consisting of equal employer/employee representation were an undesirable feature. It suggested that the new legislation should embody a clause stating that a liaison committee should be discontinued one year after its establishment, or earlier if the employees desired this, and a works com-

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 April.

²⁰ Urban Training Project, *Memorandum re Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Act, 1973*.

mittee established in its stead.

The Institute of Race Relations submitted that the proposed amendments "constitute, at best, little more than a makeshift device. If the intention is further to delay the development of an African trade union movement this measure may conceivably fulfil such an aim in the *short term* only". It seriously questioned whether partial reforms would fill the vacuum in the existing system of industrial relations, pointed out that it had for more than two decades pleaded for the inclusion of Africans in the definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act and urged the Minister so to amend the Act.²¹ The Institute suggested amendments similar to those described under (d) and (e) of the Urban Training Project's representations but also recommended that Regional Bantu labour committees should elect their own chairmen with the white labour officials acting as secretaries to such committees. It asked the Minister to amend section 51(3) of the Industrial Conciliation Act to allow employers to deduct trade union dues from the wages of their African employees by means of stop-orders without prior ministerial approval. A further suggestion was that Africans should be trained *at least* to function as assistant Bantu labour officers in industrial areas.

In conclusion the Institute remarked that "it regards the amending legislation, *even should it incorporate the Institute's suggestions*, as a short-term palliative which will not ensure orderly industrial relations in the mid- or long-term. . . . It is no substitute for trade union rights, privileges and duties".

The provisions of the draft Bill have not been fully described here since they were incorporated with considerable amendment in the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Bill which is dealt with later in this chapter. However, it is necessary to describe three fundamental differences in the provisions in the two Bills:

1. Works Committees and Liaison Committees

The draft Bill amended the principal Act by replacing the existing provisions with a new Section 7(1) — (6). This allowed African workers in establishments employing more than twenty workers to *elect* a works committee, i.e. an all-African representative body. A new Section 7(8) provided for the establishment of a liaison committee in respect of an undertaking "*where no works committee exists*".²² The number of members of such a liaison committee were to be determined by the employer and his employees but not less than half had to be elected by the workers from among their number. Clearly the greater emphasis was placed upon works committees with liaison committees as an alternative.

²¹ *Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill, 1973, RR. 49/73.*

²² *Writer's emphasis.*

The later Bill, subsequently enacted as law, reversed the emphasis and the new Section 7(1) — (4) provided that “an employer and his employees may establish, in respect of the establishment in which they are employed by him, a liaison committee. . . .” An additional new Section 7A(1) — (13) provided for a works committee to be elected “*in respect of an establishment in which no liaison committee exists. . . .*”²³ (c.f. the Minister’s description of non-statutory works committees and the representations of the Durban Chamber of Commerce and the Urban Training Project recorded earlier. Some observers believe that the liaison committee is the legal embodiment of the old non-statutory works committee and gives the employer virtually complete control over the decision-making process on wages and working conditions. In other words, it does not even begin to approach a system of collective bargaining.)

2. Powers of Inspectors

The draft Bill empowered a duly appointed inspector to notify an employer that he was of the opinion that a works committee should be established in such an employer’s undertaking, regardless of whether the employer had requested its establishment. It thus entitled him to convene a meeting of employees even where an employer proved unco-operative. This provision conferred upon the inspector a direct right of intervention in relations between an employer and his African employees. The later Bill removed this right and granted the employer the exercise of a certain amount of discretion in the formation of a works committee.

3. The Right to Strike

The draft Bill conferred no right to strike upon African workers. The later Bill conferred limited strike rights upon certain categories of African workers after certain conciliation procedures had been observed.

STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES

In February as a wave of direct industrial action by black (mainly African) workers gathered momentum the Minister of Labour made the following statement:¹ “The strikes in Natal are following a pattern which indicates that they are not purely connected with higher wages. There have been instances where existing works committees in the factories concerned regarded the workers’ wage claims as unreasonable and recommended that they return to work so that negotiations about higher wages could take

²³ Writer’s emphasis.

¹ Departement van Inligting. Persverklaring 9/73(K) gedateer 1 Februarie. (Translation by the writer.)

place. The workers disregarded this advice. There is also a tendency not to give employers advance notice of discontent but simply to take strike action and to refuse thereafter to participate in proposed discussions. Everything indicates that this is a planned action and that the strikers are being used to achieve more than just an increase in wages. . . . The conduct of these particular workers and their reluctance to negotiate indisputably show that the agitation for trade union (rights) offers no solution and is only a smoke-screen behind which there are other motives. . . . During the present session (of Parliament) legislation will be introduced further to encourage the formation of works committees but in the meantime there is nothing to prevent employers themselves from establishing non-statutory works committees such as some have instituted. However necessary improvements in wages may be, the Government cannot permit wage claims to be converted into disturbances which could prejudice the (good) order of the State. The situation is being closely watched and there will be no hesitation in taking action against those responsible for any incitement in this regard."

The Minister elaborated upon his interpretation of the strikes in the House of Assembly:²

"Recently we have now found a new movement under the name of the Black Workers Project. It has just emerged. Seditious circulars are being sent out by it to trade unions and other organisations and individuals, and the one object of those letters sent out by that Black Workers Project is to create a new social order for us in this country."

The Minister quoted as follows from a circular sent out on 24 October 1972:

"The cardinal reason for organising Black workers on our part is sure anger and a revulsion at the hordes of God's people who are taken for granted and pushed around by Whites. There is a sure necessity for Blacks to organise themselves to make their demands loudly heard and to be appreciated. . . . There is just too much malnutrition, slum conditions, enforced removals, pass problems. . . ."

"They say", the Minister continued, "that there is such a shortage of 'recreational facilities and all sorts of other deprivations in all sections of the Black community for us Blacks to remain docile and unresponsive any longer'. These are the inflammatory things which are being sent out by this organisation, this organisation in which Nusas plays a part. It is this organisation, in which Nusas plays a part, in which these inflammatory things are being said. It is this agitation and it is these people, with Nusas concerned in it, who are at the moment exploiting the present wage situation in South Africa for their own particular

² Hansard 1 cols. 50-51, 5 February.

purposes. In addition they are supported by the left-wing Tuca which lets no opportunity slip of issuing Press statements on any incident or strike which has occurred to prove how just the recognition of Bantu trade unions is and to warn us in the sombrest terms that a disaster is going to befall us if we do not recognise Bantu trade unions in this country."

The Minister's views were backed up by Mr. P. R. de Jager, M.P. (National Party):³ "I do not think that this (the strikes) originated solely from amongst those workers. I know them and I am convinced, as regards the labour done by the Bantu in Natal and the level at which they move, that they do not have it in them to come together and to agree that a thousand of them should strike. There are other influences behind those strikes. I am as convinced of this as I am of anything in the world." The Prime Minister, however, took a different view:⁴

"I am grateful that the situation in Durban is calming down and that according to all reports, too, the situation there is returning to normal. I want to say at once that the events here contain a lesson for us all. They contain a lesson for hon. members on the opposite side; they also contain a lesson for me and this side of the House. They contain a lesson for the Wage Board, a lesson for the workers and a lesson for the employers. We would be foolish if we did not all benefit from the lessons to be learned from that situation. It is most certainly my intention, as far as my responsibility extends, to benefit from them. But having now said this, I think I can go further and say that in the past there have unfortunately been too many employers who saw only the mote in the Government's eye and failed completely to see the beam in their own. Now I am looking past all party affiliations and past all employers, and experience tells me this, that employers, whoever they may be, should not only see in their workers a unit producing for them so many hours of service a day; they should also see them as human beings with souls."

The Minister of Labour continued to level certain accusations in the House:⁵

"This regional Bantu labour committee (Durban) also found that there had been many other elements behind these strikers. They had no hesitation in mentioning by name the Students' Wage Commission of the University of Natal as the people who had been responsible for a great deal of the incitement in this regard. We had the case where, during one of the Wage Board sessions that took place, it happened that a crowd of 400 Bantu arrived at that session. The bulk

³ *Ibid.*, cols. 90-91, 5 February.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 346, 9 February.

⁵ Hansard 12 col. 5547, 2 May.

of them did not even know what was involved; but they came because groups of Bantu had been brought there in buses of Putco, which had presumably been hired specially for that purpose. Large numbers of students were present there and, as this regional committee very clearly stated, the members of this Students' Wage Commission did not confine themselves to the urban areas only; they also went out into the rural areas in order to inform the people that they were not getting enough money."

Between January and 31 March 1973, according to the Minister's information, there had been 160 occasions, during which 146 establishments had been affected, when African workers withheld their labour in support of demands for higher wages and improved working conditions. Some 61 410 Africans had been involved in these work stoppages and strikes.⁶ Of the 146 establishments concerned, those industries most seriously affected were: iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industry, 22 establishments; textile industry, 20; transport industry, 10; clothing industry, 7; cement products industry, 6; local authority undertaking, 6; and the building industry, 5. The duration of each work stoppage varied between ten minutes and seven days. Thirty-two strikes lasted less than one day, thirty-eight for one day, twenty-four between one and two days, thirty-two between two and three days, and thirty-eight between three and seven days during the period January to 31 March. Out of 160 strikes and work stoppages, wage increases were granted in 118 instances, employment was resumed on existing employment conditions in a further 28 instances, the strikers were discharged in seven cases, and negotiations were proceeding in a further seven instances at the time the Minister made this information available. In those 118 cases where wage increases were granted, the increase was less than R1,00 per week in three instances, between R1,00 and R2,00 per week in 71 instances, and more than R2,00 per week in 36 instances, while no details were released in a further eight cases. (There was a slight overlap where there was a considerable range in the monetary value of the increases granted. At a rough guesstimate in a period of two-and-a-half months, these strikes and work stoppages added about R6 000 000 to the annual African wage bill in the undertakings concerned.)

An article entitled "Recent Durban Strikes" in the March issue of *Race Relations News* gave an interpretation of the wave of industrial unrest which differed from that of the Minister of Labour. It put forward the argument that the discontent was occasioned by fundamental material issues and raised some of the following inter-related issues:

"Some of the Durban firms which were hit by the in-

⁶ Hansard 11 cols. 689-695, 24 April.

dustrial disturbances enjoy a reputation for enlightened employment practices — in the South African context, of course — and were paying minimum wages which were considerably higher than those (which) generally obtained. It may be true that a dramatic increase in transport costs in Durban had wider repercussions than had been anticipated. Nevertheless, while low wages may have been the primary cause of the possibly historic events in Durban there may well be other contributory societal factors involved.

“The homogeneity of the Zulu labour force, furnishing a parallel with the Ovambo disturbances, could well have been a contributory cause, once events had started to unfold. The development of black consciousness, the stature and articulate utterances of prominent Zulu leaders using separate development platforms, the inauguration of Prince Goodwill, the celebration of Shaka Day and the commemoration of Chief Luthuli’s life and ideals may all be inter-acting to create a renewed self-awareness among rank-and-file Zulu workers.

“During the disturbances there was also some evidence to suggest that black workers were becoming increasingly aware of their relative deprivation, and that they were using objective studies of poverty to justify their claims and advertise the desperate financial straits in which they found themselves.

“Other structural causes such as skilled manpower shortages eroding legal and conventional job reservation with resulting Africanisation of certain industries, together with the accelerated industrial decentralisation heightening job insecurity among the permanently settled urban proletariat, and tensions associated with rapid Indian occupational mobility may also have played a part in bringing matters to a head.

“The police, in their accustomed ‘fire-engine’ rôle, acted with commendable restraint in all but a few instances, as did the black workers. The courts, too, treated the comparatively few black workers who were prosecuted with some leniency. It should be emphasised, however, that these industrial disturbances were, to all intents and purposes leaderless . . .”

At the beginning of March the National Development and Management Foundation held a “conference on avoiding labour unrest”. This was addressed by the Minister of Labour but the press was excluded at the Minister’s request.⁷ The South African Institute of Personnel Management held a symposium called “Strike” at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts Airport on 14 March.

⁷ *Financial Mail*, 2 March.

The symposium was opened by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and papers presenting both employers' and employees' views were presented. Spro-cas issued its dossier No. 3 entitled "Strike".

Strikes and work stoppages continued throughout the year reaching a climax with the tragic events at Carletonville (see section on mining). Press reports indicated that about 70 000 workers (mainly African) were involved in strikes and work stoppages between mid-January and mid-October 1973.

BANTU LABOUR RELATIONS REGULATION AMENDMENT BILL

The New Provisions

As stated earlier, this Bill replaced the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill. It was later enacted as Act No. 70 of 1973 and the long and short titles of the principal Act were duly changed. Among the most important provisions introduced were the following:

1. Definition of labour dispute

In terms of the old definition only certain disputes could be dealt with under the Act. The new definition covers all disputes in which African workers are involved.

2. Regional Bantu labour committees

The Minister of Labour is empowered to appoint members of the various types of committees at plant level for which the Act provides, to regional Bantu labour committees in the regions concerned.

It is now *mandatory* for a regional committee to co-opt *at least* one member of an existing liaison committee, works committee, or co-ordinating works committee when dealing with a labour dispute in a trade and/or area concerned in such a dispute. A regional committee is also allowed to co-opt such members from the existing types of committee for the purpose of dealing with any other matters affecting employees in the trade concerned.

3. Liaison Committees

A liaison committee in any establishment consists of members appointed by the employer and other members elected by his employees. At least half the members of a liaison committee must be elected by the African employees but the chairman may be designated by the employer, and need not be a member of the liaison committee, or may be appointed by the committee itself. (The initiative clearly rests with the employer.)

4. Works Committees

Provision is made for the *election* rather than the *establish-*

ment of works committees where no liaison committee exists. The upper limit of membership of a works committee has been increased from five to twenty provided that the number of members does not exceed a quarter of the total number of employees in the establishment.

5. Inspectors and works committees

See the section on the earlier Bill for changes in this respect.

6. Functions of works committees

The functions of a works committee have been extended to communicating "the wishes, aspirations and requirements of the employees in the establishment or section of an establishment in respect of which it has been elected, to their employer and to represent the said employees in any negotiations with their employer concerning their conditions of employment or any other matter affecting their interests".

7. Co-ordinating works committees

If works committees have been elected in two or more sections of an establishment they may establish a co-ordinating works committee but only after consulting their employer.

8. Industrial Council meetings

African members of regional Bantu labour committees, including members of the various committees at plant level co-opted for this purpose *may* now attend and participate in the deliberations of an industrial council when matters affecting African workers' interests are discussed. (This is a permissive and not a mandatory provision. The representatives of the African workers do not have voting rights. Their last resort if they have serious objections to proposals affecting their interests is an appeal to the Minister of Labour.)

9. Wages

With the exclusion of trades covered by registered industrial councils, the Minister is empowered, after consultation with the Wage Board and the Central Bantu Labour Board, to accept, at any time, proposals concerning African wages or other conditions of employment in their trade and area from a *sufficiently representative group or association of employers* and to make an order embodying such proposals binding upon all employers and employees in the trade and area concerned. The Minister is also empowered to extend the provisions of a wage determination or an order under this Act, beyond the trade and area for which it was made to other trades and/or areas. (This could short-

circuit the cumbersome delays associated with the Wage Board's operation. However, the initiative, yet again, rests with the employer.)

10. The right to strike

The principal Act prohibited *all* strikes and lock-outs of African employees. The new provisions legalise strikes or lock-outs of African employees in certain circumstances. The prohibition on such strikes or lock-outs remains:

- (a) where a wage regulating measure or order is binding and where it has been in operation for less than one year;
- (b) during the period of currency of any agreement, award or determination made under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956;
- (c) where the African workers are employed by a local authority;
- (d) where the African workers are employed in essential services providing light, power, water, sanitation, passenger transportation or a fire extinguishing service, within the area of a local authority;
- (e) where they are employed in the supply, distribution and canning of perishable foodstuffs, or the supply and distribution of petrol and other fuels to local authorities or others engaged in providing essential services, if the Minister has extended the prohibition on strikes to such industries;
- (f) where the Central Bantu Labour Board has referred a proposed industrial council agreement which it finds unsatisfactory to the Minister for a Wage Board recommendation;
- (g) where the Central Bantu Labour Board has reported an unresolved dispute to the Minister for a Wage Board recommendation.

In *all* other instances a dispute must be referred to the liaison committee, co-ordinating works committee or works committee, as the case may be, which exists in the plant concerned. If the committee is unable to settle the dispute, or where no committee exists, a report must be made to the Bantu labour officer in the area concerned. After thirty days from the date of such a report have elapsed a strike or lock-out may legally take place.

11. Victimization

A stronger provision prohibiting the victimization of African workers participating in the establishment, election or activities of liaison committees, co-ordinating works committees, or works committees has been included.

Parliamentary Debate on the Bill

The Bill was not opposed in principle by the opposition parties but they did express certain reservations about its pro-

visions. Some important points were made in the House and certain distinctions were drawn.

The Minister of Labour pointed out that:¹ "Where an employer and his Bantu employees are not desirous of having a liaison committee or cannot agree on the establishment of such a committee, the employees may in terms of the new section 7A request their employer to take the necessary steps to enable them to elect a works committee. The employer may also on his own initiative make arrangements for the election of a works committee if the employees do not take the initiative themselves." He also had this to say of African trade union rights:² "With reference to what certain persons and bodies still have to say about Bantu trade unions I want to express it as my considered opinion that this measure offers our Bantu workers every opportunity to look after their own interests, and that they will be able to do so better to effect in this way than any way which could be envisaged by the advocates of Bantu trade unions." The Minister's attitude to the new legislation was put rather succinctly in his final summing up:³ ". . . if we had wanted to prohibit those trade unions, Minister Schoeman would already have done so in 1953. This has never been done; we have felt that they could simply struggle on like that. I think that the establishment of these works committees will really deprive those favourite Bantu trade unions of the hon. member of their life's blood and any necessity for existence. I therefore think that such a prohibition is unnecessary."

Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, M.P., then the United Party's leading spokesman on labour matters, said:⁴ "But there are weaknesses in this attempt. For example, there is this weakness that the Minister has abandoned his original draft, which he published in the *Government Gazette*, in terms of which the Department of Labour, too, could take the initiative in the establishment of works committees where liaison committees did not exist. I think that it was a retrograde step to remove this from the Bill, but I can understand that the Minister did this on the recommendation of interested parties who were concerned about it. As it is I can only express the hope — and I hope that the Minister will support me in this — that while this will not be done in future under statutory authority, the Department of Labour will never the less avail itself of its tremendous administrative powers and opportunities so as to encourage and expedite this process of the establishment of works committees in as many undertakings and industries in South Africa as possible."

Dr. G. F. Jacobs M.P. (United Party) expressed the following views:⁵ "I think it is universally accepted that there are mainly

¹ Hansard 17 col. 8391, 6 June.

² *Ibid.*, col. 8397.

³ Hansard 18 col. 8779, 11 June.

⁴ Hansard 17 cols. 8405, 6 June.

⁵ Hansard 18 cols. 8732-3, 11 June.

three rights which labourers ought to have. The first is the right to unite; in other words, to organise, and to do it at a national level as well. In this legislation we have before us, this right is, of course, not being granted to the Black workers. The whole basis here is that of decentralisation. They are being granted the right to unite on a local basis, but they are not being granted the right to organise on a national basis. The second right which is universally accepted, is the right of collective bargaining. To a certain extent this right is being granted in this legislation, but the whole idea in this legislation is once again the concept of fragmentation. Although the idea of bargaining is indeed being embodied in this measure, it is once again, by way of the procedure we are discussing now, being done in a fragmentary manner. The third general right which is universally accepted, is the right to strike. This is being provided for in this legislation, although the right to strike is being made subject to certain strict reservations."

Mrs. H. Suzman M.P. (Progressive Party) while not opposing the Bill put forward the following arguments:⁴

"I want to point out that there is in fact a very considerable difference between Black workers under this Bill and the prohibition to strike and White workers who are not allowed to strike under the Industrial Conciliation Act. In the case of White workers it is perfectly reasonable, for instance, not to allow them to strike while an industrial conciliation agreement is in operation, because they have been party to the agreement which was reached—they were part and parcel of the negotiations which laid down the conditions of work, the wages, etc., to which they agreed at the time. For that reason the prohibition is perfectly reasonable, but surely it is very different in the case of the Black workers. Under the Bill, as I see it — if I am wrong I hope the hon. the Minister will correct me — a few Black workers may attend the industrial conciliation board meetings. What I want to know is when will they have the right to take part in discussions and when will they have the right to vote? As I read this Bill, no such right is extended to them. They may attend as observers and may perhaps even put forward a point of view, but when the actual decision is voted upon, for conditions of work, wages and so on, I do not believe these Black workers will have any part in the negotiations. If I am right in that, what I said originally is correct, and that is that what applies to the White workers in prohibiting them from striking under the Industrial Conciliation Act is very different indeed from what applies to Black workers. . . . If I may point out another example of how the strike provisions are out of context and how they have been grafted on to a totally different system of legislation, and I should like to point to the

⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 8755-7, 11 June.