HOMELANDS — GENERAL
FEB. '76 — OCT. 1977

(101)

Hansard 2 col 98 5/2/76

Hotels/motels for Bantu

190. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) (a) How many hotels or motels in the Transkei have been (i) acquired from Whites and (ii) built by (aa) the Xhosa Development Corporation and (bb) Bantu persons or companies and (b) where are they situated;

(2) (a) in what other Bantu areas of the Republic have hotels or motels been acquired or built for Bantu, (b) where are they situated and (c) by whom are they owned.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) (i) 27

(ii) (aa) 1.

(bb) 1

(b) Bizana
Butterworth
Cofimvaba
Engcobo.
Elliotdale
Flagstaff
Idutywa
Kentani
Lusikisiki
Mount Ayliff
Mount Frere
Mount Fletcher
Nggeleni
Ngqamakwe
Tsolo
Tsomo
Umtata
Umtata Mouth
Qumata
Tabankulu
Mount Coke
Debe Nek
Zwelitsha
Mdantsane
Chalumna
Sterksprut

The particulars given above are in respect of hotels and motels in the Transkei and Ciskei.

(2) (a) kwaZulu.
Lebowa.
Bophuthatswana.
Gazankulu
Venda.

(b) and (c)
Umlazi —Bantu Investment Corporation.
Umgababa — Bantu Investment Corporation.
Seshego—Bantu.
Garankuwa—Bantu.

Manyeleti—South African Bantu Trust.
Buschbuckridge—Bantu
Taung — Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation.

Gross domestic product of Bantu homelands

(9) Mr G H WADDELL asked the Minister of Statistics

Whether the compilation of the estimates of the gross domestic product of the Bantu homelands has been completed; if so, what is the estimated (a) total product and (b) *per capita* earning in each homeland; if not, when is it expected that the estimates will be completed.

The MINISTER OF STATISTICS

Estimates of the gross product of the Bantu homelands have been completed and will be published soon with the necessary explanations and qualifications.

Net national income is also given since it also includes the income of commuters and migrants.

Figures for 1973-'74 are as follows

	Gross domestic product Total R million	Gross domestic product Per capita R	National income (Bantu only) Total R million	National income (Bantu only) Per capita R
Ciskei	39,6	68	106,2	165
Transkei	131,2	70	390,4	175
kwaZulu	127,5	55	480,2	185
Bophuthatswana	115,8	118	206,9	198
Lebowa	61,1	51	208,0	152
Venda	11,5	39	60,0	172
Gazankulu	14,3	48	63,8	190
Swazi	5,1	30	22,3	156
Qwaqwa	3,3	55	10,0	143
Total	509,5	66	1 552,8	176

Hansard 3
Col 178
11/2/76

101

Hansard 4 col 235
16/2/76

101

Industries on an agency basis in Bantu homelands

189. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What are the total financial commitments of White entrepreneurs with whom contractual agreements have been concluded in regard to the establishment of industries on an agency basis in the Bantu homelands, at each growth point selected by the Growth Points Committee or the Decentralization Board.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Umtata	R872 000
Butterworth	R11 904 000
Babelegi	R35 400 000
Isithebe	R9 500 000
Seshego	R3 800 000
Letaba	R300 000

In reply to a similar question in 1975 an amount of R86 000 was included in respect of Witzieshoek. The undertaking concerned has closed down in the meantime.

Hansard 4 vol 235
16/2/76

101

Forestry in Bantu areas

195. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What was the extent of land in the Bantu areas of the Republic (a) covered with indigenous forest, (b) on which (i) commercial plantations and (ii) non-commercial woodlots have been established, (c) planted with resilient fibres and (d) under (i) sugar cane, (ii) other commercial crops, specifying what crops and (iii) irrigation at the latest date for which figures are available;

(2) how many (a) sawmills, (b) creosoting plants and (c) decortication plants were operated by (i) his Department, (ii) the Bantu Investment Corporation, (iii) the Xhosa Development Corporation and (iv) Bantu governments, authorities or individuals at that date;

(3) in respect of what date are these figures given.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1)(a) 225 609 hectares.

(b) (i) 94 503 hectares.

(ii) 25 853 hectares.

(c) 18 392 hectares.

(d) (i) 14 349 hectares.

(ii) Coffee—379 hectares.
Tea—1 858 hectares.
Macadamia Nuts—12 hectares.
Pecan Nuts—5 hectares.
Coconut—940 hectares.
Cashew Nuts—24 hectares.
Citrus—3 148 hectares.

(iii) 26 154 hectares.

(2) (a) (i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) 20.

(b) (i) 1.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) 19.

(c) (i) 5.

(ii) 6.

(iii) 6.

(iv) 92.

(3) 31 December 1975.

FOOTNOTES:

(1) Respectively RP 84/1970 and RP 19/1972.

(2) P. Raup, "Law Reform and Agricultural Development", in H.M. Southworth and B.F. Johnstone, Agricultural Development and Economic Growth (Cornell University Press, 1967) page 270.

(3) Raup, ibid.

(4) RP 19/1972, page 34.

101

(5) Op.cit.page 69.

(6) Cf. for instance, Assembly Debates, August 11, 1966, Volume 17, Columns 565 - 572.

(7) Commission of Inquir the Rural Areas
An. 865 of 1960, pag l of Commonwealth and
-7.

(8) ibid.

(9) M. Lipton "White Far
Comparative Politics

(10) Op.cit.page 56.

(11) Op.cit.pages 57 and

Financial investment in homelands

*8. Mr. G. W. MILLS asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What has the total financial investment in the development of Bantu homelands been since the inception of the Government's homeland policy;

(2) what has the total financial investment been in housing, schools and recreational facilities for urban Bantu in White areas since 1 January 1949

Hansard 4
Col 249
2/2/76
17

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) The development of the homelands is an exceedingly wide concept. Development has been undertaken in the homelands by *inter alia* my two Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education as well as the South African Railways, the Department of Posts and Telecommunications and other departments. Development has also been undertaken by private bodies as for example mines and commerce. Physical development as well as the development of the people themselves has taken place.

It is therefore an impossible task to furnish the honourable member with a meaningful reply.

(2) In order to reply to the hon. member's question it would be necessary to approach 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards as well as approximately 400 different local authorities for particulars in respect of which records may not in all instances have been kept in a form from which the required information can be identified, especially considering the strong possibility that after 27 years some of the records may no longer exist.

In the circumstances the required information cannot be furnished.

TYPE OF FARM EMPLOYEE - CASUAL RACE - ASIAN YEAR - 1972/73

AVERAGE MONTHLY CASH WAGE FOR ALL ECONOMIC REGIONS = R 16.39

DEVIATIONS FROM AVERAGE MONTHLY CASH WAGE BY ECONOMIC REGION

EC REGION	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
DEVIATION	.00	-17.83	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
DEVIATION	-15.7[illegible]	.00	.00	-9.72	-14.46	.00	.00	.00	4.61	.00	.00	16.34
EC REGION	25	26	27	28					33	34	35	36
DEVIATION	-1[illegible].33	.00	10.26	37.4[illegible]					.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION	37	38	39	40					45	46	47	48
DEVIATION	.00	.00	.00	.00					.00	.00	-17.34	.00
EC REGION	49	50	51	52					57	58	59	60
DEVIATION	.00	.00	.00	.00					.00	.00	.00	.00

Hansard 4 19/2/76

101

287

Purchase of land for Bantu

347. Mr. H. H. SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What amount has been spent since 1 April 1975 to date on land purchased in terms of section 10 of Act 18 of 1936 by the South African Bantu Trust;

(2) whether any other authorities have since that date spent amounts on the purchase of land for Bantu; if so, (a) what (i) authorities and (ii) amounts and (b) for what purpose.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) R57 383 303 has been spent in connection with the acquisition of farms while an amount of R7 067 521 has been spent by the Adjustment Committee.

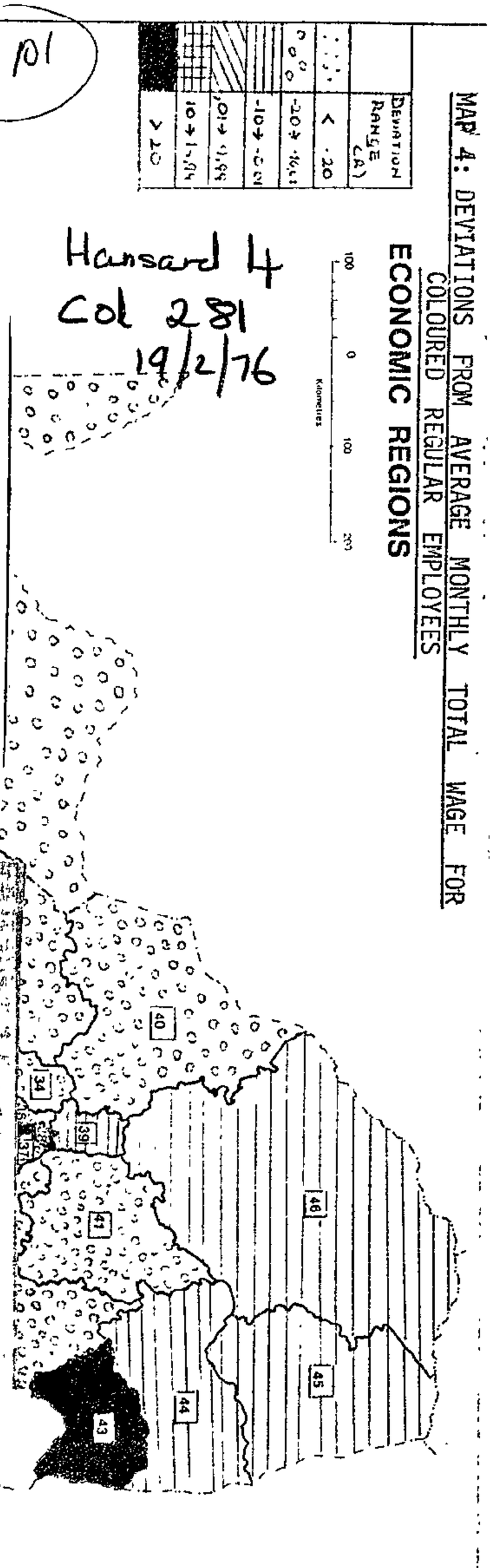
(2) According to information available no other authority spent any amount on the purchase of land for Bantu.

TYPE OF FARM EMPLOYEE - CASUAL YEAR - 1972/73

AVERAGE MONTHLY CASH WAGE FOR AL

DEVIATIONS FROM AVERAGE MONTHLY

EC REGION	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
DEVIATION	.00	-1.73	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
DEVIATION	-1.15	.00	.00	.00	-1.80	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	5.19
EC REGION	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
DEVIATION	-1.46	.00	-1.65	.00	-.03	2.63	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
DEVIATION	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
EC REGION	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
DEVIATION	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00



Hansard 4
Col 281
19/2/76

Prospecting/mining in Bantu areas

194. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What is the total number of (a) prospecting and (b) mining leases that are at present held by (i) White persons, (ii) White-controlled companies and (iii) Bantu persons or companies in Bantu areas;

(2) what revenue accrued during 1975 to (a) the South African Bantu Trust, (b) corporations established by the State, (c) Bantu governments or authorities, (d) Bantu tribes and (e) individual Bantu, from royalties and prospecting or other fees;

(3) what mining or quarrying operations are in progress that have been (a) established or (b) assisted by the Bantu Mining Corporation.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) (i) 3.
(ii) 123.
(iii) 97.

(b) (i) 0.
(ii) 70.
(iii) 2.

(2) (a) Revenue paid to the Bantu Mining Corporation for and on behalf of the South African Bantu Trust—R246 578.

(b) R40 963.

(c), (d) and (e) The required particulars are unfortunately not available.

(3) (a) Crusher—Giyani. Mining of betonite, andalusite, travertine, limestone, sodalite, stone, etc., in Lebowa, Bophuthatswana, kwaZulu and Kaokoland. Extraction of sand in Bophuthatswana, kwaZulu, Gazankulu and Lebowa.

(b) The Bantu Mining Corporation is providing financial and technical assistance to two entrepreneurs in Kaokoland as well as to certain Bantu entrepreneurs extracting sand from the Ilovo River in kwaZulu.

Hansard 4 col 278
19/2/76

(101)

Development of growth points in Bantu homelands

192. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) How much has (a) the State, (b) the Transkeian Government, (c) other Homeland Governments, (d) the Bantu Investment Corporation, (e) the Xhosa Development Corporation and (f) other agencies, spent to date on the development of (i) industrial townships, (ii) water schemes, (iii) electricity supplies, (iv) housing for key White personnel and (v) subsidization of transport for such personnel, at each of the growth points in the Bantu homelands;

(2) how much has been spent at each of these growth points on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs;

(3) how many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds and (c) Bantu are employed in manufacturing undertakings in Bantu homelands including the Transkei.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) (i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) Nil.

(v) R1 396.

(b) (i) Nil.

(ii) Butterworth—R4 828 000: Umtata—R113 000.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

(c) Bophuthatswana

(i) R1 923 525.

(ii) R196 032.

(iii) R44 826.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

Qwaqwa

(i) R221 730.

(ii) R55 170.

(iii) R29 256.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

(d) Babelegi

(i) R670 096.

(ii) R377 298.

(iii) R17 811.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

Witsieshoek

(i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) R3 800.

(iv) R42 400.

(v) Nil.

Isithebe

(i) R3 474 929.

(ii) R128 190.

(iii) R838 713.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

Seshego

(i) R160 539.

(ii) R60 289.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

Letaba

(i) R54 583.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) Nil.

(v) Nil.

(e) Butterworth

(i) R2 235 217.

(ii) R243 110.

(iii) R544 723.

(iv) R8 135 295.

(v) Nil.

Umtata

(i) R339 250.

(ii) R58 492.

(iii) R34 967.

(iv) R5 581 387.

(v) Nil.

(f) (i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil.

(iv) Babelegi—R1 659 295.
Isithebe—R1 183 817.
Seshego—R481 609.
Letaba—R87 545.

(v) Nil.

(2) Babelegi—R16 691 514.
Witsieshoek—R138 281.
Isithebe—R5 013 145.
Seshego—R2 411 468.
Letaba—R1 370 299.
Butterworth—R10 711 841.
Umtata—R1 336 936.

(3) (a) 883.

(b) 146.

(c) 24 025.

101

Sources: Department of Statistics, Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production 1964/65, Agricultural Census No. 39
Department of Statistics, Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Producti isus No. 43.
Departme Agricultural and Pastoral
Producti isus No. 46.

Hansard 4 col 277 19/2/76.

Retail trading stations in Transkei/other Bantu areas

191. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) How many retail trading stations formerly owned by White persons in (a) the Transkei and (b) other Bantu areas of the Republic, have been acquired by (i) official corporations or other bodies and (ii) Bantu persons or companies;

(2) (a) how many of those acquired by the corporations are managed by (i) White, (ii) Coloured and (iii) Bantu persons and (b) how many of those being managed by White persons are used as training schools;

(3) what is the estimated number of Bantu who are employed in the retail trade in Bantu areas of the Republic including the Transkei.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) (i) 583.

(ii) (b) (i) and (ii) As mentioned in my reply to a similar question during 1975, no special record in the form of a register is kept in this connection and the particulars required can unfortunately not be ascertained without performing a considerable volume of work, which is deemed to be unjustified.

(2) (a) (i) 1.

(ii) None.

(iii) 79.

The particulars given above are in respect of the Transkei only. Particulars in respect of the other Homelands are not readily available.

(b) 1.

(3) Approximately 72 000.

Footnotes:

(1) Earnings inc in kind.

(a) Cash wa 1 bonuses paid to

(b) Payment

(1) s and other flour, sh, milk, tobacco, nd medical ees.

(2) ousing.

To obtain the ave (cash and kind) paid during the twelve 0 June of any year, were divided by employ year, and then divided by 12 to arrive at t

Note that renumer employees is excluded.

(2) There appear data.

(3) An obvious er ed in arriving at this figure.

101

Hansard 2 col 302 20/2/76

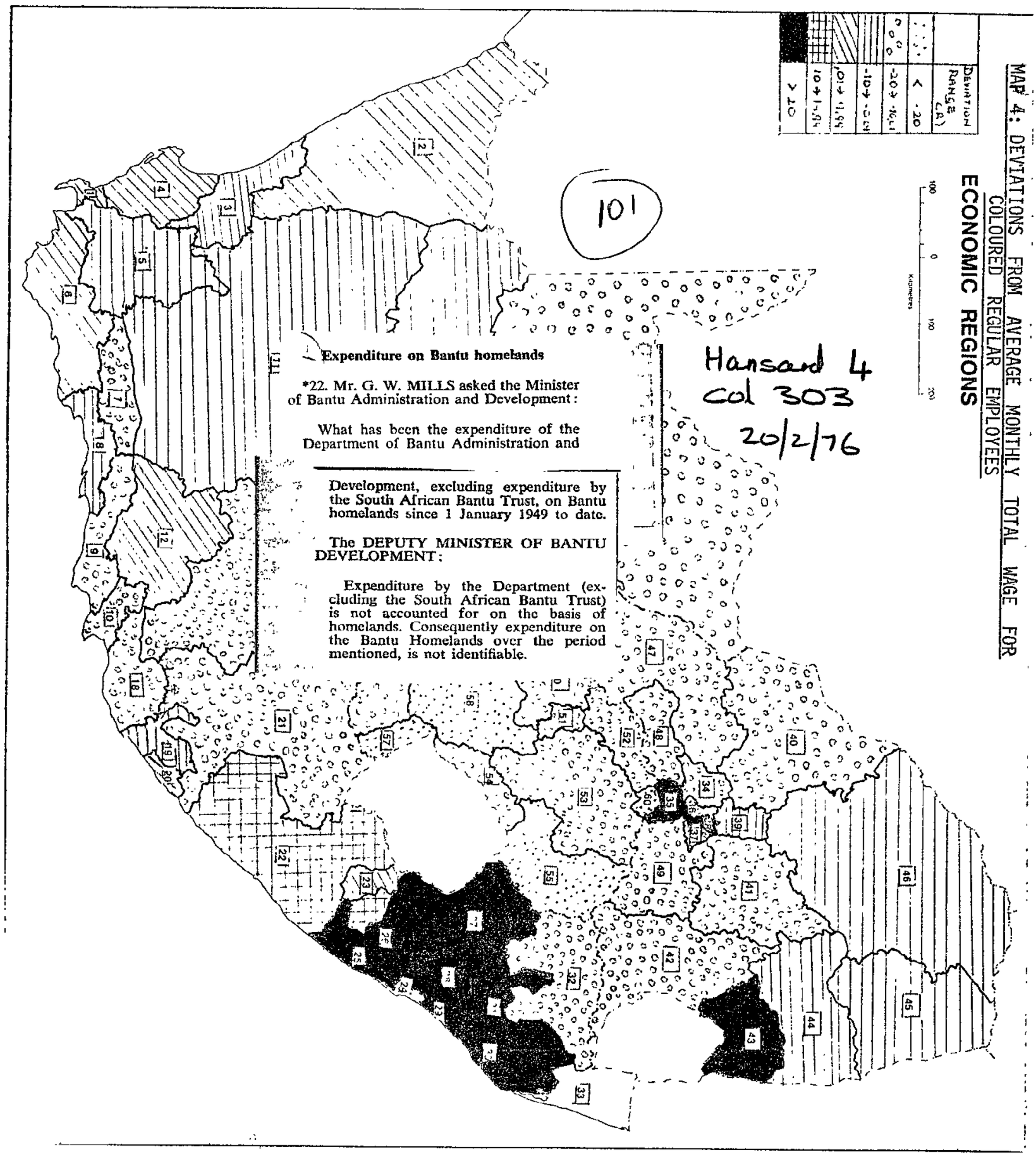
Expenditure on land by South African Bantu Trust

*21. Mr. G. W. MILLS asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What has been the expenditure of the South African Bantu Trust on the acquisition of land since 1 January 1949 to date.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

R201 156 174.


MAP 4: DEVIATIONS FROM AVERAGE MONTHLY TOTAL WAGE FOR COLOURED REGULAR EMPLOYEES
ECONOMIC REGIONS
Deviation Range (%)
< -20
-20 → -10,1
-10 → -0,01
0,01 → 10
10 → 19,99
> 20
Kilometres
100
0
100
200
101
Hansard 4
col 303
20/2/76
Expenditure on Bantu homelands
*22. Mr. G. W. MILLS asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:
What has been the expenditure of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, excluding expenditure by the South African Bantu Trust, on Bantu homelands since 1 January 1949 to date.
The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:
Expenditure by the Department (excluding the South African Bantu Trust) is not accounted for on the basis of homelands. Consequently expenditure on the Bantu Homelands over the period mentioned, is not identifiable.

MONDAY, 23 FEBRUARY 1976

[illegible] indicates translated version.

[illegible]

Growth points: Development

95. Mr. G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) How much has been spent to date by (a) the Central Government, (b) the Transkeian Government, (c) other homeland governments, (d) the Bantu Investment Corporation, (e) the Xhosa Development Corporation and (f) other agencies on the development of (i) industrial townships, (ii) water schemes, (iii) electricity supplies, (iv) housing for key White personnel and (v) subsidization of transport for such personnel at each of the growth points of the Bantu homelands;

(2) how much has been spent at each of these growth points on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs;

(3) how many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds and (c) Bantu are employed in manufacturing undertakings in each Bantu homeland including the Transkei.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) (i) Nil.
(ii) Nil.
(iii) Nil.
(iv) Nil.
(v) R1 396.

(b) (i) Nil.
(ii) Butterworth—R4 828 000: Umtata—R113 000.
(iii) Nil.
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

(c) Bophuthatswana
(i) [illegible]
(ii) R396 032
(iii) [illegible]
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

Qwaqwa
(i) R221 730.
(ii) R55 170.
(iii) R29 256.
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

(d) Babelegi
(i) R670 096.
(ii) R377 298.
(iii) R17 811.
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

Witsieshoek
(i) Nil.
(ii) Nil.
(iii) R3 800.
(iv) R42 400.
(v) Nil.

Isithebe
(i) R3 474 929.
(ii) R128 190.
(iii) R838 713.
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

Seshego
(i) R160 539.
(ii) R60 289.
(iii) Nil.
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

Letaba
(i) R54 583.
(ii) Nil.
(iii) Nil.
(iv) Nil.
(v) Nil.

(e) Butterworth
(i) R2 235 217.
(ii) R243 110.
(iii) R544 723.
(iv) R8 135 295.
(v) Nil.

Umtata
(i) R339 250.
(ii) R58 492.
(iii) R34 967.
(iv) R5 581 387.
(v) Nil.

(f) (i) Nil.
(ii) Nil.
(iii) Nil.
(iv) Babelegi—R1 659 295.
Isithebe—R1 183 817.
Seshego—R481 609.
Letaba—R87 545.
(v) Nil.

(2) Babelegi—R16 691 514.
Witsieshoek—R138 281.
Isithebe—R5 013 145.
Seshego—R2 411 468.
Letaba—R1 370 299.
Butterworth—R10 711 841.
Umtata R1 336 936.

(3) (a) 883.
(b) 146.
(c) 24 025.

REGULAR EMPLOYEES AS A PERCENTAGE OF	EC REGION PERCENTAGE	EC REGION PERCENTAGE	EC REGION PERCENTAGE	EC REGION PERCENTAGE	EC REGION PERCENTAGE
RACE - ALL RAC	12	24	36	48	60
	48.54	49.41	87.42	54.77	70.46
	46	47	59	56	
	7.47	36.78	44.57	4.11	

Senate Hansard 6 Q. cols. 37-38
22/3/76

101

Business undertakings assisted by Bantu Investment Corporation

19. Senator L. E. D. WINCHESTER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What is the total number of business undertakings assisted by the Bantu Investment Corporation;

(2) (a) how many of these undertakings are involved in the liquor trade and (b) what is the total amount invested in such undertakings.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) 3 548.

(2) (a) 121.

(b) R15 461 000, in respect of undertakings mentioned in (1) above.

Hansard 4
22/3/76
col 622

101

Land purchased in terms of Bantu Trust and Land Act

546. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) (a) What area of land was purchased in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act in each province during 1975 and (b) at what cost in respect of purchases in each province;

(2) (a) what area of land remains to be purchased in each province and (b) when is it expected that the purchases will be completed.;

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Transvaal: 212 978 hectares.
Natal: 25 380 hectares.
Orange Free State: Nil hectares.
Cape Province: 33 283 hectares.

(b) Only the total amount is available namely R57 383 303.

(2) (a) Transvaal: 414 900 hectares
Natal: 29 200 hectares.
Orange Free State: 7 100 hectares.
Cape Province: 471 400 hectares.

(b) Due to the fact that the acquisition of land is subject to various factors and the availability of funds, no decisive reply can be given.

101

Hansard 9
23/3/76
col 647

Development corporations in homelands

597. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) For which homelands have development corporations been established and (b) which of these corporations have boards of directors with Bantu serving on them.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) and (b) Bophuthatswana, Venda, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa.

Hansard 11 col 805
9/4/76

101

Reports from homeland health departments

*5. Mr. G. B. D. McINTOSH asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether the health departments of homeland administrations submit reports to his Department; if not, why not.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

No. Health matters have been handed over to most self-governing homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Lebowa) who now conduct their own health affairs. In view of the fact that Homeland Governments still receive financial assistance from the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the reports of the Controller and Auditor-General on each homeland, are submitted to Parliament for information.

101

F.M. 5/11/76

AFRICAN HOMELANDS:

	No of blocks after consolidation	Area Km² (1973)	Pop '000 (inc Whites) (1973)	Pop per Km²
B'Tswana... .	6	37 994	988,3	26,0
KwaZulu... ..	10	32 734	2 319,2	70,8
Lebowa..... .	6	22 476	1 190,9	53,0
Ciskei.	1	9 421-	594,7	64,7
Gazankulu...	3	6 331	288,8	45,6
Venda	2	6 182	291,8	47,2
Swazi.....	1	2 084	145,4	69,8
Qwaqwa	1	482	45,2	93,8
S Ndebele	2	202	n/a	n/a
Rest of SA (excl Transkei) (1975) .		1 064 423	25 043,3	23,5

BANTUSTAN FARMING (101)

SAAU steps in

FIN. MAIL 5/11/76

New moves are being made to put Bantustan agriculture onto its feet. It has been plain for years that White farmers' expertise is essential if they are ever to become remotely viable. At present they "import" 90% of their requirements.

At the recent South African Agricultural Union's (SAAU) annual congress a complete development programme was outlined for the Bantustans. Though financial assistance from the co-ops was not ruled out, help will mainly be in the form of services through co-ops.

The general idea is that White farmers will give advice and practical training in the same way the sugar industry has already done. There will be help in planning specific projects, executing plans, setting up co-ops, training employees, buying agricultural products at the lowest possible prices, and setting up extension services (many co-ops now have their own extension officers).

The SAAU's General Council is to work out a programme and set up the necessary machinery. One question is whether it should attempt to do something in all nine Bantustans at once, or concentrate on one or two.

The SAAU already has a sub-committee working on Bantustan development which could come up with some answers.

At present the Department of Bantu Administration and Development has set up an overall advisory committee on which all sectors (Assocom, SAAU, etc) are represented. Under the overall body each Bantustan has a similar development advisory committee. Not all have met yet, though the KwaZulu committee under Chief Buthelezi has met twice.

But what the SAAU wants is a purely agricultural advisory committee for each Bantustan under its Minister of Agriculture — clearly a must, if effective planning is to be achieved.

(1) 101

(2) ~~332~~

F.M. 12/11/76 ?

That South Africa will shortly have a new acronym to add to the list which already contains gems like BOSS, BAD, and PISCOM?

Bantustan leaders and Urban Bantu Councillors will be meeting on December 2 to launch a new Black Unity Movement, BUM. Not surprisingly, the Soweto SRC this week denounced BUM as "ridiculous".

?

	ECONOMIC REGIONS									
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	AS A PERCENTAGE OF PRODUCTIONS/SALES/No.[1]									
Maize	0,6	0,1	0,3	-	-	0,4	1,6	0,7	-	-
Grain Sorghum	0,1	-	-	-	-	0,1	0,5	0,1	-	-
Wheat	1,5	-	0,1	-	-	-	0,2	-	-	-
Other Cereals	5,3	0,1	0,7	-	-	-	0,1	0,2	-	-
Sunflower Seeds	0,1	-	-	-	-	-	0,1	-	-	-
Ground Nuts(Shelled)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,6	0,1	-	-
Ground Nuts(Unshelled)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,2	0,1	-	-
Legumes	0,1	-	-	-	0,1	0,1	0,3	0,4	-	-
Tobacco	0,5	-	-	-	0,1	-	-	-	-	-
Chicory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed Cotton	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,1	0,9	-	1,9
Sugar Cane	-	-	-	11,3	13,7	1,8	-	11,3	21,5	26,9
Sisal	-	-	-	8,7	8,7	-	-	-	3,3	43,9
Phormium Tenax	-	-	-	-	-	5,5	-	88,7	-	-
Hay&Fodder Crops	6,3	0,6	2,0	0,1	0,1	1,5	6,5	1,5	-	-
Vegetables	0,6	-	0,2	0,3	0,3	0,7	3,4	2,2	0,1	0,4
Citrus Trees (B)	2,4	0,1	-	0,4	0,1	1,2	1,1	1,2	0,2	1,3
Citrus Trees(N-B)	3,7	0,2	-	0,1	0,2	2,2	0,4	0,8	0,2	1,5
Bananas,Pineapples, Granadillas	1,4	0,4	-	1,1	7,5	-	-	-	0,1	11,3
Other Sub-Trop Fruit(B)	0,1	0,1	-	1,4	2,9	0,1	-	-	0,5	0,1
Other Sub-Trop Fruit										
Nut Tr										1
Nut Tr										8
Grapes										
Grapes										
Other										
Other										
Cattle										,6
Sheep										
Goats										,1
Pigs										,1
Horses										,3
Ostric										
Poultr										,2

(101)

~~Agric General~~

EMBARGO: 15h30
MONDAY: 10 JANUARY 1977

ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE DR. F. HARTZENBERG, DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT AT THE INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS '77: UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA 10 - 14 JANUARY 1977

AGRICULTURE IN THE BLACK SECTOR

"AN EMPTY STOMACH IS NOT A GOOD POLITICAL ADVISER" - EINSTEIN

The so-called food supply - population growth dilemma has been the theme of many international conferences. In a concerted effort against what was called "..... the ultimate scandal of the midtwentieth century - continuing widespread hunger and misery in an age of abounding wonders" the Freedom from Hunger Campaign was launched in July 1960 by the Food and Agriculture

Organization/2...

Organization of the United Nations. Despite these efforts to mobilise international energies to achieve this goal, one still reads today, 17 years later, that an estimated 500 million people throughout the world are starving.

According to Paddock and Paddock (1967) there were only eleven countries in the world in 1967 that exported food to any significant extent - in Africa, South Africa was the only such country. On the other hand, the less developed countries of the world accommodate two-thirds of the world's population but are responsible

for..../3.....

for only 44% of the total food production. It has been estimated that food production in Africa is dropping by 2% annually and in some countries by as much as 7% (Botha, 1976). Food imports by the developing countries tend to double every 15 years - in other words, an average annual increase in food imports of 4,7% (Botha, 1976).

So far, South Africa has been successful in getting its agricultural production to increase at a faster rate than the rate at which the total population is increasing. Since 1947/48, agricultural production has rison at 3,8% per annum and food production at 4,1% per annum. Between 1960 and 1970, the population of South Africa increased by 2,7% per annum.

An..../4.....

An analysis of the agricultural industry in South Africa and the homelands shows that in 1970 37% of the country's total population were resident within the homelands, that the homelands held 23% of South Africa's total agricultural potential, but that they were responsible for a mere 5,8% of the South African Agricultural sector's contribution towards the country's Gross Domestic Product (BENBO, 1976).

Although the possibility exists, therefore, that, as the country was in 1975, the White farmers may be able to meet the food requirements of South Africa's population for the rest of this century,

there..../5.....

there are good reasons why the development of agriculture in the homelands must be accorded the highest priority. The most obvious reason why agricultural development in the homelands must be accelerated is the fact that agriculture lies at the foundation of general economic development.

Secondly, it is clear that the country or countries in Africa that are in a position to export food and agricultural products will supply the needs of this continent and probably also the needs of most other countries of the world and will therefore have an important part to play.

Thirdly, it is obvious that close attention must be given to the

development/6.....

development of the less developed areas where higher returns per unit of input can be achieved. Naturally, this should be done without neglecting the more developed areas where a more sophisticated level of input can still achieve a marked increase in production.

2. THE AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL OF THE HOMELANDS

Various studies have been undertaken to determine the agricultural potential of the homelands. The potential of a country is a very subjective concept which is determined by subjective norms. Broadly speaking, a country's potential is determined by the potential of its people - their ability to develop and to apply improved

technology..../7..

technology. In addition, potential must also be judged in terms of both production and consumption.

It has also been proved many times that human endeavours can widen horizons and push back what was previously thought to be immovable limits. Necessity is truly the mother of invention.

As regards the inherent agricultural potential of the homelands Grobler (1969) has calculated that Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, Swazi and kwaZulu have the potential to feed 24,6 million people, not counting the production of raw materials for secondary industries.

The survey by Grobler (op.cit.) shows, moreover, that the individual homelands included in his surveys will each be able to supply food to more than their own population.

The..../8.....

The only homeland which, on it. own, lacks the potential to supply its own needs appears to be QwaQwa.

3. POPULATION GROWTH IN THE HOMELANDS

3.1 The demographic pattern of a country is of cardinal importance, because the development of a country, is largely the result of its human resources and it makes specific demands of its natural resources.

Although there is considerable divergence from the average figure

for..../9.....

for the various homelands, the 1970 Census shows that 6,9 million of the total Black population of 14,90 million were resident inside the homelands.

Not counting migration, it is estimated that some 18 million of the expected 38 million - strong Black population will be living in the homelands by the year 2000.

However, between 1960 and 1970 the Black population in the homelands increased from 4,1 million to 6,9 million, that is, at a rate of 5,2% per annum, whereas the Black population outside the homelands increased over the same period from 6,8 million to 8,0 million, or at a rate of 1,6% per annum. It is expected that, if these

trends..../10....

trends continue to the year 2000, 27,5 million of the expected 38 million - strong Black population will be resident within the homelands.

This will mean that for the homelands to be self-sufficient as regards grain production there will have to be an increase of 1 500% on present production.

Apart from this rapid increase in the population of the homelands, there are also other factors that will influence the de-

mand..../11.....

mand for food and agricultural products, namely -

3.2 THE URBANISATION OF THE HOMELAND POPULATION

Between 1960 and 1970 the number of cities and towns in the homelands increased from 3 tot 59, while the population of these centres rose from 10 000 to 526 704. In 1975, 984 271 people were living in 77 homeland cities and towns. This process of urbanisation, which is taking place at an increased rate, has the effect of increasing and diversifying the per capita food requirements owing to an increase in real income.

According to the results of a recent survey conducted in urban areas the average Black urban household's expenditure on meat was two and a half times that on grain and grain products.

This...../12...

This ratio was one and a half times the amount in 1970. In 1975 one and a half time more money was spent on bread than on mealie-meal. In 1970 the opposite was true. The expenditure pattern of urban Blacks, particularly with regard to foodstuffs, approximates that of the urban White household more closely than in any given preceding period.

It may therefore be expected that the consumption of food within the homelands will not only increase greatly but will also be strongly diversified.

4. FACTORS/13....

4. FACTORS THAT HAMPER AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HOMELANDS

4.1 It can be stated emphatically that the greatest obstacle to agricultural development in all developing countries is man - man with his conceptions and his preconceptions. The importance of the human aspect is aptly summarised by Dichter (1971). "Most underdeveloped countries are underdeveloped primarily as far as their desires are concerned, not in terms of their resources. Once we get people to want things, to become constructively dissatisfied, we've begun human progress and growth."

It is a well-known fact that socio-cultural barriers exist

in.....14/.....

in traditional societies which have, until now, very effectively resisted adoption and application of a Western style of agricultural development. Any attempt to achieve a large-scale break-through must be of a long-term nature, because the adoption of modern techniques requires cultural change which can only be achieved over a period of generations. Even then, it must be expected that modern techniques will, to some degree, be adapted to the local culture.

4.2 Although the highly developed economy in the adjoining White South Africa undoubtedly has a favourable influence on development in the homelands in many respects, for example, the proximity of big markets and the availability of infrastructure, there are other

respects...15/.....

respects in which it has adverse effects on development in the homelands, the more important of these being the drain on labour resources and purchasing power to the White areas. Rutman (1974) also demonstrated that strong resistance may be expected against any change in the traditional land tenure system of these temporary contract workers owing to the fact that they want the best of two worlds, namely, cash earnings in the White sector and traditional land tenure in the homeland.

The fact that enough food has been produced by White agriculture in the past has meant that the Black farmer and his family have never been forced to utilise fully the agricultural resources at their disposal.

4.3 The.../16....

4.3 The fact that the turnover of cattle sales in the homelands rose from R4,5 million in 1970/71 to R11,6 million in 1974/75 after the positive attention that had been given to stock sale arrangements is an indication that the creation of outlets has a beneficial effect on production.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN THE HOMELANDS

5. Even before the first agricultural school was started in the

Transkei.../17...

Transkei in 1905 agricultural training formed part of the christianisation efforts of the missionaries. An agricultural division was created in the Department of Native Affairs in 1929. Until the establishment of the South African Bantu Trust in 1936 this Division of Native Agriculture and Lands, as it was called then, could not achieve much owing to a lack of technical information on soil conservation. During the second World War work came almost to a standstill and was only resumed in 1946. Soil conservation received close attention not only because of the very serious degre of soil erosion and denudation that was common in the Black areas, but also because commercialisation of agriculture was extremely

difficult/18....

difficult to achieve owing to such barriers as the system of land tenure, the conservatism of the population, gross overstocking of pasture and too little arable land per family. Moreover, real motivation for agricultural development was lacking. The more advanced White agricultural sector was able to produce sufficient food to supplement the subsistence production in the homelands. The results of the development efforts over the past 30 years can be summurised as follows:

5.1 PROTECTION OF RESOURCES:

The system of land-use planning based on the recommendations contained in the Tomlinson Report of 1955 has been applied with excellent results in all homelands. This system is based on three basic considerations, namely;

5.1.1 the.../19..

5.1.1 the protection and conservation of soil, vegetation and water supplies through a system of demarcated arable lands, rotational grazing and controlled stocking rates;

5.1.2 the limitation of agricultural rights to only those "farmers" who enjoyed such rights before planning and;

5.1.3 the gathering together of the scattered population into rural residential areas where schools, shops, clinics, communication facilities, portable water, etc., are supplied.

Although this planning must be regarded as being of a preliminary nature, it has progressed well and between 60 and 100 per cent of the respective homelands areas have been planned in this way.

5.2 DEVELOPMENT/20

5.2 DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN POTENTIAL

Physical development is of no avail unless human development keeps pace with it. With a view to this an agricultural extension service is operating in each homeland and is manned by a total of 752 Black agricultural extension officers working under the guidance of White and Black professional and technical officers. Animal health is taken care of by veterinary surgeons assisted by stock inspectors. Black professional officers are trained at the Faculty of Agriculture of the Fort Hare University, while four colleges of agriculture situated in the homelands train technical staff. The trained staff are at the disposal of the Black farmers to assist, train and guide them towards agricultural development.

5.3 INSTITUTIONAL/21..

5.3 INSTITUTIONAL AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Services such as agricultural credit and crop and livestock marketing facilities are supplied direct by homeland departments as well as through agricultural co-operatives, of which 70 had been established up to July 1976. Veterinary services are rendered by a Veterinary Division in each homeland. Agricultural projects such as fibre, sugar, tea and coffee projects, as well as 21 800 ha of irrigated land, have been developed. Water supply schemes for irrigation, livestock and human consumption have been implemented and are still being carried out.

5.4. INCREASED/22..

5.4 INCREASED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Reliable statistics are difficult to obtain in the homelands. Nevertheless, it was calculated that the gross value of agricultural and foresty production in the homelands increased at an average rate of 11,7 per cent per annum during the 1968/69 - 1972/73 period. During the same period the producer prices of agricultural products increased by 8,6 per cent per annum resulting in a net production increase of 3,1 per cent per annum. A recent survey of the position for 1973 in Africa indicates that total production in the past three years decreased by 3% and per capita yield decreased by 6%. In 22 countries (more than 40% of the countries of Africa) per capita production was lower than the levels for 1961-1965. (BENBO 1976) The growth rate of 3,1% very nearly met the FAO target of 3,2% for the rest of Africa.

5.5 THE .../23...

5.5 THE ENTRY OF THE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS INTO AGRICULTURE

The entry of the development corporations into agriculture during 1973 had a favourable effect on production, the creation of infrastructure, and the identification and training of entrepreneurs.

5.6 STEPS TOWARDS REFORMING LAND-TENURE RIGHTS

The decisions which have already been taken by two homeland governments to register land tenure rights, to make these rights negotiable and to have them administered by Land Committees, and which in one case even make private ownership of land possible, are steps that hold promise for the future.

From.../24.....

From the foregoing it is evident that, although spectacular growth figures have not been attained in the homelands, a steady average net growth in agricultural production has been maintained. Owing to the fact that the deterioration of the natural resources has at least been slowed down and stopped in many cases, that the required institutional and physical infrastructure has been improved, and that the human potential has also been developed, the stage has to a large extent been set for agricultural development to take place more readily in the homelands.

6. WHAT IS EXPECTED OF AGRICULTURE IN THE FUTURE?

The next phase for agriculture to enter now in the homelands is, on the one hand, to ensure greater production and, on

the ..../25.....

on the other hand, greatly to develop the entrepreneurial ability of the top farmers so that the increased production represents not only agricultural growth but also agricultural development in the true sense of the word.

An increase in agricultural production is essential in order to ensure that agriculture will be able to fulfil its strategic function as the cornerstone of homeland development. So far as homeland development is concerned, the value of agriculture lies in:

6.1 supplying/26..

6.1 supplying enough food to the indigenous population; a country that has to import food will not easily obtain the capital to import machinery and goods for secondary development;

6.2 supplying raw materials to secondary industry

6.3 providing a market for secondary industry production;

6.4 contributing along these lines towards the overall economic growth rate and towards the process of structural change, which, in turn, will be conductive to a broadly based improvement in the prosperity of the population;

6.5 making possible the process of social modernisation which includes reducing the birthrate and stepping up entrepreneurial activity;

6.6 serving, as time goes on, as a source of surplus labour to the other sectors of the economy; and in the fact that

6.7 a solid farming class has an important stabilising effect on

national../27....

national life, a factor that should not be lost sight of.

7. REQUIREMENTS FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HOMELANDS

The FAO has stated that what Africa South of the Sahara needs particularly is a suitable strategy and six billion rands of foreign capital to be self-sufficient as regards food supplies.

When one looks at the four production factors of the homelands, namely, land, labour, capital and management, one realises that a strategy, a policy, which will provide for both the short-term objectives and the long-term objectives is of vital importance in the homelands.

7.1 LAND../28..

7.1 LAND of sufficient potential is available for development. BENBO (1976) reports that in spite of greater population pressures only 66% of the available dryland and only 78% of the available irrigation land are being utilised at present. Under the consolidation programme about one million hectares of quota land remains to be purchased, which will become available to the homelands.

According to Tomlinson (1974), 3% of South Africa's land has a high potential and this land is responsible for 40% of the country's total agricultural production. Owing to the geographical situation of the homelands, one can say with reasonable certainty that in their case high-potential land constitutes 3% of their total area as well. On the strength of the determination of potential

carried ../29...

carried out by Grobler (1969), by which it was found that the five homelands concerned had the capacity to produce food for 24,6 million people, it may be assumed that the 3% of these five homelands that is classed as high-potential land will be able to produce food for 10 million people.

It seems, therefore, that it would be sound policy for the homelands to put this 3% of their surface area into full production as soon as possible wherever this has not yet been done. They could do this with the aid of the Corporations and private entrepreneurs from outside on conditions that would be acceptable to the homeland as well as to the private entrepreneurs and in such

a way...30/.....

a way that it will require the minimum of capital from the Homeland. In other words, this would mean making the land available to private entrepreneurs, free of charge if need be, for a period long enough to enable them to recoup their capital input, after which the land could be let to the private entrepreneurs and gradually withdrawn to be made available to Black entrepreneurs. It would be advisable to begin with those areas of land that are not being utilised at present and with the high-potential land that is being bought up under the consolidation programme. Since this would involve only 3% of the total area, it would cause the least political reaction.

Such...31/.....

Such a step could result in a tremendous increase in production within a reasonable period of time, which would also have the necessary beneficial effect on genral economic development. Although this would represent agricultural growth, it would not be agricultural development because it would not come from the people themselves.

The 97 per cent of the land which does not include high-potential land must be used to generate agriculture development throught the development of entrepreneurship together with increased production.

The..../32.....

The managerial demands on the ntrepreneur would be lower on these lands and the required capital inputs would be lower than on the high-potential lands. The biggest percentage of agricultural production comes from drylands requiring short-term credit and yielding a quicker return on investments and in terms of physical production.

7.2 LABOUR is available, although the quality is affected by the fact that contract labourers tend to go to the White areas.

7.3 CAPITAL is normally limited, but this limitation is of course greatly magnified under the present unfavourable economic conditions.

By bringing in private entrepreneurs from outside to work the high-potential lands, it will definitely be possible to attract a great

deal..../33.....

deal of capital to the homelands. Furthermore, the possibility cannot be excluded that large amounts of operating capital may be forthcoming from the rural Blacks of the homelands if the yields of a large number of farmers can be stepped up. Considerable success has been achieved in Rhodesia with the system of "Savings Clubs" to boost agricultural production. "Savings Clubs" are run entirely as a community activity based on the principle of self-help. This method of capital formation and community development can be considered for application in the homelands.

7.4 MANAGEMENT/34..

7.4 MANAGEMENT is the most important single factor that hampers agricultural development in the homelands. This problem could be eased by bringing in private entrepreneurs from outside to develop the high-potential lands and by identifying and training Black entrepreneurs on the other lands. In this regard the White farmers of South Africa can make a tremendous contribution and have already begun to do so.

7.5 Agricultural development can best be achieved in an atmosphere of peaceful co-operation brought about by economic and political stability. Furthermore, since we are faced with a situation where an advanced sector must assist a less advanced sector through

co-operation/35...

co-operation, I need hardly stress that mutual trust, goodwill and proper understanding of one another's needs, aspirations, culture, motives and abilities are all of the utmost importance. Preconceived ideas and biased attitudes will certainly wreck all attempts at development.

7.6 As regards both agriculture and general economic development, the attitude of the political and traditional leaders to agriculture is of vital importance. If agricultural development is not accorded due priority over social programmes, rapid economic development will pass the homelands by because agriculture lies at the

foundation../36..

foundation of economic development, which cannot be built on industrial development alone.

8. CONCLUSION

Although the level of agricultural development in the homelands compares very well with that of other countries in Africa, the potential is being utilised to a minimal degree and growth in agricultural production is being far outstripped by the polulation growth.

Over the past few decades, however, a very firm foundation has been laid by means of systematic planning through which more than 75% of

the..../37.....

the area of the homelands has been saved from erosion, the agricultural land has been identified, and the people who are not involved in agriculture have been placed in cities, towns and more densely populated settlements. For the rest, valuable infrastructure has been built up in the form of training and extension facilities, co-operative organisations, fencing, water supply, the establishment of corporations, and well-equipped departments. There is the feeling that the stage has been set for the more rapid agricultural development that is so desperately needed.

The question is: Will it be possible to bring about more rapid

development../38..

development in the agricultural sphere? In this paper I have indicated that the most important limiting factor lies in the human being and his managerial ability. To a large extent managerial ability can be introduced from outside. This would provide the increased production, but it would not constitute agricultural development in the true sense of the word. The development of the Black farmer as an entrepreneur lies at the heart of future agricultural development. There are so many positive signs to be seen in various groups of people, for instance, the political and traditional leaders of the homelands, and in an increasing number of Black farmers as well as in the White farmers of South Africa, that there is reason for optimism as was indi-

cated.../39.....

cated in the views expressed by Premier K.D. Matanzima of Transkei in 1969:

"Our whole approach to advancement and development must be changed from one of an undue readiness to accept what others do for us to one of personal efforts and achievement .... we must brace ourselves to face our own problems and to plan our own future".

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AT REQUEST OF THE MINISTRY OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND OF BANTU EDUCATION.

PRETORIA

101

Homelands Bill aims at easing race situation

ARGUS 1/2/77

The Argus Political Staff

THE Government hopes that legislation aimed at giving independent homelands virtual total autonomy will go a long way towards defusing the racial conflict situation in South Africa.

It believes the measure, the Bantu Homelands Constitution Amendment Bill, will remove practically all vestiges of domination by Pretoria over the homelands.

Mr P. T. C. du Plessis, MP for Lydenburg and chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, described the Bill today as one of the most far-reaching measures to be introduced in a long time.

He said it was aimed at moving away from discrimination and would therefore remove friction. This would go a long way towards improving the racial climate.

Although Mr du Plessis did not wish to comment, the measure is believed to contain no provision for the position of Blacks in urban areas where the recent disturbances have been concentrated.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The Bill, which will be studied by homeland leaders before being introduced in Parliament later this session, is aimed at giving practically total legislative and administrative powers to the homeland authorities.

Their legislative assemblies would be empowered to repeal laws passed by Parliament. These include the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

The homeland assemblies would be empowered to appoint their own heads-of-state and executive heads and promulgate their own legislation.

EMPOWERED

The legislative assemblies would also be empowered to appoint, institute or dismiss chiefs.

Mr du Plessis emphasised that it would be left to the homelands to request such transfer of powers in terms of the measure and that they would not be forced into it.

He said the amendment Bill introduced a third stage of 'internal autonomy' to the present two stages of development — of regional authority and legislative [illegible] vided for under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

He foresaw the Bill opening the way for development towards consultation on the pattern of the European Economic Community between the homelands and the Government.

CONFEDERATION

The homelands could eventually even form part of a Southern African confederation as had been foreseen by Dr H. F. Verwoerd when he spoke about a 'commonwealth,' and by the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, when he referred to a power bloc.

He said homelands which accepted a transfer of powers in terms of the Bill would come close to enjoying the same powers as Transkei except that they would not have total sovereignty with regard to matters such as foreign policy.

(News by L. Marshall, Press Gallery, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.)

Hansard 2 col 161 4/2/77

101

Mineral production in homelands

181. Mr. G H WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What was the value of mineral production in each of the homelands in 1976.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

The gross value of the mineral production is as follows:

Bophuthatswana	R47 462 140
Gazankulu	R 1 250 000
kwaZulu	R 669 938
Lebowa	R35 533 700
Venda	R 739 911

Hansard 3 cols 210-211 8/2/77

(101)

Bantu Trust and Land Act

170. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What was the total (a) area of land bought in each province in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act as at 31 December 1976 and (b) amount paid for such land;

(2) what area of land remained to be bought in each province at that date;

(3) (a) what was the (i) area and (ii) cost of land added to homelands as compensation for the removal of black spots in each province and (b) what amount of compensatory land must still be acquired in each province.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Extent of quota land acquired at 31 December 1976:

Transvaal	3 961 946 ha
Natal	434 611 ha
Cape	943 330 ha
Orange Free State	61 381 ha

(b) Approximately R279 142 211

(2)

Transvaal	388 587 ha
Natal	32 025 ha
Cape	481 367 ha
Orange Free State	12 317 ha

The abovementioned figures include the extent of black spots which have already been removed and which extent must be added to the quota.

(3) (a) (i) The area of land to be added to the Homelands as compensation for the removal of black spots in each province, is as follows:

Transvaal	43 891 ha
Natal	16 101 ha
Cape	40 542 ha
Orange Free State	5 176 ha

(ii) The cost of the land concerned is not available as it is included in the total expenditure on land purchases.

(b) The area of land still to be acquired to compensate for black spots still to be removed is as follows:

Hansard 3 Q cols 215-216 8/2/77

Bantu Trust and Land Act

101

296. Mr W. H. D. DEACON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) (a) What area of land was purchased in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act in each province during 1976 and (b) at what cost in respect of purchases in each province,

(2) (a) what area of land remains to be purchased in each province and (b) when is it expected that the purchase will be completed.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a)

Transvaal	78 524 ha
Natal	10 479 ha
Cape	29 157 ha
Orange Free State .	—

(b) Only the total expenditure for 1976 is available namely R32 875 991.

(2) (a)

Transvaal	388 587 ha
Natal	32 025 ha
Cape	481 367 ha
Orange Free State .	12 317 ha

The above-mentioned figures include the extent of black spots which have already been removed and which extent must be added to the quota.

[illegible] factor [illegible] availability of funds, no decisive reply can be given

REGULAR EMPLOYEES AS A PERCENTAGE OF REGULAR PLUS CASUAL EMPLOYEES

RACE - ALL RACES

DATE - AS AT 31ST AUGUST 1973

EC REGION	1	2	3	4	8	9	10	11	12		
PERCENTAGE	96.79	46.01	44.56	49.93	47.79	50.92	71.68	40.92	48.54		
EC REGION	13	14	15	16	20	21	22	23	24		
PERCENTAGE	54.01	42.48	40.95	35.73	[illegible]	[illegible]	56.06	60.68	49.41		
EC REGION	25	26	27	28		0	34	35	36		
PERCENTAGE	67.38	61.89	54.85	74.55			58.15	64.78	87.42		
EC REGION	37	38	39	40			46	47	48		
PERCENTAGE	72.64	74.53	78.19	56.70		9	47.47	36.78	54.77		
EC REGION	49	50	51	52		7	56	59	60		
PERCENTAGE	53.12	54.19	54.73	55.80		20	54.11	44.57	70.46		

Homelands: gross domestic product/national income

401. Mr G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Statistics:

What was the (a) gross domestic product, (b) gross domestic product per capita, (c) national income and (d) national income per capita of each of the homelands for the financial years 1974-'75 and 1975-'76, respectively.

The MINISTER OF STATISTICS:

The latest available figures are for the calendar year 1974. The 1974 figures are as follows.

Homeland	(a) (R1 000)	(b) (R)	(c) (R1 000)	(d) (R)
Ciskei	45 971	77	125 500	191
Kwa/Zulu	135 399	57	527 400	199
Bophuthatswana	150 977	151	242 600	227
Lebowa	91 094	74	252 800	180
Venda	15 361	51	64 300	180
Gazankulu	24 364	81	83 300	225
Swazi area	6 868	51	20 400	138
Qwaqwa	4 529	60	12 700	149

101

Hansard 4 col 360
15/2/77

101

Hansard 4 col 321 15/2/77

Homelands: Title deeds to freehold property in townships

*17. Mr L. F. WOOD asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) How many persons have obtained title deeds to freehold property in townships in each of the homelands since the statement made by the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education in November 1966 and (b) when was the scheme instituted in each homeland

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS:

(a)

Qwaqwa	171
Bophuthatswana	6 084
Ciskei	2 566
Gazankulu	496
KwaZulu	8 218
Lebowa	3 053
Venda	287

(b) The scheme was instituted in each Homeland by Proclamation R 293 of 1962, published in *Government Gazette Extraordinary* 373, dated 16 November 1962

HOUSING & HOSTELS - General

See also
- GROUP AREAS
- MIGRANT LABOUR, S.A.
- MINING - Labour
- SQUATTERS
- URBAN AFRICANS

101

HOUSING & HOSTELS - Cape

HOUSING & HOSTELS -

HOUSING & HOSTELS -

HOUSING & HOSTELS -

I:

Illegitimacy

Immigration

Immorality

INCOMES

INDIA - General

INDIA - Labour

INDUSTRIES

FIN. MAIL 18/2/77

BIC INVESTMENT

Ill-advised move

How thoroughly does the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) investigate a company's viability before it agrees to put up a factory tailored to the company's requirements.

For example, the Herbert Bag group has just gone into provisional liquidation within a month of moving into a R500 000 factory specially built for it by the BIC at Babelegi in Bophuthatswana, just north of Pretoria. The idea was that subsidiary Twana Bag rent the factory at R3 000 a month.

This was the third, and most disastrous, of the group's efforts to move its factory operation from Wadeville, near Johannesburg, to a decentralised area. On two previous occasions it tried setting up at Heilbron in the Free State and at Pietersburg in Northern Transvaal, only to pull back within a year after taking heavy losses.

Its third attempt began two years ago when it opened a six month trial operation in part of a BIC factory at Babelegi. At the end of the trial period it decided to move its entire operation from Wadeville to Babelegi once the BIC had built it a factory. But, according to papers before the Rand Supreme Court, the new factory was not ready on time, and the cost of running a split operation plus a general decline in business forced Herbert Jackson, the head of the group, to apply for its winding up.

Twana Bag Industries, the subsidiary which traded in Babelegi has liabilities of R298 672, of which R175 000 was advanced by the BIC. The assets are R134 515, of which R49 449 is an irrecoverable Herbert Bag loan.

Dr Johannes Adendorff, the BIC's MD, tells the *FM* that Twana Bag did very well after it started in Babelegi, so the BIC decided to build a new factory for it. He says the R175 000 owed to the BIC is well secured by a property bond. This, Jackson tells the *FM*, is a 2,2 ha industrial site at Wadeville which has been valued at R500 000 — though a forced sale, he concedes, would realise much less.

Jackson says the BIC was aware of his group's two unsuccessful decentralisation efforts and that was why Twana Bag started at Babelegi on a trial basis. He says the group's pre-taxed profit was R100 000 a year before the move which he describes as "ill-advised".

It appears the BIC was "ill-advised" to back the group in the first place, especially in view of its two previous decentralisation disasters. According to Jackson the group may be rescued by an offer of compromise but that remains to be seen.

The BIC's Dr Johannes Adendorff . . . "the R175 000 owed is well secured."

ON - Migration

ON - Registration

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Accidents

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BIC *FIN. MAIL 4/3/77*

Broke in the Bantustans

The Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) is now getting its share of liquidations among companies it has enticed to the Homelands. According to MD Dr Johannes Adendorff the BIC has lent R18,8m to companies which have decentralised. How safe is it?

In the last six months five manufacturers at the BIC's main development point at Babelegi, 50 km north of Pretoria in BophuthaTswana, have either gone into liquidation or been placed under judicial management.

- The BIC lent R19 728 in 1975 to Sarral, rotary pump and rubber component manufacturers, when the company was already insolvent, according to the auditors' report. It went into liquidation last year with liabilities of R140 000 (R22 000 owed to BIC) and assets of R76 430. Adendorff, though, denies that the BIC would ever lend money to an insolvent company.
- Tswana Bag Industries (*Inside Industry* February 18) went into provisional liquidation this year two months after moving into a R500 000 tailor-made BIC factory. It was the group's third and most disastrous attempt to decentralise. It had tried manufacturing in other areas but withdrew after taking heavy losses, before coming to the BIC.
- The BIC lent R67 984 to Hammanskraal Knitwear — in which the BIC had 35 of the 75 issued R1 shares — although it appears to have been almost constantly in financial difficulties during the four years it was at Babelegi. It went into liquidation last year with assets of R323 573 and liabilities of R384 194.

The two other companies are Lora Art, which went under owing the BIC R37 000, and Exquisite Prams which was placed under judicial management last week. It has a R320 000 loan from the BIC.

Adendorff tells the *FM* that the BIC has now taken over Hammanskraal Knitwear through Factoria Cleaning Materials. FCM is another company at Babelegi which went into liquidation a couple of years ago and which was rescued by the BIC.

The corporation now has 158 factories in the Homeland areas (83 at Babelegi). Only about 12 are not yet occupied.

With its factory programme being stepped up the spotlight has fallen on the activities of Pretal Konstruksie, which is owned by sacked BIC chief draughtsman Hannes Bam. Pretal has been given nearly R4m worth of BIC work — 11 factories and a filling station at Babelegi — in the last 18 months.

Since May last year, Pretal and Raymond Theron & Bouwer, the consulting engineers supervising Pretal's building of five BIC factories, have been shareholders in Etoria Houthandelaars, the Pretoria hardware business that supplies much of Pretal's building materials. Pretal has its offices in Etoria's building.

While he was at the BIC, Bam did R6 000 worth of work for Theron, Prinsloo & Von Tonder another firm of BIC consultants which has been supervising one of Pretal's small contracts. It was for doing this outside work without permission of the Board that Bam was sacked from BIC in 1974.

In view of their connections with Bam, the ability of both firms of consultants to remain impartial appears questionable. But Adendorff says it is not practical to do anything about it now. He says he has merely told consultants that in future they will be asked by the BIC to disclose the connections they have with contractors before they are given BIC work.

No separate deals, Phatudi tells Front

RDM 7/3/77

Staff Reporter

THE Black Unity Front committed itself at the weekend to work for a united South Africa, even at the risk of imprisonment of its leaders.

Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa told a Front conference at Seshego, near Pietersburg: "South Africans, White and Black have one fatherland, which they share and will share and which they build and will build together."

Dr Phatudi, who hosted the conference, added: "If anybody here is arrested for being at the conference, he must tell me, because I will go in the cells myself."

The Front was formed last October after a meeting between homeland leaders and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, failed to fulfil the hopes of homeland leaders.

In his opening address Dr Phatudi took a tough line against separate development and dispelled speculation that he was on the verge of opting for independence.

The emphasis of separation and difference benefited neither White nor Black, he said.

"Each is losing greatly in all directions — politics, economics, justice, social peace and welfare. Only unity for all can bear fruit for all South Africans."

He asked for and was given a mandate to tell the Prime Minister: "We do not want to retaliate for the deprivations that we have suffered, but to go forward to build a peaceful new South Africa."

He rejected separation of education into racial compartments run by different departments as irrelevant and the seedbed of inequality.

"The fundamental aim in education remains unchanged — namely, that the capacities or talents of each and every individual, regardless of colour, race or class, must be developed to the full. These talents must be exercised beneficially in an open society."

The Front chairman, Dr Sipho Nyembezi, similarly rejected the separate deals offered to the different African peoples under the policy of separate development.

The purpose behind independent homelands was to squeeze Africans into mini-states, depriving them of their rights in the rest of South Africa, he said.

Division of people on racial lines was dangerous because it sowed suspicion between the races.

Hansard 7 Col 591 9/3/77

101

South African Bantu Trust

(490) Mr I ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development

Whether properties or businesses acquired by the South African Bantu Trust were sold to Bantu persons or Bantu-controlled companies during 1975 and 1976, if so, (a) at what cost was each such property or business acquired by the Trust and (b)(i) on what terms and (ii) for what amount was each sold

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Yes Approximately 59 properties were sold during 1975 by the South African Bantu Trust to Bantu persons or Bantu-controlled companies while approximately 100 properties were sold during 1976 to Bantu persons or Bantu-controlled companies

(a) and (b). In view of the fact that the nature of the required information is confidential it cannot be disclosed and it is also not considered in public interest to divulge such information

Hansard 7 Cols 592 - 594 9/3/77

(101)

South African Bantu Trust: Properties

(527) Mr T ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) (a) How many properties were earmarked for acquisition by the South African Bantu Trust as at 31 December 1976 and (b) what was the estimated value of these properties;

(2) whether any property owners have been paid since 31 January 1975 if so, (a) what are their names and (b) what was the total amount paid,

(3) (a) how many property owners have received offers since 31 December 1976, but have not been paid, (b) what are the terms of the offers and (c) how many property owners have not received offers

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

(1) (a) and (b) Only the following particulars can be made available:

Area of land purchased in each province during 1976:

Transvaal	78 524 ha
Natal	10 479 ha
Cape	29 157 ha
Orange Free State	—

The total expenditure in connection with the acquisition of land during 1976 is R32 875 991.

(2) Yes.

(a) It is not considered wise to divulge the required particulars.

(b) R57 383 303 has been spent since 1 April 1975 in connection with the acquisition of farms while an amount of R7 067 521 has been spent by the Adjustment Committee.

(3) (a) Offerors are only been paid if they accept the offers of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The required information cannot be divulged because a considerable volume of work will have to be undertaken which is deemed to be unjustified

(b) The usual conditions put to sellers

(c) This particulars are not kept in the form of a special register and the required particulars cannot be ascertained without performing a considerable volume of work, which is deemed unjustified

Hansard 7 cols 596-597 9/3/77

101

Total area of various Homelands

(548) Mr R M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

(1) What is the estimated total area of the land already allocated to (a) the Ciskei, (b) KwaZulu, (c) Venda, (d) Gazankulu, (e) Lebowa, (f) the Swazi homeland, (g) the Ndebele homeland, (h) Bophuthatswana and (i) Basotho Qwa-Qwa;

(2) what is the estimated total area of Transkei;

(3) in respect of what date are these figures given.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1)	(a) Ciskei	533 000 ha
	(b) KwaZulu	3 100 000 ha
	(c) Venda	650 000 ha
	(d) Gazankulu	675 000 ha
	(e) Lebowa	2 200 000 ha
	(f) Swazi	370 000
	(g) Ndebele	75 000
	(h) Bophuthatswana	3 800 000 ha
	(i) Basotho Qwa-Qwa	48 000 ha

(2) 4 100 000 ha.

(3) 31 December 1976.

Homel policy attacked

Pretoria Bureau

The influential calvinist journal "Woord en Daad" has come out in favour of "realistically" sized and consolidated homelands, based on the 1977 situation rather than historic considerations and legislation of 1913 and 1936.

What was important today in determining the size of the homelands, the journal said in an editorial, was not where the departed generations had lived, but justifiably increased areas capable of providing realistic fatherlands for the peoples concerned.

On the consolidation of the homelands, the journal took issue with the view that the process should start with development and lead on to consolidation and enlargement.

DIVIDED

It asked how black communities could be expected to grow into nations when they were divided territorially by large blocks of white-owned land.

Could nationalism grow it asked, if the black communities manpower, capital and skills were drained across the homeland borders to the cheaper shops and more expensive labour markets nearby

CONSOLIDATION

Could economic growth be expected if the physical infrastructure of every fragment of the homeland was based on the adjacent white area?

The journal said it saw consolidation as the prerequisite for the focusing of a national will to self-determination, cultural renewal and nationhood.

'Blacks should get more land'

Labour Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Allocating more agricultural land to Blacks would be a most important step to reduce unemployment, Professor Trevor Bell of the University of Natal said in Maritzburg at the weekend.

He said a substantial reduction in unemployment depended mainly on increased allocation of resources to Black agriculture in the form of credit facilities, agriculture extension services, transport facilities and most importantly, extra land.

Addressing a national workshop on unemployment and labour reallocation, he said the possibilities of increasing employment in African agriculture had been neglected. This was partly due to the belief that there would be no growth in employment in the reserves.

Far reaching improvements in the Government's handling of African labour were needed, Professor P. J. van der Merwe of the University of Pretoria told the workshop.

He said improving the employment services for workers would allow for a more efficient allocation of labour recourses.

He proposed:

- Modernisation of the employment service for all workers.
- That a separate agency be established to run all employment services.
- The Unemployment Insurance Fund administration be separated from employment services.
- Influx control administration be separated from the employment service.
- An outreach programme to bring "discouraged and unwilling work-seekers" on to labour market.

Late classification

SPILKIN

Samuel passed away Sunday 20th. Deeply mourned by his wife Charlotte, children Michael, Marion and Fredrey and grandchildren. Funeral today 1 pm West Park Cemetery. Prayers 6.15 pm 405 Santa Monica Killarney

101

'Internal autonomy' for homelands

NEW HOMELANDS legislation introduced in Parliament yesterday will provide for "internally autonomous" countries with legislative authority over all internal affairs.

This was revealed yesterday by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, in an explanatory statement on the Homelands Constitution Amendment Bill.

He said it would smooth the way for independence and that apart from a few "modernization" clauses it would make greater constitutional development possible for the homelands.

Existing law provided for self-government in two phases and the new legislation would create a third, "namely that self-governing homelands can become internally autonomous countries".

It would be on a voluntary basis and legislative assemblies would have to ask for this status. If the two Houses of Parliament approved, the homeland concerned could adopt a constitution for the country.

"An internally autonomous country will have its own chief executive and can decide if he should be a president or a king and if he should fulfil only a constitutional role or if he should carry out executive functions," said Mr Botha.

"Such a country will be able to provide for many other matters in its constitution.

"In fact it will mean that a former self-governing homeland will become fully autonomous as far as its internal operations are concerned and that it will have legislative authority over all its internal affairs so that only foreign relations are excluded."

The Bill also made provision for limited financial matters involving South Africa.

Mr Botha said the further important constitutional development was a logical step in the Government's policy towards the last step before sovereign independence as taken by Transkei and which would be taken by BophuthaTswana in December.

"In fact, the acceptance of internal autonomy will give a black nation the opportunity, before full independence to gain valuable experience and to get various constitutional and other relations with South Africa in order," said Mr Botha.

Sweeping powers for homelands

101

30/3/77

CAPE TOWN — Sweeping powers to allow homeland governments to abolish laws like the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act are contained in a new Bill published here yesterday.

The powers, subject to a possible veto by the South African Government, will put the Government's sincerity towards the autonomy of the homelands under a severe test.

At the same time, the new status for homelands like the Ciskei may detract from the value of Transkei's independence because as semi-autonomous states, they will still be able to use all the benefits of South Africa's international status, including its passports and other links with the outside world.

These advantages have been denied to Transkei since its independence last October.

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, said in a statement the Bill meant that a former self-governing homeland would become fully autonomous as far as its internal operations were concerned, and that it would have legislative authority over all its internal affairs.

In terms of the Bill — officially known as the Bantu Homelands Constitution Amendment Bill — the Ciskei will be able to establish a gambling casino at the Hamburg holiday resort or in the Katberg Mountains. It may also abolish censorship laws.

The Bill was welcomed by the United Party's race relations spokesman, Mr Radclyffe Cadman.

He said it was clearly designed to bring about greater regional autonomy and any such devolution of power was always welcomed by those who had adopted a federal philosophy.

The Progressive Reform Party leader, Mr Eglin, promised to consult extensively with homeland leaders because it would have far reaching effects for the millions of blacks living in the homelands.

"It is not the kind of measure," he said, "in which white opinion should be decisive." It involved a considerable degree of legislative and executive decentralisation on a regional basis and moved the structure of government in a geographic federation direction.

Mr Cadman said the measure was being proposed by the Government because of the reluctance of some black leaders to opt for independence. Whatever the merits of the measure, it did not solve the urban black problem.

"On the face of it, the Bill empowers a homeland government to legislate on any matter at all, but there is a veto in the hand of the SA Government in respect of any such matter which has implications for the Republic," Mr Cadman said.

"The manner in which the Government exercises its power of veto will indicate the sincerity of the Government in the field of local autonomy," he added.

Mr Eglin, who also said the Bill would allow homeland governments to get rid of a number of apartheid measures, pointed out that the Bill, however, did not resolve the key political problem of giving an effective say in government to the millions of blacks living outside the homelands. — PC.

Hansard 10 Q cols 764 - 766 31/3/77

33. Where the price elasticity of demand for a good was relatively
f placing a sales tax on that good would be

Prospecting/mining leases

545 Mr. R M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What is the total number of (a) prospecting and (b) mining leases at present held by (i) White persons, (ii) White-controlled companies and (iii) Bantu persons or companies in each of the Bantu homelands;

(2) what was the total value of mineral production in each of the homelands during 1976;

(3) what revenue accrued during 1976 to (a) the South African Bantu Trust, (b) corporations established by the State, (c) Bantu governments or authorities, (d) Bantu tribes and (e) individual Bantu, from royalties and prospecting or other fees.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1)(a) and (b)(i) to (iii)

Homeland	Number of prospecting permissions	Number of Mining Leases	Number of Whites	Number of White companies	Number of Bantu companies/ persons
Lebowa ..	39	8	2	45	—
Bophuthatswana	42	19	6	52	3
Gazankulu ..	7	1	1	7	—
Venda	4	—	—	4	—
Swazi .. .	1	—	—	1	—
KwaZulu	36	6	1	37	4
Ciskei	1	2	1	2	—
Kaokoland ...	1	—	—	1	—
Damaraland .	5	1	3	1	2
Owambo . ..	—	1	—	1	—

(2) Bophuthatswana R47 462 140
Lebowa R35 533 700
Gazankulu R1 250 000
KwaZulu R699 938
Venda R739 911

(3) (a) Revenue paid to the Bantu Mining Corporation for and on behalf of the South African Bantu Trust: R982 181.

(b) R66 809.

(c), (d) and (e) The required particulars are unfortunately not available It is furthermore matters which vest in the Homeland-governments concern.

t 20% above the expecte

the increased output.

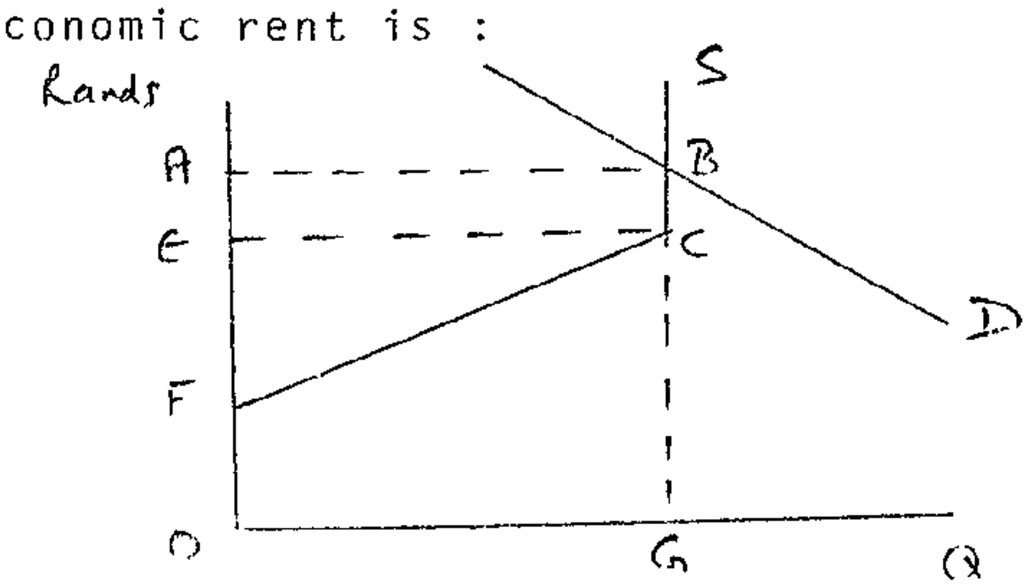
0 cents a dozen, then
e minimum price of
d be to :

3. Both 1. and 2. above.
4. Cause a surplus of eggs.
5. Have no effect.

36. If the equilibrium market rent of homogeneous Sea Point flats was 10 cents per square foot per month then the effect of rent control that laid down a maximum price of rents a square foot would be to :

1. Help alleviate the housing shortage in Cape Town.
2. Increase the rate of turnover in flats.
3. Increase the chances of newly married couples finding a flat in Sea Point.
4. Make it more difficult for newcomers to find a flat.
5. All three possibilities 1. 2. and 3. above.

37/ In the following diagram economic rent is :



1. EF per unit of land.
2. OABG
3. The amount ABCF
4. The triangle ECF
5. The rectangle ABCE

Hansard 10 cols 762 - 764 31/3/77

(101)

Bantu Mining Corporation

544. Mr R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What mining or quarrying operations (a) established or (b) assisted by the Bantu Mining Corporation are there in each of the Bantu homelands at present.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

(a) and (b)

Bophuthatswana:

(i) Sand exploitation: Taung Reserve. Survey done by Bantu Mining Corporation Exploitation done by a company established by various private Bantu.

(ii) Clay exploitation: District of Madikwe. Survey done by Bantu Mining Corporation Exploitation are being planned by Bophuthatswana Industrial Development Corporation.

(iii) Travertine and Marble Factory: District of Taung Exploitation done by Bantu Mining Corporation.

Lebowa.

(i) Kaolin exploitation District of Mokerong 3 The Bantu Mining Corporation entered into a contract with the Tribe. Survey done by the Bantu Mining Corporation. Exploitation will be undertaken by a company formed between the Bantu Mining Corporation and the Tribe

(ii) Chrome Mine. District of Sekhukhune Exploitation planned by the Bantu Mining Corporation

(iii) Platinum Exploitation: District of Sekhukhune Exploitation done by Bantu Mining Corporation in conjunction with private sector.

(iv) Betonite and Clay exploitation: District of Sekhukhune. Survey done by Bantu Mining Corporation.

Gazankulu:

(i) Stone Crushers: District of Letaba. Recently sold to the Shangaan Tsonga Development Corporation.

(ii) Sand and Corundum Exploitation: District of Ritavi Survey done by Bantu Mining Corporation. Contract entered into with the Tribe to undertake the exploitation by a company formed between the Tribe and the Bantu Mining Corporation

(iii) Gold Mine: District of Letaba Exploitation done by Bantu Mining Corporation.

KwaZulu

(i) Sand exploitation District of Lower Umfolozi. Project has been taken over by two Bantu trained by the Bantu Mining Corporation

(ii) Sand exploitation: District of Pinetown. Project has been taken over by two Bantu trained by the Bantu Mining Corporation

(iii) Sand exploitation. District of Umbumbulu Exploitation done by three Bantu trained and financed by the Bantu Mining Corporation.

18. We define an inferior good as one with

    1. An inelastic supply curve.
    2. A negative cross elasticity of demand.
    3. A positive income elasticity of demand.
    4. An elasticity of demand of less than one.
    5. None of the above.

19. Income rises by 10%. Suppose the demand for cups is income inelastic. One would expect

    1. A fall in the demand for saucers.
    2. A fall in the demand for cups.
    3. A rise in demand for cups of more than 10%.
    4. A rise in demand for saucers of less than 10%.
    5. A fall in demand for both cups and saucers.

20. If the price elasticity of demand for cabbage is 1,3, would a rise in output due to favourable weather conditions cause farmers to

    1. Make more money than they would otherwise have done.
    2. Make less money than they would otherwise have done.
    3. Plant different crops next year.
    4. Demand a higher pri[illegible]
    5. None of the above.

21. Assume that the supply [illegible] astic. A decrease (shift to the [illegible]

    1. Cause the price of [illegible]
    2. Cause farmers' incor[illegible]
    3. Cause farmers' incor[illegible]
    4. Lead to a reduction [illegible]
    5. None of the above.

22. Consider the following [illegible]

    (A) The cobweb model [illegible] that price in year t determines qua[illegible]

    (B) The supply curve [illegible] likely to be elastic in the s[illegible]

    1. A is correct bec[illegible]
    2. B is correct bec[illegible]
    3. Both A and B are [illegible] ual relationship.
    4. Neither A nor B [illegible]
    5. A is correct but [illegible]

23. One reason why the q[illegible] ends to fall as its price rises is

    1. The increase in [illegible] e upwards.
    2. The increase in [illegible] e downwards.
    3. At higher prices [illegible] pply less.
    4. People feel poorer and cut down on their use of the good.
    5. Demand has to fall to restore equilibrium after a price rise.

Homelands: Investments by foreign firms

(684) Mrs H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) How many foreign firms invested in each of the homelands during 1975 and 1976, respectively, and (b) what was the total foreign investment in each homeland in each of these years.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

	(a) 1975-'76	1976-'77	(b) 1975-'76	1976-'77
Cisker				
Bophuthatswana	1			
KwaZulu	2			
Lebowa	1			

Hansard 11 col 806 12/4/77

(C) DOMESTIC EMPLOYEES

	PROVINCE (101)	EMPLOYMENT August 1965	August 1969	August 1973	Percentage change 1965-69	Percentage change 1969/73	AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS[1] 1964/65	1968/69	1972/73	Percentage change 1964/65 1968/69	Percentage change 1968/69 1972/73
AFRICAN	CAPE					- 14,7	5,08	6,26	6,17	23,2	-1,4
	NATAL					- 12,3	6,47	7,90	9,89	22,1	25,2
	TRANSVAAL					- 14,2	5,90	6,83	8,56	15,8	25,3
	O.F.S.					- 5,0	3,66	4,11	4,35	12,3	5,8
	R.S.A.					- 11,3	5,12	6,01	6,86	17,4	14,1
ASIAN	CAPE					-	10,15	-	5,00	-	-
	NATAL					- 51,6	12,52	15,40	18,99	23,0	23,3
	TRANSVAAL					- 87,5	3,75	39,93	110,50	964,8	176,7
	O.F.S.					-	-	-	-	-	-
	R.S.A.					- 49,6	12,19	15,96	18,71	30,9	17,2
COLOURED	CAPE					- 14,5	7,72	9,11	9,95	18,0	9,2
	NATAL					- 50,0	10,80	6,66	14,40	-38,3	116,2
	TRANSVAAL					- 19,7	6,87	7,27	11,17	5,8	53,6
	O.F.S.					- 10,8	4,67	5,30	5,47	13,5	3,2
	R.S.A.					- 14,6	7,63	8,98	9,83	17,7	9,5
WHITE	CAPE	109	71	-	- 34,9	-	21,45	14,30	-	-33,3	-
	NATAL	8	-	-	-	-	46,95	-	-	-	-
	TRANSVAAL	29	14	-	- 51,7	-	21,32	30,18	-	41,6	-
	O.F.S.	6	9	-	50,0	-	15,22	15,67	-	3,0	-
	R.S.A.	151	94	-	- 37,7	-	22,36	16,80	-	-24,9	-
TOTAL	CAPE	46 690	42 443	36 178	- 9,1	- 14,8					
	NATAL	13 509	13 188	11 416	- 2,4	- 13,4					
	TRANSVAAL	40 102	40 263	34 528	0,4	- 14,2					
	O.F.S.	33 744	33 464	31 752	- 0,8	- 5,1					
	R.S.A.	134 045	129 358	113 874	- 3,5	- 12,0					

Transkei: Representations i.r.t. Ciskei

*17. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether the Government of Transkei has made representations to the South African Government in regard to the territory of the Ciskei; if so, what was (a) the nature of the representations and (b) the reply thereto,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter

*The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

(1) and (2) Yes, the two Governments concerned have on occasion exchanged views regarding the Ciskei. It is, however, a matter which must be resolved by the Ciskei and Transkei.

Hansard 11

col 317
13/4/77

101

SIZE GROUP (HECTARE)						
TO						
2 - 49,9	9	1 318	3 980	172 449	247 151 778	949 640 393
5 - 99,9	16	4 184	15 297	476 765		
10 - 199	28	6 866	6 866	964 458		
20 - 299	29	20 711	68 642	143 10		
50 - 499	53	45 591	167 650	4		
100 - 999	65	45 813	214 376			
200 - 1 999	34	16 381	109 072			
300 - 4 999	6	10 586	26 445			
500 - 9 999	2	-	-			
1 000 - 9 999	-					
2 000 - OVER	-					
5 000 -						
10 000 -						
TOTAL						3 696

(1) What was the total area of (a) Black spot land and (b) parts of existing Bantu homelands (i) purchased and (ii) expropriated from Bantu during the financial year 1975-'76;

(2) what was the total area of compensatory land added to the homelands in that year for the resettlement of the persons displaced from land purchased or expropriated from Bantu persons or tribes;

(3) what was the total area of land purchased from White persons or companies during the financial year 1975-'76 for adding to (a) the Ciskei, (b) KwaZulu, (c) Venda, (d) Gazankulu, (e) Lebowa, (f) the Swazi homeland, (g) the Ndebele homeland, (h) Bophuthatswana, (i) Basotho Qwa-Qwa and (j) Transkei.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) and (b)(i) and (ii). 1720 Hectares. Separate figures in connection with Black spot land and badly situated Homelands purchased and/or expropriated are not being kept separately.

(2) 1720 Hectares was added to the quota in terms of Section 10(1) of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18/1936).

(3) (a) to (j). The required particulars are not readily available because all the land acquired on behalf of the South African Bantu Trust has not yet been allocated to the various Homelands. The extent of the land acquired by the South African Bantu Trust during 1975-'76 in each province is as follows.

Transvaal	78 524 ha
Natal	10 479 ha
Cape	29 157 ha
O.F.S	—

WEDNESDAY, 13 APRIL 1977

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply

Bantu homelands: Land

547. Mr. R M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development

No.	Area					
55						
-	-					
65	250					
45	376					
25	358					
80	2 730					
106	7 728					
177	26 621					
180	44 975					
377	147 203					
518	365 997					
325	449 171					
150	433 538					
23	146 865					
2	21 926					
2 073	1 647 738					

101

Exchange control could also be gradually disbanded given a balance of payments dependent monetary policy. Actual or expected political instability that would influence the expected real rate of return to capital in South Africa would of course independently affect the supply of savings available to South African borrowers. Exchange control can in such circumstances provide more time for real adjustments. It should nevertheless be recognized that [illegible] control over time simply increases the costs of acqui[illegible] some economic actors more than c[illegible]ssible to separate trade from finance [illegible]effective supply of savings to Sout[illegible]eal investment goods here will r[illegible] real rate of return to capital

Hansard 14 col 1022 4/5/77

Mining/quarrying concerns in Bantu homelands

839. Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) How many (i) mining and (ii) quarrying concerns were in operation in each of the Bantu homelands and (b) what was the total number of (i) Whites and (ii) Bantu employed in mining and quarrying concerns in each homeland at the latest date for which figures are available and (c) in respect of what date are these figures given.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) and (b)

Homeland	Number of Mining and Quarrying concerns	Number of Whites	Number of Bantu
Bophuthatswana	36	4 408	58 293
Gazankulu	4	5	132
KwaZulu . . .	13	5	37
Lebowa	19	532	10 476
Venda	3	7	4 598

(c) 31 December 1976.

Hansard 14 col 1021 4/5/77

Vegetation/industries in Bantu areas

838. Mr R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What was the extent of land in the Bantu areas in the Republic (a) covered with indigenous forest, (b) on which commercial plantations had been established, (c) on which non-commercial wood lots had been established, (d) planted with resilient fibres, (e) under sugar-cane, (f) under other commercial crops with specification of each such crop and (g) under irrigation, at the latest date for which figures are available;

(2) how many (a) saw-mills, (b) creosoting plants and (c) decortication plants were being operated by (i) his Department, (ii) the Bantu Investment Corporation, (iii) the Xhosa Development Corporation and (iv) Bantu governments or authorities or individuals at the date concerned;

(3) in respect of what date are these figures given.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) to (g) Agriculture is a function that has been transferred to all the Homelands in terms of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971) and due to the fact that the required information deals with matters which are now the function and responsibility of the Homeland Governments, I am not in a position to disclose the particulars

(2) (a) (i) Nil.

(ii) Nil

(iii) Nil.

(iv) See (1) above please.

(b) (i) 1.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil

(iv) See (1) above please.

(c) (i) 5.

(ii) 6.

(iii) 6.

(iv) See (1) above please.

(3) 31 December 1976.

101

Hansard 15 col 1079

THURSDAY, 12 MAY 1977

† Indicates translated version

For written reply.

Blacks in each homeland employed in certain undertakings

784 Mrs. H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

(1) How many Blacks in each homeland were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis at the latest date for which figures are available and (b) by homeland development corporations at that date.

(2) in respect of what date is the information given

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

(1)

	(a)	(b)
Ciskei	947	2 554
Bophuthatswana	8 569	3 231
KwaZulu	2 462	3 698
Qwaqwa	23	180
Lebowa	1 963	4 520
Gazankulu	681	734
Venda	817	83
Swazi	240	32
Owambo	—	789
Damaraland	—	67
Hereroland	56	132
Kaokoland	—	9
Caprivi	—	175
Kavango	—	775

(2) Information is as at 30 September 1976 and 31 March 1976 respectively.

(101)

Hansard 15 col 1086 12/5/77

Xhosa Development Corporation

940. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What was the total amount spent by the Xhosa Development Corporation on development in (a) the Ciskei and (b) the Transkei from the date of the establishment of the Corporation to the date of independence of the Transkei

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

Due to the fact that the interests of the Xhosa Development Corporation were taken over by the Transkei Development Corporation on 1 April 1976, the particulars given below are in respect of the period from the establishment of the Xhosa Development Corporation in 1965 to 31 March 1976.

(a) Ciskei R17 110 071

(b) Transkei R75 967 531

Hansard 17 col 1194 25/5/77

101

Estimated population of each Bantu homeland

975. Mrs. H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

What is the estimated (a) *de facto* and (b) *de jure* population of each of the Bantu homelands.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) and (b) No *de jure* population figures are available The only *de facto* population figures for each Homeland are those of the 1970 population census:

Qwaqwa	25 334
Lebowa	1 108 459
Gazankulu	271 936
Swazi	120 094
Bophuthatswana	903 883
Venda	272 452
Ciskei	538 369
KwaZulu	2 151 367

The 1976 mid-year estimates for population figures in respect of National Units are available on a *de facto* basis only:

Xhosa	4 897 000
Zulu	5 029 000
Swazi	590 000
Pedi	2 011 000
South Sotho	1 698 000
Shangaan	814 000
Venda	449 000
Others	615 000
Strangers	423 000

Hansard 17 col 1196 26/5/77

101

Total area of each Bantu homeland

974. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) What will be the total area of each Bantu homeland when consolidation is completed;

(2) of how many non-contiguous areas will each of these homelands consist.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) In reply to the above-mentioned question, the hon member is referred to the particulars given in reply to questions numbers 458 to 465 asked during 1976.

(2) According to the planning approved by Parliament the position will be as follows:

Bophuthatswana	6
KwaZulu	10
Ciskei	1
Gazankulu	3
Venda	2
Lebowa	6
Swazi	1
Qwaqwa	1

Big BIC loans to Africans

26/5/77 M

101

African Affairs Correspondent

DR. M. J. Olivier, the manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation in Natal, said yesterday the largest sum ever approved at a management committee meeting — R1 500 000 — was passed recently.

The money comprises loans to African businessmen and most of it will be used on the business complex at the new township of Ezikaweni near Richards Bay.

More than R750 000 will be spent on the complex which will feature a butchery, a bottle store, a restaurant, facilities for a doctor and a bank.

The township, which will have about 30 000 people by the end of next year, will become the largest Zulu city in the country with a population of at least 350 000 by 1995.

Mr. Leon de Lange, the administrative manager, said business loans to individual Zulus amounted to R400 000 and five housing loans had totalled R75 000.

101

Call for change by head of BIC

Mercury 27/5/77

African Affairs Correspondent

THE chairman of the Bantu Investment Corporation, Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen, yesterday called on the "policymakers" to help in the evolvement of a new society with which everybody could identify and which would include participation by all in the major decision-making affecting the country.

Speaking at the opening of the R3,5 million Akulu Chemical plant at Sithebe, on the North Coast, Dr. Viljoen warned that industrial decentralisation was a socio-political necessity for South Africa.

Noting that 88 percent of the gross domestic product came from only four centres, he said the position was clearly unsound.

The country was developing at a rate of about 5 percent annually and if the pattern did not change the population in these areas would increase by five times by the end of the century.

Dr. Viljoen called on the Government to "accentuate and expedite" decentralisation, and referring to homeland development he emphasised the need for a definition of boundaries in consultation with homeland governments.

The statutory foreigners

By LEONARD GERING, an advocate of the Supreme Court and formerly Professor of Law at the University of Durban-Westville

THE CITIZENSHIP issue hangs like an albatross around the neck of the Government's Bantustan policy. To transform millions of citizens into foreigners, in the land of their birth and without their own consent, is contrary to essential principles of justice and morality.

The compulsory deprivation of their citizenship which black citizens of South Africa required at birth, was first attempted for Transkei last October, and is now proposed for Bophuthatswana in December.

These proposals are part of a political scheme to turn all 18 million Africans — more than 70 percent of the total population — into statutory foreigners, and to set up "independent Bantustans" in only 13 percent of the country's entire territory, the size and boundaries of each being unilaterally decreed by an all-White Parliament.

The scheme to deprive millions of black citizens of their birthright, as well as their share and stake in the built-up wealth of the country which blacks have toiled and laboured for generations to create, is a blatant example of racial discrimination enforced by legislation.

... six separate pockets of land comprising Bophuthatswana are granted independence, it is in the highest degree unlikely that this fragmented Bantustan will be accorded international recognition by any of the Western countries of the Free World to which South Africa claims to belong.

A noted legal author, Dr Martin Wolff, has written that deprivation of nationality, if made purely on racial grounds, is a violation of international law. He described such a deprivation as "inconsistent with tenets of humanity and morality."

Agreement

In 1975, three Law Lords in the House of Lords, expressed their agreement with these views. A law which deprives a section of the citizen body, singled out on racial grounds, of their citizenship, "constitutes so grave an infringement of human rights that the courts of Britain ought to refuse to recognise it as a law at all."

In the light of President Carter's expressed concern for human rights, it is to be expected that this viewpoint will likewise be that of the Carter Administration.

Insistence by the South African Government on the compulsory deprivation of rights of citizenship, notwithstanding the declared objection of Chief Mangope and the Bophuthatswana Cabinet, would be a clear test as to whether the terms of "homeland independence" are truly based on voluntary consent, or are a product of duress and compulsion.

The letter addressed to Minister M. C. Botha and referred to in the House of Assembly debate, is the political litmus paper by which the presence or absence of voluntary consent on the part of the homeland government may be judged.

Although homeland independence was granted to Transkei and is now proposed for Bophuthatswana in the name of "separate freedoms" and the "self-determination of peoples", empowering legislation negate these claims.

For the free will or voluntary consent of the South African citizens who are to be affected by it is excluded. There is no free choice for each individual citizen deprived of his birthright. The deprivation of citizenship and of the share and stake in a built-up wealth of the country is based on compulsion of law enacted by a Parliament in which blacks do not participate.

Bophuthatswana faces yet another serious obstacle to international recognition. This is the fact that its proposed territory consists of six separate pieces of land embedded within the geographical area of the Republic.

Differences

The size and borders of each of these land pockets are determined by virtue of an Act of Parliament in which no black citizen take part. Only citizens classified as white, comprising less than one-fifth of the population, have the right to elect or be elected as MPs in the Cape Town Parliament, which alone has sovereign lam-making powers over the whole geographical area of the Republic and all its inhabitants, both the voteless majority as well as the privileged and enfranchised minority.

These six pockets of land cannot be truly equated with islands in the sea. There are manifest differences between a pieces of land, whose borders are man-made and decreed by Parliament, and islands created by nature, and surrounded by water and not the territory of another sovereign independent state.

Under international law, a state has rights over its territorial waters which are quite different from rights over land.

Access to a state over the sea is obviously very different from access through and across the land of another independent state. Can anyone seriously suggest that the land surrounding each of these six pieces is to be treated as territorial waters?

The mere posing of this question shows up the hollowness of the comparison between these six pieces of land and islands existing in the ocean.

In 1951, the then Prime Minister, Dr D. F. Malan, had this to say on "full independence":

"South Africa is an independent country, and recognised as such. Constitutionally she stands on a footing of equality with ... other independent nations.

"But in one vital respect she differs from them all and that is, within her embrace and even actually within her borders, she is compelled to harbour territories entirely dependent on her economically and largely also for their defence, but belonging to, and governed by, another country ... as long as this is tolerated by South Africa, there can be no real equality, nor even full independence for her.

Relegated

"And no one can blame her if, under such circumstances, she feels herself relegated to a position of inferiority and in fact to the position of a semi-independent and third class country ...

"Where in the world is there another independent state which would allow the existence, inside its own territory, of territories controlled by a foreign government?"

Dr Malan was referring to the tertritories then known as the High Commission Territories, but a glance at a map of the six pieces of land comprising Bophuthatswana shows how forcefully his remarks apply to them.

Indeed the reasoning applies far more strongly to the proposed territory of Bophuthatswana.

(101)

Sun Trib. 5/6/77

Hansard 419 col 1276
10/6/77

(101)

Bantu Mining Corporation Limited

935. Mr G H WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development

What profits or losses have been shown by the Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited, in each of the last five years.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Republic of South Africa	South West Africa
1972-'73. R327 848 (Loss)	1972-'73: R 12 142 (Loss)
1973-'74. R477 372 (Loss)	1973-'74. R108 197 (Loss)
1974-'75: R616 780 (Loss)	1974-'75. R 76 487 (Loss)
1975-'76: R685 811 (Loss)	1975 '76: R 3 727 (Loss)
1976-'77. R954 268 (Loss)	1976-'77: R 62 126 (Loss)

Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited

936. Mr G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

(1) What revenue was derived from mining operations by the Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited, in each year since its establishment;

(2) what (a) administration, (b) prospecting and (c) mining expenses were incurred by the Corporation in each of these years.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

(1)

	Republic of South Africa	South West Africa
1969-'70	—	—
1970-'71	—	—
1971-'72	R 16 215	R 55 793
1972-'73	R111 168	R 47 782
1973-'74	R349 866	R 65 590
1974-'75	R759 188	R125 978
1975-'76	R782 569	R131 843
1976-'77	R391 884	R214 537

(2) (a), (b) and (c)

	Administration	Prospecting	Mining
1969-'70	R 42 666	R 25 242	—
1970-'71	R 117 622	R 46 305	R 110 146
1971-'72	R 233 573	R 71 679	R 350 240
1972-'73	R 345 461	R129 390	R 221 231
1973-'74	R 519 152	R290 214	R 173 808
1974-'75	R 629 100	R407 456	R 562 996
1975-'76	R 959 007	R590 448	R1 329 985
1976-'77	R1 282 636	R681 407	R1 051 365

Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited

937. Mr G H WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

(1) How many Whites and Blacks, respectively, were on the staff of the Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited, in each year since its establishment;

(2) what was the total amount paid in salaries, wages and allowances to White and Black staff, respectively, in each of these years

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) and (2)

31.3.1970: Whites, 4: R21 875, Blacks, 1: R700
1.4.1970—31.3.1971: Whites, 21: R57 490, Blacks, 47: R9 200
1.4.1971—31.3.1972: Whites, 39: R112 339; Blacks, 139: R25 065
1.4.1972—31.3.1973: Whites, 55: R187 759, Blacks, 183: R33 000
1.4.1973—31.3.1974: Whites, 81: R327 570; Blacks, 268: R49 233.
1.4.1974—31.3.1975: Whites, 94: R448 172; Blacks, 311: R108 212.
1.4.1975—31.3.1976: Whites, 112. R623 073; Blacks, 407. R158 047.
1.4.1976—31.3.1977: Whites, 126: R812 778; Blacks, 800. R480 864.

Bantu Mining Corporation Limited

938. Mr G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

What was the total amount paid in emoluments to (a) the chairman and (b) the directors of the Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited, in each year since its establishment

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

(a) and (b)

Chairman	Directors Fee	Committee Fee	Travelling Fee
1969-'70	R1 200	R 96	R 62
1970-'71	R1 200	R 72	R 49
1971-'72	R1 200	R108	R 43
1972-'73	R1 500	R216	R 77
1973-'74	R1 500	R225	R128
1974-'75	R1 833	R290	R164
1975-'76	R2 000	R255	R133
1976-'77	R2 241	R255	R241

Directors	Directors Fee	Committee Fee	Travelling Fee
1969-'70	R4 500	R 456	R 410
1970-'71	R4 500	R 264	R 236
1971-'72	R4 500	R 420	R 390
1972-'73	R6 000	R 312	R 311
1973-'74	R6 000	R 327	R 496
1974-'75	R7 000	R 465	R 730
1975-'76	R7 500	R1 115	R1 064
1976-'77	R7 566	R 345	R 736

Hansard 20 Q cols 1308 – 1309
15/6/77

101

WEDNESDAY, 15 JUNE 1977

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

Bantu Mining Corporation Limited

934. Mr. G. H. WADDELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) How many mining undertakings managed by the Bantu Mining Corporation, Limited, are at present in operation;

(2) (a) what is the location of each mine and (b) what metal or mineral is being mined in each mine;

(3) what was the (a) total revenue and (b) cost of each mine in each of the past five years.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) 4.

(2) (a) and (b)
Steelpoort (Lebowa): Chrome
Giyani (Gazankulu): Gold
Swartbooisdrift (Kaokoland) Sodalite
Taung (Bophuthatswana): Travertine

(3) (a) and (b)

Steelpoort

	Revenue	Cost
1972	—	—
1973	—	—
1974	—	—
1975 .. .	—	—
1976 .. .	—	R543 836

Giyani

	Revenue	Cost
1972 .. .	—	—
1973	—	—
1974	—	—
1975	—	—
1976	—	R637 542

Swartbooisdrift

	Revenue	Cost
1972	R40 834	R51 313
1973	R46 682	R64 630
1974	R124 666	R99 013
1975	R131 843	R119 967
1976	R214 537	R148 207

Taung

	Revenue	Cost
1972	—	—
1973	—	—
1974	R249 662	R317 662
1975	R385 079	R575 330
1976	R270 354	R370 324

Hansard 20 Q col 1311 15/6/77

101

Operation of Żebediela Estate

971. Mr. N. J. J. OLIVIER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:†

(1) (a) What is the total amount, excluding the purchase price, which has to date been made available for the operation, and (b) are the operating results, of the Zebediela Estate since its take-over by the South African Bantu Trust,

(2) whether it has been decided to which homeland the Zebediela Estate will be allocated; if so, what is the decision

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) After Zebediela Estate was taken over by the South African Bantu Trust and handed over to the Bantu Investment Corporation, the said Corporation acquired the existing crop and moveable assets at an amount of R1 221 335.

Except for temporary advances to finance the 1975 crop, all advances were repaid in full soon afterwards and no further advances have been made available for the operation of Zebediela. Operational costs incurred after the take-over by the Bantu Investment Corporation have been paid out of the profits made.

(b) The profits realized since the take-over by the South African Bantu Trust amount to R1 832 687.

(2) No.

Hansard 20 Cl cols 1309 - 1311 15/6/77

101

South West Africa if so, (a) what institutes, universities or firms and (b)(i) in respect of which homeland and (ii) at what contract price in each case

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) and (b)(i) and (ii) The Department of Bantu Administration and Development has, to a large extent, made use of the services of private firms and universities to undertake on behalf of the Department, planning researches in the various Homelands in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa The purpose of the said researches is to prepare plans to aid in the planning of the Homelands. The plans concerned are national plans, structure plans, master plans, regional plans, etc

Due to the fact that compensation is based on a time basis according to a professional scale, contract prices cannot be specified. Where universities are engaged the exact costs incurred are compensated. In the case of private firms they are requested to submit an estimate of the expected costs according to a programme indicating the aspects to be dealt with in the survey. It is, however, specified, that in both cases, the estimated amount is not to be exceeded without prior approval.

The following firms and universities are presently engaged in planning researches in the various Homelands:

R. F. Loxton, Hunting and Associates. Hereroland; Bushmanland; Damaraland; KwaZulu; Bophuthatswana; Ciskei; Lebowa; Venda; Gazankulu; Kaokoland.

Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal: KwaZulu.

Röhrs, Nicol and De Swardt: Bophuthatswana.

Viljoen and Van Zyl: KwaZulu.

Potchefstroom University: Bophuthatswana.

University of Stellenbosch: Kaokoland; Owambo; Ciskei; Kavango.

University of the Orange Free State: Ciskei (Now Transkei); Qwaqwa.

Rhodes University: Ciskei (Now Transkei)

Fort Hare University. Ciskei (Now Transkei).

University of Pretoria: Lebowa; Bophuthatswana.

Rand Afrikaans University: Venda; Gazankulu.

Development plans for Bantu homelands

965. Mr. R. M. DE VILLIERS asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether any institutes, universities or private firms have been engaged by his Department to prepare development plans for Bantu homelands in the Republic and

Act No. 80, 1977 PROMOTION OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BANTU HOMELANDS AMENDMENT ACT, 1977

ACT

To amend the Promotion of the Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Act, 1968, so as to further define the expression "Bantu company"; to change the name of the Bantu Investment Corporation of South Africa, Limited, and to further regulate the objects and powers of the said corporation; to authorize the State President to change the name of the said corporation, or of a development corporation or a corporation and to dissolve a development corporation or a corporation; to further regulate the powers of a development corporation and a corporation; and to extend the provisions relating to share capital; and to provide for matters connected therewith.

(Afrikaans text signed by the State President.)
(Assented to 7 June 1977.)

BE IT ENACTED by the State President, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:—

Amendment of section 1 of Act 46 of 1968

1. Section 1 of the Promotion of the Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Act, 1968 (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), is hereby amended—

(a) by the substitution for the definition of "Bantu company" of the following definition:

"'Bantu company' means a company in which a majority of its shares are held by Bantu persons or by Bantu persons and one or more of the following, namely, the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation, and includes an association of persons in respect of which Bantu persons or Bantu persons and one or more of the following, namely, the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation are entitled to more than half its profits or assets;"; and

(b) by the deletion of the definition of "investment corporation".

Amendment of section 2 of Act 46 of 1968

2. Section 2 of the principal Act is hereby amended by the addition of the following subsections, the existing section becoming subsection (1):

"(2) As from the commencement of the Promotion of the Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Amendment Act, 1977, the investment corporation referred to in subsection (1) shall be known as the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, and at such commencement the Registrar of Companies shall enter such change of name in his registers

(3) Any reference in any other law or in any document to the Bantu Investment Corporation of South Africa, Limited, shall be construed as a reference to the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited.".

Substitution of section 3 of Act 46 of 1968

3. The following section is hereby substituted for section 3 of the principal Act:

"Objects of the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited.

3. The objects of the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited shall be to plan, finance, co-ordinate, promote and carry out the development of the Bantu homelands and the Bantu population of such homelands in the fields of industry, commerce, finance, mining and other businesses either directly or by means of development corporations or corporations.".

Amendment of section 4 of Act 46 of 1968, as amended by section 12 of Act 4 of 1976

4. Section 4 of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(a) by the substitution for paragraph *(a)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(a)* to establish, plan, finance, co-ordinate, promote and carry on industrial, commercial, financial, mining and other business undertakings or to acquire such undertakings and to sell or otherwise dispose of such undertakings;";

(b) by the substitution for paragraph *(b)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(b)* to assist in connection with the establishment or extension of such undertakings in the Bantu homelands, or to effect the transfer to the Bantu homelands of such an existing undertaking situated outside such homelands;";

(c) by the substitution for paragraph *(c)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(c)* to establish or assist in establishing companies for industrial, commercial, financial, mining or other business purposes in the Bantu homelands;";

(d) by the substitution for paragraph *(e)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(e)* to control, carry out, guarantee, underwrite, finance or bring about the issue of any loan or of any shares, stock or debentures, or to advance money for that purpose;";

(e) by the substitution for paragraph *(n)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(n)* to guarantee the contracts and obligations of any person or to become surety for their due fulfilment, and to enter into surety bonds or deeds of security;";

(f) by the substitution for paragraph *(p)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(p)* to purchase, hire, develop or hold or to subscribe to or otherwise acquire or take over movable property of any kind, including any shares, stocks, debentures and securities, or any interest in any business of or a mortgage over any property, and to let, sell or otherwise alienate it or pledge it or deal otherwise therewith;";

(g) by the substitution for paragraph *(r)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(r)* to act, where necessary, to protect its investments, or otherwise to act as director, manager, trustee, curator, executor or administrator of any business, estate, trust, company, juristic person or person or to designate a person or persons to act for any such purpose on its behalf;";

(*h*) by the substitution for paragraph (*s*) of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"(*s*) to lend money with or without security to persons and in connection with the lending of money to take such security as it may deem fit, including special mortgage bonds over immovable property, notarial bonds over movable property, pledges of movable property, cessions of rights and in general any other form of cover or security;"; and

(*i*) by the substitution for paragraph (*u*) of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"(*u*) to act as agent or representative in connection with any matter of whatsoever nature for or on behalf of a person in connection with all or any of its objects or itself to appoint agents or representatives in connection with any of its objects;".

Insertion of section 5A in Act 46 of 1968.

5. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Act after section 5:

"Change of name and dissolution

5A. (1) The State President may by proclamation in the *Gazette* from a date fixed by him in such proclamation—

(*a*) change the name under which the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation is known;

(*b*) after consultation with the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited and the development corporation or corporation concerned, dissolve a development corporation or a corporation, and may regulate matters relating to the assets, liabilities, rights and obligations of a development corporation or a corporation so dissolved.

(2) Upon the date so fixed the Registrar of Companies shall enter the change of name or dissolution, as the case may be, in his registers.".

Amendment of section 6 of Act 46 of 1968.

6. Section 6 of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2) For the purpose of attaining its objects, a development corporation may exercise such of the powers referred to in section 4 (1) as the Trustee may determine from time to time and, unless the Trustee otherwise determines, the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, shall not exercise the said powers in those portions of the Bantu homelands in respect of which the development corporation concerned has been established."

Amendment of section 7 of Act 46 of 1968.

7. Section 7 of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2) For the purpose of attaining its objects, a corporation may exercise such of the powers referred to in section 4 (1) as the Trustee may determine from time to time and, unless the Trustee otherwise determines, the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, or a development corporation shall not exercise the said powers in those portions of the Bantu homelands in respect of which such corporation has been established.".

Amendment of section 16 of Act 46 of 1968, as amended by section 14 of Act 4 of 1976

8. Section 16 of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2) The share capital of the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation may, upon recommendation of the board concerned, be increased or reduced to such an extent as the Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance may determine, and such capital and any increase thereof shall be divided into ordinary shares of one rand each.".

Amendment of section 28 of Act 46 of 1968

9. Section 28 of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for subsection (1) of the following subsection:

"(1) No person and no company shall carry on business or be registered under the Companies Act, 1973, (Act No. 61 of 1973), under a name which is the same as that of the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation or so nearly resembles it as to be calculated to deceive: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not prohibit any company from carrying on business or remaining registered under the name under which it was registered under the said Act at the establishment of the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation."

Substitution of section 29 of Act 46 of 1968.

10. The following section is hereby substituted for section 29 of the principal Act:

"Application of Act 27 of 1913, Act 18 of 1936, Act 23 of 1965 and Act 61 of 1973

29. (1) No provision of the Bantu Land Act, 1913, the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936, the Banks Act, 1965, or, subject to the provisions of subsection (2), the Companies Act, 1973 shall apply to the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation.

(2) The State President may by proclamation in the *Gazette* declare that any provision of the Companies Act, 1973, which is not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall apply to the Corporation for Economic Development, Limited, a development corporation or a corporation with such modifications as he may determine, and may withdraw or amend any such proclamation."

Substitution of "investment corporation" in Act 46 of 1968.

11. The principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for the words "investment corporation", wherever they occur, of the words "Corporation for Economic Development, Limited,".

Short title

12. This Act shall be called the Promotion of the Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Amendment Act, 1977.

HANS. 21.

21/6/77.

Cols 1371 - 2.

(101)

Registration of land tenure in Bantu homelands.

1069. Mr. H. L. VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether steps have been taken for the registration of land tenure in the Bantu homelands; if so, (a) in which homelands, (b) from what date in each case, (c) where can land tenure rights be registered in each homeland, (d) how many persons have registered land tenure rights in each homeland and (e) what is the (i) area and (ii) value of land so registered in each case.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Yes.

(a) to (c) A register of Land Titles has been established in the office of every Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner (hence in the office of each of the Homeland Governments) in terms of the Bantu Areas Land Regulations as published by Proclamation R 188/69 and the Regulations for the Administration and Control of Townships in the Bantu Areas as published by Proclamation R 293/62.

The function of the registration of Deeds was transferred to the Self Governing Homelands in respect of the areas under their jurisdiction in terms of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971). The Homelands concerned requested, however, that the Department of Justice of the Republic of South Africa should continue with the registration of Deeds.

(d) and (e) The information required is public knowledge obtainable from the Deeds Offices concerned.

Land register for homelands

D.D 22/6/77 (101)

CAPE TOWN — Steps have been taken to register land in the homelands, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, said yesterday.

A register of land titles had been established in the office of every Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, the Minister said in reply to a question tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr H. van Rensburg (PRP, Bryanston).

In addition, the function of the registration of deeds had been transferred to self-governing homelands in respect of the areas under their jurisdiction but the homelands concerned had requested the Republic's Department of Justice to continue with the registration of deeds.

The moves to register land ownership in the homelands could transform the whole nature of land use because until now all land has been communally owned by various tribes.

Mr Van Rensburg, in an interview afterwards, welcomed the opportunity that had been extended to black people to acquire property and register it in freehold title.

He believed that black people should be encouraged to own property "as the only real security against inflation, adversity and communism." He suggested that the Government extend this facility to black people throughout South Africa. — PC.

Homelands: new plans considered

(101) 24/6/77 Star

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A completely new homeland consolidation plan is being drawn up by influential Nationalist academics who have pledged active support for the Government's separate development policy.

This was confirmed today by Professor J P de Lange, deputy rector of the Rand Afrikaans University and chairman of the Continuation Committee, which was established when about 1 200 academics signed a declaration of active support for separate development, in November 1974.

Professor de Lange said the new plan could constitute a "drastic" revision of present homeland boundaries.

One of the alternatives being considered to the present policy of consolidating homelands by buying out white-owned land was to have such land included in the homelands.

The plan, if found acceptable by the Government, would constitute a major move away from Nationalist thinking up till now on the homeland's policy.

However, it is likely to receive sympathetic consideration from a large number of Nationalist MPs who have been revealing increasing concern about the rate and scale of implementing separate development.

Professor de Lange was not prepared to comment when told of claims that the plan being considered by the study group proposed including entire white cities and towns like East London and King William's Town in the homelands.

Influx control meeting

DD 1.7.77

PRETORIA — Such good progress had been made during yesterday's discussions on influx control between a committee of three homeland leaders and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, that it was hoped to have a further meeting as soon as possible, according to a joint statement issued after the discussions.

The meeting would be held "to bring the matters discussed to finality."

The statement said: "They had a thorough and constructive discussion of the existing system of influx control with the view to modernising the system."

The homeland leaders who attended the meeting were Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, and Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa. — SAPA.

(101)

Botha cannot understand his foreign critics

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, yesterday attacked critics of Government policy who claimed that the African homelands were not getting their share of the country's mineral wealth.

At a function to mark the handing over of a new book on minerals in the homelands, Mr Botha said that the so-called bushveld igneous complex, with all its mineral wealth, covered about 60% of the homelands alone.

Of the platinum group metals in the Merensky Reef, a total of about 60% of the reserves fell in the homelands of Bophutha-Tswana and Lebowa.

If overall figures of minerals in the homelands were reviewed, it was clear why people with knowledge of minerals and mining showed such a great interest in mineral exploration in the homelands.

But it was also incomprehensible why so many foreigners declared that the boundaries of the homelands were planned in such a manner that the mineral wealth was excluded from the homelands.

"If the occurrence of other minerals, such as asbestos and magnesite, are also considered, one realises even more how illogical such a statement is," said Mr Botha.

The private sector was also showing an ever increasing interest in the homelands because of the benefits which prospecting permissions contained.

In comparison with white South Africa, prospecting fees in the homelands were in most cases more reasonable; often it was easier to obtain rights; usually bigger areas could be acquired for prospecting, and the terms and conditions on exploitation were more attractive, he said.

The position of existing prospecting and exploitation rights was receiving the Government's undivided attention. Agreements between the Government of the Republic and that of BophuthaTswana would be entered into in terms of which BophuthaTswana would respect existing rights.

Patrick Fitzgerald referred to NUSAS's policy of Africanisation and he noted that South African universities have tended to neglect this field. There are no South African universities with departments of African literature, for example, a [illegible] Wits has no programme of community medicine. He st[illegible] research in South African universities with a particu[illegible] problems of Africa.

Karen Bromberger described [illegible] lection for the UPRU programme. This is a simu[illegible] of the Western Cape involving such things as hous[illegible] ties, transport, quality of life, and requiring a vast [illegible] tion. She has been collecting data on housing [illegible] various elements which make up housing costs, and looki[illegible] ng stock - flats, shacks, houses available in Cape To[illegible] regard to White and Coloured people. Mrs. Bromberger h[illegible] the water resources available now and in future to serve [illegible] area in relation to this overall model of the Wester[illegible]

New name for corporation

STAR 5/7/77

Pretoria Bureau

The Bantu Investment Corporation, established in 1959, to stimulate the economic development of the homelands, assumed the "more appropriate name" of the Corporation for Economic Development from the beginning of this month.

The new name was announced during the second reading of the Promotion of the Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Amendment Act of 1977, during the recent Parliamentary session.

Group 9: Kate Jowell

Robin Palmer from Social Anthropology is presently working on a degree for the University of Sussex and his topic is Italian migrants in London. Villages are being depopulated in the shift to the cities and Mr. Palmer wanted to establish the extent to which Italians are integrated into London's industrial environment and also the impact of their migration on the villages that they have left. As I understood it, he came to a broad conclusion that they had not integrated themselves very well into the industrial environment. They had tended to carve out an ethnic niche for themselves in London, and operated very largely as 'subsistence capitalists' running the corner grocer and the family snack bar. He also noticed that they maintain very close ties with their country of origin; one manifestation of this was a tendency to send money back and invest it in shrines and churches in the villages they they had abandoned. From this study he has developed a model which can be applied to the study of similar migrant groups in this country, for example to villages like Genadendal which have seen the migration of their original coloured inhabitants.

Mr. Palmer's work touched on some aspects of Professor Davies' work. Professor Davies has concerned himself with a number of topics relating to South African Indians, who are of course migrant in origin, and who have also carved out an ethnic niche which is perhaps stronger than the one that has been forced on them by the system of legislation. They also show

101

Kaiser: Sebe an opportunist

UMTATA — The Chief Minister of Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, yesterday attacked the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief L.L. Sebe, for saying influx control was built into the constitution of independent Transkei.

Chief Sebe told his party conference in Port Elizabeth last weekend: "We do not want to be party to an action designed to strip our people of their rights. That is why we will not accept independence. Our aim is to be presented in the Parliament in Cape Town."

Chief Matanzima said it was a pity the Ciskei should be so disillusioned as to wear blinkers at a time when forces of a black national onslaught on the colonialists would be marshalled together.

"Sebe, a head of a homeland government, wants the Ciskei people to believe at this late hour, after championing Bantu authorities and participating actively in separate development, alias apartheid, that he is opposed to the system."

He would understand it if Chief Sebe resolved to resign from Ciskei politics and joined the "liberation movement", whose objective was to enter Cape Town's white Parliament.

"He is enjoying a monthly cheque as a homeland leader, but with the same mouth he is spitting at it. What opportunism," the Chief Minister said.

He warned Chief Sebe to leave Transkei alone and stop using it as a scapegoat for his propaganda to the Ciskei people about "buying of Siyo by the Matanzima brothers."

Chief Matanzima said he had never offered his country as a base for subversive activity.

His invitation to Transkeian citizens who had left the country for political reasons to return had not been an invitation to them to continue their activities in Transkei. He specifically mentioned the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. — SAPA.

tuislande

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Deur ons Pretoriase Redaksie

Sake-Rapport 10/7/77

TWEE belangwekkende publikasies oor Suid-Afrika en die tuislande se mineralebronne het so pas verskyn. Die sentrale tema in albei is dat Suid-Afrika en sy swart tuislande naas Rusland die belangrikste produsent van veral strategies belangrike minerale is.

In 'n keurig versorgde publikasie — The Mineral potential and Mining Development in the Black Homelands — poog die Bantoemynboukorporasie om die mineraalpotensiaal van die tuislande onder die aandag van mynmaatskappye die publiek en selfs buitelandse beleggers te bring.

Vir die belangstellende word dié potensiaal vir Bophutatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Qua-Qua, Suid-Ndebele, Swazi en Venda duidelik uiteengesit. Vir elke tuisland word afsonderlik aangedui oor watter minerale hy beskik en of verdere eksplorasie vir die bewys van ertsneerslae geregverdig is.

Interessant is dat die Mynboukorporasie in die boekjaar 1971/1972 net sowat R50 000 aan eksplorasie bestee het. Vir die tydperk 1975/1976 het hierdie bedrag tot bykans R600 000 gestyg. Vir die private sektor was dit onderskeide' R413 000 en R2 748 517.

Wat private mynbedrywighede en werkende myne in die tui[illegible]de betref, is die syfer vir die verskillende eenhede soos volg: Bophutatswana (34), Ciskei (1), Gazankulu (5), Lebowa (17) en Venda (4). Eksplorasiebesteding vir sulke private ondernemings was: Bophutatswana (R402 368), Ciskei (R943), Gazankulu (R33 343), KwaZulu (R658 198), Lebowa (R72 853) en Venda (R4 202).

Die waarde van die totale produksie deur die private sektor vir die tydperk 1975/1976 was: Bophutatswana (R277 887 000), Lebowa (R42 308 000), KwazZulu (R694 792), Venda (R543 793) en Gazankulu (R345 547).

Terselfdertyd het prof Des Pretorius, direkteur van die geologiese navorsingseenheid aan die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand, en Bill van Rensburg, direkteur van die instituut vir energiestudies aan die Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, onder die borgskap van die Assosiasie internasionaal 'n boek oor die strategiese belang van Suid-Afrika se minerale rykdom gepubliseer.

In hul boek, South Africa's Strategic minerals — pieces on a continental chessboard, wys die skrywers daarop dat die Bosveldse stollingskompleks 'n baie groot deel van die wêreld se chroom, metale in die platinum groep en vanadium-reserwes bevat. Die gebied is ook onregstreeks vir die wereld se grootste afsettings vloeispaat- en andolosietafsettings verantwoordelik.

In die sogenoemde metalogeniese provinsie in Noordwes-Kaapland, wat tien keer groter as Engeland is, word groot afsettings koper, lood, sink en veral silwer verwag.

In hul ontleding van die strategiese belang van minerale wat net in Suid-Afrika en Rusland voorkom, het die skrywers tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat die Sowjet die Weste geheel en al kan beheer as hy daarin slaag om ook Suid-Afrika in te palm.

Strategies belangrike minerale wat hier genoem word, is chroom, mangaan, vanadium, goud en sekere minerale in die platinumgroep.

Die skrywers voorspel ook in hul boek dat Russiese imperialisme nie net tot Zaire nie, maar ook tot Zambie en selfs Australie en Brasilie uitgebreid sal word. Hulle meen ook dat die tyd nou onherroeplik aangebreek het waarin die poppe om Suider-Afrika se minerale rykdomme gaan begin dans.

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Income limit may be waived on Plain plots

ARGUS 22/7/77

(101)

THE City Council may sell 594 residential plots in Strandfontein, part of the Mitchell's Plain development, to individual buyers regardless of any income limit if the National Housing Commission agrees.

This will be recommended by the council's executive committee.

They agreed yesterday with the housing committee that people earning less than the prescribed income limits would not be able to build houses which would fit in with the surrounding development at Strandfontein.

They agreed that it should be a condition of sale that buyers should erect a house worth at least R10 000 within two years of acquiring the site.

The committee will also recommend the council to sell 17 sites in Westridge, subject to the consent of the National Housing Commission.

PUBLIC TENDER

They agreed that these should be offered first to people within the prescribed income limits. But if they were not sold within a reasonable time they should be sold by public tender regardless of the buyer's income.

The executive committee has been told that Mitchell's Plain will need 31 neighbourhood shopping centres — about 20 during the next three years — and five suburban centres.

And although it will be eight years before all the housing planned for the Plain is completed, so many homes are due to be built by 1979 that three or even four of the suburban centres, covering sites ranging from one to two and a half hectares, will be needed in the next two to three years.

The city engineer, Mr J. G. Brand, is recommending the council to ask the Department of Community Development to allow private companies to develop part of the town centre and half the neighbourhood shopping centres.

At present the Community Development Board has first choice of any commercial sites it intends developing. If the board is not interested, the second chance is given to the Coloured Development Corporation.

It is only if the corporation waives its right to the site that it can be offered to the public by tender or auction.

D.D. 23/7/77

101

BAAB seeks R11m loan for homes

EAST LONDON — A five-year R11 million plan to establish model black townships in the Border area outside the Ciskei and Transkei has been drawn up by the Eastern Cape Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

But the Board cannot raise a loan for the project except at high rates of interest which it believes the inhabitants cannot afford.

This was disclosed by the Board's chairman, Mr Gerrie Coetzer and its chief director, Mr Hennie Swanepoel, in an interview.

"If we could get it at a reasonable interest, we could provide model facilities in the Eastern Cape, but at 13 per cent or more, the black people would not be able to afford it.

"However, we could do it if we got a loan at five or six per cent," Mr Coetzer said.

When the Board was formed in September 1973, "we did not inherit one township that was satisfactorily planned. Only seven out of the 28 townships in our area were actually planned and proclaimed."

Those townships which had not been proclaimed had to be surveyed by the board before any construction work could take place.

Townships had been proclaimed in East London, Ginsberg, Queenstown, Aliwal North, Tarkastad, Molteno and Kokstad. Since 1973, the townships had been regularised in Stutterheim, Sterkstroom, Burgersdorp, Venterstad, Elliot, Barkly East, Lady Grey, Maclear, Ugie, Indwe and Komga, while new townships had been planned at Jamestown, Cathcart and Steynsburg.

Another six townships still had to be proclaimed, while illegal squatters at Kei Mouth and Tilden had to be moved.

In addition, the Board inherited a deficit in the various township accounts and the municipalities used to subsidise services to these areas but the Board was charged the full rate. In Queenstown, for example, the council used to charge an average of 65c a month for water but the Board had to pay an average now of R4,67.

Because the Board had continued to subsidise some services, it had an accumulated deficit of about R2,5 million, Mr Coetzer said. This deficit could not continue accumulating.

"Sooner or later, the black people will have to pay the full costs of living in the white area, just like the white ratepayer," Mr Coetzer said.

"If we did not have to subsidise these services, we could have spent R2,5 million on improvement," he added.

The Board could cope with the needs of productive black people but non-productive people caused problems. In Queenstown, there were over 3 000 old age pensioners who were granted an amount of R38 every two months. This meant that over R250 000 was spent by pensioners in the town every month but he felt this amount would contribute much to homeland economies if it was spent there.

Mr Coetzer said the main priority of the Board in its construction programme during the current financial year was the provision of water and sewerage services. An amount of R1,7 million would be spent on this during the current financial year although it would also build some houses with it.

At present, no municipality gives any financial assistance to the Board.

"Unlike the Transvaal, we are regarded as a milking cow," Mr Swanepoel interjected.

Mr Coetzer said the Board was so sensitive about costs that over ten per cent of approved white posts had not been filled.

"With R11 million, we can make model townships. The problem is that in the Eastern Cape not even the basics were provided," he added.

The white people in the area should realise their responsibilities and assist with the provision of housing for their employees, he said. — PC

Appeal to Government

EAST LONDON — The former chairman of the Eastern Cape Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr Alfons van der Vyver, has called on the South African Government to give R10 million to the board over each of the next five years solely to improve living conditions in black townships in the area.

"On the present basis, with their income in the foreseeable future, the board just cannot cope.

"The Government should give up to R10 million for five years to bring the standards of living up to acceptable levels — R50 million would do it," Mr van der Vyver said in an interview.

The black residential areas in towns like Cathcart and Jamestown should be immediately rebuilt.

At the same time, Mr van der Vyver called for a new approach towards the district labour bureaux and the payment of levies by farmers.

"With the law as it is, there are too many bureaucratic burdens on farmers.

"This means, in short, that an ordinary farmer can contravene a law every minute of the day," he said.

The Government should make the R50 million available to the board to improve living conditions in the townships, especially housing and recreational facilities. This was particularly necessary in the smaller towns in the Eastern Cape.

This amount could also be used for improving water reticulation and sewerage systems in the townships. Some had the best natural sewerage systems possible, he said.

"I am also, of course, very strongly in favour of local Bantu Advisory Boards having a bigger say in the running of the townships, just as the municipal councils run the affairs of the towns.

Although the Government should grant the Board financial aid, "perhaps a development fund, solely for improving living conditions, should be established to assist the Board with the aid of the two local newspapers".

This fund could obtain funds from the public.

Turning to the levies paid farmers, Mr van der Vyver felt the onus should be on the Board, not the farmers. — DDR.

EMPLOYMENT ON 16 FARMS

MANAGERS: 4 Whites. Two farms had until recently employed managers, but had since disposed with them.
SHOPKEEPER: 1 White
FOREMAN: 1 Coloured

FARMS	PERMANENT MALE W					CASUAL AND OTHER WORKERS
	AFRICAN*	COLOUR			ERS	
1	5	53			contract	± 30 women living on farm during 7 mths of year**
2		1				9 women living on farm during 6 months of year
3						10 women from neighbouring farms – for a few days.
4						Women from farm and neighbouring farms
5						Women from farm and neighbouring farms
6						Women from farm and neighbouring farms
7						5 Women from farm – during 5 mths of year
8					h from	Women from farm & neighbouring farms – during 4 mths of year
9						8 women from farm – during 6 mths of year
10		7	7			Women
11		5	5	8 to be employed on 11 mth contract from Transkei		4 women – 2 weeks
12	1	14	15	12 Sheepshearers from Lesotho		10 Women – during 5 months of the year
13	6	12	18			3 men & 12 women from farms on Swartland out of season.
14	5	53	58			Women on farm, men squatting on farm – 2 weeks a year
15	1	19	20			Some women living on farm throughout year – some women during 6 months of the year
16		14	14			Women & children during 6 months of the year
	18	230	248			

Influx plans for PM

D.D. 23/7/77

(101)

PRETORIA — Agreement was reached here yesterday between the Minister of Bantu Administration and a committee of homeland leaders on various proposals aimed at revising the system of influx control.

A statement issued jointly by the Minister, Mr M. C. Botha, Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Chief L. L. Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei and Dr C. N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, said previous discussions on the system of influx control were pursued in Mr Botha's office yesterday.

"Agreement was reached by us on variuos proposals aimed at revising the system. These proposals will now be submitted to the Prime Minister in accordance with a decision taken in Cape Town in January 1975 when the homeland leaders first discussed the matter with him." — SAPA.

* Da facto permanently settled in the Cape

** Note: This is not a continuous period of employment, but the longest period, i.e. the picking season during which these women may be employed.

A.D. 26/7/77

End of the pass laws in sight?

101

EAST LONDON — A plan for the gradual abolition of the pass laws has been submitted to the Prime Minister by a committee of three homeland leaders and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M.C. Botha.

This was disclosed yesterday in an interview by one of the committee's members, Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei.

"According to the new scheme we are trying to introduce, the pass laws will be eliminated.

"This is what we have been negotiating about and this is what has been sent to the Prime Minister," Chief Sebe said.

Pressed for details of the committee's scheme, the Chief Minister declined to comment until the Prime Minister had considered the plan.

But, when asked if the three homeland leaders had persuaded Mr Botha to support the abolition of the pass laws, Chief Sebe said: "We have."

On Friday last week it was announced in Pretoria that the committee, which was appointed in January 1975 in accordance with a decision taken at a meeting between homeland leaders and the Prime Minister, had reached agreement "on various proposals aimed at revising the system".

The committee consisted of the Chief Minister of Bophutatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope; the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi; Chief Sebe; Mr Botha and the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr Willem Cruywagen.

Yesterday, Chief Sebe said: "We have made fairly satisfactory progress."

Asked if he was pleased with the outcome of the negotiations, Chief Sebe said he was "not quite" pleased, but, he added, "at least there has been a breakthroug on some of the proposals to the Prime Minister".

He also said it was a little difficult negotiating with the Minister about the abolition of the pass laws at the same time he was prohibiting black managers in white areas, particularly as the homeland leaders were selling the idea that "a man should be able to sell his labour where he likes".

Chief Sebe said the pass laws were a direct manifestation of racial discrimination and as the Government's policy was to do away with racial discrimination, they should be abolished.

"I regard petty discrimination as the signposts, but the real discrimination is the pass laws," Chief Sebe said. — PC.

D.D. 27/7/76

BPC letter urges Mangope to resign

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Bophuthatswana was not moving towards independence but rather towards dependence, an open letter by the Black Peoples Convention to Chief Minister L. Mangope has claimed.

Co-authors of the letter include such black consciousness groups as Saso, BPA, UBJ, BCP, Idamasa, Asseca, Sata, Sasm, Sabswa, Black Women's Convention and others.

At a mass meeting held at Hammanskraal, the black consciousness groups represented unanimously decided to "mobilise all black people to demonstrate in no uncertain terms their rejection of bantustan independence."

Sentiments expressed at the meeting in relation to such independence have been embodied in the letter to Chief Mangope, which expressly demands his resignation.

"We place on record that we call upon you not to sell the souls of the people who reside in your part of South Africa," says the letter to which Chief Mangope has not yet responded.

Mr Peter Jones, BPC branch executive for the Eastern Cape, said here yesterday the organisations which met at Hammanskraal were representative enough to believe they were speaking for the majority of blacks when they asserted Bantustan independence was not wanted by blacks in this country.

One of the strongest points submitted at the meeting maintained any decision of national importance like the Balkanisation of the country could only validly be carried out "if the whole nation had expressly authorised it."

The letter to Chief Mangope makes a direct call on him to test the feelings of the people he claims to be their true leader by calling a referendum.

The letter ends by pointing out to Chief Mangope he was a part of the "family of the people of South Africa and could no more become independent than a hand was independent of the rest of the body.

[redacted]

DEPARTEMENT VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE EN -ONTWIKKELING

No. R. 1434 29 Julie 1977

WET OP PENSIOENE VIR BANTOE-OWERHEIDSDIENS, 1971.—WYSIGING VAN REGULASIES BETREFFENDE DIE OWERHEIDSDIENSPENSIOENFONDS

Kragten die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 5 van die Wet op Pensioene vir Bantoe-owerheidsdiens, 1971 (Wet 6 van 1971), wysig ek, Michiel Coenraad Botha,

DEPARTMENT OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

No. R 1434 101 29 July 1977

BANTU AUTHORITIES' SERVICE PENSIONS ACT, 1971.—AMENDMENT OF THE AUTHORITIES' SERVICE PENSION FUND REGULATIONS

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 5 of the Bantu Authorities' Service Pensions Act, 1971 (Act 6 of 1971), I, Michiel Coenraad Botha, Minister

Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling, hierby die regulasies afgekondig by Goewermentskennisgewing R. 1955 van 1971, ooreenkomstig bygaande Bylae.

M. C. BOTHA, Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling.

BYLAE

1. Vervang regulasie 21 deur die volgende regulasie:

"21. (1) Die Sekretaris stel jaarliks 'n balansstaat op wat—

(a) die inkomste en uitgawe van die Fonds vir die jaar eindigende 31 Maart toon;

(b) die bates en laste van die Fonds soos op 31 Maart weergee

en stel die betrekke state beskikbaar vir opname in die verslag van die Ouditeur-generaal.

(2) Indien die state bedoel in subregulasie (1) 'n aansienlike daling of 'n aansienlike styging in die balans van die Fonds aandui, kan die Minister in oorleg met die Minister van Finansies die stappe doen wat hy nodig of dienstig ag.

(3) 'n Verklaring oor enige stappe wat die Minister ingevolge subregulasie (2) nodig ag, word binne drie maande na die datum waarop die Minister sodanige stappe nodig geag het, in die Senaat en in die Volksraad ter tafel gelê as die Parlement dan in sitting is of, as die Parlement nie dan in sitting is nie, binne drie maande na die aanvang van sy eersvolgende sessie.".

2. Voormelde wysiging word geag met ingang van 1 Maart 1974 in werking te getree het.

No. R. 1435 29 Julie 1977

WET OP PENSIOENE VIR BANTOE-OWERHEIDSDIENS, 1971—WYSIGING VAN REGULASIES BETREFFENDE DIE PENSIOENFONDS VIR PERSONE IN OWERHEIDSDIENS

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 5 van die Wet op Pensioene vir Bantoe-owerheidsdiens, 1971 (Wet 6 van 1971), wysig ek, Michiel Coenraad Botha, Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling, hierby die regulasies afgekondig by Goewermentskennisgewing R. [illegible] van 1971, ooreenkomstig bygaande Bylae.

M. C. BOTHA, Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling.

BYLAE

1. Voeg die volgende subregulasie in na regulasie 4 (7):

"(7A) (a) Indien die geld wat ingevolge subregulasie (7) [illegible] ingevolge subregulasie (3) bedoel aan- [illegible] Fonds vir Natalse [illegible] artikel 11 van die [illegible] 47 van 1957) [illegible] ooreenkomstig [illegible] dan [illegible] pensioenfond [illegible]

of Bantu Administration and Development, hereby amend the regulations published under Government Notice R. 1955 of 1971, in accordance with the accompanying Schedule.

M. C. BOTHA, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

SCHEDULE

1. Substitute the following regulation for regulation 21:

"21. (1) The Secretary shall annually compile a balance sheet on which—

(a) the revenue and expenditure of the Fund for the year ending 31 March are reflected;

(b) the assets and liabilities of the Fund as at 31 March are reflected

and shall make the relative returns available for inclusion in the Auditor-General's report.

(2) If the returns referred to in subregulation (1) reflect a considerable decline or a considerable rise in the balance of the Fund, the Minister may, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, take such steps as he may deem necessary or expedient.

(3) A report on the steps which the Minister deems necessary in terms of subregulation (2) shall be laid upon the table in the Senate and in the House of Assembly within three months of the date on which the Minister deemed such steps necessary if Parliament is then in session, or if Parliament is not then in session, within three months of the commencement of its next ensuing session.".

2. The aforementioned amendment shall be deemed to have come into operation with effect from 1 March 1974.

No. R. 1435 29 July 1977

BANTU AUTHORITIES' SERVICE PENSIONS ACT, 1971.—AMENDMENT OF REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE PENSION FUND FOR PERSONS IN AUTHORITIES' SERVICE.

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 5 of the Bantu Authorities' Service Pensions Act, 1971 (Act 6 of 1971), I, Michiel Coenraad Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, hereby amend the regulations published under Government Notice R. 1955 of 1971, in accordance with the accompanying Schedule.

M. C. BOTHA, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

SCHEDULE

1. Insert the following subregulation after regulation 4 (7):

"(7A) (a) If the money which is to be applied in terms of subregulation (7) in respect of a member referred to in subregulation (3) and which is payable from the Natal Non-European Teachers' Pension Fund referred to in section 11 of the Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act 47 of 1953), is less than the amount calculated in accordance with subregulation (7), such deficit shall be paid to the pension fund by the authority concerned out of revenue.

(101)

Vorster doesn't really hear black arguments—Buthelezi

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African Prime Minister Mr John Vorster does not really listen to the problems of Black homeland leaders at the conference table, BBC radio listeners heard last night.

Instead, he defends his own policies and "talks past" the person he has granted an audience, said kwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi during a special 30-minute profile on Mr Vorster.

The programme was written by Mr Alexander McLeod and will be broadcast again later today.

Dr Buthelezi said: "I think, in fairness to him, I must concede that he does in fact give us his ear, in that he does give us a chance to put our views to him.

"But the only tragedy I find is that he appears to be patiently listening, but does not hear our arguments. All he does in response to a proposal is actually to defend his own policies.

"When you spend seven or eight hours with him, you don't get anywhere, you talk past each other."

Dr Buthelezi, one of several people interviewed for the programme, also said Mr Vorster told him no black man would get into Parliament as long as he was in power.

Mr Vorster had said this in an emotional and frank reply to a query on urban blacks and equal representation in Parliament.

The incident took place in January 1975, said Dr Buthelezi.

Mr Vorster's brother, Jacob, was asked whether the Prime Minister would ever be able to accept a black man as an equal.

He said: "It all depends on what you mean by equal. We always regard our peoples in South Africa as equal, but different. But we never take the attitude that we are superior to other nations or other peoples."

The Prime Minister's elder brother had earlier explained why the South African Premier had been a staunch Afrikaner nationalist before he was 10.

"At that time, there was a project to Anglicise the Afrikaans people. And in our school, we were forced to speak English so that we grew up in that atmosphere and rebelled against it," he said.

Mr Louis Baker, a fellow lawyer, said Mr Vorster would never appear for a black man in any civil or criminal case which also involved a White man.

"I don't think a black person is contained in his definition of people," said Mr Baker.

The programme compere told of Mr Vorster's "jackboot image" as Minister of Justice, when he was the architect of the Sabotage Act and developer of BOSS.

People had thought he would introduce even more extreme measures when he became Prime Minister, but this wasn't so, according to Senator Bill Horak, Opposition Chief Whip in the Senate.

"If anything, there has been a lessening of extreme measures," he said.

101

Homeland leaders want pass system scrapped

Political Correspondent

BLACKS will no longer have to carry pass books and influx control will be drastically modified if the Prime Minister accepts a plan drawn up by three homeland leaders.

The proposals were discussed last week at a meeting between Chief Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana), Chief Lennox Sebe (Ciskei) and Dr Cedric Phatudi (Lebowa) and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha.

They are a response to an invitation by Mr Vorster to homeland leaders to devise a new system of influx control. Mr Vorster is now studying the plan.

Key points are:

- Abolition of the pass or reference book in favour of a "book of life" similar to that carried by whites.
- Wives of migrant workers would be allowed to join their husbands if accommodation was available.
- Freedom of movement for blacks between different administration board areas.

Easier

Commenting on the proposals, Dr Phatudi said black workers should be able to move freely, provided they could be assured of a job and accommodation.

Now that blacks were allowed to build or buy houses in the urban areas, the accommodation problem would be eased.

The homeland leaders also call for abolition of the requirement that black workers have to work for the same employer for 10 years before they can gain permanent residence status.

They say employers should have to sign the worker's "book of life" only when he was engaged and discharged.

Healthy

Dr Phatudi said that allowing wives to join their husbands was essential for a healthy family life.

Last year Mr Vorster responded to homeland leaders' criticism of influx control by inviting them to produce an alternative system. They had failed to do so, he said.

Dr Phatudi said: "The blame for the delay cannot be laid at our doorstep.

"At the first meeting to discuss the issue the Department of Bantu Administration sent one of its officials as chairman.

"We refused to work under him and asked for the Minister to attend. The delay was therefore the fault of the department.

"At last week's meeting we did not put forward proposals, but demands. Mr Botha was most cooperative."

Chief Sebe said influx control would "definitely be phased out and the reference book will go."

Although he would like things to move more quickly, the important thing was that "the restrictive, punitive aspect of the passbook will go."

Cabinet meets today as Black opinions harden

N. Mercury 2/8/77 (101)

BIG ISSUES FACE NATS

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet meets today for the first time since Parliament went into recess, facing a string of smouldering problems.

High on the agenda will probably be the simmering discontent in urban townships and the Government's failure to convince urban Blacks to accept its policies.

High-lighting the deadlock is Soweto's Committee of 10, who want fully-fledged local authority status to administer their own affairs, and the Government-backed Committee of 13 the identities of whose members are being kept under wraps for fear of reprisals.

But it is not just in the urban townships that the Government is having problems.

Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is holding back on accepting independence for his scattered homeland because of the citizenship issue, and other Black leaders such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu continue to reject the idea altogether.

The Cabinet will also have to find a more convincing method with which to deal with the "Black managers" controversy than the compromise settled on by Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

His attitude contrasts sharply with the verglite utterances of ministers such as Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of Sport, Mr. Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other Nationalists.

The growing rift in Nationalist opinion is becoming an important issue which the Government cannot continue to ignore.

The Nationalist Sunday Newspaper Rapport has said that South Africa has never found itself in such a serious situation and guest columnist Dr. Wimpie de Klerk, editor of the party's official mouthpiece in the Transvaal, the Transvaler, went further to say that the country was already "technically" in a revolutionary situation.

Another internal issue which could be dealt with is the preliminary report of the Cabinet Committee investigating adaptations to the Westminster system.

There has been a great deal of speculation concerning the contents of the report and possible recommendations concerning Senate representation for Coloureds and Indians.

Other issues which could come before the Cabinet are the general economic situation, yesterday's talks with the five "contract nations" over South West African independence and the Rhodesian impasse.

Meanwhile a correspondent reports from Johannesburg that Black leaders have reacted strongly to speculation on the Cabinet council's recommendations for changes in the system of government.

They made it clear yesterday that proposals would have to be modified and extended to include urban Blacks if they were to win Black support.

Mr. J. A. Rabie, independent member of the Coloured Representative Council, described the reported plans as totally inadequate.

Although Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence and chairman of the Cabinet Committee, said Press speculation

accepted that there will be no joint decision-making body with legislative powers.

Talking

Mr. Rabie Slated plans for separate parliaments for Coloureds and Indians with a joint "talking house" without legislative powers.

"Coloured people have had enough of talking. We will settle for nothing less than joint decision-making at all levels of government.

"If the White Parliament is to retain sovereign control over matters of common interest the plan will be unacceptable."

Dr. Nthatho Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of 10, said it was unfortunate that plans to extend the Westminster system ignored urban Blacks.

"The Nationalists will have to realise that the Blacks are here to stay and that South Africa belongs to all of us."

He said it was only a matter of time before Soweto became an autonomous municipality, something the Cabinet Committee is said to have recommended for Coloured and Indian municipalities.

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D.D. 1/9/77 (101)

Whites stirring homeland land row — Vorster

DURBAN — The Prime Minister told the National Party congress here yesterday further consolidation of the homelands would continue by means of negotiation, and not by land demands.

Mr Vorster said to demand land was one thing, but to get it was another.

He said demands for more land would continue to be made, not only in South Africa, but the world over as populations grew and land became less.

The correct way to go about it was by negotiation between governments.

There continued to be misunderstandings on the land issue, mainly through agitation, in many instances by whites, to sow dissent between black and white.

He had explained to homeland leaders the aim was not merely to establish independent homelands, but to build independent nations so that those who lived outside a particular homeland still remained part of that particular nation.

Critics of the policy of consolidation did not always keep track with the realities of the situation, the Prime Minister said.

Speaking on a resolution expressing reservations about the effectiveness of the agreement between the Government and the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Vorster said editors who once believed the Government would not have the courage to introduce legislation against the press were no longer under that illusion.

"We have said we will give the press a chance to discipline itself, but if it doesn't, the legislation is there and we will simply introduce it to Parliament."

The press had been given a year to put its house in order.

On a resolution rejecting a Turnhalle for Natal, Mr Vorster said he was as interested as anyone else to learn about it but his view was that it was "nothing to get excited about."

He indicated the plan could go before the Cabinet for consideration — if a detailed memorandum of the plan was submitted.

He also agreed that the country should become less dependent on foreign capital. This was the policy being pursued and it was proving successful.

Replying to a request by a delegate that South Africa be less dependent on outside capital and take steps to prevent the outflow of cash capital, the Minister of Finance, Sen Horwood, said a highly effective system of countering the illegal outflow of currency had been built up jointly by the Reserve Bank, the Department of Customs and Excise and the police.

He predicted a gradual shift in emphasis in South Africa's monetary and fiscal policies towards the stimulation of healthy economic growth.

The congress expressed its full support for the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee on a possible new constitution for South Africa. — SAPA.

FIN. MAIL 16/9/77

IDEOLOGY v REALITY

101

"... the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation; when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister." — Transvaal Local Government (Stallard) Commission, 1922

The urbanisation of the African population has long been recognised as the single most important determinant of politics in SA. Indeed, government proposed constitutional amendments have already been rejected by the Labour Party and by members of the executive of the SA Indian Council on precisely the grounds that they fail to include urban Africans.

The actual extent of African urbanisation, in both "white" SA and the Bantustans, has recently been documented in a short monograph by Pretoria University geographers Elsp Smit and Ian Booysens. It will give little joy to government planners still committed to the "temporary sojourners" doctrine with regard to urban Africans.

In the PWV complex alone there are now 2,1m Africans — comprising half of all Africans in urban areas — and only 1,4m whites.

Since 1976, the margin by which Africans have outnumbered whites in urban areas has steadily grown.

Five phases of urbanisation are charted by Smit and Booysens. The first dates from the discovery of minerals until 1923, when movement of Africans to towns and cities was relatively free. Phase two — the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 — envisaged segregation of Africans in the white areas and provided for stricter influx control.

Phase three was ushered in by the Group Areas Act of 1950, which aimed at extended segregation, necessitating extensive relocation of the black population, often in the guise of slum clearance. Phase four — the Sixties — saw increasing emphasis on development in the Bantustans and stringent controls on the creation of African housing, particularly family housing, in the "white" urban areas. In 1967, the Department of Bantu Administration & Development also made it clear that "non-productive" Africans (the elderly, physically handicapped, widows, etc) living in the "white" urban areas would be resettled in the Bantustans.

The last phase in the urbanisation process is the re-introduction of limited leasehold "home ownership" for Africans in the cities.

Smit points out that the development of urbanisation and especially its recent rapid increase in the Bantustans — seen by many in government as the answer to the urban black "problem" — has been effected more by government policy than by natural socio-economic and demographic factors. In 1970 fewer than 9% of the Bantustans' 7,1m population lived in urban areas in the Bantustans. By 1976 this figure had grown by 65% to just under 1m.

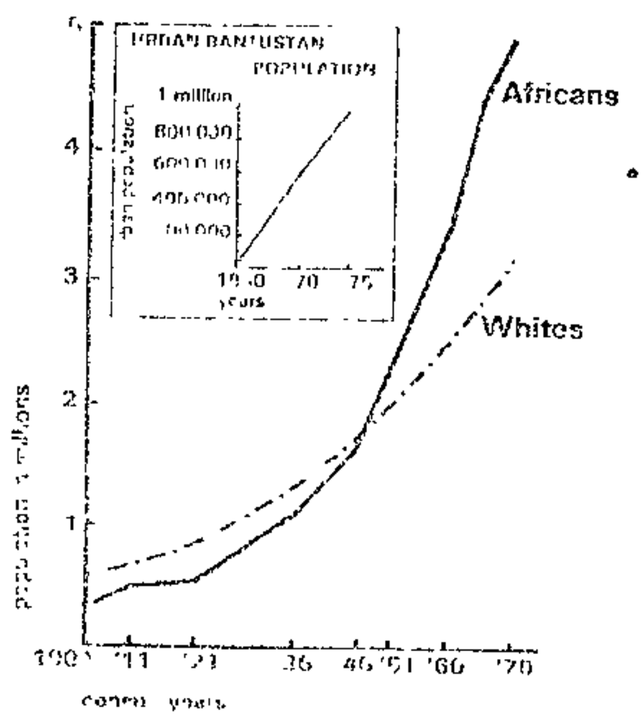
There are a number of reasons for this rapid growth — including under-enumeration in the 1970 census, the inclusion of black townships like Umlazi in the Bantustans, and, of course, population "resettlement." Between 1960 and 1970 over 68 000 Africans were removed from "black spots" in the "white" rural areas. Since 1970 another 275 000 Africans, most of them from "white" urban areas, have been resettled, primarily in towns in the Bantustans.

Urbanisation (though still affecting less than 16% of the Bantustan population) is itself raising extensive problems there. As Smit notes, the "artificial" reasons for urban development in the Bantustans are reflected in the location of most of the towns. Without exception, the most populous Bantustan towns are those located close to large white urban concentrations. Even the larger towns are, at best, administration centres.

Contrary to expectations, these new towns have not made any meaningful contribution to economic development in the Bantustans by providing markets, since the major portion of purchasing power is still spent in the nearby white cities.

An analysis of most of the Bantustan towns "inevitably leads to the conclusion that they generally lack a sound economic base and that, on the whole, they are little more than economic appendices to, or dormitory towns for, 'white' urban areas. If the borders of independent homelands should ever be closed to commuter traffic, these towns would die," says Smit.

URBAN POPULATION: WHITES AND AFRICANS 1904-1970



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RULED OUT

Urban future under scrutiny but voting in homelands only

By LEON BEKKER

A TOP-LEVEL Government investigation into the future of blacks in white areas gets under way soon — but any question of political rights for blacks outside the homelands appears to have been ruled out.

At the Transvaal National Party congress this week the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, announced:

- A committee consisting of himself and three homeland leaders would soon be appointed to look at the application of the influx control policy;
- Group committees will be established soon in many white areas to promote dialogue between whites and blacks.

In an interview this week, the chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said that apart from these two moves, a top-level committee would be established soon to investigate many aspects of blacks living conditions in white areas.

Mr du Plessis emphasised that the question of urban blacks is one of the uppermost issues on the Government's agenda, and said the Government wanted to "show its hand" soon.

He expected that the various committees will get underway "very soon".

The top-level committees will be appointed "from the ranks of the Government" and Mr du Plessis expects that it will be chaired by a Cabinet Minister.

National Party sources said the committee would investigate the living conditions but there was no chance of it investigating any form of political rights for blacks in white areas.

The Government's approach is that ways must be found to channel black political aspirations through the homelands.

The committee is the result of a recent Cabinet decision.

Nationalist sources believe that it is the Government's response to the reservations expressed by the Indians and the Coloured Labour Party about the new constitutional plan.

The Indians and the Coloureds have said that the plan's flaw is that blacks in white areas have been excluded.

Whether the Government's stipulation that the committee will not be considering political deals will satisfy the Indians and Coloureds remains to be seen Nationalists said this week.

The committee will have a mandate to look at all legislation concerning urban blacks, and will consider housing, trading rights education and social welfare.

Although it will comprise Nationalists, the committee will be able to call in expert evidence from any quarter.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, SEPTEMBER 18, 1977

BLACK RIGHTS

The crippling mystery disease that cruelly affects far more women than men...

The disease can cause dwarfism. Both female and m ale are adults. Fewer men are crippled than women yet both sexes can be reduced to shuffling wrecks, sh attered by a disease for which there is no known cure

VILLAGE OF THE DOOMED...

PICTURES: Kerry Berrington

REPORT: Terry McElligott

SOME came crawling on hands and knees to collect their disability grants. Others staggered along at a snail's pace, a stick in each hand to keep them upright.

The scene was the remote Mseleni district of Northern Natal where a crippling disease has struck more than 2 000 people... a disease which still baffles medical experts despite years of study.

Thursday was pay-day for the many who qualify for disability grants or pensions. And a pitiable sight they presented as they gathered at the various pay-out points in the desolate Mseleni area, about 60 kilometres from the Mozambique border.

Some of the worst-afflicted victims arrived on sledges drawn by oxen across the sandy ground. They had to pay the sledge owners R3 each for the return trip. Their pensions are R19 a month or less.

On all fours they joined the queues awaiting payment. And then they painfully undertook the crawl back to the sledges, some taking several minutes to cover 20 metres.

A fairly high proportion of the victims are dwarfs.

It has been estimated that as many as two-thirds of the women in the area suffer from the disease to varying degrees. The percentage of male victims is much lower — between 10 to 25 percent.

Too crippled to walk but a sledge-ride costs R3 out of a R19 pension

They've covered kilometres to collect their pensions. Some kneel, some can hobble with the help of sticks

The predominance of female victims gave rise to a theory that the cause might be dietary. Because of age-old taboos women and children are not allowed to eat certain high protein foods including eggs and meat.

But a top orthopaedic surgeon admitted at a medical congress in Durban this month that despite detailed research which has been going on for years, no positive conclusions had been reached.

It is variously known as Mseleni hip disease or "the dwarf" disease.

Eighty-five per cent of the population in advanced age are crippled.

Pain in the leg joints is the first sign that a victim faces a helpless future as a cripple. This is often experienced in adolescence or around the age of 30.

The disease develops after 40 until the person is reduced to crawling — or is possibly immobilised completely.

Counting against the dietary theory is the finding that people in neighbouring areas with the same taboos on certain foods for women are rarely found to have the disease.

Medical teams from the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Medical Research Council have also compared the vegetation, ground samples and water of the Mseleni area with that of the neighbouring areas but they found few differences.

Nat academics still want a new homelands deal

Pretoria Bureau

Nationalist academics giving active support to the homeland policy have been taken aback by the Government's advance rejection of their calls for "greater consolidation" of the Bantustans.

The rejection by Government spokesmen at the Transvaal Nationalist congress of proposals for homeland consolidation came despite the academics' pledge to give scientific support to the policy.

But the academics' continuation committee, formed when about 1 200 signed the pledge three years ago, will still try to work out new consolidation formulas which could make the black homelands viable and the separate development policy more workable.

These include a drastic revision of homeland boundaries and a new basis for consolidation. White-owned land, decentralised growth points and urban development centres could be incorporated in the homelands without the Government having to buy them for this purpose.

"Greater consolidation" proposals have already come from the Nationalist orientated South African Bureau of Racial Affairs.

Professor J P de Lange, chairman of the continuation committee, said draft plans were being considered on various university campuses.

Asked if the investigation served any practical purpose in the light of the rejection of consolidation that goes beyond the 1936 Trust and Land Act's provisions, he said:

"We are approaching this matter from a non-political point of view in an attempt to find ways of making the homelands more viable in the economic, social and political sense. We are trying to be objective as possible."

Dr Chris Jooste, director of Sabra, said the Transvaal congress stand was not unexpected.

"I do not think greater consolidation proposals are practical politics as yet, but I think they might become so later."

He said the investigation by Sabra and the academics was "a scientific exercise by academic bodies." There had to be such investigations for decisions to be founded upon, he said.

Meanwhile, support has appeared for Mr Dawie de Villiers, MP for Johannesburg West, whose plea for consolidation going beyond the 1936 Act was rejected by the Minister and Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration and Development and by the majority of delegates to the Transvaal congress.

While some Nationalists have rejected Mr de Villiers's plea as a "sell-out," the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport has said his suggestions merited much more serious consideration than that.

Before I started on this great project, I just could not figure out about this fete business. I eventually had to ask Nathan (one of my junior bellringers). Could he explain what is the meaning of this funny word fete? He looked at me and said "Mr. Palmer, how stupid can you be. Don't you know that overseas they call a bazaar a fete and in this country we call a fete a bazaar?" Well then I

attend because of the late arrangements, I felt happy to feel that I was representing St. Mary's at the Service. The climax of an Ordination Service, I feel, is when the Bishop lays His hands on the head of the Deacon and all the clergy present lay their hands on his head and the prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit is said over him. It is at this moment he is strengthened by God to commence his ministry in the Church of God.

(101) 13/10/77 Argus

Plan for 4 homeland blocks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A major plan that envisages incorporating the homelands into four large blocks and establishing a regional city, including Soweto, has been suggested.

The idea was mooted by Dr K. E. Bruinette, a member of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, speaking at the bureau's Free State provincial conference in Bloemfontein yesterday.

He said ideally the homelands should be consolidated into four big blocks. The first would be the Transkei, Ciskei, Thabanchu and Qwaqwa, all of which should be consolidated into a single whole.

The second would be KwaZulu in northern Natal with the Swaziland homelands and Swaziland as a consolidated unit.

The third block would be Gazankulu, Lebowa, Venda and Ndebele in north eastern Transvaal, merged into a consolidated unit, and the fourth block would be the Bophuthatswana — Botswana block in the western Transvaal.

Dr Bruinette proposed the borders of the blocks should be extended so that they came within a radius of 30 km of Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Maritzburg, Durban, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Nelspruit, Middelburg, Witbank, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Pretoria, Rustenburg, and Brits. In this way four percent more South African land would be incorporated into the homelands.

Dr Bruinette said in this way about 45 percent of all job opportunities in South Africa would be brought within daily distance of the homelands.

All future expansion of black townships and the renewal of 'decayed' townships or those that had been relocated because of white encroachment should be reallocated into a consolidated triangle.

This proposed triangle would extend from Randfontein, continuing south of Johannesburg to Nigel and from there to Vanderbijlpark and back to Randfontein.

The triangle area would include Soweto and Seboking, near the Vaal triangle, and other townships.

'This area should be developed into a regional city in which blacks should have a large measure of autonomy,' said Dr Bruinette.

He also suggested that if the consolidated area of the homelands were added to the 'land area' of the former protectorates, then 47 percent of 'old British South Africa' would be in the hands of blacks and 53 percent in white hands. This homeland consolidation should recognise the historical partition between black and white.

Oh! I almost forgot sure makes me feel stupid. The date of the fete is SATURDAY NOVEMBER 12th IN THE CHURCH GROUNDS. If you have anything you would like to donate, please let me know. My address is: 200 Albert Rd, Woodstock. My telephone no. is 475515. I will then collect. Let us really and truly try to work as a family and make this fete '77 a tremendous success. May God bless you all for your wonderful work you are doing for his Church.

Micky Palmer.

a separate feast in honour of the Holy Trinity. It was introduced to mark the conclusion of the liturgical commemorations of the life of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit by a celebration embracing God in all three Persons. It was universally enjoined by Pope John XXII in 1334. The feast became specially popular in England perhaps by its association with St. Thomas Becket, who was consecrated Bishop on that day in 1162. The restriction of the feast to a single day by the absence of an octave is appropriate to the Unity of the Godhead which the feast commemorates. In the Sarum Missal and other rites, Sundays are reckoned after Trinity, and not after Pentecost as in the Roman rite.

by the State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 259, 1977

APPORTIONMENT OF TRUST INCOME FROM MINING TO THE VARIOUS HOMELANDS

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 6 (2) (b) of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), I hereby determine, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, that all moneys payable to the South African Bantu Trust, constituted under section 4 (1) of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936), as the owner of the mineral rights of land situate in a Bantu area for which a legislative assembly has been established in terms of section 1 of the said Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971, including any moneys received in respect of licences or permits to prospect or to mine on such land, shall be an additional source of Revenue for the Revenue Fund of such area.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twelfth day of September, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-seven.

N. DIEDERICHS, State President

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

M. C. BOTHA.

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 259, 1977

TOEDEELING VAN TRUSTINKOMSTE UIT MYNBOU AAN DIE VERSKILLENDE TUISLANDE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 6 (2) (b) van die Grondwet van die Bantoetuislande, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), hierdeur en by, en teenoor onderhoudende wetsbepalings dat alles geldende wat betaalbaar is aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Bantoetrust, ingestel by artikel 4 (1) van die Bantoetrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936), as eienaar van die mineraalregte van grond geleë in 'n Bantoegebied waarvoor daar 'n wetgewende vergadering ingestel is ingevolge artikel 1 van genoemde Grondwet van die Bantoetuislande, 1971, insoover is, in bykomende enige geld wat ontvang word ten opsigte van lisensies of permitte om 'n bepaalde grond te prospekteer of te mijn, 'n bykomende bron van inkomste vir die Inkomstefondsen van sodanige gebied is.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Twaalfde dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd Sewe en Sewentig.

N. DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident.

Op last van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

M. C. BOTHA.

Unite homelands plea

BLOEMFONTEIN — The homelands should be consolidated in four big blocks, a committee member of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, in Pretoria, Dr K. E. Bruinette, said here.

He told the Sabra conference the first of these blocks was Transvaal, Ciskei, Thaba Nchu and Qwa-Qwa in one closed unit.

The second was KwaZulu in Northern Natal with the Swazi homelands and Swaziland as a unit.

The third block was Gazankulu, Lebowa, Venda and Ndebele in the North Eastern Transvaal and the Bophuthatswana and Botswana block in the Western Transvaal, as the fourth.

By further enlarging the borders of these areas so that Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Nelspruit, Middelburg, Witbank, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Pretoria, Rustenburg and Brits were only 30 km from these blocks, 45 per cent of all work opportunities now in the white Republic were within commuting distance from the black areas.
— SAPA.

N Mercury 13/10/77 (101)

Unite homelands urges Sabra man

BLOEMFONTEIN — The homelands should be consolidated in four big blocks, a committee member of Sabra in Pretoria, Dr. K. E. Bruinette, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs conference he said the first of these blocks was the Transvaal, Ciskei, Thaba Nchu and Qwa-Qwa in one closed unity.

The second was KwaZulu in Northern Natal with the Swazi homelands and Swaziland as a unit.

The third block was Gazankulu, Lebowa, Venda and Ndebele in the North-Eastern Transvaal and the fourth the Bophuthatswana and Botswana block in Western Transvaal.

By further enlarging the borders of those areas so that Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Nelspruit, Middleburg, Witbank, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Pretoria, Rustenburg and Brits were only 30km from these blocks, 45 percent of all work opportunities in the White Republic would be within commuting distance from the Black areas.

Economically it meant that Blacks could still sell their labour in the White economy without being a political threat to the Whites, Dr. Bruinette said.

Solutions for South West Africa and Rhodesia that were not based on self-determination of the different racegroups would end in catastrophe, Dr. Bruinette said.

He said he was convinced that if all ethnic groups were recognised, everyone in the country would enjoy stability and prosperity. (Sapa.)

taken place as they were Eragrostis ... contortus and Aristida congesta. Other specie Elionurus argenteus, Heteropogon contortus, The thrix , Trichoneura grandiglumis, Brachiaria ser Sheep were grazing on the plot while measureme would appear to be a causal factor for the presen recognition is primarily on the high cover value c position on the landscape. Little image inform ground layer component as it was hidden under th

5.2.3 (x) Eragrostis chloromelas dominant grass This community is represented by plots 163, 142 c the lowest stage in the succession on Hutton and major change to pioneer species such as Aristida is not reduced, only a species change from Eragr argenteus and Themeda triandra to Eragrostis chl induced factor.

The photo image for this type is a light-oli type occurs on a north-facing slope or on the cre Mispah soil forms occur.

5.2.3 (xi) Eragrostis chloromelas - Eragrostis l land community

This community is represented by plots 206, 198 associated with major habitat disturbance. Era lehmanniana, both very hardy species, are able to survive while virtually all other species are excluded.

2 chiefs in word battle over Lesotho claim

(101)

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA — The Prime Minister of Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said at the weekend: "There is not a piece of land in the Transkei that belongs to Lesotho."

He was addressing a multi-racial audience at Libode.

The Prime Minister was commenting on a statement broadcast over the radio by the Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, claiming that the Maluti area was part of Lesotho.

Shadow

"Chief Leabua Jonathan is a Prime Minister of his own shadow, who put himself in this position as there have been no elections in Lesotho for years," Chief Matanzima said.

"What right he has to talk for the people of Lesotho?"

Chief Matanzima said Chief Jonathan should examine himself and stop fomenting trouble between Lesotho and Transkei.

"I wish to maintain peaceful relations with Lesotho but unless the Sothos forcibly remove Jonathan trouble will escalate."

Refused

Chief Matanzima told the crowd that two members of the Transkeian gymkhana delegation Brig. Roy Keswa, commissioner of Transkei prisons and Brig. Pretorius, head of the Transkei batallion — were not allowed entry into Jersey, a small island off England, while attending a conference of world gymkhana teams.

He said they were allowed entry in Great Britain but at Jersey "a Black was discriminated against — what double standards."

He said the United Kingdom professed to be opposed to social discrimination "Why deceive the world?"

He said all South Africans acts of racial discrimination were passed while South Africa was still under Great Britain.

(101)

Tuislande kan beter boer

23/10/77

Landbou - RAPPORT

DEUR die gemiddelde opbrengste van die tuislande se landbou net te verhoog tot die helfte van dié van die blanke boere in Suid-Afrika sal hierdie lande se nasionale inkomste verdriedubbel.

Hierdie stelling is verledeweek gemaak deur dr. Frans Cronjé, voorsitter van Nedbank, op die seminaar wat deur RAPPORT en die Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Sakekamer aangebied is.

Dr. Cronjé, wat terloops 'n landbou-ekonoom is, glo dan ook dat die landbou in die tuislande een van die eerste aangrypingspunte moet wees wanneer ons weer die ekonomie wil stimuleer.

Hy wys daarop dat hoewel hierdie tuislande net 13 persent van die land se totale oppervlakte beslaan, dit gemiddeld 'n hoër reënval het as die res van Suid-Afrika. Nogtans lewer hulle net 5,8 persent van die land se totale landbouproduksie.

Dit is so laag omdat die eenheid akkerbou-opbrengste maar van eensesde tot een-sewende dié van die blanke boere in Suid-Afrika is. Veeopbrengste is nóg laer.

Dr. Cronjé het gesê deskundiges skat dat die landboupotensiaal van die tuislande amper een-kwart van die totaal van Suid-Afrika is. Aangesien landbou verreweg die grootste nywerheid in die tuislande is, spreek dit vanself dat die vinnigste ekonomiese vordering in die gebiede gemaak kan word as die landbouproduktiwiteit verhoog kan word.

Daar is natuurlik geweldige kulturele, sosiale en ekonomiese struikelblokke in die weg om so 'n verbetering in produktiwiteit teweeg te bring, het hy gesê, maar ook daarop gewys dat baie van ons blanke boere veertig jaar gelede ook maar taamlik primitief geboer het.

101

You're miserable, Babe tells S/A Government

D.D. 29/10/77 (101)

Homelands want BAD split in two

EAST LONDON — Four homeland leaders have made a strong plea to the Government to divide the Department of Bantu Administration and Development into two departments when the present minister, Mr M.C. Botha, retires later this year.

They want a Department of Homeland Affairs which is solely concerned with the development of the homelands, and a Department of Black Administration which will only be involved in administration.

This was disclosed in an interview yesterday by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe.

In a scathing attack on the present department, Chief Sebe said: "You have got people there who have been involved in administration for years as Bantu Affairs Commissioners, but they just haven't any concept of development.

"They just think in administrative terms when you present a budget. You can't make these people understand.

"That is the enemy of the real policy. The enemy is within the walls of the department. It is a terrible situation," Chief Sebe said.

Chief Sebe said the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the Chief Minister of Qwaqwa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, fully supported the proposal for a new department of homeland affairs.

Asked if he had submitted proposals to the Government for the establishment of a new department, Chief Sebe said: "Certainly. I am going to push this very hard. I am prepared forcefully to advocate this."

There were a number of people in the present department who should be actively involved in the development of the homelands but were very tied up in unnecessary administrative functions. These people should be released from these posts so that they could be totally involved in development programmes, Chief Sebe added.— PC

(News by B. Streek, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

Homelands GENERAL

FEB 76 – 2/11/78

Republic is our homeland — BPC

Daily Dispatch 24/2/76

(1) Political Parties
(2) N.A.

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Government-created black homelands were platforms aimed at diverting the energy of blacks from true struggle for national liberation said Mr D. Nkonkobe, of Mdantsane, when he addressed a rally at St Peter's Church here.

He said the Black Peoples Convention rejected the homelands and chose to operate outside them because it believed blacks had an inalienable right to determine their own destiny.

"Azania is the homeland of all its inhabitants, and no minority group has a right to partition the country to suit its own selfish motives," he said.

Another speaker, Mr Selby Baqwa of Qumbu, said black consciousness was the realisation by blacks of the need to rally together and to operate as a group to rid themselves of "the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude."

The rally closed with the singing of "Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika" with clenched fist black-power salutes.

In King William's Town Mr Hlaku Rachidi, president of the Black Peoples' Convention, said yesterday that a spirit of militancy had been injected into blacks by what was happening on the borders.

"Blacks now have a hope even more than before that black rule is imminent in South Africa," he said.

"BPC is not racialistic — we do not hate whites but only the restrictions and oppressions they have imposed. Whites have no reason to fear blacks because blacks have no intention of driving them into the sea.

"What we want is majority rule, which can only be brought about by drastic changes in the South African scene. This does not mean we want to exclude whites or anyone on the basis of colour, race or creed," he said.

Mr Rachidi said BPC did not believe in violent change. "We believe South Africa will eventually bow to increasing pressures both from outside and inside and that there will be peaceful change in the country without any violence," he said. We of the Black Peoples' Convention want a situation where blacks and whites co-operate," he said. — DDR.

What price grand apartheid now?

SUN TIMES 16/4/78 (101)

THE most elementary test of any government is whether it has the ability to execute its own policies and by this test the National Party Government is repeatedly proving itself incompetent.

Leave aside the mishmash of its policies on urban Africans; leave aside the creeping economic paralysis and declining growth rates; leave aside the bloated bureaucracies and the semi-socialist passion for centralised controls; leave aside the reckless spending of a few years ago; leave aside the mess in which our foreign relations have landed.

Leave it all aside and concentrate simply on that centrepiece of all Nationalist policies: The 30-year-long effort to divide the country into a commonwealth of independent ethnic states, all living in harmony and interdependence.

Transkei was at best a Mickey Mouse kind of country, divided into three bits, its citizens scattered throughout the four provinces of South Africa, its independence unrecognised abroad. But here was the visible proof that apartheid pie-in-the-sky could be brought down to earth.

And look how it has worked out.

Not that South Africans need spare much concern for Chief Matanzima since he has taken on the role of the mouse that roars. He made all the bargains, he signed the treaties, he sold his people's South African birthright for a sham independence.

If he doesn't like what he got, he has only himself to blame. But that is now Transkei's concern.

What must concern South Africans is the performance of its own Government in this affair. Transkei's land claims are open to dispute (as the article on the opposite page discloses) but South Africa's title rests on little more than conquest. If the Government had wanted its own policy to work, it could have been magnanimous in reaching a settlement before independence.

And if it had wanted that settlement to survive, it should have negotiated in public, making sure to carry public opinion on both sides of the border.

But it followed its usual authoritarian practice of scorning public opinion, of settling things in a closet, of fudging the difficult issues, and of relying on the public relations whizz kids to sell the idea to the suckers outside.

Well, this time it hasn't worked. Petty apartheid has already collapsed; now grand apartheid is on the rocks.

The trouble is that this sorry business is likely to be repeated again and again as more bantustans are tacked together, any old how, and shoved into the outer darkness. The black 70 per cent of the population gets 13 per cent of the land, the whites keep most of the rest.

Any black leader who, having seen the outcome in Transkei, accepts this formula must surely be a fool. Meanwhile, as Transkei's troubles spill over the border — perhaps only as cattle raids or squatting or stories of hardship and starvation — we shall see how long the Nationalists continue to gloat, as they have done this week, over Chief Matanzima's dependence on South African help.

HANSARD 7 5 April 1978
Question 337 Cols 544

(101)

TALK WITH MR BAR-DAVID, ADVISOR TO LESOTHO FISHERIES AT MASERU

This is a trans id in which he explains the fish farmir

Government and stry of Agriculture.

The Fisheries S arting from the

It is responsib anagement.

construction of

Land purchased in terms of Bantu Trust and Land Act

337. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

(1) (a) What area of land was purchased in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act in each province during 1977 and (b) at what cost in respect of purchases in each province.

(2) what area of land remains to be purchased in each province.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a)

Cape Province	27 091 ha
Natal	21 165 ha
Transvaal	53 758 ha
Orange Free State	2 283 ha

(b) Only the total amount paid at 31 December 1977 is available namely R33 777 038

(2)

Cape Province	453 752 ha
Natal	12 152 ha
Transvaal	316 257 ha
Orange Free State	10 034 ha

Today the fish sectors. One sector is attached to elongs to the villagers. The government used for experimental purposes, and a where a big project is planned. We h on a smaller scale to see if the c

The other sector ige either applies to the Fisheries Se . Section finds a good site and su ge establishes a fish pond in this area. Design and construction is carried out partly by us and partly by an engineer. The engineer draws up the plan; but we indicate to him the size of pond, slope of pond, water supply, etc. Construction can either be done by hand or it can be done by machinery owned by the government's Soil Conservation Section.

Difference between a pond and a dam

There is a big difference between a dam and a fish pond. It's not just a difference in size. A fish pond has a suitable shape for netting and an outlet for draining. You can control the level of water. You can control the fish population. In a dam which has been built for soil conservation purposes or irrigation you can't do all this. You can't easily drain the water if you see that the fish aren't growing or they're sick. Dams often have stones or reeds at the bottom so fish may be difficult to net.

However, we do use many dams in Lesotho for fish production. Sometimes the fish are caught with lines, sometimes with nets. We're not fertilising the dams or feeding the fish in them, but we do stock dams with fish.

Hansard Q 5. April 1978.
Question 326 Cols. 543 a 544.

(101)

Sale of properties/businesses acquired by South African Bantu Trust

326. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

Whether properties or businesses ac-

quired by the South African Bantu Trust were sold to Bantu persons or Bantu controlled companies during 1977; if so, (a) at what total cost was such properties or businesses acquired by the Trust and (b) for what total amount were they sold.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

Yes. Seventy-one properties or businesses were sold to Bantu or Bantu controlled companies during 1977.

(a) and (b) The required particulars are not being kept in the form of a special register and the particulars concerned are therefor not readily available.

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(101)

Probleme met tuisland-mense

Maak skuld, raak weg

Deur KOBUS TERBLANCHE

PORT ELIZABETH

SUID-AFRIKAANSE handelaars is huiwerig om deesdae met tuislandbewoners krediettransaksies aan te gaan omdat dit byna onmoontlik is om die skuldmakers in die hande te kry wanneer hulle anderkant die grense sit.

Verskeie sakeondernemings het reeds alle transaksies gekanselleer. Bophutatswana, wat op 6 Desember onafhanklik word en jaarliks sowat R270 000 miljoen in die Republiek bestee, sal waarskynlik ook deur die besluit van handelaars geraak word.

Suid-Afrika het geen uitleweringsooreekoms met Transkei nie. Vandeesweek het mnr. Leon Louw, regsbestuurder van die Vereniging van Kamers van Koophandel van Suid-Afrika, aan RAPPORT gesê dit is in baie gevalle onmoontlik om dagvaardings aan inwoners van Transkei te bestel. Die administratiewe sy van die tuislandhowe is nie doeltreffend genoeg om skuldmakers op te spoor nie.

Hy raai handelaars aan om met skuldinsameling in Transkei en ná volgende maand in Bophutatswana op dieselfde wyse te werk te gaan as met elke ander handelaar in die buiteland.

Ondoeltreffend

Uitspraak teen sulke skuldmakers in 'n Suid-Afrikaanse hof kan gebruik word as 'n grondslag om 'n nuwe aksie in die tuislande in te stel, maar dit is 'n baie duur manier om jou geld terug te kry.

Mnr. Louw sê die besluit van sommige handelaars om nie verdere krediettransaksies aan te gaan nie, is nie diskriminasie nie, maar al uitweg om verliese te voorkom. Een groot onderneming het aan hom gesê dat hy sowat 400 000 krediettransaksies met die Transkei het.

Behalwe dat handelaars kla oor die ondoeltreffendheid van die tuislandhowe, is daar ook klagtes dat hulle nie permitte kan bekom om die tuisland binne te gaan om skuldmakers op te spoor nie. Die weiering geskied ondanks die verstandhouding dat die uitreiking van sulke permitte 'n blote formaliteit sal wees.

Nog 'n probleem is dat die polisie net teen skuldmakers kan optree as die klaer die skuldmaker se adres kan verskaf. In Port Elizabeth het mnr. Anton Masters, direkteur van die Kamer van Koophandel, gesê die probleem sal voortduur solank daar nie 'n doeltreffende wyse gevind word waarop skuldmakers opgespoor kan word nie: „Handelstransaksies met die Transkei is uiters belangrik vir ons land en veral vir Oos-Kaapland," sê hy.

Veediewe

Dit is egter nie net skuldmakers wat probleme veroorsaak nie. Boere wie se grond aan die tuislande grens, het probleme om hul vee terug te kry wanneer veediewe toeslaan.

Dieselfde probleme ontstaan in die geval van motordiefstalle wanneer die skuldiges met motor en al in Transkei verdwyn. In Port Elizabeth ry mnr. Angelo Zenios, 27, deesdae met 'n klein Franse motortjie rond nadat sy luuksueuse Britse motor van R10 000 sowat 'n jaar gelede gesteel en later in Transkei opgespoor is.

Die maatskappy waarby die motor verseker was, het hom intussen uitbetaal, maar die motor sal hy nooit weer sien nie.

Brig. J. C. de Klerk, Afdelingskommissaris van Polisie in Oos-Kaapland, sê aan RAPPORT dat hulle magteloos is wanneer mense hulle aan kriminele oortredings skuldig maak en koers kry Transkei toe. Tot hede bestaan daar geen uitleweringsooreenkoms met Transkei nie, sê hy.

By die onlangse jaarkongres van die Kaaplandse Landbou-unie in Port Elizabeth het die lede van die Oostelike Landbou-unie die owerhede versoek om 'n uitleweringsooreenkoms met die Transkei aan te gaan en sonder versuim grensposte op te rig by alle toegangspunte na die Transkei.

By die Jaarkongres van die unie in Oos-Londen het afgevaardigdes gevra vir behoorlike internasionale heininggrense as voorvereiste vir voortgesette vreedsame naasbestaan.

ELO ZENIOS kan darem nog lag nadat sy luuksedor Transkei toe verdwyn het. Die motor sal hy nooit sien nie. Deesdae ry hy met dié klein Franse motortjie rond.

101

CALL TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

NM 29/11/77

New thinking needed on Homelands

THE great power of economic forces as a dominant factor in world politics is well illustrated in both totalitarian Russia and China being unable effectively to feed their people, and having to supplement supplies from wheat surpluses of capitalist America and Canada.

Similarly the nations which at present control the world's oil supplies have determined power costs which have adversely affected cost structures with serious economic dislocation and consequent failure of many countries in achieving their anticipated development programmes, as well as greatly influencing national policies.

In this all important context of the power of economic forces, the continent of Africa, with its untapped resources of food, minerals and power supply, becomes of increasing significance to the great powers of both East and West in their quest for both raw materials and food. During the past recent centuries a number of the countries of Europe have endeavoured to exploit the wealth of this continent with varying degrees of failure and success, but very few have succeeded in winning the hearts of the people of Africa. There has been a general upsurge of Black resentment against the White man's intrusion, too often based on his exploitation of both men and materials with relatively small advantage to the indigenous peoples of the countries of Africa.

The purpose of this address is to endeavour to outline the responsibility of the private sector in the economic development of the Homelands, no easy task in a continent where the White man, representing the free enterprise system, has by and large failed to establish the trust and confidence of the people and where, when the White man has withdrawn, too often there has been failure to leave a sound and well-established economy under trained and responsible Black leadership.

In this the most developed and prosperous country in Africa where a sound agriculture, mining and industrial economy has been established under White enterpreneural skills and capital, and where there has been a considerable contribution by Black and Brown people who have become closely associated in the building of this economy there exists a foundation of interrelated efforts which can become of positive and constructive value as we together move into the next great phase of economic expansion.

The situation of Black advancement in the homeland and metropolitan areas cannot be left to evolve or to determine its own future development and prosperity. The Blacks have provided great assistance in supplying basic labour in the building of the present sound economic structure of the Republic and have become an essential factor in moving towards an ever increasing participation in all areas of efficient production as the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country continues to be opened up.

MR. CYRIL PEARCE, a former president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, has been actively engaged for many years in efforts to improve interracial conditions in South Africa. This is a condensed version of the text of an address he gave at a symposium arranged recently by the University of Zululand.

Our responsibility as entrepreneurs is to make of this great and worthy force a well-trained, fully viable, productive people by opening every avenue of gaining employment and adequately rewarding the effort, thereby raising living standards.

From the foregoing comments it appears that a new motivation in the free enterprise system is necessary.

I believe in the competitive system — the building of an efficient and soundly profitable business and taking a full part in all that is meant by playing a meaningful role in building a health economy. However it is submitted that certain new elements are needed if this system is to survive and continue to be the driving force behind sound economic progress.

In the economic planning and development of agriculture, mining and industry of the homeland potential, the private sector in close co-operation with both homeland and Republic Governments must take the lead in a new motivation as well as in the supply of know-how, experience and capital.

Much valuable work has already been undertaken by devoted men and women in basic education and training by both the Republic and homeland Governments. In consultation with the private sector there should be some re-assessment of education and training with the object of preparing the youth of to play a more productive part in the agricultural as well as the industrial and mining economy.

An important aspect in forward industrial planning should be the development of the Black man as an entrepreneur. Not only as a vendor of manufactured products but as an industrialist or manufacturer — a function which must take its full part in future homeland planning.

South Africa has great strength, ability and dedication in all sectors of her national life which, working in co-operation towards common objectives, would transform economic conditions and allay White fears and Black frustrations and bitterness and provide a new and deeply needed national and international image, with resultant investment confidence and capital inflow.

101

Inside Mail

Spotlight on the homelands

Stanley Uys

THE GRANTING of independence to Bophutha-Tswana this week was given a surprising amount of space in British and other West European newspapers and in radio programmes.

One reason is that the death of Steve Biko, the October 19 raids and the General Election have awakened more than superficial interest in the basic structure of apartheid.

Another reason is that BophuthaTswana is the second homeland to accept independence, at least two others are waiting in the queue, and before long a majority of the 10 homelands might opt to travel the independence road.

Until now, foreign critics have tended to write off the homelands as comic satellites of the powerful white South African state, but lately there have been signs that these critics want to know more about the homelands — where they are going and what effect they will have on apartheid in South Africa itself.

This does not mean the chances of the homelands being recognised as sovereign states by the international community are any better now than they were before Bophutha-Tswana became independent, but at least the arguments for and against the homelands are being updated now and arranged more systematically.

This thoughtful new approach to the homelands is reflected in a new book, "The Black Homelands of South Afica: The Political and economic development of BophuthaTswana and KwaZulu" by Jeffrey Butler, a South African who is Professor of History at Wesleyan University in the United States, Robert I Rotberg, Professor of Political Science and History at MIT and John Adams, Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Their book is an admirable mixture of first-rate scholarship and controversial political thinking. For anybody who wants to know what the homelands policy is all about, and how it works out in practice, this tightly written volume can be highly recommended.

Its main value, I think, lies in the fact that it does not dodge any of the facts and arguments which might be used in evidence against its final conclusions, namely, that "the homelands have a future both within the context of a gradually changing South Africa and, conceivably, as independent entities . . . the homelands provide new and potentially beneficial leverage for blacks on the otherwise rigid politics of the dominant power".

The authors submit the following interesting proposition: "South Africa," they say, "could conceivably use the present homelands as a nucleus of an arrangement of institutional power-sharing or as the core of some form of partition that is not against the interests of blacks now or in the future. If it does, the homelands may constitute a way station, useful to blacks as well as to whites, on the road to a restructuring of South Africa."

I am not persuaded by the idea that South Africa, eventually, will be partitioned. As the authors themselves point out, nine million whites and blacks would have to be resettled to make the white and black areas ethnically homogeneous.

This solution is too immense even for such a vast problem as the one we have in South Africa. But that the homelands could generate indirect, spinoff benefits — well, this is a proposition that can be argued. And the authors argue it fairly.

First, there are the arguments against the homelands:

(1) Black leaders have been coerced into collaborating with the policy because all other forms of politics have been closed to them in South Africa.

(2) The 10 homelands together will cover only 13,7% of South Africa's surface area — for 18-million blacks, leaving the rest of the country for 4 200 000 whites 2 300 000 coloureds and 730 000 Indians.

(3) With the exception of the Transkei they are not contiguous entities — if Chief Lucas Mangope wants to make a tour of the six sections of his BophuthaTswana homeland now he will have to pass through six immigration posts on his borders and six further immigrations posts on the South African border.

4) The homelands are overwhelmingly dependent on South Africa not only for jobs for their migrant workers, but also for annual parliamentary grants — as much as 80% of their incomes and more.

(5) And whites from South Africa dominate the public service in the homelands and are able to influence economic development deleteriously.

This is the sorry plight of what have been termed South Africa's vassal states — the impoverished backward, overcrowded and unhealthy homelands.

Yet the authors of "The Black Homelands of South Africa" dispute that the homelands are not "economically viable" and are therefore shams. Viability, they claim has no generally accepted meaning.

"What most people have in mind," they say, "is probably fiscal independence, adequate employment at home for growing populations the ability to produce sufficient physical and human capital, enough autonomy to exercise tariff, exchange and investment controls, and, perhaps the institutionalised capacity for self-sustained growth. Neither BophuthaTswana nor KwaZulu, nor any of the homelands, now meets or will meet any of these standards in the immediate future. Many independent nations would also fail to meet all or most of them."

Setting aside, therefore, the question of economic viability, the spin-off benefits of homeland development are enumerated by the authors as follows:

(1) Accelerated development of the homelands leads to "an elaboration and deepening of connections, to an increasing interdependence and a consequent need for machinery to reconcile differences in many areas of policy."

(2) Modern political roles have replaced traditional roles in the homelands, and the old hierarchy, "down which orders can be transmitted", no longer exists.

(3) The homelands have given black leaders "a new institutional base and a legitimate platform", which does not exist for them in white-designated South Africa, and they could even legalise the banned ANC and PACV.

(4) The homelands could deracialise their areas, criticise and even embarrass the South African Government, and insist on prior consultation with Pretoria.

(5) They are providing training in administration and self government.

(6) And, finally, they will shorten South Africa's "Perimeter of defence" although "at the expense of an increased potential for subversion close at home".

The authors argue that it is an over-simplification to see the homelands-Pretoria relationship simply as the relationship between vassal and master — that complex and significant interchanges will ensue that will erode the inflexibility of the political structure in the parent state.

In time, the authors suggest, the homelands policy will be shown to be inadequate for the needs of urban blacks, and then "the radicalisation of the urban black populations may force the South African Government to begin the elaboration of new institutions in the cities parallel to what was done for the homelands from the end of the 1960s."

The merit of the homelands policy, as the authors see it then, is the contribution it could make to the liberalisation of the race policies over the whole of South Africa.

This is a perfectly sound argument as far as it goes; but the question arises whether there is still time left in South Africa for this constructive interplay of forces to take place between the homelands and the white authority.

Would an eruption in the black urban areas of South Africa render the role of the homelands irrelevant or would the authors argue that it could even increase the leverage the homelands would exert on the South African situation?

This is a debate that is certainly worth pursuing further. The authors are to be congratulated on laying it out so coherently.

("The Black Homelands of South Africa" is published by the University of California Press.)

10/12/77 (101)

Critics eye homelands

DD 10/12/77 (101)

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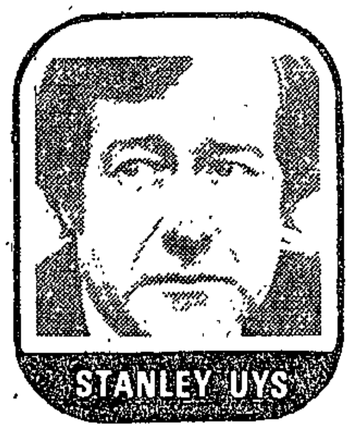
The authors submit the following interesting proposition: "South Africa," they say, "could conceivably use the present homelands as a nucleus of an arrangement of institutional power-sharing or as the core of some form of partition that is not against the interests of Africans now or in the future. If it does, the homelands may constitute a halfway station, useful to blacks as well as to whites, on the road to restructuring South Africa."

I am not persuaded by the idea that South Africa, eventually, will be partitioned. As the authors themselves point out, nine million whites and blacks would have to be resettled to make the white and African areas ethnically homogeneous. This solution is too immense even for such an immense problem as the one we have in South Africa. But



STANLEY UYS

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"What most people have in mind," they say, "is probably fiscal independence, adequate employment at home for growing populations, the ability to produce sufficient physical and human capital, enough autonomy to exercise tariff, exchange and investment controls, and, perhaps the institutionalised capacity for self-sustained growth.

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Blacks' land is running out

RDM 14/12/77 (101)

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

THE two homelands which have attained independence, Transkei and BophuthaTswana, have absorbed more than half the total amount of land set aside for blacks.

Including the Swazi and South Ndebele homelands there are eight non-independent homelands which will have to share the remaining land.

These figures are highlighted in the latest Africa Institute Bulletin by Dr P S Hattingh, a senior research officer at the institute.

The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts set aside 13,8% of South Africa for exclusive occupation by blacks and reserved the remaining 86,2% for whites and, to a lesser extent, coloured people and Indians.

Dr Hattingh shows that Transkei and Bophutha-Tswana have already absorbed seven of the 13,8% set aside for blacks or 84 960 sq km of the total 168 850 sq km (50,32%).

These two independent states are the largest of the homelands recognised by Pretoria, occupying 44 630 sq km and 40 330 sq km respectively.

Next comes KwaZulu and Lebowa, 32 130 sq km and 24 540 sq km respectively, with Gazankulu trailing a long way behind with 7 730 sq km.

Dr Hattingh does not examine the comparative populations which the homelands theoretically have to accommodate. But the latest mid-year estimates show that Zulus outnumber both the Xhosas and Tswanas.

The chances of the remaining non-independent homelands persuading South Africa to grant more land than that set aside by the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts appear to be slight.

As Dr Hattingh points out, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has given no sign of altering his refusal to go beyond the 1936 Act — although he has talked of possible exchange of land between South Africa and the black homelands.

In another article in Bulletin, Dr C J Maritz, of Potchefstroom University analyses the independence election in Bophutha-Tswana which preceded the granting of independence on December 6.

Two points come out strongly:

- There were more contested constituencies in the August 1977 independence election than in the previous general election of 1972—11 against 8, due mainly to the decision to double the number of popularly elected representatives to 48.
- But fewer electors voted in 1977 than in 1972 — 157 273 against 268 407.

Dr Maritz gives as one of his reasons for the drop the propaganda of the black consciousness movement, accusing it of "threatening" Chief Lucas Mangope and "intimidating" Tswanas living in "white" areas.

Another, Dr Maritz continues, was spreading of rumours by the opposition party in BophuthaTswana that Tswana voters in "white" areas would be endorsed out if they registered.

RDM 16/12/77

Homelands 'only a partial solution

(101)

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE homelands policy offers only a partial solution to the race problem, says Dr J H Moolman, a key member of the Tomlinson Commission who retires next month.

The Tomlinson Commission report of 1956 provided the blueprint for the homelands policy — which has since led to the emergence of 10 black homelands, two of which are independent.

Dr Moolman, who has been director of the Africa Institute since 1971, said yesterday: "The idea of homelands provided only a partial solution. It does not accommodate the urban black sufficiently."

One way of providing for the urban black was through the concept of the "dual-city", Dr Moolman said.

The dual-city would link the white city with its adjoining black township as two entities which shared a common metropolitan area. Functions would be both shared and exercised separately by white and black within the dual-city.

White and black representatives would share responsibility for, say, water supplies and electricity, but at the same time retain power over schooling and housing within their own areas.

Referring to the Tomlinson Commission, Dr Moolman said: "There was too much ideological emphasis on separation. There was too much underwriting of a particular political system."

If he were to serve on the Tomlinson Commission with the knowledge he has today, he would "balance" its report with more attention to the position of urban blacks, he says.

In an article in the latest issue of The South African Journal of African Affairs, Dr Moolman says of the "final" consolidation plans for the homelands: "Even if some people today consider consolidation as final, history will probably prove them wrong."

Asked to elucidate yesterday, Dr Moolman said he foresaw two developments in the future:

- A further consolidation of the homelands;
- A new political dispensation.

The new political dispensation would incorporate a modified form of the Turnhalle proposals in South West Africa for South Africa, Dr Moolman said.

But, at the same time, the proposed constitutional deal for coloureds and Indians would be extended to urban blacks.

"It will contain a blend of both. The ethnic principle will be adhered to but not in blind obedience to separation."

HAND 'EM OVER...

Lesotho's stamp of disapproval

A PRE-CHRISTMAS border row has erupted between Transkei and Lesotho for the second successive year.

It began this week with a directive from the Lesotho Government to all border officials to impound temporarily Bophuthatswana and Transkei passports.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr C. D. Molapo, said: "We reject bantustans as nothing but the implementation of apartheid. We won't stamp their passports. We don't want to tamper with their passports at all so we make them hand them in at the border and hand them back when they return."

But Transkei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Digby Koyana, accused Lesotho of being "a Lilliput state".

"We have that Lesotho is a lumpsicle cave in the hands of South Africa and we now still understand the [illegible] to play by confiscating Transkeian passports as a prelude to extorting further trade from the gullible United Nations and EEC states," said Mr Koyana.

He added his country had not recognised the "baboon independence" of Mr Molapo's "mountain kingdom".

Mr Koyana went on to warn Lesotho "from [illegible] Transkei property [illegible] Transkei who did not enter through the border post [illegible] to report to the Transkei [illegible] to obtain the proper permit. Only the production of a Lesotho [illegible] would enable a citizen of Lesotho to be [illegible] employed in Transkei."

Mr Koyana said when the UN and EEC countries were about to [illegible] of to pay hup sums of money to subsidise the Lesotho economy the latter signs were [illegible] and the ambassadors left on my line.

"Never before have such efforts [illegible] been met with such [illegible] harassment and [illegible] which Mr Molapo [illegible] said Mr Koyana.

Honourable Bophuthatswana citizens are already having [illegible] trouble [illegible] Lesotho, [illegible] but [illegible] work-[illegible] allow [illegible] of the [illegible].

[illegible] citizens [illegible] State [illegible] pro-[illegible] facilities in the Free State for [illegible] their [illegible].

[illegible] Bophuthatswana [illegible] can only be obtained [illegible] Maseru, the [illegible] capital near [illegible] the Free State. [illegible] have been [illegible] African [illegible].

Star 3/1/78

'Adaption' the key to South Africa's future

Tomlinson man thinks again

Jaap Boekkooi

One by one the architects and builders of apartheid are looking at the edifice of race policy and finding more ugly cracks.

One of them is Dr Jan Moolman, one of the five surviving members of the Tomlinson Commission, who retires as director of the African Institute at the end of this month.

Today he is a man who sees no future for old-style apartheid which, he says, "really is an escape from our problems."

Then, in words which would be pure heresy during the heydays of the Tomlinson Commission deliberations, he adds: "I see the future of South Africa as one in which we of different races and groups mix at times, or stay apart at other times."

The right "mix" of segregation and integration is the kind of subject that has kept the country's best academic brains ticking furiously during the past century.

Basic essence

Dr Moolman, former Unisa dean of geography, clothes his apartheid-ignoring formula in academic language, but in essence it is one of the most basic sense.

He is, to start with, against apartheid simply because "it imposes too high a degree of separation."

Apartheid had also created many forms of separation "which caused more problems than mixing. I only need to mention the petty apartheid we had in lifts and post offices."

So pragmatically speaking, were other phenomena of segregation,

Old-style apartheid is "really an escape from our problems," says one of the surviving members of the commission which first delineated the black homeland policy.

DR J MOOLMAN . . . "the black man has more to fear than the white."

such as that at the Nico Malan Theatre, plus the surviving Mixed Marriage and Immorality Acts.

For Professor Moolman they all cause unnecessary problems and out they should go as soon as possible.

Instead he proposes a solution of "adaptation" by both black and white, a policy which will leave the country's population groups the "maximum of freedom for self-decision in matters of integration or separation."

This will obviously be a dynamic policy and one can expect the frontiers where the races will meet, and where they will stay apart, to be shifting as circumstances change and in accordance with the two basic laws of society formulated by Dr Moolman as "the flock-together law and group formation."

Sometimes, says this urban geographer who as member of the Mentz Commission helped establish Soweto, it will remain in the best interests of all groups to maintain separation between the races, not only in territory but also in functions "for the reality of South Africa is that we already have a good deal of territorial separation."

Mutually agreed

Ideally such separation would have to be mutually agreed to "for I reject any domination of one group over another," Dr Moolman stresses, adding yet another "reality" now international, that some domination always remains, such as that of the developed Western countries over the rest of the world.

Now that Dr Moolman is withdrawing from the public service (which he entered when the Smuts Government appointed him director of planning in the Natural Resources Council in the late forties) he hopes to devote more time to his farm at Koster and expounding his "philosophy of society" which will help to clarify the interaction of forces that mould societies.

The study of such interaction has helped him formulate his theories on adaptation and change which, he feels, South Africa so desperately needs today.

"Since the philosophy of either separation, or on the other hand, integration, will not solve our problems we must accept adaptation as another part of life, something demanded from us by our religious principles, something we must not fear.

More to fear

"We forget that whatever fears we have as whites, the black man has even more to fear. His problem in adapting to a new environment is greater than that of the white man."

As a member of the Tomlinson Commission which first delineated the black homeland policy Dr Moolman had a rare insight into this new, but also the old, environment.

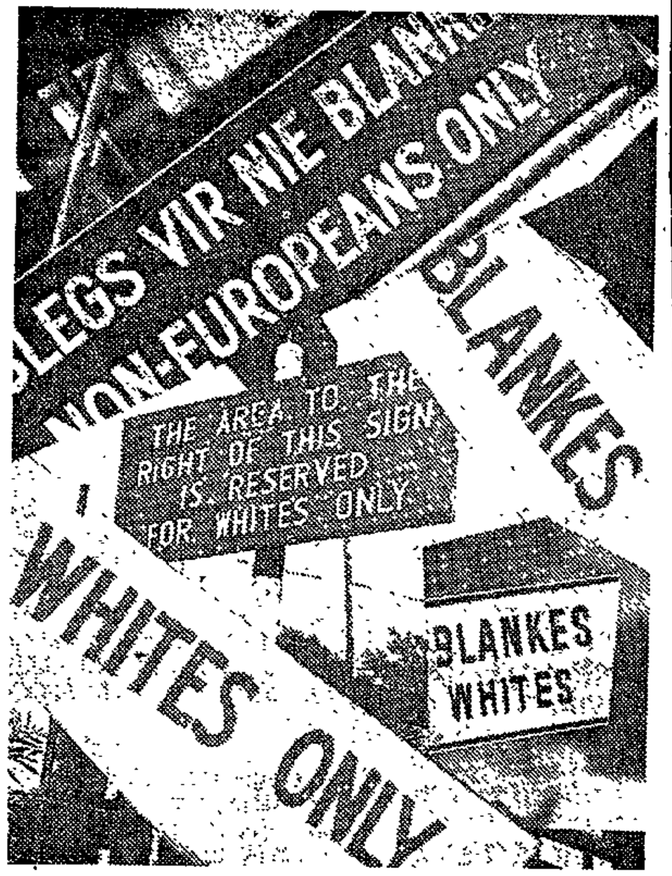
And as one of the architects of apartheid's positive aspects, the development of black areas, he shares the frustrations of the other four surviving commission members.

"We had a reunion some time ago and we all agreed that the Tomlinson Commission itself had not made errors.

"But I think the Government missed the boat on several occasions. Homeland development which was relatively inexpensive in those days around 1954 cannot be carried out any more because it has become prohibitively costly.

"Dr Verwoerd detracted from the Tomlinson report and wanted it only as a working document for his Department of Native Affairs. The Government was afraid of the high sums to be spent on homelands and the resulting white backlash."

Yet, says Dr Moolman, the Tomlinson Commission did something positive for apartheid. Most of its recommendations were carried out and laid the basis, among others, for agricultural and border industries development.



THE SIGNS OF APARTHEID . . . too high a degree of separation.

DD 18/1/78

Planners will meet in Ciskei

(101)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei Government will host a major socio-economic planning conference at Zwelitsha for a week beginning on March 16.

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, fresh from a similar conference in Israel, said the Ciskei had decided to play a leading role "in bringing together various eminent planners from several countries to stimulate development in the developing states of Southern Africa."

All leaders of the various South African homelands have been invited to the conference. Chief Sebe will address the conference on March 17.

Among other countries invited to send representatives to the conference are Israel, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Swaziland. Chief Sebe said Israel would send two or three top planners to the conference.

The theme will be the development of viable communities in Southern Africa with particular reference to the Ciskei.

The speakers invited are leading planners in rural and social development specialising in education, agriculture, societal and cultural development.

A ten-man steering committee has been established to organise the conference. Mr G. Maytham, Chief Minister's Secretary, Mr G. Godden, Ciskei marketing board manager, and Mr K. Tabata, Secretary for Education, are the only Ciskeians on the committee.

The other members include Prof Page of the Institute for Planning Research at Stellenbosch University, who has been involved in the national planning of the Ciskei for several years.

The others are Mr S. Kaplan, consulting engineer, who was associated with Chief Sebe's trip to Israel, Prof Mallows, Mrs E. Moody of the Rand Afrikaans University, Mr C. Parker of Anglo American Corporation, Mr K. Finlayson of the National Building Research Institute, and Mr R. Proctor-Simms of Conference Associates, who are playing a key role in the organisation of the conference.

The committee had its first meeting in Johannesburg on January 10 where the conference programme was finalised.

Asked why most of the members of the committee were not Ciskeians, Chief Sebe said: "This conference is meant to benefit not only the Ciskei, but all the other countries that will be represented.

"We were therefore obliged to get together the best brains available to us for this venture."

The Ciskei has invited a number of leading South African companies to be joint sponsors of the conference and Chief Sebe has issued a special invitation to individuals and organisations "who can contribute to the aims of the conference or benefit from participation." — DDR

New deal for blacks from independent homelands

CAPE TOWN — A new law to give the citizens of independent former homelands privileges over other foreigners in the Republic is to be introduced in Parliament this year.

The move follows an undertaking made by the South African Government to Bophuthatswana's President, Chief Lucas Mangope.

Some details of the new legislation were revealed yesterday by Die Burger, the official mouthpiece of the National Party in the Cape.

The Bill is to be introduced by the Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, but the Minister could not be contacted yesterday for further details.

According to Die Burger, the Bill, to be known as the Bill on Citizenship for Neighbouring States, makes provision for citizens in territories which were formerly part of South Africa to retain certain privileges in the Republic after independence. It will affect citizens in all former South African territories which have become independent.

Transkei and Bophuthatswana citizens, for example, will have freer movement to and from South Africa than other foreigners. — PC.

27/1/78 W.M

p1

SPEED-UP AIM IN HOMELANDS

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Homeland independence is to be speeded up under Dr. Connie Mulder, the new Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, who has yet to rename his department.

In a brief policy statement yesterday Dr. Mulder said that he would pursue the same course as Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr. John Vorster who had visualised a "constellation of neighbour States" and a "power-bloc of freely associated States" in Southern Africa.

"But, the tempo can now be accelerated because the foundations have been properly laid and the groundwork thoroughly prepared," he said.

Later he said: "I regard a sound human relations approach as indepensable.

"I regard it as of paramount importance that the various Black governments develop towards full independence as soon as possible.

"This implies that the land question and the consolidation process should enjoy the necessary attention."

Self-determination, human rights and majority rule in the various States would be his aim in executing his duties.

The most fundamental and paramount non-negotiable aspect of Government policy was "the preservation of full political control over your own group."

The Prime Minister had emphasised that changes that were necessary in group relations would always be made with the understanding that there would be no sharing of political power and that nothing would be done to endanger or destroy, the identity of any population group.

After stating that the various Black governments should develop to full independence as soon as possible, he said that the Government's group relations policy could best be described by term "plural democracy."

Pluralism reflected the diverse nature of the population structure and meant the right of each group to decide, on a basis of self-determination, the nature of its own political system.

He would try to ensure the raising of living standards of all Black people, and would like to see that Black communities make a positive contribution towards the progress of their own people.

It was of particular importance that the Urban Community Councils became involved in this process.

The UCC's should develop into representative and responsible institutions and he would like to discuss specific problems with community leaders.

He believed however, that these things could not be achieved unless "the feelings which during the past 18 months on occasion ran unnecessarily and unreasonably high, calm down.'

Cape Times 31/1/78 (101)

What future for black alliance?

By MARK AUGUST

MUCH has already been written about the Zulu-based Inkatha cultural movement and its alliance with the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party in the common struggle to liberate the black people of South Africa.

There are those like Dr William Bergins, leader of the Freedom Party of South Africa, formerly the Federal Party, who have accused the Labour Party of lacking political perspective by forming an alliance with the Inkatha movement, which he has claimed was not elected by the Zulu people to represent its interests. Dr Bergins has instead chosen to go along with the government's new constitutional dispensation.

National convention

News of the alliance has apparently been well received by some black radicals, who see the move as a step in the right direction towards a national convention to which all would be invited. Others have raised doubts in view of possible punitive action by the government, which they believe will not allow the alliance to go against the policy of rule based on the division of the ethnic groups.

And there are those who have rejected the alliance outright as another of the many unsuccessful attempts by political leaders who operate within the government-formed institutions to consolidate their image among people who have over the years refused to recognize them as leaders.

There are apparently still strong feelings against people who work on the platforms of the government-formed institutions. Many of the young and old black radical intelligentsia, particularly in the Western Cape, have consistently refused to support both the Department of Coloured Affairs and the South African Indian Council.

Inkatha was founded in 1928, by King Solomon Ka Dinizulu, a late uncle of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the present Inkatha movement. The movement became defunct a few years later when some members embezzled the funds. It had been formed as a cultural movement to assist in the preservation of the Zulu heritage.

It was revived in March 1975, when a new constitution was drawn up which was later accepted by the KwaZulu legislature in April 1975. There were basic differences between the old and the new constitution in that the old one covered the interests of its Zulu subjects whereas the new constitution provided an extension of commitment to include black liberation within the wider parameters of South Africa.

There are more than 120 000 paid-up members in the movement, which is open to all black people over the age of 18. So far there are 300 branches throughout the Transvaal, the Free State and Natal.

The Inkatha movement today represents the largest socio-political movement in South Africa. There are estimated to be five million Zulus who owe their allegiance to Chief Buthelezi out of a total population of about 16m blacks in the Republic. The figure of 16m South African blacks is based on the present estimate that there are about 21 million blacks (African, coloureds and Asians) in South Africa from which five million blacks representing Transkei and Boputhatswana nationals (from the latest population census of 1970) have been deducted.

Inkatha has a potential of uniting 8,5 million blacks once the alliance gets off the ground, giving Chief Buthelezi more numerical support than Mr Vorster, who heads 4 500 000 whites in South Africa.

Inkatha, which means "mystical coil" and refers to the lightening of burdens, has wide-ranging objectives which are enshrined in its constitution. They range from striving for the unity of the various black people in the Republic to the abolition of all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed, and inculcating and fostering a vigorous consciousness of patriotism, a strong sense of national unity and a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our land.

The National Council is the policy-making body of Inkatha which includes the central committee, the legislative assembly and the representatives of the other bodies within the movement. The movement also has its own newspaper, the Nation, and funds in excess of R300 000.

Black critics have also expressed cynicism over the proposed implementation of a practical strategy since some of the bodies involved, namely the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party, operate within the Coloured Representative Council and South African Indian Council respectively. The Inkatha movement does not operate within a government-appointed or established institution. Another school of thought has sharply questioned the feasibility of any form of black alliance because of what it calls the "wide schism" which it says is cultural, traditional, political and otherwise. It feels that the gap cannot be bridged within the black community, particularly in Natal.

In the first reaction by a cabinet minister to the establishment of an alliance, Mr Hennie Smit, Minister of Coloured Affairs, said that he wanted at that stage to leave it to the coloured leaders to make their own decisions. It is not known whether Mr Smit's comments reflected the government's feelings.

Kruger's threat

Coupled with all this uncertainty is the ever looming threat from the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, who warned Chief Buthelezi not to embrace other ethnic groups into the Inkatha movement, when the two met last year. Mr Kruger told Chief Buthelezi that he was keeping an eye on it and would not hesitate to ban it if he thought it necessary.

The Inkatha movement is believed to be doing the groundwork towards a convention where the future course of the country would be mapped out. It is however thought likely that a black convention will precede a national convention to which all would be welcomed. Chief Buthelezi has said he sees black disunity as the reason for the failure to extract fundamental change from the government.

Change in dual citizenship laws

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Citizens of independent former homelands will be able to apply for citizenship of another territorial authority area inside South Africa in terms of legislation just published.

The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Amendment Bill, which has already had its first reading in the Assembly, provides that the Minister of Bantu Administration may grant South African citizenship by birth to any citizen of a state formerly wholly, or in part included in South Africa, if that person was a South African citizen and a citizen of a torial authority area and at any time, and provided the person applied for citizenship of any territorial authority area dn the competent authority of the area concerned recommends it.

Citizens of independent homelands automatically lose their South African citizenship, but provision is now made for some of them to regain the South African citizenship they lost. Provided they are accepted as citizens of another homeland.

Cape Times 7/2/78

(101)

SA spent R536,6m on homelands

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government spent a total of R536 642 976 in grants and services on nine homelands and the Republics of Transkei and Bophuthatswana during the 1976/77 financial year. This amount included R134m for Transkei and R64,1m for Bophuthatswana.

Details of the government's expenditure on the homelands and the two independent countries are given in part one of the report of the Auditor-General for the financial year 1976-1977 which was released in Parliament yesterday

The grants to Transkei included R107,7m under the Department of Bantu Administration and Development budget vote, R1,2m under the police vote, R1,2m under the prisons vote, R15,1m under the South African Bantu Trust vote and R8,6m under the transport vote.

The grants to Bophuthatswana included R48,2m under the Bantu Administration and Development vote, R3,1m under the police vote, and R14,5m under the South Africa Bantu Trust vote.

The report gives details of the grants to nine homelands. These included R31m to Ovambo, R13,2m to Kavango, R53,3m to the Ciskei, R17,9m to Venda, R54,1m to Lebowa, R17,3m to Gazankulu, R6m to Kwakwa, R142,1m to Kwazulu and R3,7m to Caprivi.

A total of R55,2m revenue accrued to the homelands from income tax and the Bantu General Tax. This included R6,6m to Bophuthatswana, R10,9m to Transkei, R17,7m to Kwazulu, R6,5m to Lebowa, R6m to Kwakwa, R3,9m to Ciskei and R3m to Gazankulu.

The Kwazulu government gained most in both cases. Grants and services to it totalled R142m. Transkei was second with R134m, followed by Bophuthatswana (R64m), Lebowa (R54m), Ciskei (R53m) and Venda (R18m).

In SWA/Namibia, R31m was spent in grants and services to Ovambo, R13m to Kavango and R4m to Caprivi.

Of the R58m collected in 1976-77 for Bantu General Tax, R55m accrued to Transkei and the homelands, and the balance of R3m to the Bantu Trust Fund.

Kwakwa, the smallest homeland, was repaid the largest amount (R47 000) for company tax, with Bophuthatswana (R40 000) and Transkei (R28 000) next. — Sapa

Opposition being negative — Mulder

(101)

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Homeland governments knew all about the provisions of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, so vehemently opposed by the Progressive Federal and New Republic parties, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr C P Mulder, said yesterday.

Dr Mulder, who was replying to the second reading, said the legislation had been sent to all of them and there had been no objections to anything, including clauses two and three which the PFP and NRP found abhorrent.

The minister, obviously sensitive to criticism of his "poor debut", reiterated his determination to work for improved race relations. He believed in dialogue, but it was time the opposition stopped being negative and displayed a change of heart to such measures.

The measure was supported by Mr Theo Aronson (SAP Walmer) on behalf of the South African Party. but he indicated that the SAP, too, was not happy about clause three which could declare an out-of-work to be idle and to be endorsed out of an area.

Dr Mulder, accused by the PFP and NRP of following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Mr M C Botha, hit back as he charged the PFP's chief spokesman on Bantu Affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, of always being negative, His department he said, would be administered humanely.

Mrs Suzman, he said, had nothing positive to say about legislation which he believed to be in the interests of urban and rural Africans. All she had done was to pick on clauses two and three to extract "poison and the maximum propaganda", and then ignore the rest. If she was patriotic she would have taken "the good and the bad".

Instead, Mrs Suzman, the minister said, always took extreme cases such as a 16-year-old boy being sent to a work colony. This sort of thing was then spread abroad suggesting that all 16-year-old black boys were sent to work colonies.

He charged the PFP of discriminating against blacks. He wanted to know why the place of birth should take precedence over citizenship. It was an international norm for citizenship to be paramount.

Dr Mulder said he saw the constitutional position in South Africa resembling a "family of nations", similar to the old Commonwealth where there was a special bond, making them different to others in Africa.

Nat aim: No black SA citizens

Cape Times 8/2/78

(101)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. – No black would have South African citizenship when National Party policy had been carried through to its full conclusions, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr P Mulder, said in the Assembly yesterday.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Bantu Citizenship Amendment Bill, Dr Mulder said he did not wish to hide this fact.

"That is the mandate we got," he said.

"That's your dream, that's your nightmare," interjected the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw (Durban Point).

When National Party policy had been carried to its full consequences it would not be South Africa's responsibility to politically accommodate blacks, Dr Mulder said.

He said that was the basic philosophy of the National Party and the opposition should accept the fact.

The bill basically concerned citizens of homelands which were not yet independent.

In terms of the bill no person who was a citizen of Bophuthatswana or Transkei would automatically receive South African citizenship should he relinquish his citizenship of either of these two states.

He must also have been a South African citizen before accepting citizenship of either of the two newly-independent states.

Dr Mulder said the South African Government did not want to prescribe to Transkei or BophuthaTswana to whom they should give citizenship, but at the same time it should not be accepted that South African citizenship would automatically be given to former citizens of these states.

He said no black would be given South African citizenship unless he was in possession of the citizenship of an as yet not independent homeland. – Sapa

Dr C P Mulder

Mr Ray Swart

Swart attacks Citizenship Bill

Cape Times 8/2/78

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill would deprive hundreds of thousands of black people of their citizenship,, forcing them to move almost chameleon-like from homeland to homeland in order to regain their South African citizenship, Mr Ray Swart (PFP Musgrove) said in the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the bill, he said: "The net effect of this provision is that only the present generation of people — those born before independence of a homeland — can avail themselves of this 'privilege' (of becoming a citizen of a non-independent homeland and therefore a South African citizen)."

Mr Swart said in terms of the bill, the provision that individuals automatically lost their citizenship of South Africa when their homelands became independent remained totally unchanged.

If such people — after independence of their homeland — wished to regain their citizenship, they could apply to become citizens of an existing homeland and thus regain their citizenship, should they be accepted.

However, even if they fulfilled the criteria for regaining their South African citizenship, there was no obligation on the government to accept them as South African citizens.

He foresaw black people moving from one independent homeland to another in order to remain South African citizens, since they would have to re-apply every time a homeland became independent.

Mr Swart proposed an amendment requesting the House to decline passing the second reading, because the bill "fails to give to permanent residents of the Republic the assurance that they may regain, as of right, South African citizenship which they have lost solely because of the acquisition of independence by a homeland."

Mr Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point) said his party would support the PFP amendment as the NRP was opposed to the compulsory removal of the right of South African citizenship from any South African citizen.

"I want to make a positive suggestion to the minister — something that he can do with the stroke of a pen — that he establish a territorial authority in Soweto like other territorial authorities. Then the citizens of Soweto could attain South African citizenship.

"Then those quarter of a million Transkeians and citizens of Bophuthatswana who are trying to regain South African citizenship could gain citizenship of an urban territorial authority. What is wrong with that?"

The PFP's amendment was defeated by 124 votes to 26 and the bill was read a second time. — Sapa

Mulder, Phatudi meet:

'We've found each other'

Homeland hope for a new era

ARGUS 9/2/78

(101)

(i) Recre

(j) Medic
Annual

(j) Total medical cost

(k) Pension contribution by

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(m) Legal costs paid by far

(n) worker's current debt t

The Argus Political Staff

A SECOND homeland leader emerged from his meeting with Dr C P Mulder today, pleased about the approach of the new Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

This has further strengthened hopes for a new era of constructive dialogue between the Government and black leaders.

Others included the matter of extreme importance to homelands which did not wish to follow Transkei and BoputhaTswana's example by taking full independence but which wished to opt for greater autonomy within the Republic.

Chief Patrick Mphephu of Venda and Mr Simon Skosana of Ndebele also expressed satisfaction about their first meeting with Dr Mulder.

Eglin warns

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, welcomed Dr Mulder's commitment to negotiate with black leaders, but warned that this implies a willingness on both sides to make concessions and to compromise.

Commenting on the Mulder-Buthelezi talks, he said the breakdown in communication under the former Minister, Mr M C Botha, had been a major contri-

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)

Dr Cedric Phatudi said after speaking to Dr Mulder for about 45 minutes: 'I must congratulate the Minister. We had fruitful discussions, because he has the right approach and attitude.'

This follows Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's statement after meeting Dr Mulder yesterday that it was 'a big difference' and that the new Minister displayed a 'new humility which I have not experienced before.'

Both Dr Mulder and Chief Phatudi, Lebowa's Chief Minister, described their talks today as fruitful and having taken place in a good spirit.

'We've found each other,' Dr Mulder said.

Autonomy

Dr Phatudi said: 'Dr Mulder believes in dialogue, as I do. Most matters can be solved by talking.'

Before the meeting Dr Phatudi said he would raise the subject of the Homelands Autonomy Bill, which has stood over from last year's parliamentary session.

Continued from page 1

of the Labour Party executive, met Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition, and a few senior PFP MPs in Parliament.

Mr Eglin said the talks were informal and touched on current issues.

Chief Buthelezi emphasized — as he had done to Dr Mulder earlier — the potentially explosive situation which could arise if the government proceeded with its plans to strip black South Africans of their citizenship.

Chief Buthelezi handed a memo to Dr Mulder at their meeting yesterday afternoon and Dr Mulder later replied to the homeland leader's points.

Dr Mulder said allegations made by Chief Buthelezi that black representations made over the last seven years to the

Mulder

Prime Minister and the Minister of Bantu Administration had been ignored, were untrue.

There were two sides to every story, Dr Mulder said. In some cases representations were not made and in other cases specific action was taken, and had led to a general improvement in relations.

He attached a high priority to improving communications with black leaders.

Chief Buthelezi's contention that the present government framework was not acceptable to most blacks was open to dispute. Many blacks had shown that they were prepared to work within government policy.

Dr Mulder said a national convention was not the answer and meetings with different black leaders could serve the same purpose.

● In contrast to the view of Chief Buthelezi that the combination of the portfolio of Bantu Administration and Development with that of Information would be an impediment to the minister, Dr Mulder said he regarded this combination as "useful".

The Department of Information was planning a major shift in emphasis in its operations and would put a "premium" on functioning internally rather than abroad, but the department's foreign operations would not be neglected.

Dr Mulder said he would negotiate with the different black leaders to find a [illegible] the sun for white and [illegible] children "because e[illegible] these groups has a righ[illegible] existence".

South African citizenship when the National Party policy had been carried through to its full conclusion, Chief Buthelezi said he feared [illegible] aim to make blacks [illegible] citizens in their "own country" would meet with resistance.

Chief Buthelezi leaves for home this morning.

Last night, Mr David Curry, the deputy leader of the Labour Party, said the leadership of his party met Chief Buthelezi after his 45 min[illegible] discussion with Dr Mulder to discuss preparations for the meeting of the alliance on March 13.

Cape Times 9/2/78

problems

Political Staff

THE Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr C P Mulder, said yesterday he did not believe that force would solve South Africa's problems.

After a 45-minute discussion yesterday with the Chief Executive Councillor of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Dr Mulder said he would discuss a request for the release of members of Soweto's Committee of Ten with the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger.

Chief Buthelezi said after the meeting he had told Dr Mulder that unless Soweto leaders — such as Dr Ntatho Motlana and members of his Committee of Ten — were released, the government could rule out the possibility of rapport with black people in the townships.

Chief Buthelezi is the first homeland leader to meet Dr Mulder in his new capacity as Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

He said he was positive about the outcome of his meeting with Dr Mulder and said: "I had the feeling I was dealing with a human being."

Unitary

Dr Mulder said he would go out of his way to seek dialogue and would "negotiate, negotiate and negotiate" even if there was a stalemate between the goals of Chief Buthelezi and the government.

Dr Mulder said he believed there could only be peace by sub-dividing the Republic into self-governing countries rather than sharing power in a unitary state.

While Dr Mulder was giving his press conference after the meeting, Chief Buthelezi, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Coloured Labour Party, and Mr Norman Middleton, a member

Continued on page 2

Buthelezi sees 'a new humility' in Dr Mulder

CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI of Kwazulu, said yesterday that Dr C P Mulder, the new Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, showed a "big difference" from the previous minister, Mr M C Botha, and displayed a "new humility which I have not experienced before".

Speaking at a press conference after his meeting with Dr Mulder, Chief Buthelezi said he was positive about the outcome of the meeting.

"I had the feeling I was dealing with a human being. Dr Mulder means well and is honest in his own way."

Chief Buthelezi said they did not discuss the Zulu-based Inkatha cultural movement and its developments. There were no complaints from the minister about the Inkatha.

He denied he was on a confrontation course with the government on the question of the movement opening its doors to include other ethnic groups.

"I cannot see confrontation with the government because we do not engage in confrontation stances. It has never been our aim."

Chief Buthelezi said white people should not begrudge the blacks if they wanted to get

Continued on page 2

Buthelezi

Continued from page 1

together.

He added membership of the Inkatha was growing and he had recently been involved with 11 branches of the movement in Maritzburg.

Chief Buthelezi later met leaders of the Labour Party, with whom the Inkatha movement forged an alliance together with the Indian Reform Party, at Ulundi, Kwazulu on January 11, this year.

Referring to the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill now before Parliament which seeks to amend previous acts regulating the lives of urban blacks, and the statement made this week by Dr Mulder

Suzman asks Mulder to adjourn debate and reconsider the Bill

Citizenship clause a breach-PFP

ARGUS 9/2/78

Mrs Helen Suzman

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE Opposition yesterday launched an all-out assault on the contentious citizenship clause of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill accusing the Government of an onslaught on the rights of future generations of urban blacks and a breach of an agreement with the independent homeland governments.

Speaking during the committee stage debate on the Bill in the Assembly yesterday, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said that as a result of the citizenship clause tens of thousands of bluck children born in South Africa after the granting of independence to Transkei and Bophuthatswana would lose their right to South African citizenship.

The clause, which was fiercely opposed by the main opposition parties, was approved without amendment after division.

In his reply to the debate, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr C P Mulder said the Government could not perpetuate the situation whereby the citizens of independent homelands could obtain South African citizenship.

In a frank exposition of Government policy, Dr Mulder made it clear that black children of parents born after the independence of the two territories would enjoy no preferential rights in South Africa.

Denied

He denied that there was any element of discrimination against blacks involved in the measure and said that the Government was not taking any rights away from the people concerned because they had not been born with any rights to South African citizenship.

Mrs Suzman, who led the PFP assault on the clause, spoke three times during the debate, backed

Mrs Suzman said her mind boggled at the consequences of the clause. It would mean that the children of blacks in Soweto, for instance, who were born after the dates of independence of the homeland to which they were supposed to belong, would have to apply for permits to be in the areas in which they were born or face being endorsed out

'I can't understand how the Government can do this and I appeal to the Minister even at this late stage to adjourn the debate on the Bill until he has had enough time and experience in his new post to appreciate the consequences of the measure,' she said.

QUOTES

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE citizenship clause of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill does not take anything away from blacks born after the independence of Transkei and BophuthaTswana because they were not in South Africa at the time the citizenship rights were negotiated. — Dr C P Mulder (the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development).

'THE citizenship clause represents a gross deprivation of the rights of the offspring of people who were born and have lived in South Africa for some generations.' — Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton).

'THIS clause sets a most dangerous direction for South Africa to follow.' — Dr A L Boraine (PFP, Pinelands).

'WE allow blacks into the white areas of South Africa only to sell their labour.' — Mr P T C du Plessis, (NP, Lydenburg).

'YOU cannot deport a whole city.' — Dr F van Zyl Slabbert (PFP, Rondebosch).

Permission to quote Woods given 11 times

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, has granted permission on 11 occasions for Mr Donald Woods, former editor of the Daily Dispatch, to be quoted in newspapers and magazines since he was restricted. One application was rejected.

He said this in Parliament yesterday in reply to a question by Mr Nigel Wood, New Republic Party MP for Berea.

Mr Kruger said he was responsible for granting the permission and no conditions had been stipulated in cases where permission was granted. Stipulations would depend on the nature of the statements.

by Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) and Dr F van Zyl Slabbert (PFP Rondebosch).

Mrs Suzman said that she could not see why the offspring of former South African citizens who were born and had lived in the urban areas for several generations should lose their South African citizenship.

Applied

This also applied to the hundreds of thousands of blacks working on farms in South Africa.

She said that the principle of the clause represented a gross deprivation of the rights of the offspring of people who were born and had lived in South Africa for some generations.

What made it even worse was that the Government had not consulted the people concerned and were therefore depriving them of their rights to South African citizenship without their consent.

There was an angry exchange between Mrs Suzman and Mr P T C du Plessis (NP Ladenburg), the National Party chief spokesman on black affairs, when Mrs Suzman protested that the contents of the clause represented a breach of the agreement worked out by the South African Government and the governments of Transkei and Bophuthatswana over the question of South African citizenship.

Future

Mr du Plessis: Where did we break our word?

Mrs Suzman: When you deny South African citizenship to future generations of blacks who were formerly South African citizens?

Mr du Plessis: There was nothing mentioned about future generations in the agreement.

Mrs Suzman: Then you should have specifically excluded future generations in the clauses of the Independence Bills which referred to the agreement.

Qu (2)

2. Have you a een refused?

If yes, giv

3. What probler our work?

4. What do you oblems?

Do you discus. th workers on this or on other farms?

Have you eve ng together to get something changed?

To occasional a s only

Will you try to farm?

Why/Why not?

Mulder 'finds' Blacks

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr. Connie Mulder yesterday completed his second day of talks with Black homeland leaders and confidently predicted a new era in Black-White relations.

The new Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said last night that he and all five Black leaders with whom he held discussions had "found each other."

Dr. Mulder met Dr. Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa; Chief Patrick Mphephu of Venda, Chief Simon Skosana of Ndebele and Chief Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa.

Chief Phatudi said there was a "big difference" between Dr. Mulder and his predecessor, Mr. M. C. Botha.

His remark echoed similar sentiments expressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, after his meeting with Dr. Mulder on Wednesday.

Dr. Mulder said that while he would follow the guidelines of Nationalist policy, he would be making a number of changes which would affect Blacks.

"You can rest assured I'll be humane and change a number of things", he said.

"I have said I will put my own stamp on this portfolio, and if that means a new era in Black-White relations, then we'll have a new era."

Dr. Mulder added: "I have a plain, simple policy I believe implicitly. Only when you make friends can you solve complicated problems."

ARGUS 10/2/78

(101)

Nats inconsistent over ethnicity — Boraine

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE Government had forsaken one of its cornerstone policies of ethnicity and as a result was inconsistent in its ideology, Dr A L Boraine (PFP Pinelands) claimed in Parliament yesterday.

By introducing legislation allowing blacks to change their citizenship from one homeland to another, he said, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr C P Mulder, had allowed 'one of the enormous pillars on which his ideology is based,' to fall.

'What has happened to ethnicity?' he asked, amid shouts from the Opposition benches and murmers from the Government.

One of the things the Government had preached over the years was that South Africa was a multinational country consisting of people with diverse cultural, language and traditional backgrounds.

This, the Government had emphasised, also applied among the black groups.

But with this legislation, Dr Boraine said, it would be in order for a man to switch his citizenship — for a Tswana to become a Xhosa, for instance — without any Government concern.

The falling of this 'pillar' indicated that others would go too, but what concerned Dr Boraine was the Minister was being inconsistent in his ideology.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said she was not at all concerned about Dr Mulder's inconsistency — the more inconsistent with National Party policy he was the better it would be for the country, she said.

4. What do you do to solve these problems?

Do you discuss these problems with workers on this or on other farms?

Have you ever thought of joining together to get something changed?

<u>To occasional and contract workers only</u>

Will you try to come back to this farm?

Why/Why not?

Cape Times 10/2/78

Mulder carries on consulting

(101)

THE new Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr Connie Mulder, continued his plan of consultation with elected black leaders when he met four homeland leaders yesterday.

The meeting of the minister with Dr Cedric Phatudi (Lebowa), Mr Kenneth Mopeli (Qwaqwa), Mr Simon Skosana (Ndebele), and Chief Patrick Mphephu (Venda), follows the informal discussion between Dr Mulder and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of Kwazulu, on Wednesday.

Yesterday Dr Mulder said he found all the leaders prepared to listen and free to talk. He would be meeting them again.

He said he did not discuss the Zulu-based Inkatha alliance with Chief Buthelezi, but would take a look at the movement before forming an opinion. It was still premature to decide at the moment.

"I have not met all the homeland leaders. I cannot say therefore what I think about them. Those that I have met are likeable people. I believe that if there are good intentions from all sides, we will be able to find a solution to our problems.

"I am optimistic that a basis will be found in this regard," Dr Mulder said.

Dr Phatudi, the first homeland leader to meet Dr Mulder, yesterday, said after the meeting that he believed talking could solve many of the problems facing the country. He found the new minister "open and ready to listen" and he looked forward to a better future.

The homeland leaders all expressed "new hope" in Dr Mulder. But some ruled out independence. Chief Mphephu said he would push for more land for his homeland. There would be no independence for Vendaland until this had been achieved.

"Another issue I want to press on with is the name bantu, which most Africans don't want. It should be removed and the minister must decide on a better name.

"In any case, Dr Mulder, who also heads the ministry of Information, should be aware of that," he said.

interview, Dr Phatudi said co-operation whites and blacks in South Africa was essential.

"I am of the impression that the new minister wants discussion and that is essential in the present climate. A divergence of opinions necessitates people coming together to sort things out."

Dr Phatudi re-affirmed his support for the United Black Front, which was formed in October 1976 after a meeting of the homeland leaders with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, had failed to fulfil the hopes of key homeland leaders. The Front has committed itself to work for a united South Africa.

Asked if he saw the aims of the Front in the same light as he does the recently formed Inkatha alliance, Dr Phatudi said he did not know enough about the Inkatha movement to comment. He would study the Inkatha manifesto.

A spokesman for Dr Mulder said the minister would meet more homeland leaders next week.

What do you do to solve these pr

Do you discuss these problems wi is or on other farms?

Have you ever thought of join et something changed?

To occasional and contract worke

Will you try to come back to thi

Why/Why not?

Govt backtracks on 'autonomy'

Sunday Times 12/2/78 (101)

By FLEUR DE VILLIERS

IN AN amazing about-face the Government is preparing to scrap a Bill which was expected to be a feature of this year's legislative programme, National Party sources disclosed in Cape Town this week.

The Bill, which would have given autonomy to non-independent homelands, was tabled last year but was, inexplicably, held over for the present parliamentary session.

Now, the sources say, the Bill — which is recognised as a major blunder running counter to NP policy — will be quietly dropped despite an enthusiastic reception from homeland leaders.

Gambling

As originally drafted the Bill would have given almost complete autonomy to those homelands which did not accept independence, empowering them to scrap South African legislation such as the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the sanction on gambling.

The only restrictions would have been on introducing legislation contrary to South Africa's interests or making demands on its Treasury without the State President's permission.

And, because the homelands were not completely independent, their subjects would not have been compelled to sacrifice South African citizenship.

Homelands Bill to be dropped

Reasons behind the Government's change of mind are said to be:

- The realisation that, if the Bill went through, the Government would probably never be able to persuade other homeland leaders — especially Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — to accept full independence.
- The aim behind the Government's policy — the conversion of black South African citizens into foreigners — would have been frustrated.
- Hostility from the independent leaders, Prime Minister Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei and Prime Minister Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana, who would not necessarily have accepted full independence if they could have enjoyed the fruits of "autonomy".

But the main reason, sources say, is that the Government is determined to give Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu every reason to accept independence, thus reducing the South African racial equation by five million Zulus.

Softening

As the debate on homeland versus South African citizen[illegible]

Government would soon introduce a Bill which could significantly soften the Government's action in stripping millions of black South Africans of their citizenship.

The Bill — the result of tough pre-independence bargaining between the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and Chief Lucas Mangope last year — would give a special status to citizens of independent homelands which were formerly part of South Africa.

This status would make them immune to the provisions of many South African statutes on the status of aliens.

The Bill is expected to be introduced soon by the Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

While the Government appears willing, through this type of legislation, not to treat former black South Africans as complete foreigners, it is nevertheless determined — as shown by the new Bantu Laws Amendment Bill—to live up to Dr Connie Mulder's promise that, when every homeland has accepted independence, there will be "no black South Africans".

Mr Speaker, I want to leave this point by just saying that I do not have language strong enough or harsh enough to condemn that action. There is not much more to say in connection with this matter. I have already dealt with the other provisions in terms of which we can take action against anyone who is on the wrong side of the law. I have already referred to it during the Second Reading and I repeat it now. I should like to highlight it because it seems to have made no impression. One of the reasons why we are providing for this specific action is that we are dealing with layabouts who live on others by means of robbery and theft. I am spelling it out now without mincing matters. This is the type of person who is the cause of the problems in the urban residential areas. They are the ones who are 90% responsible for the things which happen there.

Mrs H SUZMAN: [Inaudible.]

*The MINISTER: These are the very people that I declare layabouts. How does the hon. member define them within the purview of the legislation? Why did the hon. member not move an amendment and define it? The old definition could be interpreted in such a way as to give a magistrate or a Bantu Affairs Commissioner much wider powers. "Normally unemployed" is as wide as can be. If a man is "normally unemployed", what does it mean in practice? We felt that we wanted to define it more closely. We do not want to make it any stronger, we want to define it so that no doubt exists. And that is why it is defined as it is here. My amendment to it tried to improve the matter even further. However, there is no appreciation or understanding for it. Unfortunately, this determines one's attitude towards the Opposition. I repeat, What are we dealing with here? I said at the Second Reading, and I want to repeat it now, that it has been done at the request, *inter alia*, of people who deal with it every day. Once again I read the quotation from the minutes where two members of the board concerned—

> Expressed their grave concern at the increased activities of young hooligans in this township. The Chief Director advised members to encourage the public to join the police reserves in order to curb these disturbances. After further discussion it was unanimously decided

The whole board decided—

> that a letter be addressed to the Divisional Commissioner of Police stating the present position, the problems experienced and its effect on the public, authorities and the administration as such

Surely this is serious. It concerns the public. It concerns the authorities. It concerns the whole community—

> Furthermore, a cleaning up of the townships by means of the combined efforts of the board's inspectorate and the SAP would be proposed

Here co-operation is being offered to the police, help to get rid of these people. Now, when I introduce legislation to clamp down on those very people that hon. member writes to the outside world: "The Government is making unemployment in South Africa a crime."

Mr B R BAMFORD: It refers to hooligans.

*The MINISTER: Yes, I quite understand that. I think they were referring to the hon. member. That is my problem with the hon. member. [Interjections.]

Mr B R BAMFORD: Mr Speaker, is the hon. the Minister permitted to refer to another hon. member as a hooligan? [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER: Mr. Speaker, I do not want to make it difficult for you. I withdraw it.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Yes. Even though you did not mean it seriously, I am pleased that you have withdrawn it.

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I did not want to make it difficult for you. [Interjections.] The hon. member for Groote Schuur is an old parliamentarian. He was in the Senate for a long time. However, I want to warn him

that if he is going to [illegible] in this House the way he is acting now, he will very soon realize that [illegible] have [illegible] Minister to deal with [illegible] interjections.

Mr Speaker, I [illegible] by saying that I [illegible] this [illegible] Bill. I think that the Bill has some positive aspects. But it is in the interest of all [illegible] to be passed. The [illegible] which are [illegible] be necessary [illegible] present circumstances in order [illegible] down on real [illegible] and [illegible] to place the whole [illegible] of citizens [illegible] the correct perspective. Since [illegible] last [illegible] Bill now be read a Third Time.

[illegible] put: That the word "now" stand part of the Question.

[illegible] which the House divided:

[illegible] 13 Mr [illegible] F. Badenhorst, G. C. [illegible] Bernstein, P. [illegible] C. J. [illegible] R. [illegible] J. C. [illegible] E. J. Botha, P. [illegible] Botha, S. P. [illegible] P. J. Coetsee, [illegible] Contra[illegible] D. Cronje, P. [illegible] Dagen, [illegible] W. J. De Beer, S. J.; De [illegible] A. M. van A. De Kl[illegible] F. W. [illegible] W. H. De [illegible]ers, D. J. De Villiers, J. D. De [illegible] W. W. [illegible] G. C.; Durr, K. D. Durrant, [illegible] Du Toit, J. P. [illegible], J. P. [illegible]zenberg, F. Hefer, [illegible], Henn[illegible] J. M. Herman, F. Heunis, J. C. [illegible] J. H.; Horn, J. W. [illegible] Jordaan, J. H. [illegible]ornhof, P. G. J.; [illegible] G. J. [illegible] W. D. Krijnauw, P. H. J. Kruger, [illegible] Langley, T. Le Grange, L. Le [illegible] F. J. (Brakpan); Le Roux, F. J. (Wonderboom); Le Roux, Z. P. Ligthelm, [illegible] Ligthelm, N. W.; Lloyd, J. J. [illegible] Louw, E. van der M. Malan, G. J. Malan, W. C. (Paarl), Malan, W. C. (Pretoriaburg), Marais, J. S.; Marais, P. S. Morrison, G. de V.; Mulder, C. P. Myer, S. L. Myburgh, G. B. Nel, [illegible] Nortje, J. H.; Nothnagel, A. J. Olckers, R. de V. Pam, P. D. Pongener, S. P. Pretorius, [illegible] Raubenheimer, A. J. Rencken, C. R. L. Rossouw, [illegible] J. C. Schlebusch, A. L. Schutte, [illegible] A. Scott, D. B. Smit, C. H. W. Smit, H. H. Stayt, W. L. Steyn, D. W. Steyn, S. J. M. Swanepoel, K. D. Swiegers, [illegible] G. Temple, H. J. Terblanche, G. P. J. Thesnissen, I. M. Treurnicht, A. P. Trezeret, J. H. B. Uys, C. Van [illegible] Berg, J. C. Van der Merwe, C. V. Van der Merwe, H. D. K. Van der Merwe, J. H. Van der Merwe, W. I. Van der Sp[illegible], S. J. H. Van de Walt, A. T. Van der Walt, H. J. D. Van der Walt, L. Van der Westhuyzen, J. J. N. [illegible] Heerden, R. F. Van Rensburg, H. M. J. (Mosselbaai), Van Rensburg, H. M. J. (Rosettenville), Van Vuuren, J. J. M. [illegible] Van Vuuren, P. Z. J. Van Zyl, J. J. F. [illegible] Venter, A. A. Volgoen, P. J. [illegible] Vlok, A. J. Vorster, B. J. Vosloo, W. L. Wentzel, J. J. G. Wessels, L.

Tellers: S. F. Kotzé, J. P. A. Reyneke, N. F. Treurnicht, A. van Breda, J. A. van Tonder and V. A. Volker.

Noes—24: Bartlett, G. S.; Basson, J. D. du P. Dalling, D. J.; De Jong, G.; De Villiers, I. F. A. Eglin, C. W.; Lorimer, R. J.; Malcomess, D. J. N.; Marais, J. F.; Miller, R. B.; Myburgh, P. A. Oldfield, G. N.; Page, B. W. B. Pyper, P. A.; Raw, W. V.; Senwarz, H. H.; Suzman, H.; Swart, R. A. F. Van der Merwe, S. S.; Van Rensburg, H. E. J.; Widman, A. B.; Wood, N. B.

Tellers: B. R. Bamford and A. L. Borain.

Question affirmed and amendment dropped.

Bill read a Third Time.

BANTU HOMELANDS CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT BILL

(Third Reading)

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, I move—

> That the Bill be now read a Third Time.

Mr R A F SWART: Mr Speaker, although the hon. the Minister told us during

HANSARD NO. 3.

the Second Reading debate that other legislation would be forthcoming from his colleagues the hon. the Minister of the Interior to regulate the position of South African citizens who have lost their South African citizenship as a result of homeland independence, we see this Bill for what it is, and that is that it is in itself the result of former South African citizens having lost their South African citizenship as a result of homeland independence. I am also aware that the hon. the Minister's colleague gave notice this afternoon of the legislation which the hon. the Minister foreshadowed during the Second Reading debate. The effect of the Bill before the House at present, however, will be to establish machinery to enable certain of these people who have been deprived of their citizenship to regain their South African citizenship in certain circumstances. This is the sort of benefit to be conferred on such people.

The hon. the Minister has, however, been at pains in his earlier remarks on this legislation, to make it quite clear that the intention is that its operation will be very limited. Its operation will be limited, we know, to certain individuals on compassionate grounds, but the hon. the Minister has also stated that its operation will include, perhaps, the transfer of tribes from an independent homeland to a non-independent homeland. In addition the terms of the Bill lay down the procedure that must be followed by any former South African citizen seeking to regain his South African citizenship, and as such it presents a number of hazards which have to be overcome before regaining his South African citizenship. We know that the individual concerned is being asked to apply to a non-independent homeland for citizenship or admission. We know that he has to be accepted by that non-independent homeland, and that that acceptance must then be recommended to the hon. the Minister. We also know that the Bill provides that the hon. the Minister may then, in his discretion, decide whether or not to grant such citizenship to the person concerned. It is therefore a very limited operation, and certainly a very far cry from what we on this side of the House believe the position should be in respect of those people in South Africa who have lost their citizenship as a result of homeland independence.

Our attitude is that such a person, having lost his South African citizenship, should be able to regain his citizenship as a right if he is still resident in the Republic of South Africa. We clearly stated that during the Second Reading debate.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: Is it still automatic?

Mr. R. A. F. SWART: If he is resident in the Republic of South Africa and has lost his citizenship as a result of homeland independence, we believe that such a person should be able to regain that citizenship as a right.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: How do you define South Africa?

Mr. R. A. F. SWART: We say that somebody must be permanently resident in South Africa.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: What are the borders of South Africa? Are the independent homelands included?

Mr. R. A. F. SWART: No, we are speaking about South Africa without the independent homelands.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: After independence?

Mr. R. A. F. SWART: Yes. We believe that that is the position that should obtain with regard to these people who, without any say, have been deprived of their South African citizenship. This Bill, when it is implemented, will be a very far cry from that situation because this Bill will place the persons involved at the mercy of a non-independent homeland, because they can only get back their citizenship via a non-independent homeland, at the mercy of the hon. the Minister or at the mercy of both. We believe that it would have been easier for Parliament to have examined what the hon. the Minister is trying to achieve in this Bill if this Bill had come after the Bill which is apparently going to be introduced by the hon. the Minister of

the Interior. Since that Bill, from what one knows of it, is apparently going to be more comprehensive and far-reaching than this measure, it is a pity that this Bill did not follow that Bill. We are left with the situation where we cannot know to what extent the Government is prepared to meet the very well grounded grievance of people who have been deprived of their South African citizenship as a result of homeland independence. In those circumstances I move as an amendment—

To omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "this House declines to pass the Third Reading of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Amendment Bill because it fails to give to permanent residents of the Republic the assurance that they may regain, as of right, South African citizenship which they have lost solely because of the acquisition of independence by a homeland."

Mr. H. J. COETSEE: Mr. Speaker, I find myself in the position of having to apologize to the hon. member for Musgrave. In the first place I must apologize because I over-estimated him. In the second place I must apologize because I thought that he had more insight than he showed in this debate after he heard the explanations which the hon. the Minister gave during the Committee Stage and the Second Reading. In the meantime the hon. member for East London North has also expressed certain sentiments, viz. that the Bill can be seen as a starting point from which those people who have, according to them, been wronged—of course we deny this—are at least given a means of rectifying the matter. I apologize for thinking that the hon. member for Musgrave would have the insight to see this at least. However, the hon. member did not even make use of that loophole. That is why I apologize for thinking that he had so much insight.

As we have already said, this Bill is a logical consequence of the existing subsection (2) of section 3. That section already makes provision for the transfer or exchange of citizenship from one territorial authority area to another. The criterion there is domicile of at least five years. Therefore it is logical that when independent fatherlands come into being, we should create the possibility, in the place of subsection (2), for exchanging citizenship from an independent fatherland to a self-governing territory within the Republic.

The hon. the Minister has explained that we have compassionate cases here which must be considered. He asked the Official Opposition how they thought compassionate cases should be handled as regards the compassionate cases themselves, but also as regards the outside world. However, the Opposition does not want to leave a loophole for handling the compassionate cases. The only conclusion one can come to is that as with many of these matters, they themselves will gloat if there should be trouble. They want to oppose the removal of a troublesome bottleneck because a platform is being removed from under their feet. This is the case here. That is why we are not accused before the world this time, but we are up before the world because we want to deal with this type of case in a way which will not cause any inconvenience for the people concerned. For instance, the hon. the Minister referred to the case of a Qwaqwa woman who wanted to marry a Transkei citizen and settle in the Qwaqwa territory, and the case of a Tswana woman who married a Qwaqwa citizen after which they wanted to settle in Qwaqwa. As far as this is concerned, we have not received any reply from the Opposition, while the effect of this legislation will in fact be that similar cases may be dealt with.

Fundamentally, this is based on the internationally recognized principle of citizenship by naturalization. It is not strange for an Italian who comes to live here to obtain citizenship through naturalization or that in due course naturalization can be obtained after a marriage. We are also working with well-known concepts. The Black people had the custom that individuals belonging to one tribe could obtain citizenship of another tribe by the payment of a certain sum of money known as the "lotcha" in respect of the one group and the "konza" in respect of another. How many people in their own areas does this affect today? Possibly 8 million or even more. Does the hon. member want to tell us that they do not know about this? I take it that they do not know about it. I also take it that these customs are totally unknown to them.

The other two grounds for obtaining citizenship are birth and descent. It is very clear that the birth factor is excluded here because citizenship of a self-governing terri-

tory within the Republic of South Africa can only be obtained if this person was a citizen of the RSA before the independence of the homeland concerned. We say outright that citizenship is only available in this way to people who were born here before the independence date. Therefore citizenship cannot be obtained by birth after independence. If we analyse the amendment of the hon. member and look at his argument, it is clear that he is not taking the date of independence into consideration.

Although he refers to individuals domiciled within the Republic, his argument and his amendment are so widely stated as also to include people who are domiciled outside the Republic and were in fact born after the date of independence. If we look at the argument of the hon. member for Houghton, we find the same motive present there.

Therefore, we find that the question of ethnicity and a violation of this principle were not at issue here at all and this is proved by the customs to which I referred and by the fact that we are dealing with individual cases here and not with the masses. We are dealing with the exception and not with the masses. The PFP brought up the argument of ethnicity as well as many other arguments because they wanted to use the amendment to the Bill as a lever whereby to force their policy on the RSA. Secondly, it would have had the effect, for example, that citizens of Bophuthatswana and the Transkei would be deprived of their citizenship. We have not had any reply to this argument either. If we take the result of their amendment into consideration, it is clear that they took a few hours to tell us that every present citizen of Bophuthatswana, including those born after 6 December 1977, and those at present domiciled inside or outside Bophuthatswana, may decide unilaterally to take South African citizenship, unconditionally and without fundamental formalities, regardless of the interests of Bophuthatswana and without consulting the Government of Bophuthatswana in the matter. This is what they really said after having argued for hours.

Other factors which influence the situation as well as the point of view of the PFP, are the fact that they want to convey an image to the outside world of not recognizing the independence of these fatherlands. They advanced this argument last year, but an argument like this is naive in view of the reality. That is why, after the hon. member for Pinelands admitted in the House during the Committee Stage that they accepted the full independence of the fatherlands Bophuthatswana and Transkei, it is incomprehensible that they came up with an amendment like this one which they moved during the Third Reading of the Bill. That is why I beg the hon. member's pardon for the degree of insight which I thought he had. How on earth, after recognizing the independence of those areas, can one move an amendment which implies that the Government can deprive citizens of another country of their citizenship by means of a single unilateral decision, without imposing any conditions?

*Mr R. A. F. SWART: These are citizens who live in the Republic.

*Mr H. J. COETSEE: How can one do this even as regards the citizens domiciled here? How on earth can one allege, on the one hand, that one recognizes the independence of the fatherlands as one recognizes that of Israel and England, and on the other hand, in a matter like this, deprive them of half their citizens with a single stroke of the pen? This is the result of the hon. member's point of view. Another result of his point of view is that the hon. member states that the citizenship of these people, even those who are domiciled in the Republic, is an inferior citizenship. Will the hon. member agree that I am correct? Will the hon. member agree that what his argument amounts to is that he is of the opinion that the citizenship of Bophuthatswana is inferior and that he finds fault with the Bill because provision is not made for the group as a whole? This is in fact a flagrant insult to these people. Let us go further. The PFP were asked if they were of the opinion that the group which their amendment applied to, was stateless. I ask the hon. member for Musgrave once again: Is he of the opinion that those people whom his amendment concerns, are stateless?

*Mr R. A. F. SWART: They live here in South Africa; they are South Africans.

*Mr H. J. COETSEE: Are you of the opinion that they are stateless? The hon. member argues that they were deprived of their citizenship by independence and now I

ask him whether he thinks that they are stateless.

The hon. member for Musgrave should just as well call in legal assistance now that certain virginally artless remarks have been made. I think that we should now be able to expect solutions from that source. Does the hon. member for Musgrave consider citizenship of the Republic superior to citizenship of Bophuthatswana? The hon. member does not want to answer my question. [Interjections.] The situation is becoming impossible now. Let us look at any category of Bantu that can be affected by the Bill or amendment, whether it be the compassionate cases or the other cases as a group, which could concern us here. I am referring to the people who are affected by the amendment of the hon. member for Musgrave. Are they not being placed in the same position as the position in which they were before the date of independence? Has the hon. member thought out this possibility? Are they not being placed in precisely the same position? If one takes note of the wording of the clause, one finds that citizenship of the specific territorial authority area plus citizenship of South Africa is acquired. The hon. member concedes that. In other words, they are placed in precisely the same position as the one in which they were previously. What did they have before? They had citizenship according to international law which had international significance. This is precisely what we are enacting here. They also had citizenship in accordance with the constitutional law of the particular territorial authority area or self-governing territory as well as citizenship of South Africa with its concomitant rights and obligations. I want to emphasize that they also had the concomitant rights and obligations. This is what is stated in the clause. If the rights are precisely the same as those which they had, what, then, is the hon. member's objection to a groupzof people obtaining this sort of citizenship? Does he think it is an inferior situation and if so, why then does he want to keep them in the Republic? Why does the hon. member want to keep other citizens of self-governing territories within the Republic and why is he a disciple of anti-independence?

I considered the hon. member to be an expert in these matters, but he has disappointed me and therefore forced me to apologize to him—I want to say it once again—because I over-estimated him entirely.

Mr D. J. N. MALCOMESS: Mr. Speaker, we in these benches—I may say that it is nice to be able to say "we in these benches" after the Committee Stage of this particular Bill—agree to an extent with what the hon. member for Musgrave said, that is that South Africans have lost citizenship in South Africa through no fault of their own; that, despite the fact that they continue to live within our borders, they have, as I have said earlier, willy-nilly lost their South African citizenship. We certainly totally disagree with this concept, but I must admit that the attitude of the PFP towards this Bill totally mystifies us. What does the Bill do? The Bill gives rights to Blacks which they have not up to now had. Those who had lost their citizenship had no means of getting it back. At least there is now a route they can take, and the Bill does provide that additional route by which they can regain their "section 10" rights.

In the Third Reading debate of the previous Bill, the hon. member for Houghton said that she would do anything to improve the situation. I submit, with respect, that this legislation does improve the situation. I agree that it does not go far enough, but it does bring about an improvement in that these people will in terms of the Bill be able to get their "section 10" rights back.

Mr. R. A. F. SWART: For how long?

Mr. H. E. J. VAN RENSBURG: It will only be temporarily.

Mr D. J. N. MALCOMESS: "For how long"; "temporarily"—at one stage the Official Opposition suggested that it was totally meaningless. It is effective for as long as there is one Bantu homeland which has not taken its independence. Let us put ourselves in the situation of a Transkeian Xhosa who lives, shall we say, in a portion of the Zulu homeland, kwaZulu. He is a man who has lost his South African citizenship and who now, because he lives with the Zulus, may be able to persuade the Government of kwaZulu to accept him as a citizen of that homeland, and the hon. the Minister might therefore be persuaded to accept him again as a South African citizen. How pleased do hon. mem-

bers think he would be with the Official Opposition who want to deny him this right? It is meaningful to him and it might be meaningful to him for quite a long time; it will be meaningful for as long as the homelands are prepared to grant citizenship to these people, as long as the hon the Minister is prepared to allow them to have their South African citizenship back again and as long as there is one remaining homeland

Mrs H. SUZMAN: In the case you mentioned he would not get his "Section 10" rights back; he lives in kwaZulu

Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS This is the effect the Bill will have, but the PFP say it is meaningless However, I believe that in proposing the amendment they have moved, they are in fact standing in the way of Black people who would like to regain South African citizenship.

Mr R A F. SWART But you voted for the same amendment at second reading

Mr D. J. N MALCOMESS: I do not think that there can be any argument against this point of view whatsoever. One must now ask oneself for what reason the PFP is opposing a measure which is going to restore rights to the Blacks whom they are always trying to help

Mrs H. SUZMAN: It is a farce!

Mr D J N. MALCOMESS: It is not a farce, or meaningless If one Black man regains his South African citizenship through this Bill, it will not have been a farce What reason can the PFP have for proposing an amendment that the House decline to pass the Bill? I can think of one reason only I can only think that it is the idle and vainglorious posturing of a slick, professional pressure group.

Mr. B W B. PAGE: Hear, hear! I like that!

Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS: Yes, I enjoyed that enormously. [Interjections] I believe that this is straight confrontation politics, it is not opposition and it is certainly not effective opposition. In conclusion I should like to make the comment that although the NRP's amendment on the previous Bill was rejected, the Government's amendment, in fact, accomplished virtually the selfsame thing I submit that that is "effective"

Dr A L BORAINE: Mr Speaker, what interests me, is the definition of "opposition" by the hon member who has just sat down. He spent his entire time addressing the Opposition Party on his right but did not say a word to the hon gentlemen on the other side of the House This is part of a trend. We are accustomed to that and have been accustomed to it for a long time

I should just like to ask the hon member for East London North one question. If he feels so strongly about this, how did he and his colleagues bring themselves to vote for the exact same amendment to the Second Reading? Their minds were consequently changed between the Second and the Third Reading of the Bill No amendment was moved in the Committee Stage.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS. An amendment was moved at Second Reading.

Dr A L BORAINE. No, there was not There was only one amendment and that was the amendment moved by the hon member for Musgrave, an amendment for which that hon. member voted. In spite of the fact that nothing has changed whatsoever, he now says that he is totally in favour of this Bill.

I now want to deal with the Government which moved the Third Reading of this Bill. I want to tell the hon. member for Bloemfontein West that he really ought to have read the amendment before he made his prepared speech. If he had done that, his comments would have been very different They were quite funny and humorous while he was making them, but really and truly he said nothing about this amendment. I very briefly want to emphasize that firstly it is true—it has been stated in the Second Reading debate and in the Committee Stage, and I personally stated it—that the reality of independent countries like Transkei and Bophuthatswana cannot be turned away from This is a reality which we said then and which we say now that we accept Secondly, I want to emphasize that we do not belittle the citizen-

ship of either of those two territories. We have said that in the Committee Stage. Thirdly, we have said and it seems that it needs to be said again in this Third Reading debate—that there is ample precedent, when a country surrenders part of its sovereignty to another newly-formed country, for it to give the citizens of that newly-formed country the choice about their own citizenship That is the matter we are seeking to underline here. We are not talking about wholesale rights for people who have never enjoyed citizenship of South Africa This amendment makes it absolutely clear This Bill fails to give to permanent residents

Mr H. J. COETSEE. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the hon member whether he is aware of the fact that Bophuthatswana is already independent? The option which is the object of his plea should therefore have been available last year, but we are dealing with a different situation now. Does he admit that?

Dr. A. L BORAINE: I expected a question, not a speech. It is quite true, of course We are at least consistent. When we argued against the giving of independence last year, we took exactly the same point we are taking now. It is only that hon. member who seems to have changed his mind. However, because of this precedent and because we believe people ought to have been given that opportunity, we still believe that This Bill only legislates for exceptions, and very, very few exceptions at that. It was rather amusing to listen to the hon. member for East London North when he tried to make as much political capital as he could out of this by talking about "if this happens" and "perhaps if that happens" and "it may be this" and "and it may be that" and then there might be one lone citizen somewhere who gains some benefit The hon. the Minister was much more honest. He made it very clear that he was doing this for every exceptional cases. And he spelt it out. We agree that that is right, but because this is playing with a large number of people who are denied the choice, we are not prepared to lend respectability to it That is the reason why we have consistently opposed this Bill at the Second Reading, the Committee Stage and now and why I support the amendment moved by the hon. member for Musgrave.

Mr. W. V. RAW Mr. Speaker, I rise solely to reply to the question put to me as to why we adopt an attitude at the Third Reading different from that which we adopted at the Second Reading Perhaps I can give the hon. member an elementary lesson in parliamentary procedure

Mr. B. R. BAMFORD: You were not even here.

Mr. W V. RAW: I happen to know what happened. At the Second Reading, before the principle was established, we supported the extension of this Bill to provide a wider concession to those who had lost citizenship. We supported the concept that the right to regain citizenship was something desirable, and we voted for it. This House rejected that amendment, accepted the principle of the Bill and accepted the Bill in the Committee Stage We are now, at Third Reading, therefore presented with the Bill as it is We are presented at this stage with a principle already accepted And that principle is incorporated in this Bill. We now look at the Bill as it is, not as we would like to see it, not as we would have drafted it, but as it is before the House and approved in principle. The hon. member for Houghton this very afternoon said she would do anything in her power to improve the position of any Black person [Interjections]

*Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: Loud mouth ("groot bek").

Mr. W V RAW: Now here is a Bill which improves the position of some Black people. As it happens, it improves the position of one of my own employees.

Mr. B R. BAMFORD: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order: Is the hon. member permitted to refer to another hon member as a braggart ("grootbek")?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: What did the hon. member say?

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: I said "loud mouth".

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! The hon. member must withdraw those words.

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: I withdraw.

Mr. W. V. RAW: Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary to guess which hon. member he was referring to. [Interjections.] I now wish to repeat what I was saying. The hon. member for Houghton accepts that if one can improve the position of anyone one should do so. This Bill does not achieve what we would like it to achieve. But we are not going to cut off our noses to spite our faces because we did not get everything we wanted. I want to make it quite clear that our attitude in Parliament throughout will be that if a matter improves the situation, even though it does not do it our way, or does not go as far as we would like it to, if it makes anything better than it used to be, if it improves the situation, then we shall support it. We have made that clear, and we stand by that procedure even though it might not be how we would like to see it. We are not going to refuse or oppose something of benefit for any sector of our people simply because it does not conform to exactly how we would like to see the situation. We are not going to oppose any measure which brings a benefit or improves a situation, particularly of the other races, because it does not go as far as we would like it to go. This measure deals only with a few people, but it is an improvement; it is a concession to those few people. Unlike the Official Opposition we are not prepared to say we are going to vote against an improvement for some people and it's just too bad for them. They want to show how tough they are and in order to show how tough they are, they are going to vote against the interests of Black people because it does not go as far as they would like it to go. That is why, having voted at Second Reading in an attempt to broaden the scope of the Bill, having supported an amendment and having failed to get the broadened scope, we support what we are now faced with—the reality before us. In fact, I do not want to question the rules but I have always understood that at Third Reading we should deal with the contents of a Bill as they are. This amendment does not refer to the contents of this Bill at all. It has no reference whatsoever to the contents of this Bill. It is a reference to what the Official Opposition would like to see in this Bill. It does not refer to what is in the Bill. We are voting in favour of what is in the Bill.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr. Speaker, if ever anyone wants to look for a broadening of anything at all, there could not be a better one than the hon. member for Durban Point to look for such a broadening. [Interjections.]

Mr. W. V. RAW: Thank you very much! [Interjections.]

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: However, I want to tell the hon. member for Durban Point . . .

Mr. W. V. RAW: We have aged together, Helen.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Well, some of us age better than others, I must say. [Interjections.]

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: And she has aged rather well, has she not? [Interjections.]

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: I think we should leave the personal remarks to one side. It is a pity the hon. member for Durban Point was not in the House when the Bill was argued.

Mr. W. V. RAW: I was here!

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Durban Point was not here during the Second Reading debate.

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: He was here!

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Was he indeed? Well, if he was here during Second Reading that makes it even worse, because he has now done a complete turnabout. In his argument now . . .

Mr. W. V. RAW: Just read my Hansard!

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: It is bad enough to have to listen to the hon. member without having to read his Hansard afterwards. However, the point I want to make is that this Bill does not do what it purports to do, and by the NRP voting for this Bill, as I presume they are going to do at Third Reading, they are giving it a measure of respectability which it does not deserve. They are helping to raise the hopes of Africans to believe that because one of the opposition parties supports this, especially with the words that have been used, this will open the door . . .

Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS: . . . to some, a few people.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Well, to some.

Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS: To some.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: To a few, as the hon. member has said. They will give the impression that the much longed for reacquisition of South African citizenship is now going to be open to all those hundreds of thousands, all those millions of Black people . . .

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: What nonsense!

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: . . . who lost their citizenship when the Transkei and Bophuthatswana gained their independence.

Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS: Why do you not read what the Bill purports exactly?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: No, Sir, it is the words of the hon. members of the NRP that are completely misleading. This is the narrowest of possible ways for the fewest of possible people.

Mr. W. V. RAW: Mr. Speaker, may I ask the hon. member whether it is a concession to some people?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: I do not know. It may be. I doubt it, however. I doubt it because the hon. the Minister says himself . . . [Interjections.]

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: Why do you not read the Bill?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: I have read the Bill. I have debated the Bill. However, the hon. the Minister has made his intentions clear. He may allow, for temporary reasons only—and it will be temporary—a few people to regain citizenship, not in order to regain section 10 rights, but in order perhaps to go and live somewhere else in some other part of the country with a marriage partner of a different ethnic group. He may allow that.

Mr. W. V. RAW: Well, that is temporary.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Of course, it is temporary, because the hon. the Minister said that by the time he had finished there would not be a single Black person left with South African citizenship.

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: How long will that take?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: The hon. the Minister and the hon. the Prime Minister both put it at five years.

Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS: That means five years of citizenship.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Well, five years of citizenship then, five years of living in kwaZulu with a Ciskei woman.

Mr. B. W. B. PAGE: Do you not want to do the right thing today?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Yes, but I do not think this is doing the right thing. I think that this, as I say, is putting a stamp of respectability on a farcical measure. That is what it is. It is a farcical measure. Therefore, as far as we are concerned the arguments . . . They may have been advanced in all sincerity. I do not question the sincerity. One looks at the Bill asking whether it is the sort of Bill that one can possibly support. One sees that maybe a few people may benefit from it. However, I believe one has to remember the overall effect of supporting a measure like this and therefore giving the impression—a false impression—that many people will be able to regain citizenship rights through it.

Mr. W. V. RAW: What is wrong with what is in the Bill?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: I shall be very interested to hear how many people this time next year, or this time two years, will have regained their citizenship as a result of this Bill. I shall put a question in the course of time to the hon. the Minister and I hope he will be able to support the arguments which those hon. members have advanced. If that is the case, I shall be the first to say that I was wrong. That, however, is something I do not often do.

*Mr. F. HERMAN: Mr Speaker, we had the interesting phenomenon this afternoon of the two Opposition parties being at loggerheads with one another about a Bill They actually conducted a discussion themselves. I think we had a very good example this afternoon of the Official Opposition being on the run Since the NRP has now associated itself with the Bill, I think it is only a question of time or insight before the Official Opposition sees the light.

I agree completely with the action of the NRP They have also seen the light now and consequently they are going to vote in favour of the Bill. I also agree with their moving an amendment during the Second Reading debate . .

*Mr. W. V RAW: You are trying to distort what we said.

*Mr. F HERMAN: . . . and that, when they could not get what they wanted, they accepted what they thought was second best I have no fault to find with this.

Mr. B. R BAMFORD: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order: Is an hon member allowed to say that another hon member "distorts" words?

*The DEPUTY SPEAKER. Order! The hon member for Durban Point must withdraw that statement.

*Mr. W V RAW: Mr. Speaker, I said the hon member "tries to distort".

*The DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. member must rather withdraw it.

*Mr. W. V. RAW: I withdraw it, Sir

Mr. B W. B. PAGE: Are you now whipping for the Nats? [Interjections.]

*Mr. F. HERMAN: Mr. Speaker, I think the Official Opposition failed in another respect too. They did not stick to the Bill before the House. They harped on the regaining of citizenship the whole afternoon, but basically the subject of the Bill is not the regaining of citizenship. The Bill concerns something completely different. Why is a person concerned about his citizenship?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! May I suggest that if the hon. member for Houghton wants to have a private conversation with the hon member for Durban Point, she should make an appointment for tonight? [Interjections.]

*Mr F. HERMAN After the exchange this afternoon, I should like to see who would come off best from that appointment tonight. [Interjections.]

As I said, the Bill does not basically concern the regaining of citizenship, nor the regaining of South African citizenship It concerns something else. Why is one concerned about one's citizenship? In the first place, one is concerned about it in order to protect one's interests However, one is also concerned about it in order to obtain rights in a certain State. Of course, there are also many other additional reasons for being concerned about it.

The amendment contained in the Bill is only to the advantage of the people who live in that State. As was pointed out in the Second Reading debate, the amendment has been made for humanitarian reasons The intention is to meet the people concerned halfway. There is absolutely nothing sinister about the Bill The mistake which the Opposition is making is to read something into the Bill which is not to be found there at all

In terms of the Bill, the decision rests with the citizen himself as to whether he wants to accept citizenship of another territorial authority area or not. If it holds better advantages for him, he can exercise the choice in order to accept such citizenship. The hon member for Durban Point also pointed out that if such citizenship will be to the greater advantage of a person, he may apply for it. There are various reasons why it may be of greater advantage to him Reference has already been made to family ties. There are also other reasons such as business considerations. Someone may have a chain of businesses in a territorial authority area and that is why he may choose rather to accept the citizenship of that area. Therefore, we want to leave the door open for him to apply for it. Obviously, even an undesirable person may apply for citizenship of a specific territorial authority area. If his application is successful, he will automatically obtain citizenship of the Republic too. Of course, it

is obvious that the application of an undesirable person will not be granted lightly On the contrary, we should then have to scrutinize it very carefully before it is granted. Of course there is no such thing as dual citizenship A person may not regain citizenship of the Republic and then retain citizenship of another country too. This is being harped on the whole time One can only obtain citizenship of one country and not have any other citizenship in addition If one takes a look at the elections held in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana and at the people in those areas who voted, as well as at the large number of people outside those areas who also made use of their franchise, one must believe that citizenship of those States means a great deal to the people concerned and that they are also concerned about their citizenship just as any other person is The franchise forms a major part of one's citizenship One applies for citizenship because one also wants to have a say in a specific area That is why we are making it easier for people to choose in which State they want to exercise their citizenship.

I say once again that I think the Official Opposition has not been talking about this Bill at all. They read things into this Bill which do not exist there at all However I am pleased that the NRP has now seen the light and is going to support this Bill.

*The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, I have heard nothing from the Opposition in the course of this debate to which I need reply Although the matter is very clear, I must point out a few things.

In the first place, this Bill concerns citizenship of the territorial authority areas, homeland areas or fatherland areas, whatever we prefer to call them This is quite clear from the long title of the Bill if we would only read it. I just want to quote it—

> To amend the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970, so as to provide for the granting in certain circumstances of citizenship of a territorial authority area to certain persons; and for matters connected therewith.

In other words, the crux of the matter is not South African citizenship, about which the Official Opposition is making all the fuss It is not about that in the first place It is about the regaining of citizenship of an existing non-independent fatherland territory in South Africa. That is the crux The amendment about South African citizenship is, said in all friendliness, really a riddle to me at this stage.

Let me make the picture clear In my Second Reading speech I said the purpose of this was, among other things, to assist in compassionate cases I also mentioned some of the cases. I said, suppose a man from Transkei was married to a woman from the Ciskei, a situation which could easily happen in practice They would then be Transkeian citizens, because the citizenship of the husband is decisive. Suppose, however, that that couple, for whatever reason, wanted citizenship of the Ciskei

How would we handle that situation? Suppose a Sotho woman were married to a man from Bophuthatswana In terms of the present dispensation, as agreed to between the two Governments, they then have citizenship of Bophuthatswana—both the man and the woman Suppose however that they want Qwaqwa citizenship. This Bill makes that possible Suppose the impossible happens and the House is convinced that the Opposition is correct and we accept their amendment Suppose we are convinced, as they want us to be convinced, and we accept their amendment. We would then have no means at our disposal to accommodate those cases Let me quote an example Suppose part of a tribe now lives in an independent homeland area and voluntarily moves to another area In this manner they can acquire citizenship of the non-independent fatherland area and thereby again acquire South African citizenship. In the absence of this legislation, that is not possible This could not happen Their former citizenship would have to remain unchanged. That is why I cannot understand—and here I agree with the NRP—that the Official Opposition is against this. I also agree with the NRP in another respect. In the Second Reading they wanted to extend the scope of the Bill to accommodate more people For reasons which I set out very clearly, we voted against that. We are not prepared to extend it. I am not prepared automatically to restore every person's citizenship to him, and I clearly set out my reasons for that. But now

that we have reached the Third Reading and can in certain cases restore people's citizenship. I cannot understand why the Official Opposition votes against that. As far as their argument of "respectability" is concerned, in all honesty I do not know whether it would lend "respectability" to a Bill if they were to support it. The hon. member for Pinelands has said with great show: "But we at least are being consistent."

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: That is right.

The MINISTER: But surely, Mr. Speaker, they are consistently wrong. I do not think that that is a qualification.

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: That is just your opinion.

*The MINISTER: Certainly! It is incidentally also the opinion of most of the voters in South Africa—strangely enough!

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Where were you in Pinelands?

*The MINISTER: In this debate of course we have seen an interesting fight: a very interesting bit of in-fighting between the Opposition parties. They obviously wanted to settle the question of which of the two is the more effective Opposition. The reason why this is so—this is the first time I see it in the history of democracy throughout the world—is that a party which, from before the election until after the election has been progressing backwards, has nevertheless been promoted to the Official Opposition. I do not know of another country in the world where this has happened. Although that party has dwindled from 18 to 17 seats, it has been promoted to the Official Opposition.

Let me come back to the Bill. I want to say that the hon. member for Bloemfontein West has summarized the arguments raised so perfectly that I really have very little to add about the whole business. I just want to state that, as indicated in the long title, which summarizes the essence of the Bill, the issue is primarily the acquisition of citizenship of a non-independent territory in South Africa. South African citizenship is an additional matter, as is indicated in the long title. Nevertheless the hon. member for Musgrave argues persistently that the people concerned are being deprived of their South African citizenship. To him, that is all that is involved. The positive side of that is however true, i.e., that they are not being deprived of their South African citizenship, but that they have in fact acquired their own full citizenship. The hon. member is a pessimist—he wears a belt as well as braces. He says the bottle is half empty, but we say it is half full. That is the difference. He is forever seeing the negative side. These are not people who have been deprived of their South African citizenship, but rather people who, after years and years have acquired full and proud citizenship of their own country. That is positive!

*Mr. H. E. J. VAN RENSBURG: Did every citizen have a choice?

*The MINISTER: Their Governments negotiated the matter with our Government and acquired it for them and as a result of that they have obtained it. By means of this Bill we are now making it possible for certain heartache cases, awkward cases, difficult cases, compassionate cases, to be accommodated in this manner and again acquire homeland citizenship of a non-independent territory and with that also the right again to acquire South African citizenship. That is the crux of the legislation. I think it improves the present position. It does not go quite as far as the Opposition wants to go. They want to restore it automatically.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr. Speaker, may I ask the hon. the Minister to tell us whether this has anything whatever to do with the reacquisition of rights in terms of section 10 of the Urban Areas Act?

*The MINISTER: The primary issue here is that of people who can reacquire their South African citizenship on this basis. Let me make it clear, however, that it is not applicable to the children of these people or to people who have obtained their citizenship via another channel—I now refer to the people of Botswana, Asians and communists. But when a person has reacquired his citizenship in the normal manner, he will for all practical purposes again be a South African citizen, even when he acquires citizenship of

a non-independent homeland, and he is again back in his original position, with all the privileges attached thereto. In other words, the answer to the question by the hon. member is "Yes". The Opposition ought now to support the Third Reading of the Bill.

Question put. That all the words after "That" stand part of the Question,

Upon which the House divided.

AYES—122: Albertyn, J. T.; Ballot, G. C.; Bartlett, G. S.; Bodenstein, P., Botha, C. J. van R.; Botha, J. C. G.; Botha, P. W.; Botha, R. F.; Botha, S. P., Clase, P. J., Coetsee, H. J., Conradie, F. D.; Cronje, P.; Cruywagen, W. A.; Cuyler, W. J., De Beer, S. J.; De Jager, A. M. van A.; De Jong, G.; De Klerk, F. W.; Delport, W. H.; De Villiers, D. J.; De Villiers, J. D., De Wet, M. W.; Du Plessis, G. C.; Durr, K. D., Durrant, R. B.; Du Toit, J. P.; Grobler, J. P., Hartzenberg, F.; Hayward, S. A. S.; Hefer, W. J., Henning, J. M.; Herman, F., Heunis, J. C., Heyns, J. H.; Horn, J. W. L., Janson, J., Jordaan, J. H.; Koornhof, P. G. J.; Kotzé, G. J.; Kotzé, W. D.; Krijnauw, P. H. J.; Kruger, J. T.; Langley, T.; Le Grange, L.; Le Roux, F. J. (Brakpan), Le Roux, F. J. (Hercules), Le Roux, Z. P., Ligthelm, C. J.; Ligthelm, N. W.; Lloyd, J. J.; Louw, E., Louw, E. van der M.; Malan, G. F.; Malan, W. C. (Paarl); Malan, W. C. (Randburg); Malcomess, D. J. N.; Marais, J. S.; Marais, P. S.; Miller, R. B.; Morrison, G. de V.; Mulder, C. P.; Muller, S. L.; Myburgh, G. B.; Nel, D. J. L.; Nortje, J. H.; Nothnagel, A. E.; Olckers, R. de V.; Oldfield, G. N.; Page, B. W. B.; Palm, P. D.; Potgieter, S. P.; Pretorius, N. J., Pyper, P. A.; Raubenheimer, A. J.; Raw, W. V.; Rencken, C. R. E.; Rossouw, W. J. C.; Schlebusch, A. L.; Schutte, D. P. A.; Scott, D. B.; Simkin, C. H. W.; Snyman, W. J.; Steyn, D. W.; Steyn, S. J. M.; Swanepoel, K. D.; Swiegers, J. G.; Tempel, H. J., Terblanche, G. P. D.; Theunissen, L. M., Treurnicht, A. P.; Ungerer, J. H. B.; Uys, C.; Van den Berg, J. C.; Van der Merwe, C. V.; Van der Merwe, J. H.; Van der Merwe, W. L.; Van der Spuy, S. J. H.; Van der Walt, A. T.; Van der Wat, H. J. D.; der Watt, L.; Van der Westhuyzen, N.; Van Heerden, R. F., Van Rens H. M. J. (Mosselbaai); Van Rens H. M. J. (Rosettenville); Van Vuur J. M. J.; Van Vuuren, P. Z. J.; Van J. J. B., Venter, A. A.; Viljoen, P. J B.; Vlok, A. J.; Vorster, B. J., Vo W. L.; Wentzel, J. J. G., Wessels Wood, N. B.

Tellers: L. J. Botha, S. F. Kotzé, J. I Reyneke, N. F. Treurnicht, A. van Bred, V. A. Volker.

NOES—15: Basson, J. D. du P.; Dallir J.; De Villiers, I. F. A., Eglin, C. Lorimer, R. J.; Marais, J. F.; Myb P. A.; Schwarz, H. H.; Suzman, Swart, R. A. F.; Van der Merwe, S Van Rensburg, H. E. J.; Widman, A.

Tellers: B. R. Bamford and A. L. Bo

Question affirmed and amend dropped.

Bill read a Third Time

HOUSING AMENDMENT BILL

(Committee Stage)

Clause 1:

Mr. A. B. WIDMAN: Mr. Chairman, as this amending Bill is concerned, the relating to clause 1 is a fairly straightfor one. It deals with the question as to whet dwelling can be demolished with the M ter's consent. In terms of the principal A dwelling referred to is—

> Any building which after its cons tion, adaptation or enlargement does n will not contain more than five l rooms . . .

In order to do that up to this stage consent of the hon. the Minister is requ The amending Bill which is now befor goes beyond "dwelling" and refers to building". In other words, the issu straightforward and the question is wh the matter should be taken out of the han

Homeland travel Bill

STAR 15/2/78 (161)

Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of the Interior, Mr Schlebusch, will introduce legislation in Parliament today granting "special provisions" for entry into South Africa and freer movement within the country for citizens of homelands.

The legislation — to be known as the Designated Neighbouring Countries Bill — is the result of negotiated agreements between the Government and the "special Neighbours," Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

The bill will make "special provision for entry into, sojourn in, and departure from the Republic" by citizens of certain countries which used to be part of South Africa.

Further legislation is expected in this session regarding travel documents for citizens of non-independent homelands.

The non-independent homelands need the necessary empowering legislation so they can also introduce these documents.

The first hint of the contents of the Designated Neighbouring Countries Bill came from the Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr Mulder, last week in a debate on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

He said the legislation would provide for the rights of citizens of Transkei and Bophuthatswana to apply to their children automatically.

Mr Schlebusch will also introduce a Bill today providing for the "removal" from South Africa of people convicted of contravening any law relating to exchange control.

The Bill will also provide for the removal of the dependants of those convicted and for the suspension and execution of certain warrants.

Mr Schlebusch

HANS. NO.3 Cols 141, 142. 16/2/78 (101)

Properties for acquisition by South African Bantu Trust

111. Mr. T ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

(1) (a) How many properties were earmarked for acquisition by the South African Bantu Trust as at 31 December 1977 and (b) what was the estimated value of these properties;

(2) whether any property owners have been paid since 31 January 1976; if so, what was the total amount.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) This information is not kept in the form of a special register and the required particulars cannot be ascertained without performing a considerable volume of work, which is deemed unjustified.

(b) The properties concerned have not been valued yet and an estimated value is therefor not available.

(2) Yes. R55 400 000.

1.

2. Ouderdom

3. Ras

4. Tuiste (dorp, distrik, tuisland)

5. Soort werk

6. Skooljare voltooi

7. Span

8. Nommer in span: skeerders dagsmanne

9. Hoe lank het u al die werk gedoen?

10. Hoe het u geleer om dit te doen?

11. Het u al ooit ander werk gedoen?

Indien wel, kort besonderhede van vorige werk:

	Plek	Tydperk	Soort werk	Weeklikse loon	Rede waarom u die werk verlaat het
1.					
2.					
3.					
4					
5.					

12. Het u al ooit daaraan gedink om ander werk te doen?

Indien wel, waarom verander u nie van werk nie?

13. Vir watter deel van die jaar doen u hierdie werk?

14. Hoeveel plase besoek u elke jaar?

Institutions established in terms of Proclamation No. R.133 of 1975

253. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development

Whether any institutions have been established in terms of Proclamation No R 133 of 1975, if so, (a) how many, (b) in which homelands and (c) how many persons can be accommodated in each institution

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

No

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away

24/2/75

(2) 101

Citizenship law will be changed

EAST LONDON — Legislation allowing Xhosa-speaking people who lost their Ciskeian citizenship through the Status of Transkei Act of 1976 to regain such citizenship is to be promulgated within the next few weeks.

This was announced by the Minister of the Interior of the Ciskei, Acting Paramount Chief L. W. M. Maqoma, who said the South African Government had agreed to amend the Act which decreed that with the independence of Transkei, every Xhosa-speaking person not born within the Ciskei or from Ciskeian parents was a Transkeian citizen unless he could produce documentary proof he was a Ciskeian citizen

Chief Maqoma warned all Ciskeians who had not obtained their citizenship certificates to do so immediately

His department had already put several teams in the field to assist people in making their applications.

Ciskeian citizens could also approach their local magistrate, plural affairs commissioner or urban representative.

He had been informed certain people had been advising his people not to accept Ciskeian citizenship on the pretext they would lose their South African citizenship.

"I must make it clear that just the opposite is the case, and those Ciskeians who do not obtain Ciskeian citizenship will find themselves in all sorts of difficulties," he said

They would be unable to obtain South African passports or travel documents, they would not be allowed to purchase property in the Ciskei nor would they be granted licences to carry on any business in the Ciskei and they would also not be given employment contracts.

Chief Maqoma drew attention to a statement by the Minister of the Department of Plural Relations and Development, Dr C. P. Mulder, who said: "If a citizen of an independent black homeland who was formerly a South African citizen wanted to retain his citizenship, he would first have to obtain citizenship from a non-independent homeland."

"I would like to warn those people who encourage our people not to apply for Ciskeian citizenship that the time is approaching when the electorate will be called on to judge them," Chief Maqoma said

He appealed to all employers of Ciskeians to assist them in applying for Ciskeian citizenship certificates. — DDR.

26/2/78

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, FEBRUARY ~~26, 197~~

106

Dr Mulder's plural relations department scores a singular propaganda success

Dr Connie Mulder: Sitting on a report he may use in Parliament to show that blacks are being won over to homelands

Blacks swinging over to homelands

Tribune Reporter

ACCORDING to a report in the possession of the Department of Plural Relations, most urban blacks regard their homelands as their "actual homes" and believe the homelands can be developed significantly to provide good living standards.

However, this week several black urban leaders questioned the report's finding. It was drawn up by the Human Sciences Research Council.

The council set out to determine the attitudes of urban blacks to the homelands, and a team of researchers and interviewers spent several months drawing up the questionnaires, conducting interviews and collating the data which the survey uncovered.

There are a number of findings in the report, which is being kept under wraps by Dr Connie Mulder's Department of Plural Relations and the council.

Pretoria sources believe the survey's findings are being withheld until the department presents its annual report in Parliament, where the statistics ...ed to show that the men questioned felt the homelands could be developed so that the people living there would be able to lead a better life, and 15 percent agreed with the statement "the homelands cannot be developed much, so that the people living there will remain poor."

Mr Gibson Thula, KwaZulu's representative in Johannesburg, said that while there were aspects of the survey's findings which he could understand and accept, there were others which surprised him.

He said the category "urban blacks" included thousands of migrant workers, who would naturally answer "yes" to the question on whether homelands are regarded as someone's "actual home".

To include migrant workers in the survey would be begging the real question, which was what the attitude of the blacks relatively permanently resident in white areas thought of the homelands.

Mr Thula said he was not surprised at the high percentage who said that they would go back to the homelands if pay, con... and housing were

There are a number of findings in the report, which is being kept under wraps by Dr Connie Mulder's Department of Plural Relations and the council.

Pretoria sources believe the survey's findings are being withheld until the department presents its annual report in Parliament, where the statistics will be used to show that urban black opinion is swinging increasingly in the direction of accepting the homeland policy.

Peculiar

A peculiarity of the report is that the political questions in the survey were put only to men, while women were questioned about their attitudes to living conditions in the urban areas and the homelands.

Fifty-six percent of the men questioned in the survey said they knew who their homeland leaders were, while 13 percent were unaware of their tribal leaders' names.

Twenty-one percent said they had voted in a homeland election and 47 percent had not. Forty-four percent, however, said they would like to vote in such an election in the future.

A solid 23 percent said they had no interest in voting in homeland elections.

Twenty-two percent of the urban blacks questioned said they had citizenship certificates, and 50 percent of those who didn't said they would be trying to get a certificate.

Thirty - seven percent felt their homelands were their actual homes, while 24 percent did not.

Another significant finding is that 60 percent of

To include migrant workers in the survey would be begging the real question, which was what the attitude of the blacks relatively permanently resident in white areas thought of the homelands.

Mr Thula said he was not surprised at the high percentage who said that they would go back to the homelands if pay, conditions and housing were similar to those in the cities.

"Just like the Afrikaner, there are thousands of blacks who are coming to the cities for the money, the shops, the bioscopes and the schools.

"They dont particularly want to be in the cities, but that is where the money is, and so they come," he said.

Scathing

"The danger with this report, and the reason why I am not able to accept its findings as the whole truth, is that these people have an ideology to push, and of course this is going to influence the findings," said Mr Thula.

Two Soweto leaders were scathing in their attack on the survey's findings, but did not want to be named for fear of reprisals.

Said one: "This report is designed to give the country the impression that black people really want to move back to the homelands, and nothing can be further from the truth.

"The money is here now, and that's what counts. If and when the homelands are able to give people the kind of life they want, then we'll talk again about hypothetical questions they are raising now."

Homeland economy: new move

STAR 28/2/78 (101)

Political Correspondent

The Government is giving new emphasis to a strategy to boost economic expansion of the homelands by granting top priority to commuter services to stimulate purchasing power in the homelands.

The strategy involves stimulating commuter purchasing power inside homeland borders combined with the development of a black entrepreneurial class to limit the "leakage" of purchasing power back into the white areas.

The Deputy Minister of Plural Development, Dr Hartzenberg, said not enough employment had been provided for the blacks in self-governing states in terms of the first priority of the strategy begun in 1960 to decentralise industry to the homelands and their borders. This emphasised the "absolute necessity" for the expansion of commuting as the second highest priority.

He stressed that the expansion of the commuting system should not be seen as a substitute for the establishment of economic activities within the borders of self-governing states.

The income earned by commuters during 1974 represented almost a quarter of the gross national income of self-governing states and independent black states in South Africa.

This income — earned in the white areas — was at the disposal of these states. If it were spent in those states, the "multiplier effect" would be increased.

28/2/73 (101)

Deputy Minister didn't have all the answers

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The Opposition attempted to adjourn a debate yesterday so that a Deputy Minister could fetch some notes from his office in order to inform Parliament properly.

The event took place during the second reading debate of the Additional Appropriation Bill when Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) called on the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, as Leader of the House, to "report progress" to the Speaker and "ask for leave to sit again."

This would, he said, give the Deputy Minister of Plural Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg, a chance to get details from his office as to how R8 500 000, scheduled for assistance to black homelands, was to be spent and how it was to be allocated.

The Progressive Federal and New Republic Parties had criticised Dr Hartzenberg for failing to say how much would go to each homeland.

Mr Schwarz and Mr Bill Sutton (NRP, Mooi River) kept leaping to their feet every time Dr Hartzenberg sat down without having satisfied their demands. The most he could say was that R500 000 would go to KwaZulu and "the rest" to the other homelands.

Mr Botha, smiling broadly at Mr Schwarz's suggestion to stop the debate, said he was not prepared to join Mr Schwarz's "circus."

Dr Hartzenberg insisted he knew how and to whom the money would go. After being pushed by Mr Sutton he said he had the details in his office.

It was at this stage that Mr Schwarz appealed to Mr Botha, but the matter was dropped when Dr Hartzenberg disclosed that his notes were in his Pretoria office.

Mr Derek de Villiers (PFP, Von Brandis) demanded to know whether Dr Hartzenberg had already disclosed details to Nationalist members.

"No I have not," retorted Dr Hartzenberg.

"I just wondered," said Mr De Villiers, "why Nationalist members are so totally unconcerned as to how the money is to be spent." — PC.

Hansard 5 col 244 1/3/78

101

Blacks employed in undertakings in each homeland

220. Mr R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

(1) How many Blacks in each homeland were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis and (b) by homeland development corporations at the latest date for which statistics are available.

(2) In respect of what date is the information given.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1)

	(a)	(b)
Ciskei	1 397	2 554
Bophuthatswana	8 660	3 019
kwaZulu	2 348	4 435
Qwaqwa	—	353
Lebowa	1 587	7 423
Gazankulu	877	1 059
Venda	859	117
Swazi	115	60
Hereroland	15	49
Owambo	—	939
Damaraland	—	49
Kaokoland	—	18
Caprivi	—	150
Kavango	—	545

(2) 30 June 1977 and 31 March 1977, respectively.

word nie)

(b) melk: ho

or

wa

wa

(c) ander kos

(d) Weiplek +

Aantal wa

Waarde aa

gehou

"

"

(e) Grond

Oppervlakte verskaf gebruik

Waarde aan boer:

Water (jaarlikse koste aan boer)

Koste van ander dienste b.v. saad, gebruik van plaasmasjinerie

(f) Klere artikels verskaf deur boer (jaarliks)

Koste aan boer:

(g) Bonus (jaarliks)

(h) Geskenke (jaarliks: artikels

Koste aan boer:

(i) Ontspanningsgeriewe verskaf:

Koste aan boer (jaarliks):

(j) Gesondheidsdienste:

Jaarlikse koste aan boer van: doktersrekeninge betaal
medisyne
vervoer na en van geriewe
ander

(j) Totale mediese koste

(k) Pensioenbydrae deur boer (jaarliks)

(l) Versekeringsbydrae deur boer (jaarliks)

Hansard 35 cols 299-300 1/3/78

101

Amount spent on rural development of [illegible]

[illegible] Minister of Rural Development.

What [illegible] expenditure on rural development [illegible] to the end of 1977.

The MINISTER OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

The information required is not kept in the form of a special report and cannot be ascertained without performing a considerable volume of work, which is deemed unjustified.

Hansard 5 cols 300-301, 1/3/78

(101)

Land bought in terms of Bantu Trust and Land Act

223. Mr. R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

(1) What was the total (a) area of land bought in each province in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act as at 31 December 1977 and (b) amount paid for this land;

(2) what area of land remained to be bought in each province at that date,

(3) (a) what area of land was added to homelands as compensation for the removal of Black spots in each province and (b) what amount of compensatory land must still be acquired in each province.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Extent of quota land acquired at 31 December 1977.

Transvaal . . .	4 034 475 ha
Cape	970 981 ha
Natal	455 776 ha
Orange Free State	63 664 ha

(b) R313 000 000

(2) Quota land which may still be acquired in each province.

Transvaal	316 257 ha
Cape	459 252 ha
Natal	12 052 ha
Orange Free State	10 034 ha

(3) (a)

Transvaal	44 000 ha
Cape	30 578 ha
Natal	17 395 ha
Orange Free State	5 176 ha

(b) The area of land still to be acquired to compensate for black spots still to be removed is as follows:

Transvaal . .	12 283 ha
Cape	13 145 ha
Natal	26 879 ha
Orange Free State . . .	1 522 ha

15. Aantal a aas of êrens anders vir

wie we

2 3 4 5 6

(a) Name (eer alleen

(b) Verwants

(c) Ouderdom

(d) Geslag

(e) Woonplek

(f) Skooljar

(g) Nou op s

(h) Skool (i distr van p

(i) Werk wa gedoe gedur vakan

(j) Jaarlik gewer

(k) Jaarlil kont

ander

Hansard 5 cols 301-2, 1/3/78

101

[illegible]

225. Mr. S. A. F. [illegible] asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

What was the (a) gross domestic product, (b) gross domestic product per capita, (c) national income and (d) national income per capita of each of the homelands in 1975, 1976 and 1977, respectively

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT.

Figures are only available up to 1974 and the Department of Statistics expects to have particulars for 1975 available during April 1978

Hansards cols 302, 1-1-10

101

Value of mineral production in each homeland

227. Mr R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

What was the value of mineral production in each of the homelands in 1977

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

	R
Lebowa	11 141 295
Bophuthatswana	12 530 512
Venda	978 991
Gazankulu	10 059
kwaZulu	341 626

The value of platina production is not included because it is a strategic mineral in respect of which the value cannot be released.

15. Aantal afha s of êrens anders vir wie werke

3 4 5 6

(a) Name (eerste alleenlik)

(b) Verwantskap

(c) Ouderdom

(d) Geslag

(e) Woonplek

(f) Skooljare voltooi

(g) Nou op skool?

(h) Skool (naam, soort, distrik en afstand van plaas)

(i) Werk wat vir boer gedoen word (b.v. gedurende skool vakansies)

(j) Jaarlikse tydperk gewerk (dae of weke)

(k) Jaarlikse betaling: kontant

ander

PARLIAMENT

Ciskei to get R1,8 million

1/3/78 (101)

CAPE TOWN — The Deputy Minister of Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg, supplied financial details yesterday requested by Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) on Monday.

The figures he produced — money to be allocated to homeland and independent black governments — had apparently been sent from notes in his Pretoria offive.

After the insistance of Mr Schwarz and Mr Bill Sutton (NRP, Mooi River), Dr Hartzenberg had only been able to tell Parliament that R500 000 of R8,5 million allocated would go to KwaZulu and R8 million would go "to the rest."

The figures supplied to Mr Schwarz yesterday showed the Ciskei would get R1,8 million, Transkei R800 000 Bophuthatswana R990 000, KwaZulu R1,6 million, Lebowa R1 million, Swazi R550 000, QwaQwa R550 000, and Mabopane R1 million.

Dr Hartzenberg said yesterday that in addition, KwaZulu would get R500 000, but this was part of the KwaZulu budget.

Commenting on the figures, Mr Schwarz said the little information given by the Deputy Minister "turned out to be inaccurate."

KwaZulu is not to receive R500 000 of the total R8,5 million allocation, but R1,6 million. — PC.

R313-m only part of homelands Bill

Star 3/3/78 (101)

Tim Patten,
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Government has bought 5,5-million ha of land for the homelands — but the amount of land still to be acquired has not yet been estimated or valued.

This was revealed today by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, in reply to a question by Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP, Orange Grove). The amount paid was R313-million.

The Government had by the end of last year bought 4 034 475 ha of land in the Transvaal, 970 981 ha in the Cape, 455 776 ha in Natal and 63 664 ha in the Free State.

Dr Mulder said it was not possible for him to say when the further acquisition of land would be finalised, or to estimate what financial outlay would be needed to buy the land.

Commenting on Dr Mulder's reply Mr Lorimer said: "It is quite unbelievable to me that Dr Mulder is not able to tell me just how much land still has to be purchased in each homeland to finalise the Government's homeland consolidation plan.

He added: "My guess is that it would be embarrassing to the Government should he do so because it would reveal the whole consolidation policy to be a fraud."

He added that the Government did not have the money to carry through their plan in the forseeable future.

Vraelys aan plaasverkers (1)

Naam (eerste naam alleenlik)

Nommer van plaas

1. Hoe het u na die plaas gekom?

2. Het u dit al ooit oorweeg om in 'n stad te gaan werk? Indien wel, waarom gaan u nie?

3. Watter werk t[illegible] t doen? Waarom?

4. Watter soort [illegible] iewer doen of op 'n plaas of [illegible]

5. As werker ni[illegible] m het u nie skoolgegaan nie?

As werker sk[illegible] gemaak het nie, waarom het u nie [illegible]

Probleme.

1. Wat wil u gr[illegible] rksomstandighede? (loon, and[illegible] vakansies)

In u lewenso[illegible] ntspanningsgeriewe)

2. Het u al om[illegible] kses? Indien wel, gee besond[illegible]

3. Watter probleme ondervind u met u werk?

STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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PROKLAMASIES

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 51, 1978

VERKLARING TOT OOPGESTELDE GEBIED VAN SEKERE GROND VIR DIE DOELE VAN VERKRYGING DEUR DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE BANTOETRUST

Nadat nou die gebied omskryf in die Bylae hiervan by besluit van albei Huise van die Parlement omskryf is as grond wat ek tot oopgestelde gebied kan verklaar ingevolge artikel 2 (4) van die Bantoetrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936);

So is dit dat ek kragtens artikel 2 (4) van genoemde Wet hierby verklaar dat die gebied omskryf in die Bylae hiervan 'n oopgestelde gebied is en by die Eerste Bylae van genoemde Wet gevoeg word.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Twee-en-twintigste dag van Februarie Eenduisend Negehonderd Sewe-en-sewentig.

N. DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident.

Op bevel van die Staatspresident-in-raade:

C. P. MULDER.

BYLAE

TRANSVAAL

Gebied 55, distrik Rustenburg.

Omskrywing.—Die gebied bestaande uit Gedeelte 13 ('n gedeelte van Gedeelte A) van die plaas Roodekraal 374 JP, gelee in die distrik Rustenburg.

No. 52, 1978

VERKLARING TOT OOPGESTELDE GEBIED VAN SEKERE GROND VIR DIE DOELE VAN VERKRYGING DEUR DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE BANTOETRUST

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PROCLAMATIONS

by the State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 51, 1978

PROCLAMATION AS RELEASED AREA OF CERTAIN LAND FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACQUISITION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTU TRUST

Whereas the area defined in the Schedule hereto has by resolution of both Houses of Parliament been defined as land which I may declare to be a released area in terms of section 2 (4) of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936);

Now, therefore, by virtue of section 2 (4) of the said Act I hereby declare the area defined in the Schedule hereto to be a released area and it is hereby added to the First Schedule to the said Act.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twenty-second day of February, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-seven.

N. DIEDERICHS, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

C. P. MULDER.

SCHEDULE

TRANSVAAL

Area 55, District of Rustenburg.

Description.—The area comprising Portion 13 (a portion of Portion A) of the farm Roodekraal 374 JP, situate in the district of Rustenburg.

No. 52, 1978

DECLARATION AS RELEASED AREA OF CERTAIN LAND FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACQUISITION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTU TRUST

Whereas the area defined in the Schedule hereto has by resolution of both Houses of Parliament been defined as land which I may declare to be released area in terms of section 2 (4) of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936);

So is dit dat ek kragtens artikel 2 (4) van genoemde Wet hierby verklaar dat die gebied omskryf in die Bylae hiervan oopgestelde gebied is en by die Eerste Bylae van genoemde Wet gevoeg word;

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Derde dag van Maart Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

N. DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

C. P. MULDER.

BYLAE

TRANSVAAL

Gebied 54, distrik Pretoria.

Omskrywing.—Die gebied bestaande uit die plaas Rietgat 105 JR met uitsondering van Hoewes 111 tot 155 asook Hoewes 171 en 172.

Now, therefore, by virtue of section 2 (4) of the said Act I hereby declare the area defined in the Schedule hereto to be released area and to be added to the First Schedule to the said Act;

Given under my Hand and Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Third day of March, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

N. DIEDERICHS, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

C. P. MULDER.

SCHEDULE

TRANSVAAL

Area 54, District of Pretoria.

Description.—The area comprising the farm Rietgat 105 JR with the exclusion of Holdings 111–155 as well as Holdings 171 and 172.

Homelands: New plan possible

Cape Times 15/3/78

(101)

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government will be prepared to consider an entirely new dispensation for black homelands which refuse independence.

This was disclosed last night by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Connie Mulder, in an interview.

Dr Mulder was commenting on the clean sweep of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in the first Kwazulu election on Monday.

The Inkatha manifesto rejects out of hand the acceptance of independence.

Asked what this meant in view of the declared standpoint of the Prime Minister that all homelands would ultimately become independent, Dr Mulder said: "There is no way of forcing any homeland leader to accept independence. Naturally we hope the final stage of their development will be independence.

"But depending on how many homelands are not independent, the whole situation will have to be reconsidered and a new dispensation worked out."

Dr Mulder added: "In spite of everything that has been said, and the policy of the government, I believe that if the necessary goodwill that exists at the moment can be maintained — and with co-operation — a situation can be negotiated and a solution found to the satisfaction of both parties."

The minister was not prepared to be drawn on the question of the further consolidation of the homelands. He said the consolidation question was being examined at present.

Dr Mulder cautioned, however, that policy at this stage remained that the Prime Minister would grant immediate independence to any homeland leader who requested such a development, and he would rather not speculate too deeply on the alternatives.

He said he had expected Chief Buthelezi to sweep the boards in Kwazulu — it had been no surprise.

But he was not prepared to spell out what sort of deal might eventually be proposed. He made it clear, however, that it would not involve any form of direct power-sharing with whites.

BANTU HOMELANDS CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT ACT, 1978 **Act No. 13, 1978**

GENERAL EXPLANATORY NOTE:

Words underlined with solid line indicate insertions in existing enactments

101

ACT

To amend the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970, so as to provide for the granting in certain circumstances of citizenship of a territorial authority area to certain persons; and for matters connected therewith.

(English text signed by the State President.)
(Assented to 7 March 1978.)

BE IT ENACTED by the State President, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:—

1. Section 3 of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970, is hereby amended— Amendment of section 3 of Act 26 of 1970, as substituted by section 19 of Act 70 of 1974

(a) by the substitution for paragraph *(b)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(b)* if he has in terms of subsection (2) or (3) been granted citizenship of that area, or"; and

(b) by the addition of the following subsection:

"(3) If any person who is a citizen of a state the territory or part of the territory of which formerly formed part of the Republic and who at any time was a South African citizen and a citizen of a territorial authority area, applies in the prescribed manner for citizenship of any territorial authority area, the Minister or his delegate may, if the competent authority of the territorial authority of such last-mentioned area so recommends, grant such citizenship to such person, who shall thereupon also become a South African citizen by birth.".

2. This Act shall be called the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978. Short title

Werker

(m) Regskoste betaal

(n) Werker se huidig

13. Behuising

(a) Grootte van woni
alle indian mo

(b) Dalmatorial

(c) Muurmatorial

(d) Vloermatorial

(e) Riolering

(f) Verwarming

(g) Waterverskaffing

(h) Hoeveel mense,

14. Werker se werk

Plek (plaas, d
ti

1.

2.

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5.

Rede waarom werker alle werk verlaat het:

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Homelands law is dropped

Star 16/3/78 (101)

John Patten,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, has decided to drop legislation providing for fully autonomous homelands just short of independence. His decision gained a nod of approval from Opposition spokesmen today.

Reasons given by Dr Mulder in a newspaper interview published today are that he wanted to place no unnecessary obstacles in the way of homelands.

"They must be able to switch from self-governing states directly to full independence without the intermediate step of internal independence," he said.

His decision to drop the Bill — which was introduced last year by his predecessor, Mr M C Botha, but not proceeded with during that session — was taken after he had studied the legislation and consulted certain homeland leaders.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman said today: "I think it is wise for Dr Mulder not to push ahead with legislation which apparently did not have the approval of homeland leaders and which in any case would not affect the decision of those leaders who adamantly oppose independence for their homelands."

Mrs Suzman said, however, that the problem remained for the Government of what to do with homeland governments which did not want independence, whether such legislation was passed or not.

The assumption from the Minister's statement was that consultations with the homeland leaders had shown they resisted the legislation.

"If he finds they are resisting it, it is very sensible for him to drop it," she added.

There was no point in forcing legislation down the throats of homeland leaders.

Because the Bill came very late last session and was not debated, the PFP had never taken a firm stand on the Bill.

Mulder hints at new deal for homelands

CAPE TOWN — The Government will be prepared to consider an entirely new dispensation for black homelands which refuse independence.

This was disclosed last night by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, who was commenting on the clean sweep of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in the first KwaZulu election on Monday.

Inkatha rejects independence.

Asked what this meant in view of the declared standpoint of the Prime Minister that all homelands would ultimately become independent, Dr Mulder said: "There is no way of forcing any homeland leader to accept independence. Naturally we hope the final stage of their development will be independence.

"But depending on how many homelands are not independent, the whole situation will have to be reconsidered and a new dispensation worked out.

"In spite of everything that has been said, and the policy of the Government, I believe that if the necessary goodwill that exists at the moment can be maintained — and with co-operation — a situation can be negotiated and a solution found to the satisfaction of both parties."

He was not prepared to be drawn on further consolidation of the homelands. The question was being examined at present, he said.

Dr Mulder cautioned, however, that policy at this stage remained that the Prime Minister would grant immediate independence to any homeland leader who requested it and he would rather not speculate too deeply on the alternatives.

He was not prepared to spell out what sort of deal might eventually be proposed. He made it clear, however, that it would not involve any form of direct power sharing with whites.

Dr Mulder's admission that the Government does not necessarily regard full independence as the only consequence of homeland policy is regarded as a major development in Nationalist thinking.

His predecessor, Mr M. C. Botha, made some political capital out of the prospects of "semi-autonomous" homelands, which he said would have virtually all the trappings of independence without having to take the steps necessary in international law.

According to senior Nationalists in Cape Town, however, the semi-autonomous stage was never intended to be permanent, but merely a stepping-stone to full independence. — DDC.

22. When was the last change in your cash earnings?

What was the change?

How did you negotiate it?

23. What problems do you have with your work?

How do you act to solve these problems?

No. 58, 1978

WEGNEEM VAN SEKERE GROND UIT DIE OOPGESTELDE GEBIED EN VERVANGING DAARVAN DEUR SEKERE ANDER GROND IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL

Nadeemaal ek dan ook verklaar dat dit in die openbare belang is dat die grond [illegible] in bovoemde Bylae A vanvan die totale grootte [illegible] hektaar is, wat deel uitmaak van die [illegible] Oopgestelde Gebied in die distrik Groblersdal, Provinsie Transvaal, uit die Oopgestelde Gebied weggeneem word;

En nadeemaal grond in die distrik Groblersdal bedoeld in bovoemde Bylae B van die totale grootte 370,854 8 hektaar [illegible] van in artikel 10 (2) (c) van die Bantoetrust- en -grondwet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936) aangekoop is, dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Bantoetrust [illegible] is, en wat [illegible] om [illegible] grond [illegible] in genoemde Bylae A;

Sodat ek [illegible] die bevoegdhede [illegible] artikel 2 (2) van [illegible] Wet [illegible] verklaar dat die

No. 58, 1978 (101)

EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN LAND FROM RELEASED AREA AND SUBSTITUTION THEREFORE OF CERTAIN OTHER LAND IN THE PROVINCE OF TRANSVAAL

Whereas I am satisfied that it is in the public interest that the land described in the accompanying Schedule A, [illegible] which forms part of the Released Area in the District of Groblersdal, Province of Transvaal, should be [illegible] from the Released Area;

And whereas land in the District of Groblersdal, described in the accompanying Schedule B, in extent 370,854 8 hectares, been acquired by the South African Bantu Trust and is [illegible] for a pastoral or agricultural purpose [illegible] and is of a pastoral or agricultural value at least equivalent to the land described in the said Schedule A;

Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 2 (2) of the said Act, I hereby declare

grond beskryf in genoemde Bylae A hierby weggeneem word uit die Oopgestelde Gebied en dat ter vervanging daarvan die grond beskryf in genoemde Bylae B toegevoeg word tot die Oopgestelde Gebied.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Dertigste dag van Januarie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

N. DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

M. C. BOTHA.

BYLAE A

Ondervermelde gedeeltes van die plaas Valschfontein 33 JS, distrik Groblersdal:

		Hektaar
1.	Gedeelte 18	43,2
2.	Gedeelte 13	20,0
3.	Gedeelte 14	20,0
4.	Gedeelte 15	20,0
5.	Gedeelte 16	25,6
6.	Gedeelte 17	20,0
7.	Restant van Gedeelte 19	21,6
8.	Restant van Gedeelte 42	22,0
9.	Gedeelte 44	21,8
10.	Gedeelte 46	23,9
11.	Gedeelte 47	23,0
12.	Gedeelte 43	21,7
13.	Gedeelte 45	21,4
14.	Gedeelte 23	68,5
		375,7

BYLAE B

Ondervermelde gedeeltes van die plaas Goederede 60 JS, distrik Groblersdal:

		Hektaar
1.	Gedeelte 168	320,353 6
2.	Gedeelte 171	50,501 2
		370,854 8

that the land described in the said Schedule A is hereby excised from the Released Area and that the land referred to in the said Schedule B be added to the Released Area in substitution therefor.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town, this Thirtieth day of January One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

N. DIEDERICHS, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

M. C. BOTHA.

SCHEDULE A

The following portions of the farm Valschfontein 33 JS, District of Groblersdal:

		Hectares
1.	Portion 18	43,2
2.	Portion 13	20,0
3.	Portion 14	20,0
4.	Portion 15	20,0
5.	Portion 16	25,6
6.	Portion 17	20,0
7.	Remainder of Portion 19	21,6
8.	Remainder of Portion 42	22,0
9.	Portion 44	21,8
10.	Portion 46	23,9
11.	Portion 47	23,0
12.	Portion 43	21,7
13.	Portion 45	21,4
14.	Portion 23	68,5
		375,7

SCHEDULE B

The following portions of the farm Goederede 60 JS, District of Groblersdal:

		Hectares
1.	Portion 168	320,353 6
2.	Portion 171	50,501 2
		370,854 8

Groot geld vir die buurstate

RAPPORT 19/3/78 (101)

IN die boekjaar 1977—'78 is R124 863 000 bewillig vir bystand aan nuwe buurstate (hoofsaaklik Transkei). Met Bophuthatswana wat aan die einde verlede jaar bygekom het, en met Lebowa wat vanjaar onafhanklik wil word, sal die bewilliging vanjaar groter wees.

In die vorige boekjaar is R201 268 000 beskikbaar gestel vir die ontwikkeling van tuislande tot selfbeskikking.

Vraelys aan boere

Nommer van plaas:

Landdrosdistrik :

Grootte van plaas (hektaar) :

Soort boerdery (indien moontlik, persentasie van plaasinkomste wat aan elke soort bedrywigheid toegeskrywe moet word):

Aantal skape wol vleis

Aantal permanente werkers : mans vroue

Aantal toevallige werkers : " "

Aantal kontrakarbeiders :

Afstand van naaste dorp (kilometers)

Jim Crow lives

FM 31/3/78

(101)

Homeland citizenship is supposed to bring race discrimination to an end. Then why doesn't it?

Pik Botha has said government does not condone discrimination on the grounds of race alone. If there is one form of discrimination that is based *purely* on race, it is surely the treatment meted out to black foreigners compared with white foreigners.

It is an issue that does not involve questions of white sovereignty and the like. There can only be one reason for treating black and white foreigners differently — and that is racial discrimination, pure and simple.

The issue used only to concern foreigners from the BLS countries, Mozambique and a few other black states. Now we have foreigners from Transkei and BophuthaTswana and perhaps others to follow.

Local colour

The differing nature of the rights enjoyed by white and black foreigners is strikingly illustrated by comparing the situation of say a white Dutch citizen who wishes to live and work in SA with that of a black Transkeian citizen.

In broad terms, a Dutchman who is offered employment in SA simply applies to the Department of Immigration for permanent residence, which is almost invariably granted on a "merit" basis. After a period of five years' residence, he (or she) may then apply to the Department of the Interior for naturalisation.

And even before becoming a naturalised SA citizen, the white Dutch permanent resident (or visitor, for that matter) may eat at the best restaurants, enter any type of employment, join a registered trade union, enjoy the full range of cultural and educational activities, and enjoy virtually unrestricted freedom of movement around the country, including the right to take his family with him wherever he travels.

By contrast, the position of black foreigners — from American citizens to Zambian nationals and Transkei passport holders — is a progressive tale of discrimination and harassment. Try taking a Xhosa guest from Transkei out to dinner or to the cinema. *All* foreign blacks are subject to a host of racially discriminatory laws.

Since "Bantu" (a person who is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa — Population Registration Act) is defined in racial and not citizenship terms, the full weight of the discriminatory apartheid machine descends on any foreign black. (The tiny group of blacks who live within the charmed circle of diplomatic immunity serves only to highlight the injustices faced by other blacks and to provide fodder for those embarrassing mistakes which officialdom occasionally unwittingly visits upon them.)

The black American or Transkei citizen cannot simply apply to the Department of Immigration for permanent residence status on the way to full naturalisation. Indeed, since the Aliens Act specifically authorises the Immigrants Selection Board to grant permanent residence permits only to persons "likely to become readily assimilated with the European inhabitants" of the Republic, black foreigners are very unlikely even to be considered. Though legally they may apply to the Minister for an exemption from the Act's requirements, this has seldom, if ever, occurred.

Moreover, in the case of Transkei nationals, unless the applicant has already been granted Section 10 residence rights in the "white" urban areas, he or she may not even enter those areas except as a contract or migratory labourer.

Transkeians . . . will they ever achieve parity?

In contrast to white foreigners, the new black Transkeian or BophuthaTswana citizen may not live anywhere except in a black location or township; his work opportunities and conditions are subject to a host of restrictions.

The SA-born children of white foreign citizens with permanent residence in SA may qualify for South African citizenship. But under legislation introduced in parliament some weeks ago, children born in the common area to Transkei and BophuthaTswana citizens no longer have a legally enforceable right to remain there with their parents, even though both parents may have Section 10 rights.

The much-vaunted "special privileges" for Transkeian nationals able to produce proof of citizenship have not materialised, though government stated that such certificate holders would in due course have preferential treatment in regard to jobs, housing and even trading licences.

The Transkei has repeatedly stated that its citizens should be treated just like any white foreigners in SA, and be exempted from SA's discriminatory legislation. Digby Koyana, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Transkei, says that there have been several discussions between his department and both Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and then Minister of the Interior Connie Mulder on the issue. According to Koyana, both recognised the "necessary implications" of Transkei citizenship, but said that the situation was a new one (it had apparently not been seriously raised by the BLS countries), and that it was "only a matter of time" before the "necessary machinery devolved" to deal with it.

Given the philosophy apparent in government's most recent legislation for blacks, especially the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, that "devolvement" seems likely to occur shortly before hell freezes over.

Homelands investment

Mercury Correspondent

PARIS — France is prepared to allow private investment in South Africa as long as it is funnelled through homeland governments and not Pretoria, according to a reliable diplomatic source.

It was understood here that the powerful Paris Chamber of Commerce has told members that there is no obstacle to members investing in homelands. It gave as an example the contract between Grands Travaux De Marseilles (GTM) and Transkei to build a port by 1983.

French businessmen as well as Government officials have in the past two years gone out of their way to greet visiting homeland leaders, although France does not recognise the homelands.

France has offered a dozen scholarships to Transkei and Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. There is great interest here in building up a KwaZulu homeland, mainly for historic reasons, but nothing can be done until this State is formed.

The attitude of French bankers and financiers towards State loans to Pretoria is ambiguous.

Any big loan is frowned on by the Government but there appears to be support if loans are going to be made to homelands.

But the homeland must have credibility and viability which does not appear to be the case with Qwa-Qwa. KwaZulu, which has no de facto existence, would have no difficulty at all in getting massive French aid.

The Natal Mercury

TUESDAY, APRIL 11, 1978

101

HOMELAND HUMBUG

TO MAKE SENSE of what is happening in Africa today it is necessary to keep in mind the difference between strident political rhetoric and quiet economic reality.

The mutual contradictions they present may often give rise to cynical amusement, or to anger and frustration. But South Africa will have to learn to live with them, and to understand that they are a curious mixture of shrewd self-interest, political opportunism and, in some cases, genuine moral dilemma.

One example, bristling with inherent contradictions, is the reported French attitude towards investment in the independent homelands being created in South Africa.

France, like the rest of the world (with the sole exception of South Africa) does not recognise the independence of Transkei or Bophuthatswana. But it is apparently prepared to allow investment in the homelands as long as the deal is not done through Pretoria. This avoidance of Pretoria's agency role has long been apparent, and the Bantu Investment Corporation has noted a "disturbing decline" in the flow of foreign investment capital to the homelands.

There has, however, been no lack of direct investment interest in the homelands. Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu has had numerous inquiries and propositions from many quarters, and it seems that but for the fact that KwaZulu has no independent existence it would be in line for massive French aid. Direct American aid from official and private sources has been lined up for the Ciskei, according to the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

And one has only to look at Transkei to see that money for investment and development does in fact come pouring in from abroad as soon as a homeland hoists its own national flag. The agreement with a French consortium to build a R125-million harbour on the Transkei coast by 1983 is the most spectacular of more than 70 deals either concluded or being negotiated with firms throughout the world since the territory received its independence.

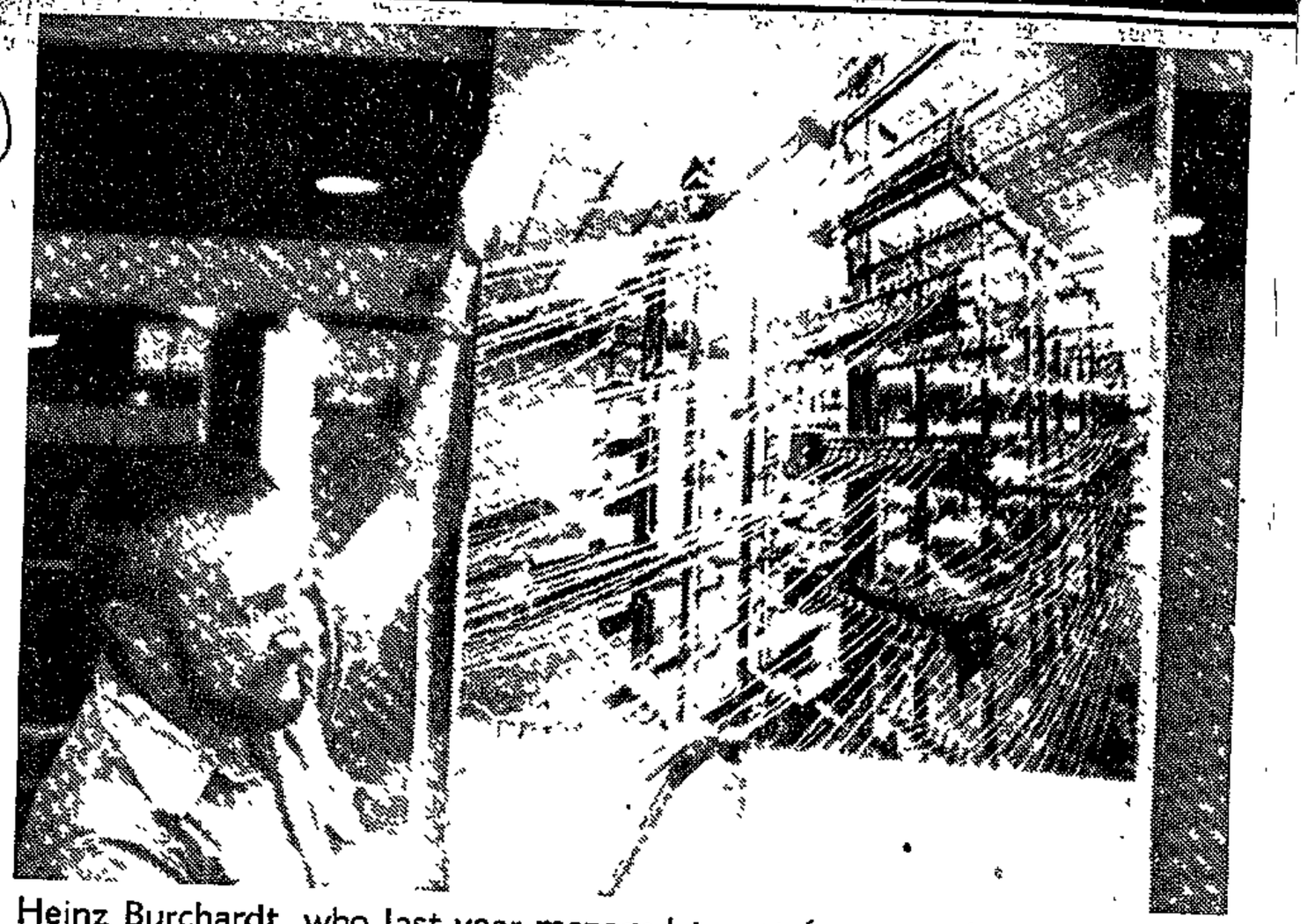
The spectacle of foreign investors and even governments practically queuing up to sign contracts and agreements with a country whose legal existence they do not recognise is an absurdity explicable only in terms of the double standards and sheer humbug that characterise so many Western judgements and decisions on Africa.

One must hope that where genuine doubts and dilemmas exist they will soon be resolved in a manner that will enable the rich human and material resources of southern Africa to be developed for the good of all.

RDM 12/4/78

(105)

Transkei shows its industry



Heinz Burchardt, who last year managed to net four awards, including two gold medals, for the Transkei Pavilion, hammers into place an industrial photograph depicting this year's theme.

INDUSTRIAL growth in post - independence Transkei will form the theme this year of the country's Rand Show pavilion which won the "Best Pavilion" gold medal last year.

The pavilion was opened on Monday. The opening was attended by Mr M D Ndibongo, Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr J M Madikane, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Industry and Mr Franko Maritz, chairman of the Transkei Development Corporation, TDC, an autonomous body promoting investment in Transkei.

A delegation of 31 civil servants and 21 representatives from industry will also attend the show.

"We are using a different pavilion design and exhibiting more products this year. But we're still trying to show what Transkei has been doing," Mr Ndibongo said.

Seventeen exhibitors are displaying a diversity of locally-produced goods in a pavilion beautifully decorated in tin-foil with subtle lighting effect.

The whole is finished in green and white — the national colours of Transkei. Credit goes to Pretoria designer, Mr Heinz Burchardt, whose design of last year's Transkei display won the pavilion a gold medal for design.

Transkei pavilion also won the Grand Challenger Cup, the national pavilion gold medal and a floating trophy at last year's show.

"We keep trying to do better all the time," Mr Burchardt said.

Eleven of the 17 industrial exhibitors have been successfully established in Transkei by the TDC. The TDC has an information centre at the pavilion where top personnel will advise prospective investors on the country's industrial potential.

Included in this year's colourful displays are traditional Xhosa pottery and beadwork by handicapped children of the Ikhewzi Lukusa centre, mohair curtains and wall-hangings and silk yarn from the Butterworth factories of Tramatex, a big Italian investor.

An unusual display of trout and salmon fishing flies made from feathers, tinsel and floss by Highflies of Butterworth will be shown. The flies come in 12 sizes and 3 500 patterns and are entirely hand-made. Highflies export their product to several overseas countries as well as to South Africa.

Mr Niel Arnold, public relations officer of TDC, said Transkei has been gaining constantly — increasing foreign investment since independence —20% of existing investment comes mainly from Britain, West Germany and Italy.

Between April 1976 and March 1978, the TDC had established 33 new industries; acquiring an investment of nearly R41 million for the country. Twenty-four more new industries are in the offing.

Also coining valuable revenue for Transkei is the Transkei Airways Corporation, which operates two luxury Beechcraft Kingairs between Johannesburg and Umtata. A new schedule with four flights from Monday to Friday every week was announced in a joint statement by Transkei Airways and South African Airways.

The Corporation also operates another aircraft for government and charter work within the country.

A focal point of this year's pavilion is a circular aquarium with a variety of fish. The driftwood in the tank was picked up on the Transkei coast.

Star 13/4/78 (101)

Blacks never citizens — PM

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The black man had never been a citizen of South Africa in the sense that the white man was, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said in the Assembly yesterday.

He was reacting to a statement by Dr Zac de Beer (PFP, Parktown) made earlier in the Budget Debate on the Prime Minister's Vote that it was not fair to strip blacks of their South African citizenship.

Dr de Beer said that blacks should have the option to remain South African citizens.

Mr Vorster said this looked all very nice on paper but the fact was that blacks had never been citizens of South Africa in the same sense as whites. He had not had the vote and had not enjoyed the privileges of citizenship.

"REALITY"

"That is the reality. It does not help to try and conceal the fact. It was so and everyone knows it was so," Mr Vorster said.

Dr de Beer interjected: "There was always discrimination."

Both Dr de Beer and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, attacked the Prime Minister for his justification for stripping blacks of their South African citizenship.

Mr Vorster had said earlier that it was the policy of the National Party not only to make territories independent but also to make peoples independent.

INDEPENDENT

Dr de Beer had asked whether it was possible to make a people independent if they didn't have a territory, such as the millions of Transkeians living in South Africa.

Replying, Mr Vorster said that if all the inhabitants of an area which was to be granted independence opted to retain South African citizen-

Mr Vorster . . . "all very nice on paper."

independent state which had no citizens. This was an untenable situation.

Dealing with the question of a national convention of all races which the Progressive Federal Party proposed as a solution to the country's problems, Mr Vorster said he wanted to know from Mr Eglin who he would invite to attend such a convention.

LEADERS

Would he invite the elected leaders of the various blacks, the coloured peole and the Indians who were in many cases not recognised by international opinion as the true leaders of the black people?

Or would he invite Nelson Mandela who was recognised by many leaders as the real leader of the black people in South Africa

Mr Vorster said for his part he had rejected this view arguing that Mandela was neither an elected nor a natural leader but merely the leader of the African National Congress which had limited membership.

Mr Vorster said he also wanted to know from Mr Eglin what he would do at the convention when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu demanded black majority rule which he had already stated was the least the black man would settle for.

Responding to a question by Mr W Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point) concerning the creation of city states in black urban [illegible] Mr Vorster said it would not be desirable to have a number of autonomous city states spread all over the country.

However the Government was in favour of granting full responsibility to black urban areas through self-governing councils which could take on responsibilities beyond those normally delegated to a council such as law and order and education.

As regards home ownership for urban blacks Mr Vorster said the Government was fully in favour of this but when it came to ownership of property this was against Government policy and even went against the grain of the black man in his traditional societies.

EXPENSE

Mr Vorster said another reason for not granting property ownership to urban blacks was the enormous expense that would be involved in surveying and re-assessing the urban black areas. The cost, he said, would run to many millions of rands.

Dealing with the land consolidation issue, Mr Vorster said the question of the exchange of land between South Africa and independent and existing homelands was not closed. There were practical problems at present which hampered consolidation but these could be resolved.

(101) 2017/18

(1[illegible]) FM 25/4/75

KWAZULU DEVELOPMENT

Corporation for growth

The board of KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC), which came into being on April 1, was due to hold its first meeting in Durban this week. It has capital of R18m and the only shareholder is the SA Bantu Trust. Last year the Corporation for Economic Development (formerly the BIC) spent R11m on KwaZulu development (1976: R6m) so the KDC's budget represents considerable advance.

The KDC's mandate is fairly strictly limited to the smaller types of development in industry and agriculture. Big projects will still be handled by the CED.

Most of the [illegible] this first year is [illegible] Kwamashu, are the second phase of developing Madadeni," says chairman Lawrence McCrystal; R4m has been earmarked for business loans.

McCrystal adds: "Creation of job opportunities is obviously desirable but is not the sole consideration. We need to help develop a wider tax base to provide more revenue for the needs of the Zulu people and to develop the people themselves. For example, KwaZulu has great tourist potential and we may be able to do something there."

The structure of the KDC will be the board, a general manager and four or five first line managers. There will be regional offices in Newcastle, Empangeni and Umlazi.

The KDC's board is: Lawrence McCrystal, Chris Saunders, Professor Selby Ngcobo, Bishop Zulu, Wilson Luthuli, a south coast businessman, Madadeni attorney H T Madonsela, Nqutu trader H Wilmot, CED board member H L du Toit and E L Gregory, secretary in the department of the chief minister and finance.

Mulder spells out 99-year lease

THE ASSEMBLY Black children whose parents own homes in terms of the 99-year leasehold legislation to be introduced next week will not be able to buy homes themselves in future.

This was made clear last night by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, when he reiterated that only blacks who qualified to be in 'white' areas would be able to buy or build homes under the new scheme.

Speaking in the debate on his first vote as Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder said the children of these home owners would automatically not qualify under Section 10, though they could inherit homes from their parents.

Dr Mulder, who spoke under a barrage of opposition interjections, also reaffirmed that when Government policy was given to its full conclusion, the homelands would be independent and there would be no black South African.

All blacks would have full and complete citizenship of their own homelands. This would apply naturally to the children of Section 10 home owners as well.

He made it clear the Government would not deviate from the allocation of land for homelands as determined by the 1936 Land Act.

Dr Mulder paid tribute to the late Chief Gatsha Buthelezi describing him as an immediate and intelligent leader of stature.

He also commended Chief Buthelezi and the movement as a constructive 'nationalistic' movement concerned with the upliftment and achievements of the Zulu people.

DDA

Hansard 13 2 May 1978.
Question 569 Cols. 722 – 724.

101

Homelands: Gross domestic product/gross national product

569. Mr. H. H. SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Statistics:

(1) What was the (a) gross domestic product and (b) gross national product of each homeland for the latest year for which figures are available;

(2) what percentage of the (a) gross domestic product and (b) gross national product of the Republic was produced by each homeland in that year;

(3) in respect of what year are the figures given.

The MINISTER OF STATISTICS:

	(1)(a) (R1 000)	(2)(a)
Ciskei	54 562	0,22
kwaZulu	180 977	0,73
Bophuthatswana	188 288	0,76
Lebowa	106 048	0,43
Venda	21 138	0,09
Gazankulu	20 897	0,08
Swazi Area	10 368	0,04
QwaQwa	5 959	0,02

(1)(b) and (2)(b) are not calculated or estimated by the Department. However, details of the net national income are furnished.

	Net national income (R1 000)	Percentage contribution of the homelands to the net national income of RSA
Ciskei	120 900	0,56
kwaZulu	790 500	3,69
Bophuthatswana	340 410	1,59
Lebowa	339 500	1,58
Venda	86 400	0,40
Gazankulu	107 600	0,50
Swazi Area	34 500	0,16
QwaQwa	16 500	0,08

(3) 1975.

Deaths due to lung cancer

570. Mr. N. B. WOOD asked the Minister of Statistics:

(1) How many deaths due to lung cancer occurred in the Republic during the last twelve months for which figures are available;

(2) what is the proportion of deaths occurring in built-up and/or industrial areas as compared with the figure for rural areas.

The MINISTER OF STATISTICS:

(1)

	1976	
	Male	Female
Whites	895	242
Coloureds	321	64
Asians	29	8
Bantu	Data not available	

(2) Basic data in respect of deaths due to lung cancer are not tabulated for urban and rural areas separately. Required statistics are therefore not available.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS (continued)

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mentally change its policy, or as Swart put it "we are going to be left with the laborious process of acquiring land and removing people at enormous cost, and in the end we shall be left with the situation of ridiculously fragmented homelands."

The alternative proposed among others by the PFP's Derick de Villiers, if consolidation is needed for political or administrative purposes — is simply to redraw the boundaries and let whoever is there, stay there. However, "this is not my policy, for practical reasons," declares Mulder. X

HOMELANDS FM 12/5/78

X **Fragments forever?** 101

For those who believe SA's salvation lies in partition, last week's parliamentary debate on homelands consolidation will have been a depressing affair. Not a sign of any fresh thinking.

At the beginning of this year there were still 777 000 ha, out of a total of 16,3m, waiting to be purchased under the Bantu Land and Trust Act of 1936, plus over 1m hectares awaiting "compensatory buying" involving black areas that must become white. The cost for these remaining purchases, according to the Department of Plural Affairs, will be between R400m R500m. Yet a sum of only R35m was provided for in this year's budget estimates.

At this rate it will be about another 14 years before the target is achieved. At the same time, according to PFP spokesman Ray Swart, "the whole consolidation programme will *also* involve the resettlement of some 175 000 families, more than 1m people, at a cost estimated in 1976 of about R380m."

And at the end of it all the homelands will still not be consolidated properly. Nor will they provide a "fair" distribution of land between blacks and whites. Kwazulu, Swart claimed, would still be in 10 separate pieces.

Replying to questions, the Minister for Plural Affairs, Connie Mulder, reiterated that the government had no intention of going beyond the 1936 agreement

There seems to be still some confusion about whites being allowed to stay in the homelands if they want to. There is a story going round about white farmers in Natal who wanted to stay, but were not allowed to do so. According to deputy minister Ferdie Hartzenberg, the position is that all whites in the homelands have been promised that the government will make them an offer for their property, but they will not be forced to accept it. So far, he says, not a single one has chosen to stay.

For the rest, it's back to the government's old dilemma: either it must funda-

Financial Mail May 12 1978

(1) ~~123~~
(2) 101
(3) ~~339~~

Hansard 14. 12 May 1978.
Question 517 cols. 761 & 762.

Houses provided for Bantu

517 Mr. G. DE JONG asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development.

How many houses for Bantu were provided in each of (a) the homeland areas and (b) the major urban areas of South Africa during each year from 1972 to 1977

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) and (b) Separate figures for each year from 1972 to 1977 are not readily available. Information is furnished on the number of houses provided during the years 1972 until 1977

(a) The following number of houses were provided in Bantu areas from South African Bantu Trust funds:

Bophuthatswana	2 985
Ciskei	5 705
kwaZulu	7 129
Lebowa	1 020
QwaQwa	1 700
Swazi	1 951
Transkei	4 320
Mabopane East (near Pretoria)	5 637

In addition to the above-mentioned information Homeland Governments

also provided housing from funds on their budgets, but information about this is not readily available

(b)

West Rand	2 753
East Rand	5 675
Vaal Triangle	3 060
Bloemfontein	[illegible]
Pietermaritzburg	2 447
Port Elizabeth	5 395

C.T. 16/5/78 (101)

Blacks won't go home — Bozzoli

EAST LONDON. — Many urban blacks and particularly their children would be most unlikely to return to the homelands no matter how grim their lives were, the former principal of the University of Witwatersrand, Professor G R Bozzoli, said yesterday.

Delivering a keynote address to the Ciskei Development Conference, Professor Bozzoli said the homeland's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, hoped for a quality of life which would attract migrants back.

"Very likely, many could be so attracted, but many will not be, and their children will be most unlikely to wish to leave the urban life to which they have become accustomed, no matter how grim their lives might be at the time.

"The migrant labour of short absence will be the most likely to return, and it is for him any such attraction should be designed," he said.

He was later backed by the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsantwisi, who spoke at the conference.

Professor Ntsantwisi said it was very important to make Ciskei the natural habitat for its inhabitants. "Make it the natural home of the people there and forget the second and third or fourth generation people who have left.

In his speech, Professor Bozzoli said South Africa was characterized by enormous disparities in wealth, quality of living, opportunities and degrees of freedom.

Supplement to the EP Herald and Daily Dispatch, 1

Homeland citizenship not needed for pension — official

Indaba Reporter

EAST LONDON — Has anyone been telling old age pensioners in Port Elizabeth they would not get their pensions unless they had Ciskei citizenship certificates?

If anyone was told this and believed it they, he or she has been misled.

This became clear after inquiries had been made to offices of Plural Relations Commissioners this week.

It was explained homeland citizenship certificates had nothing to do with applications for pensions for blacks living in urban areas.

The inquiry arose after a Port Elizabeth pensioner, Mrs Emily Bangani, 69, of 1266, Kwazakhele, said she had been told she was getting her pension payment for the last time this week and would only get it in future if she obtained a Ciskei citizenship certificate. Mrs Bangani did not know the name of the man who told her this.

Mrs Bangani was concerned about this and was making inquiries about where she could apply for a Ciskei citizenship certificate to ensure she got her pension payment in July.

"We old people do as we are instructed and we do not ask any questions when government officials tell us what we should or should not do," Mrs Bangani said.

EDITORIAL OPINION

Looking at the map

Any impartial stranger from overseas looking at a map of South Africa showing the land dispensations to so-called "homelands" in this country would probably agree with Transkei's claim to East Griqualand and with Ciskei's argument that places like East London, King William's Town and Queenstown seem to fit in better with Ciskei than with white-run areas.

But having made this assessment, the stranger might then ask: why all the fuss only about East Griqualand and the bolder's so-called white corridor? What about all the other white corridors between Ciskei and the Swaziland border along the south-eastern coast and stretching inland as far as the Free State, Lesotho and Transvaal southern borders?

Why, the stranger might ask, has it been determined that there must be a separate Ciskei, a separate Transkei, a separate conglomeration of shaded areas on the map labelled KwaZulu and lots of white parts in between?

Surely it would be more rational, the stranger might feel, to declare all the land between the Fish River and the Swaziland border below the Free State, Lesotho and Transvaal southern borders an area in which there should be black majority rule.

Surely, he might say, Xhosas and Zulus, Indians and whites in the area could all work together and surely the total area, with its two major ports — Durban and East London — would be more viable economically.

The stranger, having worked that out, might then look at the rest of the map and see the mind-boggling picture of Bophuthatswana with its separate parts as remote from one another as one piece being in the south-eastern Free State near Lesotho and others stringing along the south-eastern Botswana border and into the western Transvaal.

He would also see a conglomerate of black patches in the northern Transvaal stretching towards Rhodesia and Mozambique.

And he would probably find it impossible to consolidate or adjust such boundaries. So let the Free State, Transvaal and part of the Northern Cape operate as a multi-racial entity, he might say.

Which would leave only part of the East Cape, the Karoo and Western Cape under control of whites and Coloureds.

At which stage in the exercise the stranger might ponder why it was deemed necessary to carve up the country in the first place.

More pupils in homelands

JOHANNESBURG — There were more black pupils attending schools in the homelands and the independent Bophuthatswana than in urban areas, according to Educamus magazine, published by the Department of Education and Training.

There were 435 633 children attending at lower primaries in KwaZulu and 611 831 at higher primaries. Lebowa has 292 087 pupils at lower primaries and 412 012, at higher primaries.

Bophuthatswana has 230 305 pupils at lower primaries while 335 579 were registered at higher primaries.

The Ciskei has 98 852 pupils at lower primaries and 146 821 at higher primaries.

There were 79 819 pupils attending lower primaries in Gazankulu while 107 117 attended at higher primaries. Venda has 70 315 pupils at lower primaries and 100 682 pupils at higher primaries.

Qwa Qwa has 27 190 pupils at lower primaries and 37 622 pupils at higher primaries.

Meanwhile, the Free State has the largest total of 206 047 pupils at lower primaries in urban and rural areas and 275 808 attending at higher primaries. There were 178 681 pupils attending lower primaries in the Southern Transvaal and 252 034 at higher primaries.

The Northern Transvaal has 177 397 pupils at lower primaries and 238 164 at higher primaries. There were 134 053 pupils attending at lower primaries in the Cape and 185 426 at higher primaries.

Natal has 126 803 pupils at lower primaries and 166 671 at higher primaries. — DDC.

Homelands spark passport battle

7/6/78 R.D.M (101)

By HELEN ZILLE

A CLASH of wills on the homeland citizenship issue has developed between the Government and two leading Soweto residents who refuse to consider accepting homeland passports to travel abroad.

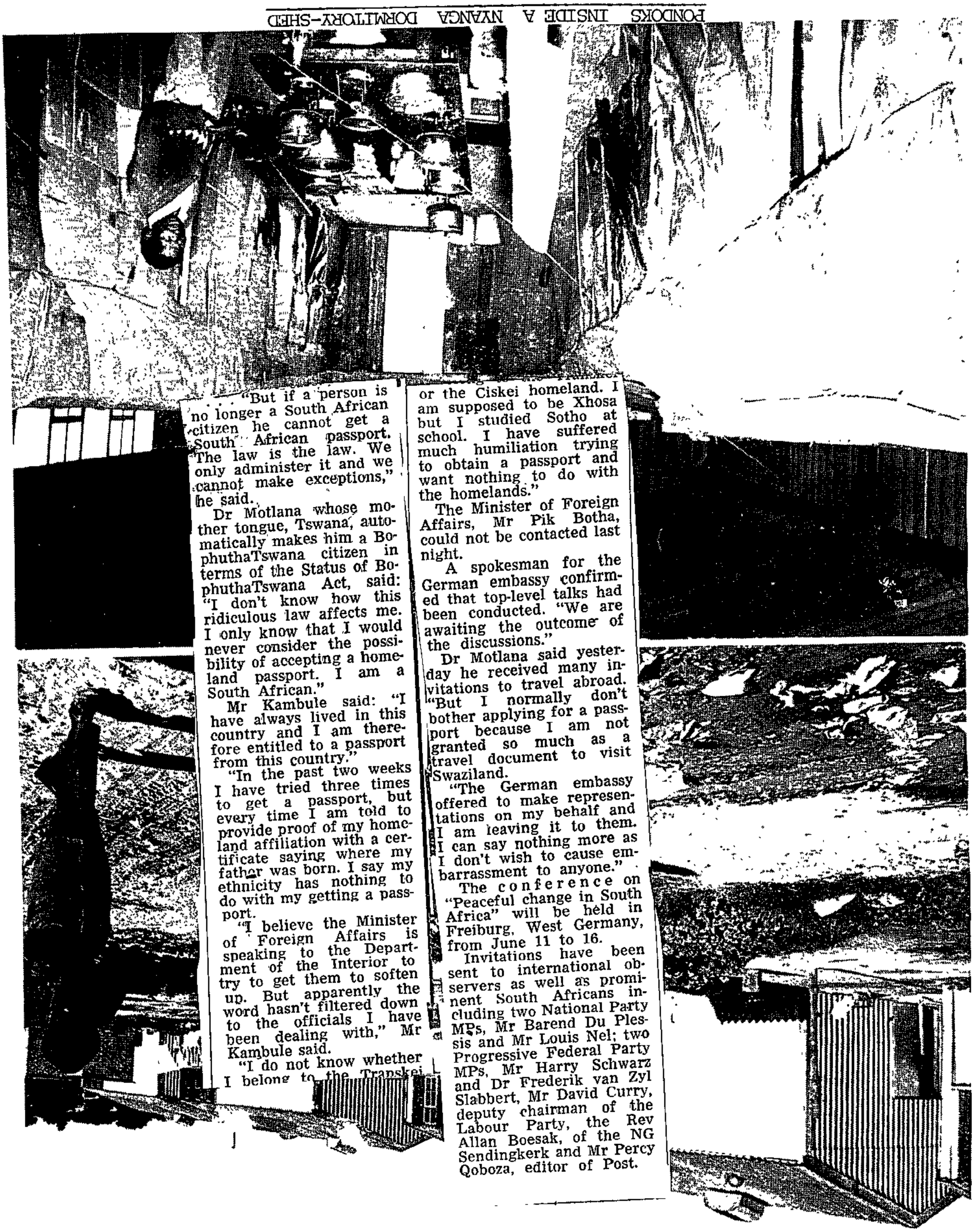
Dr Nthato Motlana chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, and Mr Wilkie Kambule, a lecturer in mathematics at the University of the Witwatersrand, are having "great difficulty" in obtaining passports to attend a conference in West Germany because officials insist on proof of their homeland citizenship.

Both men — who are among approximately 50 prominent South Africans invited to an international conference on the prospects of peaceful change in South Africa — say their ethnicity is irrelevant to obtaining a passport

They are required to provide information on their homeland affiliations since, in terms of the Status of Transkei and BophuthaTswana Acts, they are no longer eligible for South African passports.

The German ambassador, Mr J. Eicke, is understood to be conducting top-level discussions with the Department of Foreign Affairs in an attempt to break the deadlock.

Mr T J Booyens, Secretary for the Interior, the department that normally handles passport applications, said he had no know-



FONDOKS INSIDE A NYANGA DORMITORY-SHED

"But if a person is no longer a South African citizen he cannot get a South African passport. The law is the law. We only administer it and we cannot make exceptions," he said.

Dr Motlana whose mother tongue, Tswana, automatically makes him a BophuthaTswana citizen in terms of the Status of BophuthaTswana Act, said: "I don't know how this ridiculous law affects me. I only know that I would never consider the possibility of accepting a homeland passport. I am a South African."

Mr Kambule said: "I have always lived in this country and I am therefore entitled to a passport from this country."

"In the past two weeks I have tried three times to get a passport, but every time I am told to provide proof of my homeland affiliation with a certificate saying where my father was born. I say my ethnicity has nothing to do with my getting a passport.

"I believe the Minister of Foreign Affairs is speaking to the Department of the Interior to try to get them to soften up. But apparently the word hasn't filtered down to the officials I have been dealing with," Mr Kambule said.

"I do not know whether I belong to the Transkei or the Ciskei homeland. I am supposed to be Xhosa but I studied Sotho at school. I have suffered much humiliation trying to obtain a passport and want nothing to do with the homelands."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, could not be contacted last night.

A spokesman for the German embassy confirmed that top-level talks had been conducted. "We are awaiting the outcome of the discussions."

Dr Motlana said yesterday he received many invitations to travel abroad. "But I normally don't bother applying for a passport because I am not granted so much as a travel document to visit Swaziland.

"The German embassy offered to make representations on my behalf and I am leaving it to them. I can say nothing more as I don't wish to cause embarrassment to anyone."

The conference on "Peaceful change in South Africa" will be held in Freiburg, West Germany, from June 11 to 16.

Invitations have been sent to international observers as well as prominent South Africans including two National Party MPs, Mr Barend Du Plessis and Mr Louis Nel; two Progressive Federal Party MPs, Mr Harry Schwarz and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Mr David Curry, deputy chairman of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Boesak, of the NG Sendingkerk and Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of Post.

(101)

Some vital new facts about Black political thinking

Natal Mercury 16/6/78.

REMARKABLE and vital new information about the views, thinking and political attitudes of South Africa's millions of urban Blacks has now for the first time become available.

J. H. P. SERFONTEIN reports from Freiburg, West Germany, on a survey presented at an important international conference on "South Africa — is peaceful change possible?"

The Arnold-Bergstraesser Institut in Freiburg, West Germany, has just completed a report on a most thorough academic project undertaken between 1974 and 1977 on the attitude of Blacks and Whites in South Africa. It included a comprehensive representative opinion poll among Blacks in Soweto, Durban and Pretoria during 1977.

The findings are contained in a 490-page book *South Africa — Peaceful Change?*. The results were submitted to an international conference in Germany which started on Sunday.

The most important features of the findings are:

- Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the controversial Zulu leader, is emerging as the most important Black political figure and is supported by almost half of the urban Blacks;
- The majority believe in a Liberal Democracy, a peaceful solution, and are strong supporters of a free enterprise economic system.

According to the survey, the leaders of the ANC came second in the poll with 21,7 percent. After Nelson Mandela came the Homeland leaders with 18,3 percent, with Kaiser Matanzima and Lucas Mangope, the leaders of the two new independent homelands, receiving only 3,6 percent and 2,7 percent respectively.

Robert Sobukwe, the PAC leader who died early this year, got 7,4 percent, while the Black Consciousness movement leaders got 5,6 percent.

The report stated: "The outstanding political phenomena in Black urban politics is without a doubt Gatsha Buthelezi. Without doubt he is the leader of his own group, but the support he enjoys goes far beyond that. Altogether 40,3 percent of his supporters among urban Blacks are not Zulus."

The report concludes that "the political direction advocated by Buthelezi represents a force in South Africa as a whole beyond its regional and ethnic concentrations."

A multi-racial unitary state is overwhelmingly the most popular concept among supporters of political leaders of all shades of political opinion, even backed by 77,5 percent of the homeland supporters.

But significantly, no more than a third of all Black political groups advocate solely and unconditionally a unitary state. And more than a third in all political tendencies accept "democratic solution" — the sharing of power between various ethnic groups.

The report stressed that "it will probably depend to a large extent on Buthelezi's supporters how the formation of opinion on these different concepts will develop in future among urban Blacks."

Almost 95 percent respondents stated unequivocally that they desired to have what the Whites had in South Africa. A very large majority favoured the free enterprise system.

A total of 62,5 percent revealed a readiness to take personal economic risks by preferring a business where you can win a lot or lose a lot to a fixed salary job — opting for financial reward being based on individual economic performance.

Almost two-thirds made it clear that they preferred the capitalistic concept of private to public ownership of the means of production.

Their objectives

And an overwhelming 88,8 percent rejected the idea that a university-educated African should not earn more than an ordinary factory worker.

"As a whole the urban Blacks do not seem by any means to oppose a free enterprise system. What they want is a fair place in it, not its abolition."

Of those respondents who had opted for a "socialist" system, half have strong ties with the homelands. Twice as many of those "socialists" prefer homeland leaders than is the case among the supporters of the free enterprise system.

Only a quarter of the "socialists" revealed themselves as supporters of a modern socialism. And if the questions are asked who favours both State ownership of the means of production and an egalitarian income policy then only 3,3 percent of the respondents questioned remain socialists.

There is every indication that modern socialism is still completely foreign to the overwhelming majority of Blacks.

A total of 57,1 percent agreed that the demonstrations by young people in Soweto and other places were a good thing for the future of the South African people.

27,6 percent of the respondents declared that Africans will never get improvements without fighting and violent actions. This one quarter — which is influential because it represents the more educated and better-off groups — has written off the possibility of peaceful change.

Yet 64,7 percent still believe that improvements for Africans will come through patient negotiations between White and Black leaders.

The report continued: "The consequences are obvious: even among the urban Black population, the most politically informed and interested part of Black South Africa, there is a clear majority for non-violent change. However, the fears of the Black political leadership groups that this could quickly change are confirmed by empirical data: with the progress of urbanisation and the growth of education this disillusionment increases and hope for peaceful change decreases.

Then it warned: "The readiness for conflict is growing, above all, among urban Black youth."

In the central question on authoritarian or democratic leadership, on tolerance of criticism and dissenting opinions and on a one-party system or a pluralistic party system, a majority of urban Blacks showed themselves to be supporters of a liberal democracy.

The higher the professional position, the better the job, the longer the time spent in the city, the looser the tribal ties, the more numerous are the democrats.

"The fact that three-quarters of all respondents wanted equal political rights for Whites too showed a remarkable political tolerance potential among urban Blacks'.

But again a warning: "Younger people tend to vote against political rights for the Whites more than older people. It is thus by no means certain than the present high decree of tolerance towards Whites will continue to exist in the future." Only 63,8 percent of the 18-34 year-old group would grant Whites political rights compared with 82,1 percent of those older than 34 years.

On the question of peaceful change attitudes, only 40,7 percent of the democrats were found to be peacefully disposed, and 52,7 percent of non-democrats.

The report concluded: "The political question is not yet the priority of the majority of the respondents. They are peaceable from a feeling of powerlessness, in view of the pressing economic problems of their daily lives. But a minority already thinks mainly in political terms, a minority ready to welcome a democratic settlement but also ready for conflict."

INDEPENDENCE TO END CITIZENSHIP

Natal Mercury 16/6/78

(101)

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — All Blacks remained South African citizens until a homeland became independent, Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations, said yesterday.

He was replying to opposition charges that the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, which provides for homeland governments to issue new identity documents, would strip Blacks of their South African citizenship.

The debate was marked by heated denials by one of the government's chief spokesmen, Mr. P. T. du Plessis, (NP, Lydenburg), that the measure had been rejected by the homeland leaders.

Mr. Ray Swart, (PFP, Musgrave) and later Mrs. Helen Suzman, (PFP Houghton) challenged Government assertions that the measure had been approved by all leaders except Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Mr. Swart was accused of acting as a spokesman and "voice" for the Zulu leader and of aiming to disturb race relations.

He said that the Bill was a far cry from what the homeland leaders had expected.

Chief Buthelezi had said that KwaZulu wanted no part of the new system or the independence programme.

He made "no apology" for being conscious of the need to take notice of the wishes and feelings of the Zulu people.

Mrs. Suzman said that two homeland leaders had told her in telephone calls that they were against the Bill.

Who's next? Eglin inquires

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Colin Eglin, said yesterday he was surprised the Prime Minister had not announced a successor to General Hendrik van den Bergh as the head of the Bureau for State Security.

He had expected Mr. Vorster to name a successor during the debate on the Bureaux for State Security Bill which was taken through all its stages in the House of Assembly yesterday, he said.

Without a successor named, there could be tension in the public mind.

Earlier yesterday, the Prime Minister announced General van den Bergh would be retiring at the end of the month.

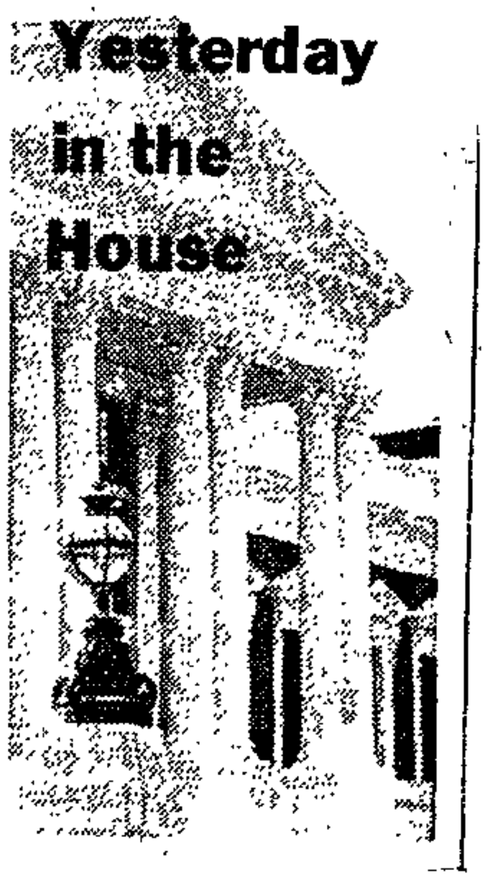
Mr. Vorster and Mr. Eglin both paid tribute to the general in their speeches.

Mr. Vorster said he had reached retirement age three years ago but he had requested him to stay on. The time had now come for him to retire.

As head of the security police and the bureau, the general had protected the interests of the whole of South Africa.

"He has given outstanding service to South Africa and all its peoples."

Mr. Eglin said General van den Bergh had been diligent and hardworking. "One gathers that in recent years he has been important in all key decisions. I wish him well in his retirement."



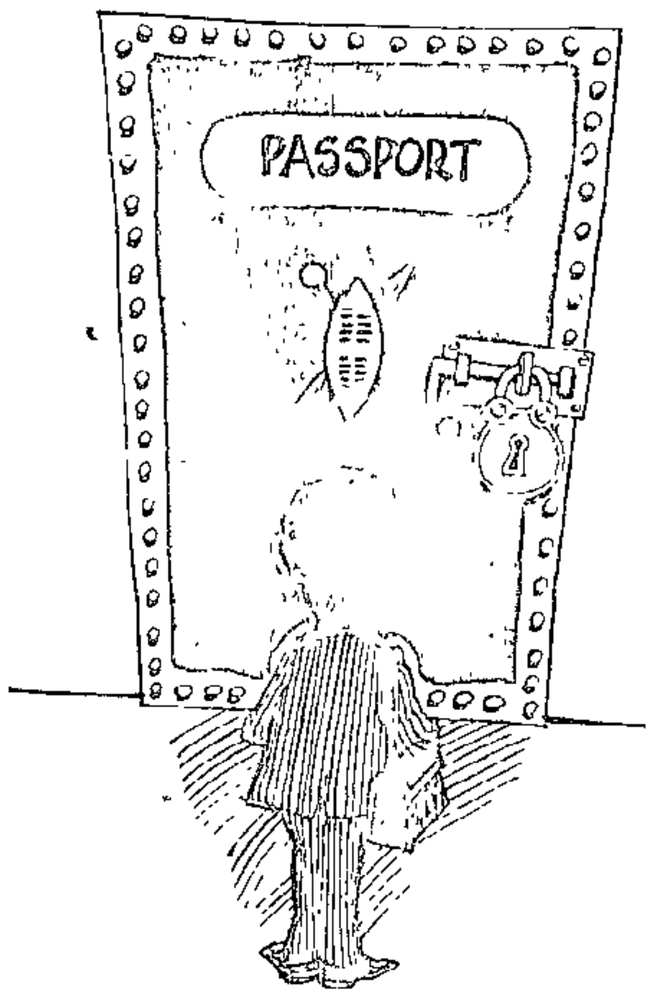
PASSPORTS

Paper work

FM: 16/6/78 (101)

Consider this: a passport recognised by nobody outside SA; yet those eligible for it can go nowhere without it. Something out of Kafka's crazy novels? No, merely the true position regarding passports issued by Transkei and BophuthaTswana (BT).

Since no countries recognise Transkei or BT, their passports alone are useless. But the situation is not quite so hopeless. Special visas and travel documents used in addition to the Transkei and BT passports make life, and travel, a little easier. BT citizens wanting to travel to countries which refuse to grant them visas are issued with special SA travel documents. These are valid only for the particular trip undertaken. So they make travel possible without conferring SA citizenship.



Some European countries issue visas to Transkei and BT citizens on special application. "We do not want to interfere with the liberty of an individual to travel just because of the passport he holds," says a British consulate spokesman in Johannesburg.

French and German authorities also issue visas if special applications are made. No applications have as yet been refused by the French, says the French consulate.

As for the US, Transkei and BT passport holders are normally not eligible for admission, although each case is weighed according to its merits. But neither Britain nor the US stamp the visa onto the passport itself — to avoid recognition of the country concerned.

†

Passport row: Nat paper has reservations

12/6/78

Political Staff

A NATIONALIST newspaper yesterday expressed strong reservations over the most fundamental aspect of Government policy — the linking of all urban blacks to homelands.

Criticising the Government for its handling of the Motlana-Kambule passport dispute, Rapport said blacks with no ties to homelands should be accommodated "in another manner".

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of 10, and Mr Wilkie Kambule, a lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand, lost their South African citizenship after the independence of BophuthaTswana and Transkei, and were denied South African passports because they refused to first take out homeland travel documents.

Rapport said it had reservations over the application of Government homelands policy to all blacks without exception.

"There are, among them, people who have no connection with their homeland, who have not even been there, whose families have lived in the cities for generations, and who are possibly children of fathers and mothers of different ethnic groups," Rapport said.

"We have felt that provision for them should be made in another manner."

The newspaper said the Government had made it possible for Dr Motlana and Mr Kambule to make a political issue of the matter.

EDITORIAL OPINION

Questions for Buthelezi

KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has returned from Europe with a comprehensive report hailing him the most popular black South African leader tucked under his arm. The report will no doubt spur him on to greater efforts on the national political stage.

He certainly wasted no time laying into supporters of the black consciousness movement, labelling them "little cocks who crow from dunghills" after hearing that his newspaper, The Nation, had been barred from Soweto's June 16 commemorations.

His reaction to the news on his arrival at Jan Smuts airport was surprising for earlier this year at least two journalists were warned off attending a meeting he addressed in Soweto. Were the "little cocks" merely repaying the compliment? And what was his newspaper doing at "the dunghill" anyway?

But Chief Buthelezi's preoccupation with his black consciousness critics is understandable. They constantly tarnish his image as the corporate black opponent of apartheid. No matter how he tries to dismiss them, their opposition to his "working within the system" will keep that image blurred.

Chief Buthelezi should take a lesson from "the little cocks" and at the same time give straight answers to the questions South Africans of all colours now have a right to ask him.

For instance, what is it about black consciousness that he claims is dividing blacks? He talks of Steve Biko as "our late brother" — who is "our"? If the Chief regards the late Mr Biko as a "brother", why has he said Mr Biko thrived on "cheap soapbox rhetoric" and that he was behind a CIA-funded international attack on Chief Buthelezi? Does the Chief have something concrete to offer a national convention instead of words like "peace" or "change" or alternatives of "black civil war"? How does he propose to convince the Nationalists a national convention is necessary?

And about Inkatha which he says is open to all blacks. How many non-Zulus sit on Inkatha's central committees or hold any office? Why are Inkatha members to be given preference for KwaZulu civil service positions? Does Inkatha have a blueprint for the "change" he talks about?

All South Africans wait eagerly for Chief Buthelezi to tell them exactly where he stands.

Mulder plans race solution

HOUSTON — The Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, says he is working on a "five year plan" that seeks a political solution to the Republic's racial problems.

Dr Mulder said here the plan would improve the lives of blacks, would consider the dignity of men, and was based on the concept of negotiation rather than confrontation.

South Africa would continue to create independent black states.

Two states, Transkei and the Republic of Bophuthatswana, had been created. A third, Venda, would become independent in August, 1979.

Transkei and Bophuthatswana had not been recognised as independent states by other nations. This was "blatant discrimination," he said.

"Other nations feel that they would be condoning our policy, which they are not prepared to do," he said.

The new nations were as large in land area and population and had as high a per capita income and literacy rate as many other African nations.

Transkei's recent rupture of diplomatic relations with South Africa was proof the new nations were not satellites of South Africa, Dr Mulder said.

Eventually it was hoped South Africa and new nations carved from it would form a council to discuss mutual concerns.

"We hope that this group or family of nations will become a bulwark against Russian communism in Africa."

He denied South Africa's domestic policy was necessarily based on racial discrimination.

"If taken to its ultimate conclusion, it totally excludes discrimination," he said.

His government was aiming for improved conditions for blacks, but it was a gradual process.

It was in the interest of all African states to resist Cuban and Soviet military pressures throughout the continent, he said. Dr Mulder was in Houston to address a seminar sponsored by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation. SAPA-AP

Homelands policy will fail—top planner

STAR 4/7/78 (101)

Staff Reporter

Sir Colin Buchanan, international authority on urban planning, told the Road Ahead conference in Grahamstown.

Sir Colin said: "I must be a very stupid person but I can't understand how this black archipelago will work."

He said that by the year 2000 there would be a "non-white majority of 90 percent of the population."

The eventual aim of the homelands was he said, according to Government policy, to have 60 percent of the blacks in the homelands and "40 percent in white areas on a temporary basis."

That meant there would be 16-million blacks in white areas on a temporary basis.

"As far as I understand it, blacks have not had any great say in the matter. There is a need for every member of the community to have a say in every decision affecting the community.

"There should be no legislation without representation," said Sir Colin.

"To deny blacks equal rights and opportunities is lighting the fuse of a powder keg."

He said South Africa would not get back into the community of nations until the world knew that there was no legislation without representation.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, chairman of the Executive Council of the Rhodesian transitional government and acting head of State, is to give the key note address to the Road Ahead conference on Friday.

The Bishop will speak on "The Changing World Order and the Implications for South Africa."

He arrived in South Africa today and will address the Institute of International Affairs at Wits University tonight.

● SA is not ready for an urban boom. — Page 6.

SUN. TRIB. 9/7/78 (101)

German scientists were right, Mr Nel

PEACEFUL CHANGE: MOST WHITES ARE AHEAD OF NAT ELITE

By OSCAR D. DHLOMO

KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture

MR LOUIS Nel's personal views of the Freiburg International Conference would, under normal circumstances, not give me sleepless nights, were it not for the fact that these views might be accepted without question by those of our countrymen who were not at the conference.

Ironically his views, as the Sunday Tribune editorial rightly states, vindicate the findings of the German scientists, that the biggest stumbling block to peaceful change in our country is the elite of the National Party. In fact, the survey further established that the white electorate was in most cases ahead of their leaders in their readiness for peaceful change.

Most delegates were utterly baffled by Mr Nel's hour-long vigorous disagreement with Dr Heribert Weiland's conclusion that in their answers to the questions concerning readiness to change most white voters had revealed a basic fear for the future.

It was Professor Piet Cillie, former editor of the Burger who eventually "tamed" Mr Nel by stating that even though white voters feared for the future, they did not want to be told this fact in public!

This statement seemed to make sense, and Professor Cillie earned a standing ovation from the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Prince M. G. Buthelezi for his forthrightness on this issue.

I think it is important to review the circumstances that led to this conclusion regarding fear: The survey found that 65,2 percent of white voters felt that there would eventually be a black uprising in South Africa, 67 percent were afraid that their children might never enjoy as high a standard of living as they themselves enjoyed at present; and 36,9 percent felt uncertain and fearful about their future.

The German scientists then went on to monitor the degree of anxiety exhibited by the white electorate over a period extending from June 1974 to July 1977.

When these figures are analysed it is clear that in June 1974, 75 percent of white voters had an anxiety ranging from slight to very strong, in June 1974, 77 percent had it, in October 1976, 82 percent and in July 1977, 80 percent. It is for this reason that most delegates to conference found Mr Nel's outburst quite inexplicable.

Desirable

Firstly, I don't agree with Mr Nel that by stating that it was socially desirable to be ready to fight in white South Africa, the German scientists were trying to disregard the finding that 74 percent of whites felt that they should fight to maintain South Africa as it is, whatever the risks may be. The scientists were merely stating a fact. Consider the defence budget, the defence bonds, compulsory national service, strengthening of cadet ranks in schools, a boom in the firearm business, border duty, long hours of radio music and messages devoted to "our boys on the border" as well as frequent official invitations to blackleaders to join tours of the war-torn border in the company of defence force officials.

What is important for Mr Nel to note is that not all these people are ready to fight simply because they agree with the policies of his party. At the conference in Freiburg I sat next to a Professor who was forced to fight as a lieutenant in Hitler's forces while both his father and brother were imprisoned by Hitler!

Secondly in his conclusions the Director of the Arnold-Bergstrasser Institute Professor Theodor Hanf did indicate that white South Africans would most probably fight to the bitter end in case of a violent confrontation.

He went on to point out that this was quite understandable since white South Africans had no other home outside South Africa. Their position could not, therefore, be compared to that of the Portuguese. In his own words "South Africa's metropole is in South Africa.

In all honesty it can therefore not be said that the German scientists disregard the findings regarding white South Africa's readiness to fight. Instead they tried to explain this readiness to fight as objectively as possible.

As a member of the caucus of the ruling party Mr Nel might be correct in saying that it is Government policy to introduce change and that the implementation of Government policies "will lead to even radical changes".

"There are, however, two important things that he conveniently forgets, namely: the Government he is talking about is a minority white Government which has allocated to itself the sole right to decide the future and destiny of the majority; further the implementation of these so called changes is also being done within the framework of apartheid — a policy that is rejected by 83 percent of the blacks in this country.

Homeland

I hope Mr Nel noted that 78 percent of those who are followers of the homeland leaders also reject apartheid; so do 88 percent of those who are followers of Chief Buthelezi; 81 percent of ANC followers, 81 percent of PAC followers and 69 percent of black Consciousness followers.

Predictably Mr Nel found it "meaningful' that 77.4 percent of white voters accepted the concept of independent homelands as planned at the moment. He, however, missed the point that the German Scientists were trying to make here.

The point is that Government supporters in South Africa regard it as unpatriotic to criticise or oppose Government policy. They consider it a duty to support Government policy regardless — a point that Mr Nel ironically disputes in his article. The homeland policy is accepted because it is present Government policy.

Sharing

If Government leaders were to change tomorrow and adopt a policy of power sharing for instance, their followers would still lend them as much support. One has only to look at the readiness with which Government supporters accepted the current constitutional arrangements affecting Indians and coloureds even before they were adequately explained to them.

Mr Nel is correct that there were 1 020 blacks that were interviewed, that 600 of these came from Soweto, 210 from Pretoria and 210 from Durban.

The scientists did explain that although this sample was a quota sample it was, however based on the random sample of the previous year. Interviewers were highly trained professionals who had been involved in interviewing people since 1961.

Respondents were selected on the basis of language, income, education, area of residence in township, age and occupation. These respondents were interviewed at all places where crowds would gather, namely bus stops, railways stations, beer halls.

Their anonymity was also guaranteed. It is difficult to understand Mr Nel's conclusion that 40 percent of the people interviewed were Zulus and 7,5 percent Xhosas. Neither do I know the source from which he extracted this conclusion.

Consequently, I can only assume that he probably misread the scientist's conclusion that 40 percent of those who supported Chief Buthelezi were non-Zulus. The random nature of the sample seems to suggest that it would have been impossible for the interviewers to deliberately select only Zulu respondents. Another possibility of course could be that among people living in Soweto, Pretoria and Durban the Zulus are by far in the majority.

Even the latter possibility, however, still does not entitle Mr Nel to conclude as he has done that "the poll was therefore a highly selective one dominated by Soweto-Zulu attitudes."

Attempts were made by numerous black delegates to convince Mr Nel that ethnicity was not a relevant political concept among urban blacks. The history of the banned ANC and PAC both of which were multi-ethnic organisations was recounted.

Ethnicity

The multi-ethnic nature of Inkatha and the fact that Chief Buthelezi is supported by 40 percent non-Zulus still did not convince Mr Nel of the irrelevance of ethnicity in urban black politics.

Mr Nel and his comrades however failed to explain why their Government did not also regard the Afrikaners, English, Jews, Portuguese, Italians and Germans in South Africa as ethnic groups. Neither could they explain why their Government appeared so eager to foist ethnicity on people who clearly rejected it. If, as Mr Nel says, the denial of the importance of ethnicity is nothing more than a black political strategy, one wonders what the Government's denial of the importance of ethnicity among the Afrikaners, English, Jews, Portuguese, Italians and Germans is — white political strategy?

Not only did Mr Nel and his comrades reject a consociational democratic model but they also rejected any sharing of political power even on a federal basis with no group domination! Their uncompromising stand on this issue was, however, surprising if we consider the fact that recently nationalist think-tank "gurus" including a fairly senior cabinet minister took part in a conference in the Cape that examined various constitutional models for South Africa.

At this conference the cabinet minister even read a paper wherein he advocated a cantonal system for South Africa. It is significant that this cabinet minister was not severely censured by his superiors. The idea of a national convention in South Africa which Chief Buthelezi has advocated for years was also rejected out of hand by Mr Nel.

It is ridiculous for Mr Nel to claim that present Government policy is a guarantee for prosperity and peace. There is clearly no evidence to support his assertion. The first independent homeland has no diplomatic links with the rest of the world — and this includes South Africa herself!

There are also rumours that this homeland is experiencing serious cash problems. The second independent homeland is recognised only by South Africa. To add more amusement to this circus is the fact that the two independent homelands themselves have up to now failed to exchange ambassadors, in other words they also do not recognise each other!

Concept

Lastly, the biggest national group in South Africa — the Zulus — have already vehemently rejected the concept of homeland independence.

As I left the Freiburg Conference I could not help thinking about the political experiences of the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Smith, over the past 13 years. In 1965 this politician rejected out of hand fairly moderate settlement proposals, only to accept very radical ones 13 years later.

RAND Daily Mail

THURSDAY, July 13, 1978

Fiddling with our future

(101)

THE warning signs become starker by the day, yet the Government shows no sign of heeding appeals from all sides that blacks and whites be brought together to work out their future.

Black leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Dr Nthato Motlana and Bishop Desmond Tutu have spelt out all too clearly their own views on what awaits this country if nothing is done to meet the political aspirations of black South Africans — aspirations which cannot be met through "homeland" governments and community councils.

In the past few days, two more prominent people have called for a black-white get-together.

Ds Sam Buti, speaking as president of the South African Council of Churches, said opportunities had to be created for black and white leaders to work out a programme of political change, and the coloured leader, Mr Sonny Leon, said it was vitally important that the Government brought together all groups to find a constitutional framework ensuring political and economic freedom for all.

At the same time the Government's constitutional proposals are being rejected by everyone except the Nationalists themselves, although even some Afrikaners have grave doubts about the three-parliament scheme.

In Bloemfontein this week, the Afrikaanse Studentebond called for a commission of whites, Indians and coloureds to examine the shortcomings of the proposals, following a warning by Professor Marius Wiechers that they were unworkable. But the students were still blind to the major reason why coloured leaders rejected the plan at a meeting this week with the Minister of Coloured Affairs — its failure to acknowledge the existence of urban blacks.

It is not difficult to predict the Government's reaction to these developments — it will press on with its sterile policies, because it has nothing else to offer. That is why people like Chief Buthelezi despair of a peaceful future for South Africa, and why a change of heart among Government-supporting whites is so desperately necessary.

The Natal Mercury

MONDAY, JULY 17, 1978

(101)

THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE

THE Government should take serious note of the hardening attitude adopted by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in his recent speeches. It was clearly demonstrated at Ulundi on Wednesday and Thursday when he reasserted, with even greater emphasis than usual, his rejection of apartheid while decrying the exclusion of Blacks from the decision-making process.

Years of pleading by Black leaders and moderate Whites have been coldly ignored by the Nationalist hierarchy. The greater the pressure exerted by world opinion the more intransigent our rulers have become. Indeed, they seem inveterately incapable of unbending, no matter what logic dictates.

At a time when this part of the world is in dire need of mollification and the passions of the voiceless are rumbling with volcanic ominousness, when our borders are threatened and economic sanctions loom, Mr. Vorster does virtually nothing.

He turns a blind eye to reality and ignores the dangers that beset us, as though by so doing they will miraculously disappear; he ignores everything that does not accord with race policies that are becoming increasingly impossible to implement. And when he makes a concession it is often cosmetic and in no way eases tensions or raises hopes for an equitable political dispensation.

The crisis within his own party arises directly from the growing realisation that apartheid has almost run its course and that the *status quo* must change. Black pleas have already turned into challenge, and this is developing into defiance. From this point the options begin to run out and only confrontation can result.

At Ulundi Chief Buthelezi urged his followers to resist with all the power at their command the Nationalist policy of stripping them of their South African citizenship and conferring on them the citizenship of a homeland where they have what he calls Pretoria's sham independence.

A political accommodation is overdue, and this can be arrived at either via a national convention or frank across-the-table talks with our Black leaders to decide what form it is to take.

Federal or confederal concepts are widely favoured outside of Nationalist circles, and there is reason to believe one or the other could find support among the Blacks. But they must be given the opportunity to put their case instead of simply being told to do as the White man says.

or on

something

never be industrious." Clearly, the time of the "lowest classes" had not yet come.

All across Europe, then, societies were dominated by oligarchies. Nearly everywhere, noblemen monopolized the highest posts in state and church, and there was a tendency for different branches of the aristocracy to coalesce: in France, the old nobility of the sword increasingly intermarried with the new nobility of the robe. Wealth and status attracted each other. In their role as influential courtiers, great landowners, high-ranking bureaucrats, or princes of the church, aristocrats had access to the sources of wealth. While not all nobles were rich—the poor among them were numerous and conspicuous—most of them could afford extensive estates, luxurious styles of life, and impressive gambling debts. And those aristocrats whose resources were failing could replenish them by marrying their sons to bourgeois heiresses. Yet the cosmopolitan splendor of the leading noble houses gives eighteenth-century Europe a misleading appearance of unif
powers of aristocracies differed from cou
nobility generally lived on the land; th
rented to tenant farmers, they kept in tou
among them actually enjoyed experiment
These peers governed Britain by superir
ation with the local squire and by going i
Lords. In Britain, only the eldest son inher
son, older and younger brother, often me
sitting in the Lords, the other in the Hous
Both in local and national affairs, then, relations between the peerage and the far larger squierarchy were often intimate. This, and a sizable, self-respecting urban bourgeoisie, meant that the higher reaches of English society were not sharply divided, but gently, if subtly, graded and interrelated. One did not have to be a nobleman to get on: the great Sir Robert Walpole was the incarnation of the country squire in politics. As we know, his elevation to the peerage was less a reward for services performed than a sign that his political influence was at an end (see p. 388).

In France, in contrast, the apex of the social hierarchy remained the court nobility. For them, to go back to the provinces was to go into exile. But there were striking and numerous exceptions to this pattern: while French law closed most trades to the nobility as unworthy of their privileged estate, many provincial nobles lived cheerfully enough far from Paris, cultivating their properties and increasing their incomes. For example, at Toulouse, whose nobility has been closely studied, noblemen were thrifty and rational landlords; their "mode of living," writes their historian, "was maintained by adherence to the so-called bourgeois virtues of thrift, discipline, and strict management of the family fortune."[35] High posts were in the hands of aristocrats; by 1789, all

[35] Robert Forster, *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century* (1960), 177.

bishops in France were noblemen, often younger sons combining vast perquisites with no duties, and only one of Louis XVI's thirty-six ministers was a commoner. The French Revolution, as we shall see, had many causes. But one of them was the short-sighted self-centeredness of the French aristocracy, alert mainly to its interests, intent on pleasure, and deaf to the call for social responsibility, let alone social reform. As the marquise de La Tour du Pin, one of the most intelligent survivors of this aristocracy, would later put it in her memoirs: "The Revolution of 1789 was only the inevitable consequence and, I might almost say, the just punishment of the vices of the upper classes, vices carried to such excess that if people had not been stricken with a mortal blindness, they must have seen that they would inevitably be consumed by the very fire they themselves were lighting." The "famous 'douceur de vivre,' of the old regime," as Professor John McManners sums it up, "was concocted from a very simple formula, privilege without responsibility."[36]

Speaking of "a possible
total plan for homeland
development in Southern
Africa," Professor van As
warned that businesses
and Government bodies
"must realise that training
for black managerial posi-
tions, establishment of un-
dertakings aimed primari-
ly at black consumers, mo-
bilisation of black man-
power, creation of black
job opportunities and the
utilisation of black buying
power should be aimed in
the first place at the
homelands."

Ignoring homelands' Business

Own Correspondent

South African and especi-
ally Afrikaans business-
men have been accused of
disregarding profitable op-
portunities for business
development in the home-
lands, says a Pretoria
release.

Addressing more than
300 Transvaal scholars in
Potgietersrus today at the
fifth youth congress on
racial and national rela-
tions, Professor Ben van
As, head of the Depart-
ment of Development Ad-
ministration and Politics
at the University of South
Africa, said businessmen
were also guilty of neg-
lecting their duties
towards homelands and
the total homeland policy.

"If the Afrikaans busi-
nessman does not make
greater investments in
this Afrikaner policy he is
breaking down the credi-
bility and viability of eco-
nomic homeland develop-
ment.

"Separate national deve-
lopment presupposes the
growth of homelands into
economically viable enti-
ties."

more complicated than this; everywhere, nobles sought to escape, or at least lighten, the burdens that energetic and power-hungry monarchs had imposed upon them. In Russia they wholly succeeded;[38] even in Prussia—though only after the death of the omnipresent Frederick II in 1786—they succeeded in part. Gradually, the Junker bureaucrats became centers of power hard to move and impossible to dislodge. It is not extravagant to call the eighteenth century a century of the rising aristocracy.

Europe: A Rural Society

The basis of aristocratic wealth and power was the land. Economic historians used to date the Industrial Revolution from 1760. There is some reason for their choice. It was in 1769, after long experimentation, that James Watt patented his

[36] "France," in A. Goodwin, ed., *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century* (1953), 29.
[37] J. O. Lindsay, "The Social Classes and the Foundations of the States," in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VII (1957), 55.
[38] See p. 378 and, for developments under Catherine II, p. 432.

STAR 25/7/78 (101)

MINISTER TELLS YOUTH CONGRESS OF INSENSITIVE ATTITUDES TO SERVANTS

The stranger in your house

Pretoria Bureau

White South Africans know little about their servants and often view black people as labour units, the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Willem Cruywagen, said last night.

Speaking at the opening of a youth congress in Potgietersrus, he said servants knew white people better than whites knew their servants.

"They know our preferences for food, our whims and fancies, our customs and traditions and even how our closest family of uncles, cousins and aunts is structured," he said.

"And of the servant we know little — the most we say of her is about her laziness and unreliability and 'They are really funny people, one will never understand them,' and we leave it."

Whites often saw their servants as labour units. The servants' other ties of love, pride for tribal kinship, nation and fatherland had become of little value.

"We are to a large degree responsible, especially in the cities, that this pride and love for own has grown so vague," Mr Cruywagen said.

Urbanisation has reduced the quality of people, he added. It had caused problems of identity.

Good race relations, he added, could be built only on the foundation of self respect, respect, love and a healthy pride in one's own race, nation and culture.

Honest and penetrating self-criticism was a sign of national adulthood. People had to investigate where the causes of their problems lay.

He did not believe race relations could be built in conditions of half anarchy and lawlessness, he said.

Proof of this, the Minister added, was the aversion of many people, after the urban riots to making meaningful contact with the black people.

The Minister spoke of whites being unwilling to make contributions — material or through service — to black people.

Violence, disorder, damaged property and assault led to vast alienation.

It was necessary the circumstances that caused justified grievances and bitterness, from social to political matters, receive the necessary attention, he said.

MR CRUYWAGEN

DD. 31/7/78 (101)

Home is where the heart is

This is the first of a four-part series by the Daily Dispatch political correspondent BARRY STREEK on the Government policy to keep black people out of the Western Cape. The policy is particularly hard on Ciskeians and Transkeians as will be shown in subsequent articles.

The South African Government's policy to keep black people out of the Western Cape is fundamentally based on its goal to separate race groups in the Republic and its belief that the black "nations" should have their permanent homes in the homelands.

Its main focus at present is on the approximately 100 000 Ciskeians and Transkeians illegally (in terms of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act) in the Western Cape, but if the policy of separate development is carried to its logical conclusion all blacks will have to theoretically "return" to their place of origin even if they have been born in Cape Town.

So far, there have been no firm indications that the Government intends taking that policy to that conclusion and make all blacks in Cape Town "temporary," but there have been veiled threats along these lines by ideologues in the past. Such a move would, one supposes, be logical in terms of the masterplan.

Nevertheless, there are various policy moves to encourage that goal. The Western Cape is a "Coloured Preference Area", which means employers have to show they can find no Coloured workers before they can employ blacks. Industrial training concessions do not apply for black people in the area.

The much-praised 99-year lease scheme for houses does not apply in the Western Cape because of its implied acceptance of permanence and the building of family housing in the black townships in recent years has been negligible. Last year, there was a shortage of 1 600 family housing units.

The Government's policy is based on the separation of black and white into geographic areas where they can exercise their political rights. This, it is argued, is the only possible alternative to one-man-one-vote system with black majority rule.

The merits of that policy and its possible success, can be debated.

However, the Western Cape policy is also based on the totally incorrect view that black Africans are newcomers to the area and they, therefore, do not have any historical claims to be there.

It is not a very solid argument in any event. Why should a black person born in Cape Town have fewer rights than another person — white, of course — who immigrates to the area from Britain or Rhodesia?

But it is an emotional argument and it is one that is often cited by Nationalist supporters.

For example, a well-known verligte commentator, Mr Otto Krause, wrote recently in the official Transvaal mouthpiece of the National Party, Die Transvaler, that foreigners as well as the local opposition had talked about equal rights for all and that all the people in the country should be regarded as South Africans.

In the article which the old Department of Information saw fit to reproduce in its weekly magazine and distribute around the world, Mr Krause said: "They still cannot understand our situation of nations without boundaries completely.

"And the blacks put their arguments formidably. Naturally, they claim they were in South Africa before us (they forget that the first blacks in any numbers only arrived in the Western Cape in the late 1930s) ..." he wrote.

While such interpretations may suit the case Mr Krause was trying to make, they certainly do not tie up with historical facts.

Some of these facts have been published recently in two articles by a University of Cape Town historian, Dr Christopher Saunders, and they are significant because Government supporters keep on repeating the sort of historical justification cited by Mr Krause as if it were true.

Dr Saunders wrote: "Too often it has been merely assumed, because Cape Town is so far from the areas of traditional African settlement, that the African presence in the city is relatively recent. In fact it goes back well into the nineteenth century.

"By the end of that century there were some 10 000 Africans living in greater Cape Town and making a substantial contribution to the development of the modern city."

By the time of the Great Trek, which after all was the occasion for white people to establish their claims to most of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, a small colony of Mfengu was living and working in Cape Town, most of the males being employed at the harbour or as street cleaners.

In the first detailed colonial census, taken in 1865, it was recorded that over 400 blacks were living in Papendorp, which was later renamed Woodstock, and 274 more in Cape Town itself.

"By 1881 there was again a sizeable African population in Papendorp — such that whites began to talk of the need to establish an official 'kaffir location' for it — and other Africans lived in kraals on the slopes of Table Mountain, on a open piece of government-owned land between Papendorp and Cape Town, and in what was called 'the location in District Six," Dr Saunders wrote.

In the 1890s several hundred Transkeians were recruited and brought down to the Cape Town docks as workers. By 1900 there were 1 800 housed by the Harbour Board in barracks near the docks.

"Some of those who came to work on the docks decided they wished to settle in Cape Town. There were no restrictions to prevent their doing so, and they either brought their wives from the Eastern Cape or married local women."

An outbreak of bubonic plague in Cape Town in February 1901 resulted in the colonial authorities moving over 7 000 blacks to a specially-built location at Uitvlugt on the Cape Flats. That area was renamed Ndabeni, which it is still called today, but it is now a prime industrial area.

The luckless blacks, who seemed to have been moved about ever since they arrived in the area, were shifted out to a new location at Langa which opened in 1927.

One thing absolutely certain is that the blacks can hardly be regarded as newcomers in Cape Town and that a sizeable black population has lived there since at least the turn of the century, certainly well before Mr Krause's "late 1930s".

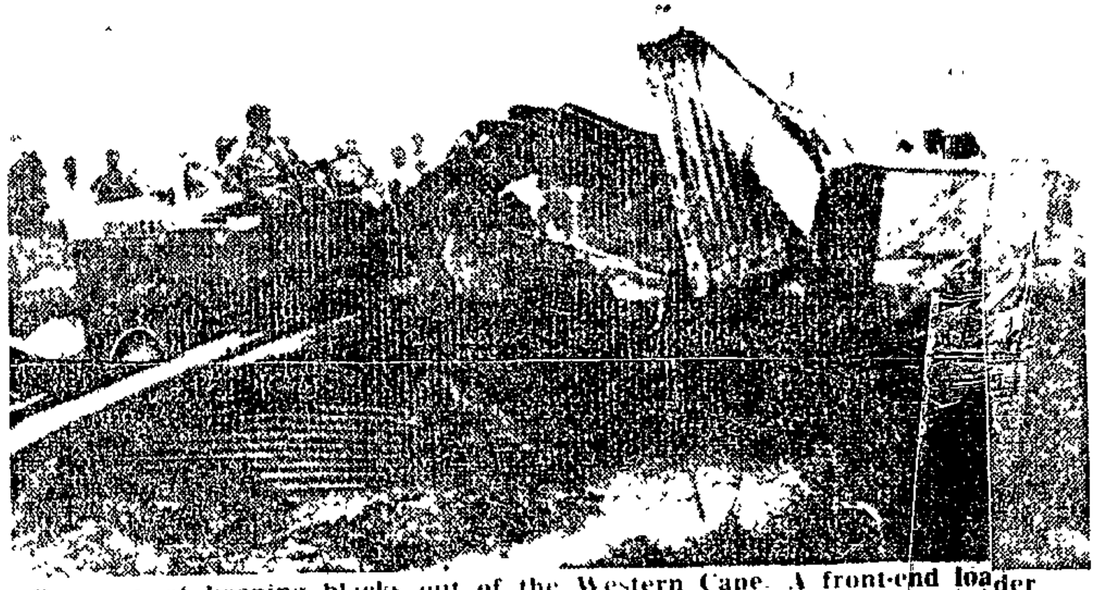
Dr Saunders also records that two sons of the great Sotho leader, Moshoeshoe, were among the first pupils to be admitted to Zonnebloem College which was open in Cape Town in 1858.

He concludes "The full story of how Cape Town has from the nineteenth century benefited from African labour, yet failed to provide adequate housing for its African residents, remains to be told."

He might well have said the full story will had to be told of how various white-run governments had neglected to provide homes for its black workers for the entire 150 years in which they have lived there, because even today there is not adequate housing for the people whose labour is so vital to the prosperity of the rest of Cape Town.

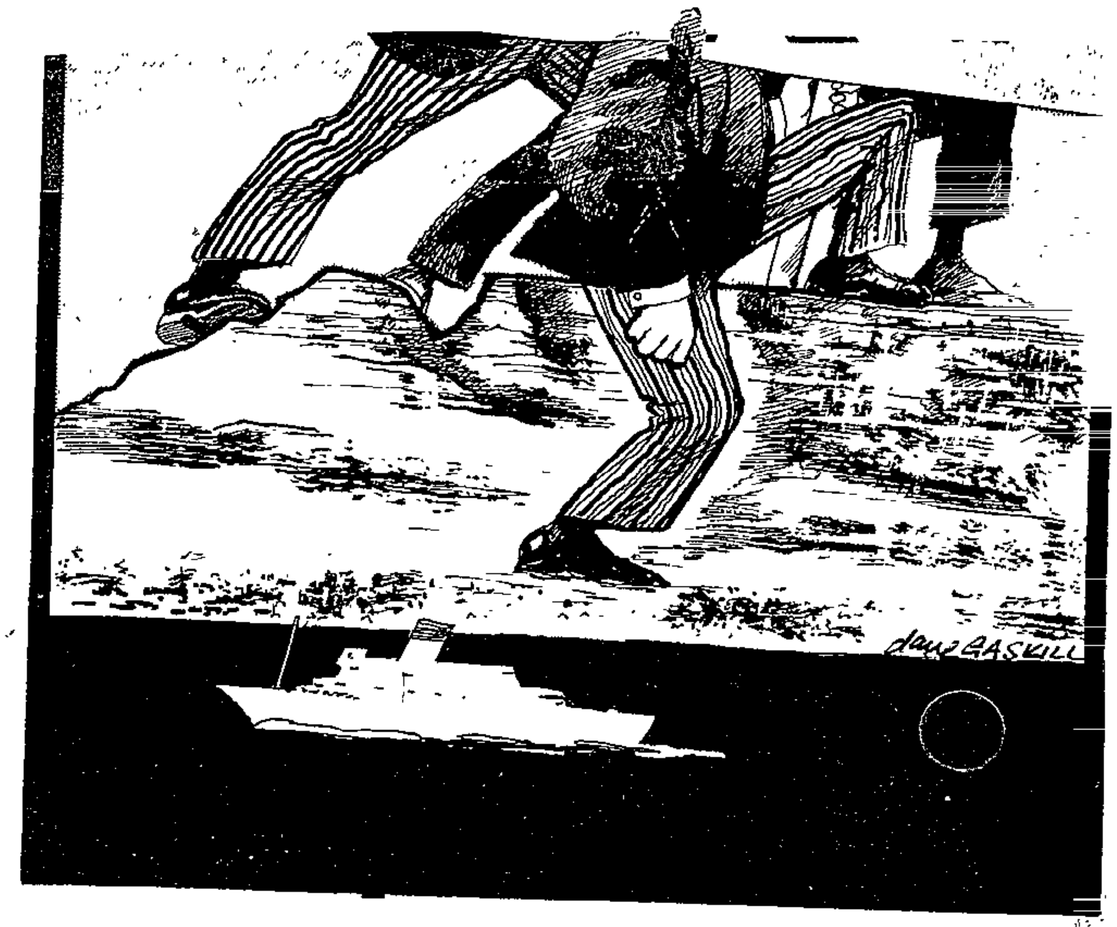
The permanent black residents of Cape Town are as much part of the situation as anyone else and, on historical grounds at least, are entitled to remain there.

Indeed, the housing problem goes back even further. In Van Riebeeck's Journal for February 10, 1655, it was written "Only last night it happened that about 50 of these natives wanted to put up their huts close to the banks of the moat of our fortress, and when told in a friendly manner by our men to go a little further away, they declared boldly that this was not our land but theirs and they would place their huts wherever they chose."



One way of keeping blacks out of the Western Cape. A front-end loader demolishes a home in the Unibell squatter camp.

de Villiers



'White (with a dash of colour) dream world could come true'

THERE MUST be a place, said the Cape Nationalist, where I can wake up in the morning and not see a black face.

He was not being verkramp, he added persuasively. He did not mind blacks. As long as they were out of sight and out of mind, they could have all the rights they wanted. All he wanted was a homeland to call his very, very own.

And that afternoon at the Cape Nationalist Congress he went about carving his all-white-plus-a-dash-of-coloured-homeland out of a slice of Africa where an African face will never be seen, except on sufferance. Somewhere between the mountains and the deep, blue sea of the Western Cape.

Far away from the fervour of the congress, where the few dissenting voices were listened to politely and as politely dismissed, other Nationalists dubbed it sardonically the "Great Trek in reverse". But they were not there when the Cape leader, Mr P. W. Botha, hammered this new plank of party policy into place so that no one could prise it loose, and Dr Connie Mulder meekly promised that he would "carry it out to the letter".

The idea of a white homeland is not new to the Nationalist dream world. Whenever academics and theorists have drawn their dividing lines on a hopelessly mixed South Africa, the vision of a small corner of the African landscape that will remain forever white has beckoned seductively.

But the men within the party have not always been that frank about it. For years it masqueraded instead as the Coloured Preference Area behind the Eiselen Line — a region embracing the Western and Southern Cape and much of its hinterland, where blacks would be employed only if there were no coloureds or whites to do the job. It was an economic measure — and it was honoured more in the breach than the observance.

Irritation

The homelands were poor and the children were hungry, and whether the Government admitted it or not there was work in the Cape for black hands to do. So they came in their thousands, on contract or illegally; and they summoned their wives and their children from Transkei and the Ciskei and they lived in squalor and in the shadow of the bulldozer at Crossroads, Modderdam Road and Unibel.

Today, in the non-black homeland there are 190 000 blacks, many of them "illegals", non-people living in non-towns and a persistent affront to those who would keep the Cape white — with a dash of coloured. So deep is that affront that a woman delegate from Paarl suggested they be denied schooling and medical attention — a delicate hint that they were unwelcome and unwanted.

Indeed, it was irritation with the squatters and indignant fury with the fuss, sickly liberalistic churchmen had made about their removal that provided the proximate cause for the key debate at the Cape congress. But behind it all was heard the siren song of a white homeland; an idea whose time had come.

It is not hard to see why. At a time of rising doubt and uncertainty, with Nationalists squabbling among themselves, the Government inert and defensive, and Black Africa, with its chaos, its claims and its challenges rolling down to to the Orange River and Limpopo, the faithful need more than faith to cling to. They need a refuge behind defensible borders.

The time had come, said a delegate, to draw a line. It was only logical that that line would be drawn around the only corner of Africa where whites (and coloureds) still outnumber blacks, where whites and coloureds can find each other in a new political dispensation.

As coloured home ownership is the key to that dispensation, logic again demanded that even Section 10 blacks legally in the Western Cape will not be accorded leasehold rights. They will be treated well, but they must be under no illusions — they are visitors in white man's country, and so they will remain. As one Nationalist put it: "Blacks have permanence all over Africa; there must be one place at least where whites (and coloureds) can enjoy the same."

Consolidation

He and his fellows were unmoved by Dr Mulder's lyrical description of the political benefits whites enjoyed when blacks had a home to call their own. They listened instead to Mr P. W. Botha, who asked — perhaps more pertinently than he at first realised — what made them think that a black man who felt discriminated against because he could not own his own home would feel any less resentful of his exclusion from political rights?

The leasehold prohibition embarrassed the strong — but, oh, so silent — verligtes in the Cabinet and among the rank and file, but when it came to the test they remained as dutiful and acquiescent as Dr Mulder and the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, now saddled with expensive labour in the economically frail and ailing Western Cape.

Some verligtes, notably Dr Denis Worrall, tried to temper the Cape wind to the shorn blacks. The policy, would, he said, be balanced by a much greater consolidation of the homelands, and he used the phrase Nationalist theorists favour whenever the going gets tough. South Africa was moving in the direction of "radical partition".

If this can be realised, verligtes hope and argue, blacks will not see the Cape homeland as a ganging-up of whites and coloureds against them, but a balanced sharing of greater South Africa. Homogeneous areas will be created even as all South Africans recognise a "linked destiny".

To achieve this balance, the 1936 Land Act must be scrapped; the future survival of South Africa should not be crippled by "the dead hand of the past".

A Cabinet Minister quietly agrees. To make a success of the white and coloured homeland, the borders of black homelands would have to be redrawn drastically, even if they include white farms and the white towns of East London and Mafeking.

Grander

Others have an even grander vision. The myth of independent homelands must be abandoned, even as their borders are greatly expanded. Elsewhere in South Africa they hint, but do not say out loud, urban black and white can find their own political accommodation while way down south, there will be a homeland where whites and coloureds can find each other, untroubled by the intrusive black face. And the whole patchwork will be linked by a number of developing political institutions.

It sounds seductive, but it would sound even nicer if someone told Dr Connie Mulder. Within hours of bowing to the demands of Mr Botha — and his white by night and by day followers from the new white homeland — the Minister of Plural Relations found himself facing the irate farmers of the Eastern Cape

Loyal Nationalists all, who only last year had won the Border to the Government's cause, they were beginning to doubt whether Government promises were worth the paper they were written on. Port St Johns had gone black; what about East London? Dr Mulder knows on which side his political bread is buttered. East London and the Border corridor will stay white.

Necessity

The future of South Africa, a verligte says, must be determined by the politics not of the possible but of necessity. The time is past when it can be decided by the pressures of white politics alone.

This week in East London those pressures demanded that both the Western Cape and East London stay white. A line had been drawn, and that was that. The verligtes could return to dreaming dreams. The white man had his homeland — all was right with his world.

There is a home far, far away

Sunday Times
101

4/8/78 (101)

Improve living standard plea

PRETORIA — A classic situation for political unrest, or even revolution, could be created if the independent black homelands did not improve the standard of living of their inhabitants.

This warning was yesterday directed at the homeland governments by the director of the Corporation for Economic Development, Dr J. Adendorff.

He warned the possibility of unrest or revolution would be increased if individuals in these homelands materially improved their personal position while the bulk of the population remained poor, or became poorer

"It is in the interests of South Africa and its people that there be political and economic stability in our neighbouring states."

Dr Adendorff said there was need for political and economic stability, the spreading of the population and balanced industrial development.

"Transkei and Bophuthatswana are already independent. Others are self-governing. Their political aspirations are therefore fulfilled to a certain extent," he said.

"This then enables the governments and their citizens to start giving more attention to their economic aspirations.

"The repercussions caused by poverty and political unrest would not be confined within the states in which they are taking place. We should bear in mind that thousands of people, whose families would be affected thereby, work within the Republic." — DDC.

Sweeping black work report for Premier

A REPORT which might revolutionize the mobility and use of labour — particularly black labour — in South Africa will be handed to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, before the end of the month.

The chairman and only member of the commission compiling the report, Dr Piet Riekert, the Prime Minister's economic adviser, said in Pretoria yesterday that the report took a cool, clinical, economic look at the barriers which stood in the way of a more productive utilization of black workers.

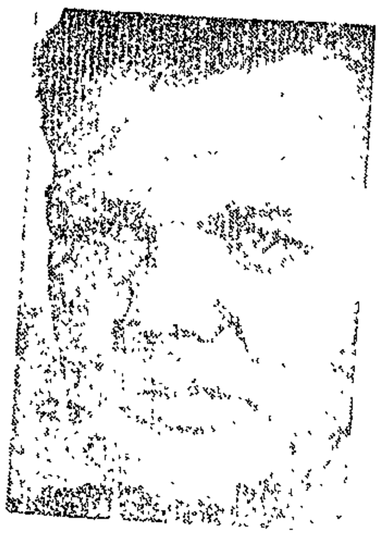
Dr Riekert's work over the past 10 months has included a detailed survey of legislation affecting blacks outside the homelands, such as the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Labour Act, the Enviromental Planning Act, the Bantu Affairs administration boards and the Community Councils Act — all of which inhibit the movement and use of black labour.

Some of the acts had their roots in the 19th century and were totally out of step with the changes in South Africa, he said.

Where he had encountered political barriers to a better use of black labour he had merely identified them — "I made no recommendations, but left the consideration of the removal of these barriers to the politicians."

(101)

13/8/78 Sunday Express (101)



"THERE must be no illusions about this, because if our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as the Black people are concerned, there will not be one Black man with South African citizenship. I say this sincerely, because that is the idea behind it. Why should I try to hide it? That is our policy in terms of the mandate we have been given."

— Dr Connie Mulder, in Parliament, February 7.

"Apartheid's original formula cannot cope with the situation."

— Gerrit Viljoen

"Discrimination based solely on the colour of a man's skin cannot be condoned."

— Pik Botha.

Secret war of the Nats

By JOHN MATHISON

Political Correspondent

A SECRET war is raging in the National Party. It revolves around a most crucial issue of policy — race discrimination. It erupted into the open this week with an ultimatum by Mr Louis Le Grange, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to the verligtes to toe the line or get out.

Mr Le Grange delivered his salvo with South Africa perhaps only months away from major crises on its borders, and against the background of warnings of racial violence once again threatening in Soweto.

Both Rhodesia and SWA Namibia are getting to the point where South Africa's role will become limited, and the focus is turning inevitably to South Africa itself.

Inkatha's Soweto leader, Dr Nyembezi, warned this week that exactly the same kind of feelings that were aroused over the language issue in June 1976 are now being felt over the rents issue.

But leading Nationalists are divided over whether to go further in removing race discrimination and continue political exclusion of Blacks.

The conflict in the party has been confused by power bids of leading Ministers.

On the ideological issues there is fundamental division. On the one hand are those who want discrimination removed quickly and Blacks brought into the new constitutional plan to give meaningful powersharing. In short, they see the proposed constitutional plan as a starting point which needs to be substantially developed.

On the other hand are those who see the proposals as final.

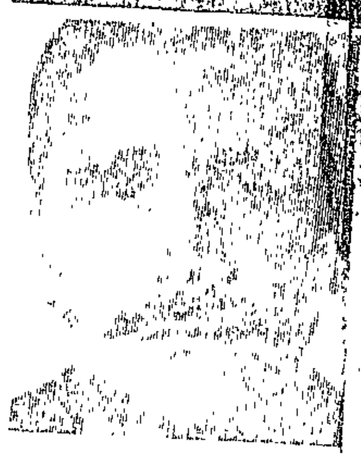
But woven through these ideological questions is a personal powerplay which has been unleashed by the vacuum left since Dr Connie Mulder fell out of the race for the heir apparent to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

Two Cabinet ministers have been thrown to the lions in the race for supremacy — Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Labour, and Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister.

They are fighting in the climate of contradictory pull and statement by important Nationalists.

On the one hand, there have been statements setting the limits to change.

The most all-embracing is Dr Connie Mulder's: "No Black will have South African citizenship while National Party policy



"Don't hide behind your party membership — get out and fight us from the outside."

— Louis Le Grange

carried through to its full consequences."

Fully in line with that view is the Prime Minister's statement on American television: "Changes will only take place inside the framework of Government policy and even if they are decided on, cosmetic by South African critics."

Mr Le Grange took it one stage further on Wednesday night with his ultimatum speech.

Some members of the party were "using their membership as a shield from which they hurled unfair criticism. Get out of the party and fight us from the outside" he said.

He attacked newspapers for giving undue attention to the views of a fringe group, and people in Potchefstroom who criticised the party's principles on Christian grounds.

He was most likely referring to the academics who authored the Koinonia declaration which criticised the Government, the president of the Potchefstroom University's Students' Representative Council, Mr Theuns Eloff, who has come out in favour of open universities, and other Potchefstroom academics.

Potchefstroom academics have been given publicity for these views by Die Transvaler and Rapport, among other papers.

These papers believe they have the support of Cabinet ministers such as Dr Piet Koornhof and Mr Pik Botha, the Ministers of Sport and Foreign Affairs.

Mr Le Grange went on: "There are even people trying to influence the NP to accept that the urban Black should get political say in the Government; that we must change at all cost, that it will only be a question of time before we have to share political power with Blacks, and that we should be ashamed of the past and the present basis of our policy.

"Those who think the Government will institute an open society merely because of the pressure from the Progs and from the Buthelezis are making a great mistake."

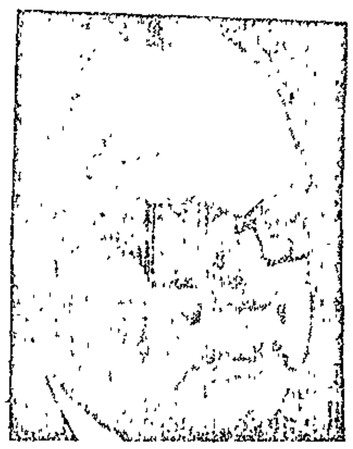
Expanding in a subsequent interview he said attempts were being made to accept the urban Black in the Government, to hold a Turnhalle for South Africa, and to change the National Party.

That is precisely what some Nationalists in the Press, the Broederbond, and a minority in the party itself are trying to do.

Perhaps the most noteworthy statement by someone in an official position is still Mr Pik Botha's statement to the United Nations as long ago as October 1974:

"Discrimination based solely on the colour of a man's skin cannot be condoned. South Africa is trying to move away from colour discrimination."

Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler and a former Potchefstroom professor, wrote on Sunday that absolute separation of



"Changes will only take place inside the framework of Government policy."

— John Vorster

political rights as the only solution would not work. There had to be something else to handle the situation as well.

He suggested local authorities for Blacks in White areas with political rights. "There could possibly develop a more direct involvement of a council of Blacks in South Africa with the Republic's Cabinet."

Professor Hennie Coetzee of Potchefstroom University has said: "The only acceptable system for Co-

loureds is along the path of a qualified franchise and consequent representation in our Parliament."

Professor Gerrit Viljoen, rector of Rand Afrikaans University and chief of the Broederbond, was more forthright last week: "Apartheid's original formula cannot cope with the situation."

After the constitutional plan has been implemented, he said, the next step would be to create an "interstate consultative body" to bring representatives of homeland governments together with the Coloured, Indian, and White Cabinet Council.

The way he sees it, urban Blacks would have representation drawn from community councils.

In short, exactly what Mr Le Grange complained of.

And a branch of the Stellenbosch division of the National Party has submitted to the party's Cape congress a resolution to make the economic opportunities of Blacks in urban areas the same as Whites.

It stands in direct contrast with another resolution calling on the Government to "hasten the removal of Black people from the Western Cape."

It would indeed be surprising if apartheid did not win out. It always has done in the past. But that won't be the end of the debate.

ceptable system for Co-

DD 16/8/78 (101)

Separation will stay—Mulder

DURBAN — The long-awaited five-year plan for urban blacks would not recommend their inclusion into the white political system, Dr Connie Mulder, the Minister of Plural Relations, said last night.

He told the Natal Congress of the National Party the five-year plan would fall squarely within the framework of government policy.

"Let there be no false expectations about this," he said.

In terms of the plan, urban blacks would be granted full autonomy over local affairs, but they would not be included in a white political system.

"There will be no sign of integration and the plan will not lead to a politically mixed system of government. It will lead to self-fulfilment and self-determination with contact and consultation and negotiation on matters of common interest.

The term "urban black" was merely used to "describe the physical location of certain blacks." The term did not imply a detribalised mass of blacks in white areas without any connection with their homelands, he said.

The political future of these people did not lie with the whites. Whites would have to move away from taking decisions for blacks in urban areas. They would have to take their own decisions on local matters and act in conjunction with their homeland on other matters, he said.

Government policy regarded every black as a homeland citizen, he said.

Dr Mulder said the 99-year leases awarded to urban blacks in Soweto had resulted in more blacks accepting their homeland affiliation.

The leases had given them security and they no longer feared that if they identified with a homeland they would be "endorsed out," Dr Mulder said.

Dr Mulder repeatedly emphasised the homelands would have to be developed for government policy to succeed.

Nat race reform clash, page 11.

BANTUSTANS FM 18/8/78

Rhoodie's new tack

(101)

The validity and feasibility of the bantustan policy — aimed at carving out 10 independent ethnic states in SA as the formula to solve the country's racial problems — has been challenged from a most unexpected quarter.

Professor Nic (brother to Eschel) Rhoodie of the University of Pretoria, regarded as a foremost verligte Nationalist thinker, recently stated boldly at an international conference in Washington that the policy of independent homelands would never gain international recognition. Accordingly, it had to be abandoned.

Rhoodie stressed that the route to international recognition for new African states was through the OAU. For this reason, throughout the protracted negotiations on SWA over the past 15 months there has been the closest consultation between the Western Five, the front-line states and key African countries such as Nigeria. SA had no hope of having the existing independent or still-to-become independent bantustans recognised, warned Rhoodie, unless it got the green light from the front-line states.

Moreover, reasoned Rhoodie, in terms of OAU power politics, there is no chance of the 50-member organisation admitting 10 new states. The OAU is basically divided into two power blocs, which at the moment appear to be fairly evenly balanced. The admission of SA "satellites" would probably tip the balance in favour of the pro-West faction.

Professor Rhoodie said these harsh political realities had nothing to do with the merits or otherwise of independent bantustans *per se*. It was important that attention be given to finding an alternative to the bantustan policy and Rhoodie urged the investigating of new constitutional models such as confederation and "consociation." He favoured the latter — meaning political partnership and power-sharing between groups. It had been presented as a compromise solution at the recent Freiburg conference on SA's future.

Rhoodie's rejection of government policy has political significance; it reflects growing private doubts among verligte Nationalist academics about the bantustan policy. Rhoodie has always occupied a unique position within the government establishment as the intellectual guru who, while often highly critical of aspects and implementations of government policy, has never challenged the fundamental structure of separate development.

He is the author of several books, such as *Apartheid and Partnership*, in which he vigorously defended the principles of separate statehood. At domestic and international conferences he has always defended government policy in the most verligte terms. In May 1977 he was chairman of the international conference on pluralism in Cape Town, which was used as a launching pad for the government's new constitutional proposals for coloured people, Indians and whites.

Professor Rhoodie told the *FM* recently that he is working on a booklet, to be published at the end of next year, in which he will expand on the views expressed at the Washington conference.

Govt plans states linked to homelands

(101)

Star 29/8/78

By Hugh Leggatt, Political Correspondent

The Government's five-year plan for urban blacks includes a radical scheme to build eight new black city states in white areas next to homelands.

The first city, for Ndebele people, is expected to be built north-east of Pretoria, to form a new industrial growth point.

The five-year plan is still to be prepared by the Department of Plural Relations and Development and has not yet been laid before the Cabinet.

Details are being kept secret until the Minister, Dr C P Mulder, is ready to announce the whole package.

But the broad outline bears out the principle spelled out recently by the Minister at the Natal congress of the National Party that in future urban blacks will be more closely tied, economically and politically, to their homelands.

The city states plan envisages the housing of the expected increase of nine million black people working in white areas before the end of the century.

The new cities will be built in white areas close to homelands. Each city will cater for an ethnic group related to the group occupying the adjacent homeland.

EXCEPTION

In this connection, the ethnic diversity of an existing city like Soweto will be made the exception.

The new cities will as far as possible be incorporated in the edge of homelands by the moving of boundaries.

Where this is not possible the cities will be close enough for occupants to commute to their "fatherlands" on a daily or weekly basis.

When the Minister, Dr Mulder, spoke in Natal he said he was not prepared to integrate the urban black man into the existing national political set-up.

He said urban blacks would be given full responsibility over their own affairs including raising taxes and charging rents in their own towns.

Their powers would exceed those of white local authorities but on the national level they would always exercise their political rights through the homelands.

However, the Opposition spokesman on plural affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, said this "highly complicated device" of obviating the existence of blacks in industrial areas was "doomed to failure".

"How does this resolve the situation of existing urban areas of black concentration? It leaves Soweto untouched with no homeland in striking distance.

"How much easier and less expensive it would be if the Government would simply accept the inevitability of integration in our urban areas in keeping with our industrial developments, she said.

New black deal discussed

30/8/78 Star

30

101

Own Correspondent

Proposals for a considerable extension of black business rights outside the homelands are now expected to form a major feature of Dr Mulder's five year plan.

This follows discussions yesterday between the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, and officials of his department, and a large delegation of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) led by its president, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, in Pretoria.

Among the points discussed were the establishment of black industries in urban areas, the provision of an adequate infrastructure and the extension of trading hours for black businessmen, and local government participation in business.

AGREEMENT

Other sensitive issues discussed were the possession of firearms by black businessmen and the situation regarding white land adjoining Soweto.

In a joint statement by Dr Mulder and Mr Motsuenyane the talks were said to have taken place in a good and positive spirit. Agreement was reached on certain matters, some of which relate to the five-year plan to be announced by Dr Mulder.

Political comment in this issue of The Star by H W Tyson, J B C Scott and J Kros. Sub-editing and headlines by B M Howard and D Allen. All of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Black car dealer plans go ahead

By MARTIN CREAMER

SOUTH African motor companies are embarking on policies directed at establishing networks of black-owned dealerships in homelands and black urban areas.

Albert Wessels' Toyota has adopted a policy of, wherever possible, appointing black dealers in developing homelands and black urban areas, Datsun's standpoint is to broaden its black dealerships wherever it can, and Ford is hoping to appoint three black dealers by next year.

Two Toyota outlets are now owned and managed by Africans and three more will revert to African ownership in five years in Lebowa, Gazankulu and Qwa Qwa.

There are also two Indian Toyota dealers in Stanger and Lenasia and a Coloured dealer in Cape Town.

Talks with prospective black dealers are continually taking place, Mr Colin Adcock, managing director of Toyota South Africa, told me.

Blacks starting out in the motor business require not only the mechanical skills, but also administrative know-how to carry out hire purchase deals and debt collection.

Toyota, thus, provides training for both technicians and sales managers. In the past four years, it has trained 100 black repair-shop assistants a year, both at its schools in Johannesburg and Cape Town and on site.

The facilities open to black dealers are the same as those offered to whites, many of whom still make use of available training.

Toyota also has a business management system to monitor dealer performance so that it can lend a hand should any dealer begin running into trouble.

Datsun's marketing director, Brian Wegner, says Datsun is on the lookout all the time for black dealer candidates who would be given every assistance.

It has one black dealer in BophuthaTswana's Garankuwa and several Indian and Coloured dealers in Natal and the Cape.

Ford does not have any black dealerships at the moment, but a spokesman said it was hoping to appoint three by next year.

The company has identified three areas — Soweto, where it envisages appointing an African dealer, the Cape Peninsula, where the appointment of a Coloured is probable, and Durban, where an Indian will be the most likely candidate.

Talks with prospective black dealers are taking place at the moment and Ford intends laying on training in service, sales, parts and business management.

Colin Adcock . . . looking at black dealerships.

(Continued on next page)

Sunday Times 10/9/78 (101)

Contact:
3 families per week
for health education
care of aged

powers plan in white areas

ARGUS 12/9/78 (1) 339 (2) 101

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Government was thinking along the lines of giving independent homelands extra territorial powers over black occupied areas in white South Africa, Dr C P Mulder said today.

Opening the Transvaal congress of the National Party, Dr Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations, said he had been negotiating with black leaders to bring this about.

This concept was part of a larger plan, which if it could be brought about would achieve closer relations and liaison between the world asked for it but because it was in South Africa's own interests.

Talks he had had with black leaders showed that it was wrong to think of them as enemies. They wanted peace, he said.

Dr Mulder was re-elected Transvaal leader of the party.

● See pages 2 and 3

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A Study in Coloured Shopping in Athlone and Claremont.

Models of Rural Land Reform - The Tanzanian Case.

The Way in which Perceived Distances Differ from Actual Distances Within an Urban Area.

Examination of the Importance of the Variable, "Length of Residence" on Local Imagery.

Transkei : An Illustration of its Potential.

Cape Town Electoral Districts.

Perceptions of the Cape Peninsula Landscape 1900 - 1977.

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Homelands may be given more power

(101) RDM 13/9/78

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

THE granting of extra-territorial powers to selected homeland governments was under consideration, Dr Connie Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations, said yesterday.

Dr Mulder told the Transvaal congress of the National Party that the granting of these additional powers might hold the key to improved liaison between homeland governments and urban blacks in South Africa.

Dr Mulder did not go into details, but it was established yesterday that the Department of Plural Relations is thinking of extending powers to the homelands to exercise control over educational matters in some urban townships.

It is understood that Soweto, the most multi-ethnic of the townships, is regarded as an exception and that it is unlikely to be affected by any moves to increase the legislative powers of homelands beyond their territorial borders.

Townships which consist largely of one ethnic group like those in Natal (Zulu) seem most likely to be affected.

Professor Nic Olivier, director of research of the Progressive Federal Party and former professor of Bantu Administration at Stellenbosch University, pointed out yesterday that legislation already existed which gave homeland governments power beyond their borders.

"What is new is that Dr Mulder has now declared himself in favour of those powers being used," Prof Olivier said.

Section 30 of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act provides self-governing homelands with the power to legislate for all their citizens, irrespective of whether they live within the borders of the homeland or not.

Under the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act all blacks are declared to be citizens of one or another of the homelands, irrespective of whether they live permanently in white South Africa or not.

The range of matters on which self-governing homelands are empowered to legislate is defined in a schedule to the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

The schedule contains 33 items ranging from education to housing. It includes any particular power ceded to a homeland legislative assembly by proclamation.

Prof Olivier described the idea of tightening ties between homeland governments and urban blacks as "amazing", given the repeated rejection by urban blacks of enforced links between themselves and homelands.

GHBOUR: Once

WIFE: May God punish and strike you,
What are you trying, you scum?

MAN: Once more.

WIFE: Kê? Listen to this, what a mess!
Can't you say anything else?

MAN: Once more.

WIFE: I swear I'll soon make you feel sorry for this game,
I warn you clearly.

MAN: Once more.

WIFE: Take that! That's for the devil!
'Tis clear you'd not dare ask for it!

MAN: Once more.

WIFE: Here's one that you can keep!
Just say "once more" again
You scum. What is it you're after?

MAN: Once more.

WIFE: Kê, this is no fun. I'll give you more
That you'll long remember.

MAN/...

The Star Wednesday

Homelands boundary plan is rejected

Star 13/9/78

(101)

Political Staff

The Government has flatly rejected suggestions by senior Nationalists that homeland boundaries should be radically altered, taking in white towns and farming areas.

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, told the National Party's Transvaal congress emphatically today that the Government has no intention of moving from the 1936 land allocation as spelt out in the 1975 consolidation proposals.

He was speaking to a motion from Soutpansberg calling for a rejection of a theoretical reallocation of land in the Northern Transvaal between the different population groups.

The motion referred to the recently published plans of Professor Roelf Botha, a member of the Prime Minister's Planning Advisory Council, which called for such a radical partition.

Professor Botha's proposals also called for a radical partition between Natal and kwaZulu which would have given the Zulus more of historical Zululand plus a large chunk of territory in southern Natal

AMENDMENT

Several speakers including Professor Botha himself spoke in favour of such a partition and moved an amendment which would have allowed the Government to proceed on its present course but without binding itself in the future.

However the amendment was overwhelmingly defeated. Dr Hartzenberg said the establishment of a British protectorate had given the blacks 34 percent of the original South Africa.

The 1911 and 1936 land allocations to the homelands had made the black/white territorial ratio exactly 50 percent. He said greater consolidation or the inclusion of white towns and farming regions within the new black states would in fact slow down their development and political stability.

Experience up to now had shown that whites whose property was to be taken into homelands had insisted that they be bought out as soon as possible.

Homelands: Govt will stick to blueprint

14/9/78

Political Correspondent

FURTHER consolidation of the homelands would kill their development and progress, Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations told a cheering National Party Congress in Pretoria yesterday.

Dr Hartzenburg was answering calls for assurance that the Government was not planning to consolidate the homelands in terms of recent plans drawn up by National Party academics.

He gave the assurance that the Government would stick by the land allocated in the 1936 Land Act and by the 1975 blueprint for homeland consolidation.

Dr Hartzenburg appealed to academics not to draw up maps and plans for further consolidation which only served to confuse blacks and whites "and delay the development of black states".

Consolidation would be detrimental to homeland development and to the political stability in South Africa, he said.

The strongest asset of KwaZulu — a homeland divided into 10 sections — was the white area that ran through it, he said.

If the territory were consolidated, whites would leave and development would be killed.

White areas and centres interspersed between the homelands created job opportunities for blacks.

Unconsolidated homelands were making far better economic progress than many countries in Africa.

(101) (238)

Kruger's claims on colour line sex denied by Blacks

Sunday Express 17/9/78

By ZANDI SIKWEBU

BLACK leaders have strongly denied claims made by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, at the Free State Nationalist congress that they had never asked for the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts to be abolished.

Mr Kruger assured the congress last week that the acts would stay, that they had nothing to do with discrimination, that they protected Whites and Blacks, and that "no responsible Black leader has called for the scrapping of the laws".

Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, said: "We have repeatedly told South Africa to scrap all those laws — including the two acts — that humiliate us."

It was ridiculous to say these laws had nothing to do with discrimination.

"How many court cases do we have because of these laws?" he asked, and added that the laws were causing friction between Black and White and did not accord Blacks human dignity.

He said all Black leaders wanted discriminatory laws removed.

Professor Hudson Ntswanisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, also denied Mr Kruger's allegation. Black leaders wanted all discriminatory laws scrapped, he said, and personally believed any law preventing association or contact between different races was discriminatory.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, bespectacled general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said: "We do not waste time saying scrap this or that law. We have been calling for the eradication of all discriminatory laws.

"If these acts have got nothing to do with discrimination, why do they keep them?"

Mrs Sally Motlana, vice-president of the South African Council of Churches and president of the Black Housewives' League, said: "Mr Kruger has never recognised our responsible Black leaders and they have long been calling for the abolition of such laws.

"Maybe the leaders of his community councils, which we do not recognise, have never called for the abolition of such vicious laws."

Mrs Motlana said it was not true that the acts had nothing to do with discrimination: "Everything and every law in this country is based on apartheid and discrimination."

Last year, in the Transkei National Assembly, a motion calling for the repeal of the Immorality Act — a legacy from the days of South African rule — was passed unanimously.

An MP who spoke on the motion, Mr C Mda, said: "In this corner of Southern Africa Blacks and Whites will be able to join hands together."

But Mr S B Msimang, a Black social worker and an employee of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Edendale, near Maritzburg, asked in a newspapers reporte that the acts should include Black racial groups.

The lonely moderate

Political correspondent TIM MUIL analyses some of the unwarranted criticism levelled at Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the Zulu nation.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has often been charged with oversensitivity towards criticism, but it is becoming increasingly clear that he is often justified in feeling persecuted.

He is lied about, vilified and betrayed by friends more frequently than any other politician in this country.

Character assassination is much more a feature of black politics than it is of white where defamation laws are a distinct deterrent.

A study of the record, however, indicates that the Chief's reaction is most violent where the criticism is tailored for international consumption.

He has no overseas medium with which to counter the distortions of commentators who have plainly taken sides, who have become, in some cases, appendages, of the black body politic.

He is a moderate, which is a lonely stance. He would be unnatural if, in addition, he welcomed having his efforts to be recognised as black South Africa's main negotiator impaired by locally-based foreign commentators who seem preoccupied with providing a platform for radicals.

A certain American journalist has for years presented the Chief to his New York readers as a mere tribal leader of little significance outside KwaZulu.

In the light of the Quotso and Markinor surveys and more lately the Bergstraesser findings, this is inexplicable.

More recently this man told his readers that after the Chief was ejected from the Sobukwe funeral he flew to Cape Town to form the Black Alliance to save face.

The formation of the Alliance three months previously had made headlines all over the country, and the meeting Chief Buthelezi attended after the Graaff-Reinet incident had been planned three months before by the Alliance's executive.

Earlier another American, writing days afterwards, described the Chief's Soweto rally in January as a failure — attended by only 9 000 Sowetans, mainly over the age of 40, which meant he had been "cold-shouldered."

Although this particular writer had not attended that rally, she had access to all the papers that had described the crowd of nearly 20 000 people of all ages.

The Christian Science Monitor, in an apparently authoritative article, recently denigrated Zulus generally and the Chief quite subtly.

"For years," the article stated, "the Eastern Cape has been the most politically active area for blacks in South Africa. The first cell of the oldest black nationalist movement, the African National Congress, was organised in Port Elizabeth. The Pan African Congress had its roots here as well."

Claiming that Xhosas had received education earlier than anyone else, the article said that because of this the Xhosa were regarded as "thinkers" while the Zulus had a "self-image of being warriors."

The final "distinction" between Xhosas and Zulus goes like this: "Black leaders (least of all the thinking Xhosa) never point out that with the exception of the late Zulu Chief Albert Lutuli, the prominent leaders of South Africa's black nationalist movements have been or are Xhosa."

The snide comment about the Zulu "self-image" might impress ill-informed Americans, but South Africans can recall Shaka, Dingane, Mzilikazi, Cetewayo, Bambatha and more recently the many decorations won in two world wars by the Zulu-dominated Native Military Corps.

Chief Buthelezi . . . a victim of character assassination.

Elementary research would have taken care of the other carefully conceived preconception about Zulu leadership.

Chief Buthelezi himself replied: "Dr Pexley Seme, a Zulu lawyer, founded the ANC, and Anton Lembede, another Zulu lawyer, founded its Youth League."

He pointed out that there were several Zulus and members of groups outside the Xhosa who could be legitimately regarded as thinkers. "There were men like Prof. Z.K. Mathews, the late Dr Letle, Dr James Moroka, the Rev Mokgato, the Rev E. Mahabane, and many more.

"There were important Zulu leaders, now in exile, like Dr Zami Conco, M.B. Yengwa, Johnny Makatini, all of whom were ANC top brass, and A. B. Ngcobo, Molly Nkosi, Jordan Ngubane, Jacob Nyaose who were executive members of the PAC."

"If his enemies on the Left manage to eliminate Chief Buthelezi, and this is manifestly part of the extremist programme, South Africa will have total confrontation.

Discrediting, undermining and finally removing the powerful innovator-cum-conciliator of middle-politics leaves only irreconcilable extremes like severed powerlines dangling dangerously over the forest.

Playing dominoes with other people's lives and countries is the ultimate in intellectual arrogance. One can only hope their game fails.

INSIDE MAIL RDM 6/10/78 (101)

Rural medicine needs radical cure

THIS WEEK the Minister of Health, Dr S W van der Merwe, announced that South Africa and 11 neighbouring states and territories had reached agreement in principle on the possibility of establishing a Southern African health organisation. The agreement recognises the need for joint measures to combat diseases common to Southern African countries as well as the need for mutual aid in training programmes, medical research, coordination and the exchange of medical knowledge. But as BARRY STREEK reports from Cape Town, all is not well in South Africa's own approach to health care, especially in rural areas.

ALARMING details of the inadequacies of health care in South Africa, particularly in the rural areas, were given at an international conference in Cape Town last week.

It appears that a radically different medical system, which could be implemented in terms of the 1977 Health Act, is urgently needed: a system which takes cures and prevention to the people, rather than one based on expensive hospitals and doctors, once people are sick.

Central to the new approach is the concept of a medical/community assistant in those areas where health indices are worst.

The medical assistant system is already functioning in neighbouring states — in Rhodesia, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. But in South Africa it is mainly the Westernised, hospital-based system, geared to the needs of developed countries, that is followed.

A delegate at the conference from Gazankulu said that R10 a year for every person could be adequate for health care in some poor countries, but it was totally inadequate for areas such as Gazankulu, where expensive structures had been inherited. Even the health laws prevented the introduction of new methods, he said.

The need for a new health care system was summed up by one of the international delegates who told me: "The statistics from the rural areas in South Africa have not really surprised me. What has shattered me are your health policies. They are so out of date. They are 10 years behind Botswana."

At the conference, which was sponsored by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit and the South African Medical Scholarships Trust, it was revealed in the 75 papers and ensuing discussion that:

- Malnutrition and other diseases in the rural areas were more extensive than in the Crossroads squatter camp outside Cape Town. The incidence of protein calorie malnutrition in Crossroads was 1,9 %, while at Nqutu in KwaZulu it was 7,3% — "significantly higher", according to Mr M N White of the University of Cape Town.
- A sample survey of children under the age of five in Transkei revealed an infant mortality rate of 240 per 1 000 — against figures of 12 per 1 000 for whites, 38,1 per 1 000 for coloureds, 29,1 per 1 000 for Asiatics and 68,7 per 1 000 for urban blacks.
- "Malnutrition is still extremely common in South Africa, tuberculosis is still rampant despite the apparent slight decrease in incidence recently and malaria seems to have escaped from control . . . malaria, malnutrition and heart attacks are all visible failures of our health care system, while heart transplants and the treatment of pneumonia and of gastro-enteritis are visible success," said Dr Tim Wilson.
- In 1977, businesses in the Greater Cape Town area lost an estimated total of R33-million due to problem drinking among their employees, according to Mr Wynand Louw of the University of the Western Cape.
- While there is one doctor for every 969 people in the 13 principal areas, the ratio is 7 612 per doctor in the rest of the country. The average in the homelands is 23 037 people to a doctor. This came from Mr Mike McGrath of the University of Natal.
- South Africa spent 3,6 % of its Gross National Product on health expenditure in 1974/5, a decline from the 4,2 % in 1959/60. Even in 1960 this proportion was lower in South Africa than for some countries with lower per capita incomes. This placed South Africa below Western countries, below Czechoslavakia, Hungary and Poland, but above Russia, Bulgaria and Romania.
- With medical graduates leaving South Africa in increasing numbers — 80 % of the University of the Witwatersrand's medical graduates over the last 50 years are now overseas — the increasing need for doctors in military service and the expected return of expatriate doctors to their countries of origin, health facilities are likely to suffer in future, particularly in the rural areas.
- The SA pharmaceutical industry spends about four times as much on promotion as on research. According to Mr Jonathan Brodie, the figure spent by the industry on promoting their products was almost as large as the cost of manufacture.

Bringing medicine to the people

This depressing picture of the state of South African health was improved somewhat by the proof of success at a number of projects where health workers, clinics and day hospitals appear to have a marked impact.

The senior medical superintendent of the Day Hospitals Organisation in the Greater Cape Town area, Dr J A Smith, said: "Unless there is a sound primary level of health care, the rest of the system will be wasted, expensive and inefficient, no matter how skilled or how expert or how highly specialised it is."

The introduction of trained health care teams in purpose-built units in areas of the Cape has shown "a dramatic improvement in health standards". Although the day hospitals had only started in 1969, 1,5-million items of service are being handled a year (all of which would have been handled in more expensive hospitals previously) at 16 centres. Only 2 % of the patients were referred to established hospitals at a cost of 4 % of the Cape Hospitals budget — and the high birth rate has dropped from 62 to 23 per 1 000.

In Soweto, according to Prof Lucy Wagstaff, 40 primary health care nurses have dealt with more than 130 000 patients since the latter half of 1976, and the doctor has a new role as "consultant, evaluator and monitor".

And a pioneering health centre service at Pholela, in Natal, reduced infant mortality from 27,5 % in 1942 to 10,06% in 1952, but the experiment was, regrettably, not extended to other areas.

Clearly, projects which have taken health and preventive care to the people have met with some success although, equally clearly, social and economic (essentially political) factors have a significant bearing on the level of health. This point was confirmed in a number of the research projects discussed.

As Cape Town University's Michael Savage said: "If medicine is to be effective it must produce stable family life, adequate wages, promote educational and employment opportunities, better agriculture and more effective participation by communities in decision-making processes . . . the bulk of specific medical resources are devoted to health services which are curative rather than to those which are preventive and inhibit the occurrence of illness."

With a new health policy given higher priority by all sections of the Government, and by using medical assistant and community programmes in all areas of South Africa, a much happier situation could be created.

But while 200 delegates from Kenya, Denmark and the US, Britain, Rhodesia, Swaziland, Gazankulu, Ciskei and KwaZulu as well as all parts of South Africa grappled with this very serious problem, the South African Government was noticeable for its absence. The Department of Health did not send a single representative to even listen, let alone explain and elaborate its view.

EDITORIAL OPINION

Squatters for export?

On the face of it, the presumed plan by the South African Government to move thousands of people from the Cape Crossroads squatter camp to land near Queenstown in the Border area which has been expropriated for incorporation into Transkei seems to be the ultimate in cynicism.

We saw something similar happen at Thornhill, when the burden of responsibility was inherited by the Ciskei. This time the preparations seem only to be more sophisticated. The difference is that apparently a proper township, presumably with services, will be laid out before the mass removal of people from one part of the country to another takes place.

To that extent, perhaps, the hardships on the people may not be as great but the morality of the decision will still be challenged.

Transkei's Prime Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima has already expressed his shock and anger. He can be assured his feelings are shared by this newspaper and by all in this country who are sickened by the never-ending harassment of defenceless families.

Mr Kruger's disapproval

In an Editorial Opinion on September 14 we expressed our disgust at certain remarks of a delegate to the Transvaal congress of the National Party who referred to blacks as "kaffirs" and "plurals" and also complained that they "smell".

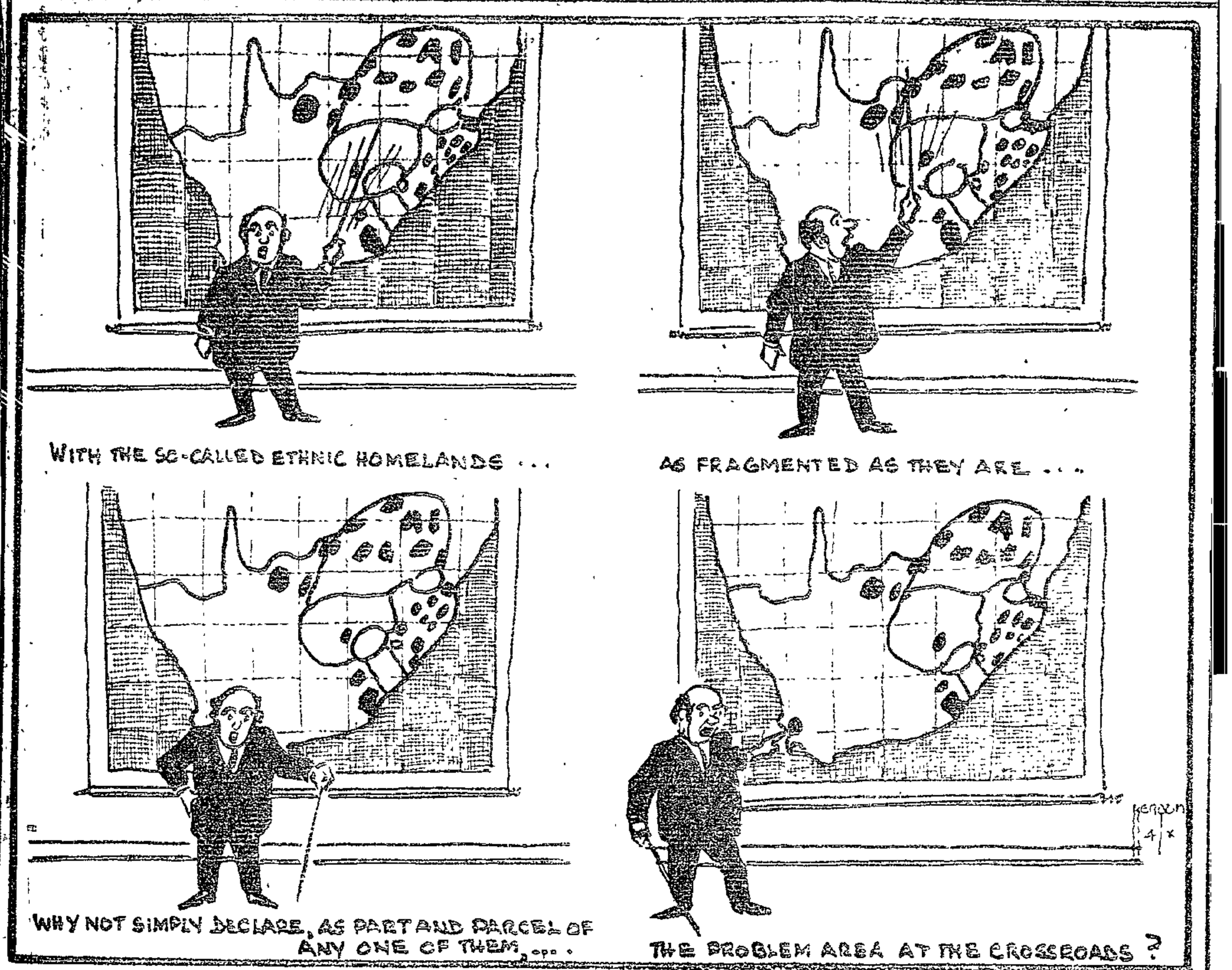
We felt the delegate who spoke so disparagingly against black people should at least have been dressed down at the congress.

It has now been drawn to our attention that the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr Kruger, as chairman at the congress, did in fact interrupt the delegate when he was speaking.

Mr Kruger reacted by saying "No, no" when the delegate first used the insulting terms and interrupted the speaker a little later, again, saying: "No, no, please, we are not talking now about the term, friend, we are now busy with another matter. We talk of the black people and this is the only term we use here."

Mr Kruger then allowed the delegate to continue his speech for several minutes on his objections to shared facilities before telling him politely that his time was up.

It seems clear, therefore, that Mr Kruger also disapproved of the racist outburst and we are happy to put the record right as far as his personal attitude was concerned.



The leak

The streets should have been almost deserted. Or a warm autumn Sunday

with incitement.

Police were on duty ... as well: police are

No. R. 228, 1978

A. AFSONDERING VAN SEKERE GROND VIR OKKUPASIE OF VERKRYGING DEUR SWARTES INGEVOLGE DIE BEPALINGS VAN ARTIKEL 36A VAN DIE GRONDWET VAN DIE SWART STATE, 1971 (WET 21 VAN 1971).—WYSIGING VAN PROKLAMASIES R. 154 VAN 1974, R. 273 VAN 1975 EN R. 37 VAN 1976

B. INSTELLING VAN DIE CISKEISE NASIONALE ONTWIKKELINGSKORPORASIE EN DIE KWAZULU-ONTWIKKELINGSKORPORASIE. — WYSIGING VAN PROKLAMASIES R. 49 VAN 1976 EN R. 73 VAN 1978

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Swart State, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), en by artikel 5 (1) van die Wet op die Bevordering

No. R. 228, 1978 101

A. RESERVATION OF CERTAIN LAND FOR OCCUPATION OR ACQUISITION BY BLACKS IN TERMS OF THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 36A OF THE BLACK STATES CONSTITUTION ACT, 1971 (ACT 21 OF 1971).—AMENDMENT OF PROCLAMATIONS R. 154 OF 1974, R. 273 OF 1975 AND R. 37 OF 1976

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CISKEIAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION AND THE KWAZULU DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.—AMENDMENT OF PROCLAMATIONS R. 49 OF 1976 AND R. 73 OF 1978

Under the powers vested in me by section 36A of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), and section 5 (1) of the Promotion of the Economic

enige groter verligting as hierdie Konvensie sou verskaf het met betrekking tot

(a) enige geskenk inter vivos deur die oorledene voor 27 Maart 1974 gemaak; of

(b) enige oorgemaakte eiendom waarin die oorledene 'n voordelige belang besit het voor 27 Maart 1974 maar nie op enige latere tydstip nie,

hou daardie bepaling aan om in die Verenigde Koninkryk van krag te wees met betrekking tot daardie geskenk of oorgemaakte eiendom.

(6) Die 1946-Konvensie, soos by die 1954-Protokol gewysig, eindig op die laaste datum waarop dit van krag is in ooreenstemming met die voorafgaande bepalings van hierdie Artikel.

ARTIKEL 19

Opsegging

(1) Hierdie Konvensie bly van krag totdat dit deur een van die Kontrakterende State opgesê word. Enigeen van die Kontrakterende State kan hierdie Konvensie opsê op enige tydstip na 5 jaar vanaf die datum waarop hierdie Konvensie van krag geword het, met dien verstande dat kennis van beëindiging minstens 6 maande voor die tyd langs die diplomatieke kanale gegee is. In daardie geval hou die Konvensie op om van krag te wees aan die einde van die tydperk in die kennisgewing aangedui maar bly nog van krag met betrekking tot die boedel van enige persoon wat voor die einde van daardie tydperk sterf en met betrekking tot enige ander gebeure (uitgesonderd dood) wat plaasvind voor die einde van daardie tydperk en aanleiding gee tot belastingaanspreeklikheid ooreenkomstig die wette van enigeen van die Kontrakterende State.

(2) Die opsegging van hierdie Konvensie hernuwe nie enige verdrag of reëling herroep by hierdie Konvensie of by verdrae voorheen tussen die Kontrakterende State gesluit.

Ten bewyse waarvan die ondergetekendes, behoorlik daartoe gemagtig deur hul onderskeie Regerings, hierdie Konvensie onderteken het.

Gedoen, in duplo, te Pretoria op hede die 31ste dag van Julie 1978, in die Afrikaanse en die Engelse taal, waarvan beide tekste ewe outentiek is.

VIR DIE REGERING VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA:

O. P. F. HORWOOD.

VIR DIE REGERING VAN DIE VERENIGDE KONINKRYK VAN GROOT-BRITTANJE EN NOORD-IERLAND:

DAVID SCOTT.

would have afforded any greater relief than this Convention in respect of

(a) any gift inter vivos made by the deceased before 27 March 1974, or

(b) any settled property in which the deceased had a beneficial interest in possession before 27 March 1974 but not at any time thereafter,

that provision shall continue to have effect in the United Kingdom in relation to that gift or settled property.

(6) The 1946 Convention as amended by the 1954 Protocol shall terminate on the last date on which it has effect in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this Article.

ARTICLE 19

Termination

(1) This Convention shall remain in force until terminated by one of the Contracting States. Either Contracting State may terminate this Convention at any time after five years from the date on which the Convention enters into force provided that at least 6 months' prior notice has been given through the diplomatic channel. In such event the Convention shall cease to have effect at the end of the period specified in the notice but shall continue to apply in respect of the estate of any person dying before the end of that period and in respect of any event (other than death) occurring before the end of that period and giving rise to liability to tax under the laws of either Contracting State.

(2) The termination of the present Convention shall not have the effect of reviving any treaty or arrangement abrogated by the present Convention or by treaties previously concluded between the Contracting States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments, have signed this Convention.

Done in duplicate at Pretoria this 31st day of July 1978, in the English and Afrikaans languages, both texts being equally authoritative.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA:

O. P. F. HORWOOD.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND:

DAVID SCOTT.

van die Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling van Swart State, 1968 (Wet 46 van 1968), gelees met artikel 25 van die Swart Administrasie Wet, 1927 (Wet 38 van 1927), wysig ek hierby—

(a) Proklamasie R. 154 van 1974 deur—

(i) in artikel 3 (1) (c) die uitdrukking "Swart Beleggingskorporasie van Suid-Afrika, Beperk" deur die uitdrukking "Ekonomiese Ontwikkelingskorporasie, Beperk" te vervang; en

(ii) paragraaf (d) van artikel 3 (1) deur die volgende paragraaf te vervang:

"(d) die Ciskeise Nasionale Ontwikkelingskorporasie Beperk, ingestel by Proklamasie R. 49 van 1976; of";

(b) Proklamasie R. 273 van 1975 deur—

(i) in artikel 3 (1) (c) die uitdrukking "Swart Beleggingskorporasie van Suid-Afrika, Beperk" deur die uitdrukking "Ekonomiese Ontwikkelingskorporasie, Beperk" te vervang; en

(ii) paragraaf (d) van artikel 3 (1) deur die volgende paragraaf te vervang:

"(d) die Ciskeise Nasionale Ontwikkelingskorporasie Beperk, ingestel by Proklamasie R. 49 van 1976; of";

(c) Proklamasie R. 37 van 1976 deur—

(i) artikel 3 (1) (c) die uitdrukking "Swart Beleggingskorporasie van Suid-Afrika, Beperk" te vervang deur die uitdrukking "Ekonomiese Ontwikkelingskorporasie, Beperk", en die woord "of" aan die end van die paragraaf te skrap; en

(ii) na paragraaf (c) van artikel 3 (1) die volgende paragraaf in te voeg:

"(cA) die kwaZulu-ontwikkelingskorporasie Beperk, ingestel by Proklamasie R. 73 van 1978; of";

(d) Proklamasie R. 49 van 1976 deur die uitdrukking "die Ciskei soos omskryf in die Ciskeise Grondwetproklamasie, 1972 (Proklamasie R. 187 van 1972)" deur die uitdrukking "die gebied van die Ciskeise Wetgewende Vergadering, soos van tyd tot tyd gewysig, insluitende gebiede in die distrikte vermeld in artikel 2 van die Ciskeise Grondwetproklamasie, 1972 (Proklamasie R. 187 van 1972), wat ingevolge artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Swart State, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), vir okkupasie of verkryging deur Swartes afgesonder is", te vervang; en

(e) Proklamasie R. 73 van 1978 deur die uitdrukking "daardie gedeeltes van die tuislande wat deur die Zoeloe-volkseenheid bewoon word" deur die uitdrukking "die gebied van die kwaZulu Wetgewende Vergadering, soos van tyd tot tyd gewysig, insluitende gebiede in die Provinsie Natal wat ingevolge artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Swart State, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), vir okkupasie of verkryging deur Swartes afgesonder is", te vervang;

en bepaal ek verder dat die wysigings bedoel in paragrawe (a), (b) en (d) geag word in werking te getree het op 1 April 1976.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Agt-en-twintigste dag van Augustus Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

M. VILJOEN, Waarnemende Staatspresident.

Op las van die Waarnemende Staatspresident-in-rade:

C. P. MULDER,

Development of Black States Act, 1968 (Act 46 of 1968), read with section 25 of the Black Administration Act, 1927 (Act 38 of 1927), I hereby amend—

(a) Proclamation R. 154 of 1974 by—

(i) the substitution in section 3 (1) (c) for the expression "Black Investment Corporation of South Africa, Limited" of the expression "Economic Development Corporation, Limited"; and

(ii) the substitution for paragraph (d) of section 3 (1) of the following paragraph:

"(d) the Ciskeian National Development Corporation Limited, established by Proclamation R. 49 of 1976; or";

(b) Proclamation R. 273 of 1975 by—

(i) the substitution in section 3 (1) (c) for the expression "Black Investment Corporation of South Africa, Limited" of the expression "Economic Development Corporation, Limited"; and

(ii) the substitution for paragraph (d) of section 3 (1) of the following paragraph:

"(d) the Ciskeian National Development Corporation Limited established by Proclamation R 49 of 1976; or";

(c) Proclamation R. 37 of 1976 by—

(i) the substitution in section 3 (1) (c) for the expression "Black Investment Corporation of South Africa, Limited" of the expression "Economic Development Corporation, Limited" and the deletion of the word "or" at the end of the paragraph; and

(ii) the insertion after paragraph (c) of section 3 (1) of the following paragraph:

"(cA) the kwaZulu Development Corporation Limited, established by Proclamation R. 73 of 1978; or";

(d) Proclamation R. 49 of 1976 by the substitution for the expression "for the Ciskei as defined in the Ciskei Constitution Proclamation, 1972 (Proclamation R. 187 of 1972)" of the expression "in respect of the area of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly, as amended from time to time, including areas in the districts referred to in the Ciskei Constitution Proclamation, 1972 (Proclamation R. 187 of 1972) reserved for the occupation or acquisition by Blacks in terms of section 36A of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971)"; and

(e) Proclamation R. 73 of 1978 by the substitution for the expression "those portions of the homelands occupied by the Zulu National Unit" of the expression "the area of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, as amended from time to time, including areas in the Province of Natal reserved for the occupation or acquisition by Blacks in terms of section 36A of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971)";

and determine further that the amendments referred to in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) are deemed to have come into operation on 1 April 1976.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-eighth day of August, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

M. VILJOEN, Acting State President.

By Order of the Acting State President-in-Council:

C. P. MULDER,

No. 253, 1978

DECLARATION AS RELEASED AREAS OF CERTAIN LAND IN THE PROVINCE OF TRANSVAAL FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACQUISITION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT TRUST

Whereas the areas defined in the Schedule hereto has by resolution of both Houses of Parliament been defined as land which I may declare to be Released Areas in terms of section 2 (4) of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936);

Now, therefore, by virtue of section 2 (4) of the said Act I hereby declare the areas defined in the Schedule hereto to be Released Areas and to be added to the First Schedule to the said Act.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-second day of September, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

M. VILJOEN, Acting State President.

By Order of the Acting State President-in-Council:

C. P. MULDER.

No. 253, 1978 GG 6175 (101)

VERKLARING TOT OOPGESTELDE GEBIEDE VAN SEKERE GROND IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL VIR DIE DOEL VAN VERKRYGING DEUR DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE ONTWIKKELINGSTRUST

Nademaal die gebiede omskryf in die Bylae hiervan by besluit van albei Huise van die Parlement omskryf is as grond wat ek tot Oopgestelde Gebiede kan verklaar ingevolge artikel 2 (4) van die Ontwikkelingstrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936);

So is dit dat ek kragtens artikel 2 (4) van genoemde Wet hierby verklaar dat die gebiede omskryf in die Bylae hiervan Oopgestelde Gebiede is en by die Eerste Bylae van genoemde Wet gevoeg word.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Twee-en-twintigste dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

M. VILJOEN, Waarnemende Staatspresident.

Op las van die Waarnemende Staatspresident-in-rade:

C. P. MULDER.

SCHEDULE

TRANSVAAL

Area 57, District of Cullinan.

Description.—Portions 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16 and 17 of the farm Kwaggafontein 196 JR.

Area 58, District of Potgietersrus.

Description.—The farm Delftzyl 655 KS.

Area 59, District of Letaba.

Description.—Portion 48 of the farm Nasionaal 29 KT.

Area 60, District of Letaba.

Description.—The farms Nagwena 750 LT, Hamman 747 LT and Scheiding 746 LT.

BYLAE

TRANSVAAL

Gebied 57, distrik Cullinan.

Omskrywing.—Gedeeltes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16 en 17 van die plaas Kwaggafontein 196 JR.

Gebied 58, distrik Potgietersrus.

Omskrywing.—Die plaas Delftzyl 655 KS.

Gebied 59, distrik Letaba.

Omskrywing.—Gedeelte 48 van die plaas Nasionaal 29 KT.

Gebied 60, distrik Letaba.

Omskrywing.—Die plaas Nagwena 750 LT, Hamman 747 LT en Scheiding 746 LT.

sell more if "people came to ask" more oft
2 members said that it was not difficult t
rotting in their plots.

5. Some people have managed to get around mar
5.1 It is interesting that in Abalimi on
is not a problem is Mr. S. Burgambo who se
a year. (This is substantially more than
deal of time and effort into marketing.
In the toma
some at the Idolophu market. hu by bus to s
a relative, goes into Idolophu b in that he was
over other people in Abalimi in doing since 19
vegetables which he has been doi
patients to buy vegetables from rom him. He h
(Another thing to consider in lo n looking at Bu
to people from other areas is th s that Abalimi
it is a very big location which ich spreads int
more isolated Umthi, Inkomo, and and Umlambo.)
5.2 In Ipoti as part of a fund-raising pr
a nursing sister organised a veg vegetable hawk
bought sacks of potatoes and tom tomatoes in a
divided into small quantities. s. A woman wa
the villages within walking dist distance and in
went, with her truck. The sis sister estimat
get to out of the way places and and with a ful
selling R5.00 worth of vegetable ables a day.
R1.00 a day).
Some poor women asked the sister to buy poo
for them. From one pocket of potatoes
could make R1.50-R2.00 profit a t a week by sel
This scheme was an important motivation in
garden. Whether they will be able to se
garden depends on whether they will undercu
vegetables sold in the local café and wheth

Mulder nod for black home cash

PHALABORWA — The Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, announced here yesterday that building societies and commercial banks, among others, could advance money for housing purposes to black site owners.

Previously, provision was made only for the balance of the purchase price to be registered as a charge against the title recoverable by the South African Development Trust.

Dr Mulder, speaking at a handing-over ceremony of 30 houses for workers of the Phosphate Development Corporation in Lebowa's Nakgale township, said a right of leasehold for 99 years was introduced for the black urban residential areas by Act 97 of 1978.

In the Black Areas Proclamation R293 of 1962, governing administration and control of townships, provision is made for sites with or without dwellings to be sold by the SA Development Trust to blacks in such townships.

"These titles to the stands are registered in the respective deeds registered situated in the black states (homelands). Provision exists for the balance of the purchase price to be registered as a charge against the title, recoverable by the SA Development Trust.

"This provision has now, by proclamation R200 dated July 28, 1978, been extended to advances made for housing purposes to site owners by the state or other body constituted by law, or any building society, commercial bank, insurance company, or other registered financial institutions, or corporative authorities approved by the Secretary for Plural Relations and Development, provided the secretary approves of each such a charge in terms of the relevant regulations."

Dr Mulder said a provision had been added to the effect that should such a site subsequently be sold in execution, and if the outstanding debt was not covered by the highest bid at a public auction, the holder of the charge would be entitled to purchase the site. — SAPA.

Table 1

Poverty De

Class	(1) Derived household income g
Poorest 5%	The household income g
5% - 10%	raise family
10% - 20%	would suffic
20% - 30%	total amount
30% - 40%	present sup

(2) These ar
are cons
the top

se Family Incomes of the Five Poorest (1)
s to the Poverty Datum Line

al House- after	Extra Income required per household (2)	Cost
P2 250 000		
P2 000 000		
P3 000 000		
P1 200 000		
P 500 000		

ost : P8 950 000

t Plan 1976-81.

As a result they
each class as having
lass an arbitrary

tra income per year to
extreme P50 per year
verty line. The
one-third of Botswana's

7.

a surplus of P25 million. Foreign aid that year was P30 million. Revenue projections in the National Development Plan to 1980/81 show a continued and strong growth in revenue. In that year revenue is projected at P120 million. Botswana's financial strength means that she can cover local costs while making ents to large future debt services. Botswana can afford to be the converse: how well can Botswana er own programmes without recourse to capacity to fund the local costs of aided capacity to absorb large funds in the

For this purpose the 220 000 rural
verty line is divided by 5,5 (persons per
= 40 000 households.

ncomes of the 40% of the rural households
can estimate the income required to raise
ing data that is reproduced in the National
e of the level of funding required to flow
ural poverty can be constructed from the Rural

put on the common area and interfering with the enjoyment and use of the common area of all must be removed.

We quite realise that some people have gone to a lot of trouble and expense to plant on their own or the common area. Thus where enclosures have been made of planting, we hope that they can be opened up by the least possible disturbance and the judicious moving of certain, rather than all, plants. Mr. Roberts, the Architect for the estate, and member of the [illegible] glad to discuss and advise on this [illegible]

the estate was beautifully illuminated. However, since then we have been disappointed that the situation has gradually deteriorated in some areas. The contractor gave us an excellent guarantee of his work for one year including replacement of the globes which failed during that time, but unfortunately we are having no success in getting him to honour his obligation. Sadly this means that parts of the estate are again very poorly lit. The globes are extremely expensive, and our budget does not allow us to replace the globes (which should last up to 2 years) every few weeks. We are doing our best against the contractor, but it is proving very difficult. We are also looking into the possibilities of getting a maintenance contract for the lights from another contractor.

8. PAINTING THE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSES

This seems to be progressing very satisfactorily, weather permitting, with an average of 3 - 4 houses per month as an onward going project. If residents are dissatisfied with the work in any way when their houses are painted, please could they report this to Mr. D.S. Roberts (Tel. Office: 432056), as Mr. Roberts has kindly organized the work. The painting of the red chimneys is not included in the current contract but this will begin as soon as the correct paint can be [illegible] Fortunately not proved practical to remove [illegible] chimneys and residents are asked to bear with [illegible]

Blacks welcome PFP policies

28/10/78

101

EAST LONDON — Black homeland leaders and a Transkei cabinet minister have welcomed the Progressive Federal Party's new policies.

But Dr Ntatho Motlana, Chairman of Soweto's Committee of 10, Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, and the Nationalist press have rejected them.

Transkei would find common cause with the Progressive Federal Party's constitutional blueprint for South Africa, insofar as it granted universal suffrage, Transkei's Minister for Justice, Mr Digby Koyana, said in Umtata yesterday.

"Our standpoint is that the only answer to the problem is that everyone, black and white, should be given the vote.

"We stand for the complete scrapping of the so-called Bantustan policy, and the complete scrapping of the apartheid system," the Minister said.

He said he thought the PFP were "facing the right direction."

Before Transkei took the step of attending a national convention — even as an observer — on the constitutional future of Southern Africa as mooted by the PFP, more details would have to be made available. Such an attendance would "depend on circumstances," the minister said.

Referring to the possibility of a future federation in Southern Africa, he said that Transkei reserved the right to revise its relations with South Africa, when complete human rights and dignity had been restored there.

KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said "I agree with the PFP on the urgency of calling a national conference, convention or an indaba, whatever name it is called, so that all South Africa's population groups, and leaders representing all shades of political opinion, can map out the future together.

"I am not prepared to involve myself in argument about machinery giving minorities a veto. This is a matter which can best be discussed in depth around the conference table, at the proposed national convention.

"The PFP deserves encouragement whatever views one has about its proposals, for doing its homework which we all need to do before such a national convention is held." Chief Buthelezi said.

The leader of the New Democratic Party in Transkei, Mr Knowledge Guzana, welcomed the PFP's "bold move" on the franchise.

He said he had always contended that democracy was not synonymous with one man, one vote.

"There should be certain restraints to ensure the majority does not carry away control on an ethnic basis, particularly in a heterogeneous society like South Africa," Mr Guzana said.

Ciskeian opposition member Chief S. M. Burns Ncamashe also commended the PFP on its move and said he hoped it would be accepted at its national congress next month.

"Personally I hope and pray that the central government will see its way clear to permitting the holding of a national convention while the climate within the Republic allows it," said Chief Ncamashe.

Dr Motlana believed blacks would reject the proposal allowing groups with 10 per cent to 15 per cent representation in a federal assembly to veto a wide range of measures.

"If there is to be a redistribution of power, then you can't have a veto which implies there won't be fundamental change. I have said so many times. We should just protect rights in a bill of rights and we will not go beyond this."

Dr Motlana emphasised, however, he still wanted to study the whole plan.

Mr Raw said the proposals were a recipe for "stalemate and conflict", and the PFP "has failed signally to keep its promise to its congresses and to the public to come out with a crystal clear and courageous policy which would boldly define its stand."

7. EXTERIOR LIGHTS

For a glorious few weeks after the repair work on the lights had been completed (larger but fewer yards) hanging on them cannot be seen from the ground or from other houses. Moreover, it is quite possible Please would people refrain from putting washing in a place or at a level where it can be seen by others.

12. IDEAS

Anyone who has any ideas about the improvement of the estate (must be cheap!), the solution of the problems we have discussed in this news letter, or the promotion of good neighbourliness is asked, may beg/rd, to contact the Directors with his scheme.

If you have managed to get through all this, you have definitely got staying power. Many thanks for your attention.

3 / .....

[illegible]
CHAIRMAN

[illegible] Station (who will come when called)

[illegible] Traffic Depot) - Tel. 731892

[illegible] 707156

[illegible] enjoy a cup of tea (or coffee) and an [illegible] any one of the persons listed below for [illegible]

[illegible] Tel. 726498
[illegible] Tel. 720027
[illegible] 721718

Constantia Sports Complex (near Alphen) - Tennis, Bowls etc.
[illegible]nor) - available from Mr. Bird, Forestry [illegible], or P.O. Box 88, Retreat. Tel. 721331
[illegible]) - Lismore Avenue Library - off Tokai Road [illegible]essary) - Meadowridge - Tel. 723900

Homeland leaders reject new deal

PSM 20/11/78 (101)

THE GOVERNMENT'S dispensation which aims at independent homelands and the proposed constitutional changes which exclude the black people, is unacceptable to the majority of South Africa's black population, according to a joint statement by homeland leaders.

Issuing the statement in Johannesburg at the weekend on behalf of homelands Chief Ministers, the Gazankulu Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, who chaired the meeting which lasted seven hours, said it had been decided to convene another meeting of black leaders at which an agenda would be drawn up. The agenda would be presented to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at a meeting between him and homeland leaders early next year.

The full statement reads:

"The present Government dispensation which aims at independent homelands and the proposed constitutional changes which exclude the black people is unacceptable to the majority of blacks and therefore is no solution to the South African political impasse.

"This conference of Chief Ministers and their Cabinet representatives, regret that their past attempts at resolving the impasse of the failure of the Republican Government to heed their submissions on matters which affect the black people of this country had not been heeded.

"In spite of past frustrations and disillusionments, this meeting intends holding another meeting with African leaders on December 13 and 14 to prepare an agenda for an urgent meeting with the new Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, next year.

According to the statement, the agenda will contain suggestions regarding a new deal and a fair dispensation for all South Africans.

All South Africa's black homelands were represented at the conference. Transkei and BophuthaTswana, which have attained sovereign status, were not present. — Sapa.

More urban blacks, says prof

BY PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

THE number of urban blacks will increase nearly three-fold by the turn of the century, according to two senior academics of the Institute for Urban Studies at Rand Afrikaans University.

The total will rise from just under 7-million to nearly 20-million by the year 2000, say Professor A J Oosthuizen and Dr C F Swart.

The numerical increase in urban blacks will coincide with another trend: the rising proportion of urban blacks in the overall black population.

Whereas urban blacks constituted about 32% of the black population at the last census in 1970, they will account for at least 53% in the year 2000 — or 20-million out of 37 300 000.

But, say Prof Oosthuizen and Dr Swart in their contribution to a study on South Africa's urban blacks scheduled for release soon, the major share of the projected growth will take place in the homelands.

The main reason is that most funds for urban development have been diverted away from the "white" areas to the homelands.

But within the homelands the main increase will occur in homeland towns near the larger South African cities, which are presently absorbing 70% of all houses erected by the SA Development Trust.

Prof Oosthuizen and Dr Swart do not make the point, but these homeland townships — of which Garankuwa near Pretoria is an example — are regarded by many scholars as dormitory townships of the white cities.

Entitled "South Africa's Urban Blacks: Problems and Challenges", the study is edited by Prof George Marais, of the University of South Africa, and Mr Robert van der Kooy, of the Bureau for Black Economic Development.

In another contribution, Prof D A Kotze, professor of African politics at Unisa, writes of the "unbridged gulf" between white and black ideas on the "legitimate use of violence" by Government officials.

"Officials and police who raid black homes in search of unregistered occupants believe they act in the interests of the residents and the community by preventing the development of slum conditions," he says.

"The residents, however, see their action as a form of violence."

701

No. 321, 1978

EXCISION OF CERTAIN LAND FROM RELEASED AREA AND SUBSTITUTION THEREOF BY CERTAIN OTHER LAND IN THE PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL

Whereas I am satisfied that it is in the public interest that the land described in the accompanying Schedule A, in extent 3 597,374 5 hectares, which forms part of Released Area 43 in the District of Pietersburg, Province of the Transvaal, should be excised from the Released Area;

And whereas land in the District of Lydenburg, described in the accompanying Schedule B, in extent 3 321,194 1 hectares, being land referred to in section 10 (2) (c) of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936), has been acquired by the South African Development Trust in substitution for, and is of pastoral or agricultural value at least equivalent to, the land described in the said Schedule A;

Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 2 (2) of the said Act, I hereby declare that the land described in the said Schedule A is hereby excised from the Released Area and that the land referred to in the said Schedule B be added to the Released Area in substitution thereof.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Fourteenth day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

B. J. VORSTER, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council.

A. L. SCHLEBUSCH

SCHEDULE A

The following properties in the District of Pietersburg:

Mampaskloof 10 KT and Baden 9 KT.

SCHEDULE B

The following properties in the District of Lydenburg:

Steelpoortdrift 365 KT and the remainder of Mooimeisiesfontein 363 KT.

No. 321, 1978

WEGNEEM VAN SEKERE GROND UIT OOPGESTELDE GEBIED, EN VERVANGING DAARVAN DEUR SEKERE ANDER GROND IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL

Nademaal ek daarvan oortuig is dat dit in die openbare belang is dat die grond beskryf in bygaande Bylae A waarvan die totale grootte 3 597,374 5 hektaar is, wat deel uitmaak van Oopgestelde Gebied 43 in die distrik Pietersburg, provinsie Transvaal, uit die Oopgestelde Gebied weggeneem word;

En nademaal grond in die distrik Lydenburg, beskryf in bygaande Bylae B, waarvan die totale grootte 3 321,194 1 hektaar is, synde grond waarvan in artikel 10 (2) (c) van die Ontwikkelingstrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936), melding gemaak word, deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelingstrust verkry is in die plek van, en van minstens 'n gelyke veeteel- of landbouwaarde is as, die grond beskryf in Bylae A;

So is dit dat ek, kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 (2) van genoemde Wet, hierby verklaar dat die grond beskryf in genoemde Bylae A hierby weggeneem word uit die Oopgestelde Gebied en ter vervanging daarvan die grond beskryf in genoemde Bylae B by die Oopgestelde Gebied gevoeg word.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria op hede die Veertiende dag van November Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

B. J. VORSTER, Staatspresident.

Op last van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

A. L. SCHLEBUSCH

BYLAE A

Die volgende eiendomme in die distrik Pietersburg:

Mampaskloof 10 KT en Baden 9 KT.

BYLAE B

Die volgende eiendomme in die distrik Lydenburg:

Steelpoortdrift 365 KT en die restant van Mooimeisiesfontein 363 KT.

No. 322, 1978

EXCISION OF CERTAIN LAND FROM RELEASED AREA AND SUBSTITUTION THEREOF BY CERTAIN OTHER LAND IN THE PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

Whereas I am satisfied that it is in the public interest that the land described in the accompanying Schedule A, in extent 4 865 912 3 hectares, in the Districts of Tarkastad and Queenstown, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, should be excised from the Released Area;

And whereas land in the District of Queenstown, described in the accompanying Schedule B, in extent 4 906 643 8 hectares, being land referred to in section 10 (2) (c) of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936), has been acquired by the South African Development Trust in substitution for, and is of pastoral or agricultural value at least equivalent to, the land described in the said Schedule A;

No. 322, 1978

WEGNEEM VAN SEKERE GROND UIT OOPGESTELDE GEBIED, EN VERVANGING DAARVAN DEUR SEKERE ANDER GROND IN DIE PROVINSIE KAAP DIE GOEIE HOOP

Nademaal ek daarvan oortuig is dat dit in die openbare belang is dat die grond beskryf in bygaande Bylae A waarvan die totale grootte 4 865,912 3 hektaar is, in die distrikte Tarkastad en Queenstown, provinsie Kaap die Goeie Hoop, uit die Oopgestelde Gebied weggeneem word;

En nademaal grond in die distrik Queenstown, beskryf in bygaande Bylae B waarvan die totale grootte 4 906,643 8 hektaar is, synde grond waarvan in artikel 10 (2) (c) van die Ontwikkelingstrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936), melding gemaak word, deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelingstrust verkry is in die plek van, en van minstens 'n gelyke veeteel- of landbouwaarde is as, die grond beskryf in Bylae A;

Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 2 (2) of the said Act, I hereby declare that the land described in the said Schedule A is hereby excised from the Released Area and that the land referred to in the said Schedule B be added to the Released Area in substitution thereof.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Fourteenth day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

B. J. VORSTER, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

A. L. SCHLEBUSCH.

SCHEDULE A

The following properties in the Districts of Tarkastad and Queenstown

The remainder, Portion 1 and a portion of Keys Poort 149, the remainder and Portion 9 of Haasfontein Mond 326, Portion 6 of Hartop Hills South 147 and Portions 2, 3, 4, 5 and the remainder of Bezuidenhoutstraat Mond 141

SCHEDULE B

The following properties in the District of Queenstown:

The remainder of Sonnevanck 255, Rocklands 331, Thornhill 331, Portions 1 and 3 of Thornhill 332, the remainder of London 330 and Portion 1 and the remainder of Mitford 329

No. 323, 1978

DECLARATION AS RELEASED AREAS OF CERTAIN LAND IN THE PROVINCE OF TRANSVAAL AND IN THE PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACQUISITION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT TRUST

Whereas the areas defined in the Schedule hereto has by resolution of both Houses of Parliament been defined as land which I may declare to be Released Areas in terms of section 2 (4) of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936);

Now, therefore, by virtue of section 2 (4) of the said Act I hereby declare the areas defined in the Schedule hereto to be Released Areas and to be added to the First Schedule to the said Act.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Fourteenth day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight

B. J. VORSTER, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

A. L. SCHLEBUSCH.

SCHEDULE

TRANSVAAL

Area 61, District of Pietersburg

Description. Portion 3 of the farm Buksloot 72 LS

Area 62, District of Pietersburg.

Description.—Portion 28 (a portion of Portion 10) and the remainder of Portion 5 (a portion of Portion 1) of the farm Hartbeesfontein 62 KS

Sowe dit dat ek, kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 (2) van genoemde Wet, hierby verklaar dat die grond beskryf in genoemde Bylae A hierby, weggeneem word uit die Oopgestelde Gebied en ter vervanging daarvan die grond beskryf in genoemde Bylae B by die Oopgestelde Gebied gevoeg word

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Veertiende dag van November Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig

B. J. VORSTER, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-raade:

A. L. SCHLEBUSCH.

BYLAE A

Die volgende eiendomme in die distrikte Tarkastad en Queenstown

Die restant, Gedeelte 1 en 'n gedeelte van Keys Poort 149, die restant en Gedeelte 9 van Haasfontein Mond 326, Gedeelte 6 van Hartop Hills Suid 147 en Gedeeltes 2, 3, 4, 5 en die restant van Bezuidenhoutstraat Mond 141

BYLAE B

Die volgende eiendomme in die distrik Queenstown.

Die restant van Sonnevanck 255, Rocklands 331, Thornhill 331, Gedeeltes 1 en 3 van Thornhill 332, die restant van London 330 en Gedeelte 1 en die restant van Mitford 329.

No. 323, 1978

VERKLARING TOT OOPGESTELDE GEBIEDE VAN SEKERE GROND IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL EN DIE PROVINSIE KAAP DIE GOEDE HOOP VIR DIE DOELEINDE VAN VERKRYGING DEUR DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE ONTWIKKELINGSTRUST

Nademaal die gebiede omskryf in die Bylae hiervan by besluit van albei Huise van die Parlement omskryf is as grond wat ek tot Oopgestelde Gebiede kan verklaar ingevolge artikel 2 (4) van die Ontwikkelingstrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936);

Sowe dat ek kragtens artikel 2 (4) van genoemde Wet hierby verklaar dat die gebiede omskryf in die Bylae hiervan Oopgestelde Gebiede is en by die Eerste Bylae van genoemde Wet gevoeg word

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Veertiende dag van November Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

B. J. VORSTER, Staatspresident

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-raade:

A. L. SCHLEBUSCH

BYLAE

TRANSVAAL

Gebied 61, distrik Pietersburg.

Omskrywing.—Gedeelte 3 van die plaas Buksloot 72 LS

Gebied 62, distrik Pietersburg

Omskrywing.—Gedeelte 28 (n gedeelte van Gedeelte 10) en die restant van Gedeelte 5 (n gedeelte van Gedeelte 1) van die plaas Hartbeesfontein 62 KS.

EOK se yslike koffieplan

Rapport 17/12/78

(101)

TABLE 1 … 6-1977

Year	… rican	Total
1946	..	5 658
1947	..	5 993
1948	..	6 240
1949	..	6 651
1950	..	7 029
1951	..	7 351
1952	..	8 001
1953	..	8 049
1954	..	8 072
1955	..	8 294
1956	..	8 725
1957	..	8 914
1958	..	8 025
1959	..	8 324
1960	..	8 526
1961	..	8 512
1962	..	8 181
1963	..	8 104
1964	..	8 371
1965	..	9 057
1966	771	10 314
1967	814	10 540
1968	217	11 068
1969	336	11 245
1970	942	12 205
1971	022	13 936
1972	884	15 019
1973	564	15 744
1974	244	15 521
1975	051	13 423
1976	983	13 229
1977		13 186

'n DAADWERKLIKE program om Suid-Afrika se afhanklikheid op al hoe duurder wordende buitelandse bronne van koffie te verminder en terselfdertyd 'n winsgewende landelike nywerheid in die swart state te skep, is deur die landbou-afdeling van die Ekonomiese Ontwikkelingskorporasie (EOK) in oorleg met 'n aantal swart regerings en hul ontwikkelingskorporasies begin.

'n Begin is reeds in Venda en Lebowa gemaak, ondersoeke word in KaNgwane en KwaZulu gedoen en Gazankulu word ook beskou as 'n potensiële produksie-area vir hierdie sub-tropiese boomgewas.

Met die toenemende gebruik van plaasvervangers, hoofsaaklik sigorei, in kommersiële mengsels, het Suid-Afrika se invoer van koffiebone van 19 000 ton in 1974 tot 14 000 ton verlede jaar verminder.

Tog het die land se invoerkoste vir koffie oor dié tydperk van R12,5 miljoen tot R51 miljoen gestyg, wat die omvang van die prysstyging op die wêreldmark weerspieël. Die hoofredes vir hierdie styging is ongunstige klimaatstoestande wat die Brasiliaanse produksie in onlangse jare getref het, sowel as politieke en ekonomiese onstabiliteit in Afrika se koffieproduserende lande — hoofsaaklik Angola.

Suid-Afrika se huidige produksie is 'n skrapse 200 ton per jaar, van 'n handjievol blanke boere in Zoeloeland. Met 'n produksie uit volwasse plantasies van 1,5 tot 2 ton per hektaar as 'n redelike oes onder Suid-Afrikaanse toestande, is die geleentheid vir plaaslike produksie van hierdie gewas enorm.

Onbekend

Die EOK se landboudeskundiges meen dat hoewel dit noodsaaklik is om bestaansboerdery in die swart state met 'n kontantgewasekonomie te vervang, daar te veel bemarkingsprobleme is by bederfbare produkte soos vrugte en groente veral in die geval van daardie gebiede wat ver van die metropolitaanse markte is. Alternatiewe gewasse wat nie dié nadele het nie, is dus uitgesoek en veral koffie het na 'n interessante moontlikheid gelyk.

'n Verdere voordeel van koffieverbouing in die swart state is dat hoewel dit aanvanklik 'n aansienlike kapitaalbelegging verg, plantasiebestuur en die oes baie arbeidsintensief is. Die pluk van bessies op 'n familie-plaaseenheid kan net met die hand gedoen word — wat werk vir die hele gesin voorsien sonder enige uitgawes vir duur toerusting.

As gewas is koffie egter grootliks onbekend in Suid-Afrika en die EOK het dus die hele aangeleentheid versigtig benader. Navorsing is met die samewerking van die Sitrus- en Subtropiese Vrugtenavorsingsinstituut op Nelspruit gedoen, studies is in Rhodesië en Brasilië gemaak en deskundiges is in diens geneem om individuele projekte in die swart state te stig.

Moskou

Onder die probleme in die weg van vinniger vordering is die relatiewe tekort aan weerkundige, bodemkundige en hidrologiese data in die meer afgeleë gebiede. 'n Rypvrye klimaat is noodsaaklik, met 'n jaarlikse reënval van meer as 900 mm en beskikbaarheid van besproeiingswater om dit tot 1 500 mm per jaar aan te vul, sowel as goed gedreineerde leemgrond wat nogtans sy voginhoud goed behou en 'n neutrale PH-balans het.

Verdere praktiese probleme is dat koffieverbouing onbekend was onder die swart boere en die relatiewe onontwikkelde ekonomiese infrastruktuur van die meer afgeleë gebiede.

Die stelsel waarop besluit is vir die produksie van die gewas, is die koöperatiewe een (energiesentrummodel), wat deur die EOK se landbou-afdeling volgens die Israelse *moshav* ontwkkel is. Dit behels 'n sentrum of koöperasie wat opleiding, advies en tegniese en meganiese dienste aan lede teen vergoeding voorsien.

Goeie plantasiebestuur deur die individuele deelnemer sal egter broodnodig wees as hy bevredigende resultate wil verkry.

Loodsplan

Ontpulping van die bessies kan of deur die boer self of deur die energiesentrum gedoen word en verdere prosessering, insluitende fermentasie, droog en ontdopping, deur plaaslike fabrieke — wat nog verdere werkgeleenthede in die swart state sal skep.

Die eerste projek wat gestig is, by Paswana ('n gesamentlike onderneming met die Venda-regering en Venda-Ontwikkelingskorporasie), maak voorsiening vir 'n 200 ha-kernskema wat uiteindelik 370 Vendas in diens sal neem en waarop tegniese ondervinding verkry sal word.

NM 13/12/78 (10)

Homeland leaders meet today

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Black leaders from seven homelands meet today to discuss constitutional proposals which will accommodate all the peoples of South Africa.

The meeting has been convened by Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu to find a way out of the political impasse.

Leaders attending the conference include men who have spearheaded the resistance to fragmentation of South Africa into independent Black mini-states at the price of stripping Black South Africans of their South African citizenship.

With Professor Nt[illegible] sanwisi, will be Chief [illegible] Gatsha Buthelezi o[illegible] KwaZulu, Dr. Cedric [illegible] Phatudi of Lebowa and Mr [illegible] Kenneth Mopeli of Qwa[illegible] qwa.

Manufacturing	25	73,0
Services	6	18,0
Commerce	3	9,0
	34	100,0

In fifteen organisations (44%) management had taken the initiative for establishing the committee, while African employees had done this in five (15%), and management and employees together had taken the decision in fourteen (41%).

There was a tendency for older workers and those with longer service to be elected to these committees: in 80% of the organisations there were no restrictions whatsoever on the nomination of candidates, while in 20% there were certain requirements, mainly to achieve equal departmental representation.[38]

82% of the respondents reported that their works committees were elected for a period of one year. In most instances, 68%, regular monthly committee meetings were held, while a further 9% met weekly and 6% met at fortnightly intervals.

The most frequently mentioned reasons for choosing a works committee were that they were more effective than liaison committees, that they were more representative and acceptable to African workers, and that the workers preferred them.

In 1973 only three co-ordinating works committees[39] had been established.

Recognition of African Trade Unions

The Verster investigation indicated that while the majority of participating organisations with liaison committees (56%) were opposed to the recognition of African trade unions, the majority of those with works committees (68%) were in favour of recognising them.[40]

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37. Op.cit. pp.91-4.
38. Ibid, pp.97-101.
39. Hansard 3 columns 160-1, 22 August 1973.
40. Op.cit. pp.66-8, 108.

DD
15/12/78
(101)

Blacks seek new deal

JOHANNESBURG — The leaders of seven homelands yesterday issued a statement rejecting the twin pillars of Pretoria's race policy: independent black homelands and the proposed three-parliament constitutional arrangements for non-black minorities.

The statement came after chief ministers and cabinet ministers of seven black territories had deliberated on the "crisis facing South Africa" over two days.

"It was pointed out that the Republican government's dispensation which aims at independent homelands and the proposed constitutional changes which exclude the African people were unacceptable to the majority of blacks," said Prof Hudson Ntswanwisi, convenor of the meeting.

It was decided to take the initiative and put forward suggestions for a new deal for all South Africans, he said.

"Suggestions which will form the basis of negotiations with the Prime Minister have been made."

These suggestions will be further discussed by the cabinets of the seven homelands which sent representatives to the meeting, then an urgent meeting with Mr P. W. Botha, will be sought.

Prof Ntswanwisi refused to be drawn on details of the suggestions. Asked whether they were within a unitary or federal framework, he said: "No comment."

One of the leaders at the meeting was Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei whose government recently approved a commission to examine the feasibility of the Ciskei becoming independent.

Since he was a signatory to the statement, it may be speculated that the ideas the homeland leaders will put to Mr Botha will cater for the maximum degree of self-government by homelands but for some connection at federal or confederal level. — DDC.

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Water (jaarlikse koste aan boer)

Koste van ander dienste b.v. saad, gebruik van plaasmasjinerie

(f) Klere: artikels verskaf deur boer (jaarliks)

Koste aan boer:

(g) Bonus (jaarliks)

(h) Geskenke (jaarliks: artikels

Koste aan boer:

(i) Ontspanningsgeriewe verskaf:

Koste aan boer (jaarliks):

(j) Gesondheidsdienste:

Jaarlikse koste aan boer van: doktersrekeninge betaal
medisyne
vervoer na en van geriewe
ander

(j) Totale mediese koste

(k) Pensioenbydrae deur boer (jaarliks)

(l) Versekeringsbydrae deur boer (jaarliks)

HOMELANDS - General

2-1-79 — 31-12-79

101

NM 21/1/79

(101)

Koornhof lists Black priorities

PRETORIA — The Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr. Piet Koornhof, said yesterday his motto in his new appointment would be "to live and let live."

Addressing a Press conference here, Dr. Koornhof explained his basic thinking.

"My target when I took over the Department of Sport and Recreation was to get on with the game.

Success

"I am happy to say that we succeeded to a large extent in removing politics from sport."

His target in his new appointment would be to create good human relations as far as possible and he appealed to the media to assist him in this regard.

"The department is a link between White and Black. We want to create an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill.

"One of the most important parts this department has to play is to give the Government a blue-print of how the so-called urban Blacks will fit into the new constitutional plan.

"I have no doubt that the Cabinet committee appointed for this purpose will come forward with very important recommendations.

"I also intend to set up working committees to assist the Cabinet committee in this regard," Dr. Koornhof said.

The first two priorities in the constitutional process during the past 25 years had been to lead the Black homelands to independence and to provide for the constitutional development of the Coloureds and the Indians.

The third priority now was to provide for the future development of the Blacks living in the White part of South Africa.

"I would like to see the urban Blacks having real power over their own local affairs and a vehicle already exists for this purpose, namely the community councils." — (Sapa.)

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P.T.O.

Homeland voters losing interest

JOHANNESBURG — Black participation in homeland politics has declined sharply, according to statistics published by the semi-official Bureau for Economic Research.

The figures cover a 15-year period from 1963, which saw the first election in a South African homeland, to 1978, which witnessed elections in five homelands. With one exception, the pattern is one of decreasing interest.

In Transkei, the first homeland to accept self-government and then independence, the number of blacks who voted declined from about 606 320 in 1963 to 360 085 in 1976, a drop of about 40 per cent.

The decrease was more marked in Bophuthatswana, the second homeland to opt for independence. The number of voters declined from nearly 425 000 in 1972 to fewer than 164 150 in 1977, a decrease of more than 60 per cent.

The disillusionment of urban blacks is reflected unmistakably in figures for Bophuthatswana. In 1972, 156 586 urban Tswanas voted and in 1977, fewer than 37 050 — a drop of more than 75 per cent.

The decline is not confined to homelands opting for independence. In Lebowa, whose Chief Minister, Dr Cedric Phatudi, is an opponent of independence, the drop in round figures was from 190 420 in 1973 to 146 800 last year.

KwaZulu, whose Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi, is the most vociferous opponent of independence, drew only 116 058 voters in its first election in February last year.

The exception to the pattern is Venda, which opted for independence last year. The number of voters rose from 68 300 in 1973 to nearly 123 000 last year. — DDC

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true consultation. Government, in this case, have adopted proposals prepared by consultants. This is not unlike accepting a Five Year Plan prepared by a Planning Department. Alternate proposals are thus eliminated before consultation begins. At best the present exercise of consultation may provide several ideas of how details in the proposals can be altered. It is unlikely to lead to any major structural change because the public are not invited to suggest alternatives. At present those who have no cattle have no direct stake in the proposals. It would take strong action by political groups to make them aware of what they stand to lose and to express their concern effectively.

An economic factor that underwrites the need to achieve a distribution of the income from the wealth represented by the cattle population of Botswana, and which supports the adoption of the company concept, is that the mean income per household from cattle, P480, is over four times that from crop production, P110. The two lower categories of the four used in the Rural Income Distribution Survey to distinguish household income classes, apart from having no income from livestock, receive only 13% and 10% respectively from farming. The remainder comes from employment, gathering, transfers, beer brewing, etc. Effective income distribution in the short term is more

23/1/79 Star (101)

Botha says Land Act should be reviewed

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By Hugh Leggatt
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, indicated yesterday that the purpose of the 1936 Land Act in achieving consolidation of the homelands should be reviewed.

He was commenting on statements by homeland leaders that he had told them in talks yesterday that the Government could move away from its policy of using the 1936 Act as a basis for consolidation of the homelands.

"I said that the 1936 Act was a necessary step in the right direction.

"But I believe that we should review our progress so far and establish what is of importance, to carry out the principle of proper consolidation in a spirit of consultation between academics, the Government, economic leaders and black leaders."

The announcement was described as "vague" by the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party today.

Mr Ray Swart, MP, acting leader of the PFP and the party's spokesman on consolidation called on the Government to produce, as soon as possible, a definitive statement of Government policy on the issue.

Mr Vause Raw, MP, leader of the NRP, said: "The statement is in such general terms that we do not know exactly what he means.

"We shall certainly question him about it in the coming session of Parliament."

Mr Swart said Mr Botha's announcement could be an encouraging sign, with a preparedness to break away from the straitjacket of the 1936 Land and Trust Act.

Professor Willel Kleynhans, political scientist from Unisa said the Prime Minister's statement showed an "escapist approach" which would take the focus away from real problems in the homelands.

He said greater homeland consolidation would not alleviate the plight of millions living in the areas. Nor would it solve problems such as migratory labour.

He predicted that the statement would make people see land consolidation as the solution, when what was really needed was a crash programme to develop the economic potential of the homelands.

The whole issue should now be investigated by a Government-appointed commission of experts including black people, leading authority on African law and government, Mr N J J Olivier, said today.

Mr Olivier, the Progressive Federal Party's director of research, suggested that the homelands would have to be given much more land than that hitherto allocated.

Mr Botha should immediately execute his ideas on homeland consolidation by consulting with experts on the subject, **Professor Roelf Botha** of Pretoria University's architecture department said.

Black homeland leaders are to meet early in February to prepare proposals which they plan to present to Mr Botha at a joint meeting with him shortly.

Dr Cedric Phatudi, who chaired a meeting of the leaders who met the Prime Minister yesterday, expressed satisfaction with Mr Botha's attitude towards consulation.

"I hope he will allow himself to be guided by consultation and carry on to bring about the changes we feel are necessary."

— Reports from Own Correspondents, Pretoria Bureau and Sapa.

P.T.O.

More land for blacks

(101) DD 23/1/79

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister contradicted National Party policy here yesterday when he came out in support of a review of homeland consolidation.

But Mr P. W. Botha emphasised this was a personal view and not the view of the government.

This was confirmed in an interview later with the Deputy Minister of Plural Development, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, who reiterated earlier statements that blacks would not get any more land than that stipulated in the 1936 Land Act.

From BARRY STREEK

Mr Botha's break with the stand of his predecessor, Mr Vorster, on the Land Act, was divulged yesterday by the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, who described it as a breakthrough.

"This statement of intent alone brings a ray of hope," Chief Sebe said after homeland leaders held talks with Mr Botha.

KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said: "I think this is a radical move from the position of his predecessor. He must be complimented for moving away from Mr Vorster's strait-jacket on the land issue which he pretended was proclaimed by God."

The Prime Minister had told them he was going to consult leaders and authorities on the matter.

Mr Botha explained in an interview later: "I said the 1936 Act was a necessary step in the right direction, but I believe we should review our progress so far and establish what is of importance to carry out the principles of proper consolidation in a spirit of consultation between academic leaders, the government, economic leaders and black leaders."

Mr Botha also referred to his New Year message in which he said: "We shall have to determine whether the freedom we and the different black peoples around us are all coveting really is in proper relation to the rounded off consolidation of their free land areas."

Later Dr Hartzenberg said the government still owed blacks land promised to them in 1936 and it would take another 10 years to fulfil the promise.

Dr Hartzenberg, whose primary responsibility is fulfilment of the promised quota of land and implementation of homeland consolidation proposals, said the government still owed 759 000 ha of the 6,2 million ha promised.

The Land was promised in 1936 as part compensation for the loss of blacks' common roll franchise in the Cape.

But the actual amount of land required to complete the 1975 consolidation proposals was 1 323 000 ha, the difference being made up by land needed to compensate blacks for the loss of "black spots" and whites for excision of their land in the interests of consolidation.

Between March and December last year, the government had purchased a further 128 000 ha of land reducing the overall total required to 1 195 000 ha, Dr Hartzenberg said.

He said purchase of the remaining land could cost between R400 million and R700 million, depending on the price of land and the length of time it took to buy the outstanding amount.

Dr Hartzenberg said: "I hope to complete the purchases in 10 years. I am quite optimistic. Land prices have been quite stable since 1976."

Standing outside a hotel where they lunched together yesterday are from left, front: Chief Sebe; the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Koornhof; Mr Botha; and Chief Buthelezi. Back row: Chief Kenneth Mopedi, Chief Minister of QwaQwa; Chief Patrick Mpephu, Chief Minister of Venda; and Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu.

Homeland leaders praise PM

CT 23/1/79

(101)

Political Staff

BLACK LEADERS were full of praise yesterday for the new Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, after a series of meetings he held with them in Cape Town.

Mr Botha had separate meetings with leaders of eight non-independent homelands in his first discussions with them since succeeding Mr Vorster last September.

They were particularly impressed with Mr Botha's promises to:

- Support a review of homeland consolidation going beyond the land limits of the 1936 Land and Trust Act which previous Nationalist prime ministers have accepted.
- Discuss consolidation with them as well as plans for a government blueprint on urban blacks before this was submitted to Parliament.
- Consult them on implementing the recommendations

were forgotten people."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu described Mr Botha's position on consolidation as "a radical move" away from that of his predecessor, Mr Vorster.

"He must be complimented on moving away from Mr Vorster's straight-jacket when Mr Vorster pretended the 1936 Act was proclaimed by God."

Homeland leaders have protested that the areas laid down in the Act are insufficient for meaningful consolidation. Verligte Nationalist attempts to persuade party congresses to review the matter have failed in the past.

"Mr Botha said he would like to review the whole consolidation with the emphasis on con-

From page 1

solidation of their free land areas."

He announced then that the Government was prepared to consult academic and economic leaders on the issue, to be followed up with consultation with different black leaders.

At the time a number of observers, including the Progressive Federal Party's Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, believed this was an indication that Mr Botha, unlike his predecessors, was willing to show some flexibility on the thorny consolidation issue.

The Prime Minister's stand contradicts previous Nationalist policy. In December last year the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said further consolidation was not in the interests of the black people concerned and that the 1975 consolidation plans should be considered final.

In an interview yesterday, Dr Hartzenberg repeated this view.

Other Nationalist leaders, including the former Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the former Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Connie Mulder, have stressed that there could be no review of the 1936 Land Act.

However, all homeland leaders and a number of Afrikaans academics have pleaded for a re-examination.

Mr Botha's cautious support for a review indicates that the Government may consider changes.

Chief Buthelezi, who boycotted a meeting with the previous prime minister, Mr Vorster, told Mr Botha in an aide memoire that "we just got nowhere" in previous meetings and he had been in a quandary about whether or not to attend this one.

Asked afterwards if he would come to a future meeting with Mr Botha, he said he would decide that at the time.

ile-up a 'mishap'

ple crash at the and Prix cannot Mr Jean-Marie e World Federvesterday.

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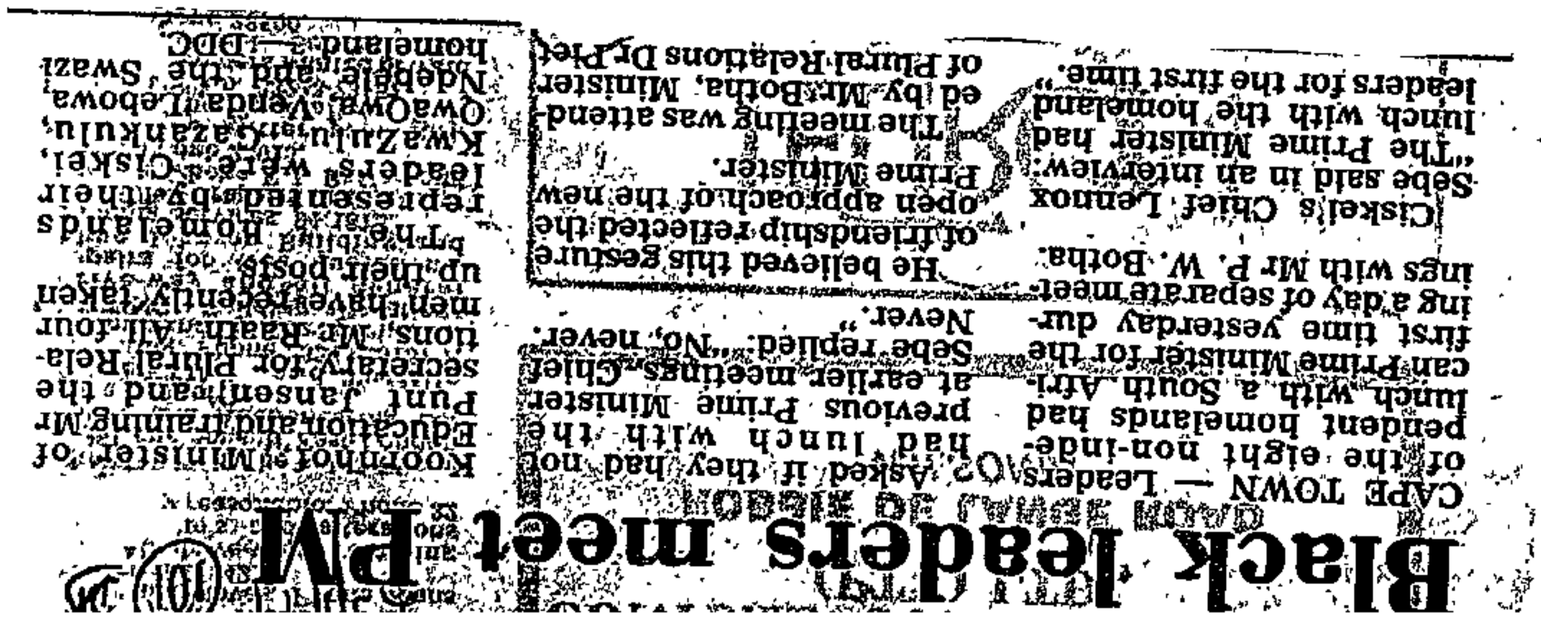

Contents

Note: Norman Reynolds is Programme Officer for Rural Development, the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, India. On secondment to Saldru.

Black leaders meet PM

CAPE TOWN — Leaders of the eight non-independent homelands had lunch with a South African Prime Minister for the first time yesterday during a day of separate meetings with Mr P. W. Botha.

Ciskei's Chief Lennox Sebe said in an interview: "The Prime Minister had lunch with the homeland leaders for the first time."

Asked if they had not had lunch with the previous Prime Minister at earlier meetings, Chief Sebe replied: "No, never. Never."

He believed this gesture of friendship reflected the open approach of the new Prime Minister.

The meeting was attended by Mr Botha, Minister of Plural Relations Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Education and Training Mr Punt Jansen and the secretary for Plural Relations, Mr Raath. All four men have recently taken up their posts.

The homelands represented by their leaders were Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, Venda, Lebowa, Ndebele and the Swazi homeland. — DDC.

Sebe warns of vocal pressure

23/1/79 DD
105
101
327

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, was bluntly told yesterday that black people in the homelands were coming to believe that if they were more vocal and more violent they would achieve more for their people.

The strong warning came from Ciskei's Chief Minister Chief Lennox Sebe, after a series of meetings between Mr Botha and the leaders of the eight non-independent homelands.

At an earlier meeting, KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told Mr Botha that the "facade of dialogue" with the previous Prime Minister were "exercises in futility" but that with a new Prime Minister "we do have naive hopes that this may mark real change for South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi added: "South Africa is on the brink of real disaster because of her apartheid policies. There is hardly any hope that we can survive the mounting onslaughts which apartheid has brought on South Africa."

In his address, Chief Sebe said he and other homeland leaders were conscious of the fact that they represented the conservative element among the black people. They were also aware that demands for change had "resulted in substantial improvements in the allocation of funds for the development of black residential areas in white South Africa.

"This policy, Mr Prime Minister, indicates to my people in the homelands that there is little point in pursuing a conservative line, because this will inevitably lead to one being ignored.

"In short, we interpret the present position as showing that the more vocal and violent one is, the more one will achieve for one's people.

"Mr Prime Minister, in effect what your government is doing, is turning its friends into enemies, by forcing them to follow the example of their urban brothers and adopt a harder line," he said

Chief Sebe believed that the developments in black/white relations in the next 12 months would be decisive.

"I would not be exaggerating if I were to say that the future of your children and mine, Mr Prime Minister, must be decided by our actions within the next 12 months."

He also attacked the government's policies towards squatters. "As long as people do not have the opportunity to provide themselves with food in their own areas, they will by fair means or foul, make their way to areas where employment is available.

"The policy of resettling the squatters in homelands does not provide solutions, it merely compounds the problem in the sense that you are dumping more starving people into an area whose economy is already overburdened with people living well below the poverty datum line," he said.

Chief Sebe called for "a thorough house cleaning" in the Department of Plural Relations because it only talked to the homelands when there was a new policy or when the homelands were told that their demands could not be met.

He concluded: "In order to be convincing, what is required, is words backed by immediate action, as opposed to words, words, words."

Chief Buthelezi said although Mr Pik Botha had told the United Nations four years ago that discrimination would be dismantled "this is not yet apparent."

He continued. "I do concede that the 'Europeans only' signs on benches, parks and some lifts have been rubbed off.

"Some pathetic opening of certain hotels and certain theatres has also taken place.

"But in the most important areas of schooling, residential areas, equal opportunities in economic advancement and real decision-making, this dismantling of discrimination is not visible to most blacks.

"So that, in Mr R. F. Botha's words, we blacks are convinced that the whites of South Africa do, in fact, have some inborn hatred and prejudice against the blacks," he said.

Chief Buthelezi hoped that South Africa would not suffer the fate of "stupid intransigence and failure to change before it is too late

"The Rhodesian situation should send a clear message even to the dimmest among us that Mr Vorster's 'ghastly alternatives' are knocking at out door," he said. — PC

Cape Times 14/1/81 (Tel)

Swart urges PM to act on consolidation

THE Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha must follow up his land consolidation comments to homeland leaders with action and the government should indicate to what extent it was prepared to allocate additional land the acting leader of the Opposition Mr Ray Swart said in the City yesterday

Mr Swart said an early and definitive statement of government policy setting out the extent to which the government was prepared to proceed beyond the confines of the 1936 Land Act was now necessary

"The Prime Minister's statements to homeland leaders on Monday is a significant change in government attitude to the whole question of homeland consolidation

"It is now vitally important that Mr Botha follows up his own opinion and ensures full government backing for it" he said

"There ought to be no great delay because the whole question of additional land for blacks has been the subject of investigation by the government and other agencies since the Tomlinson Commission's report"

Any unreasonable delay would lead to disillusionment frustration and disappointment

"The good effect of the Prime Minister's comments will quickly be lost

"The entire creditability of the government on the question of homeland consolidation depends upon the extent to which they are prepared to allocate additional land beyond the scope envisaged more than 40 years ago"

At the last full session of Parliament, Mr Swart pointed out, he urged the government for additional land but was told by the minister then responsible, Dr Connie Mulder and his deputy Mr A P Treurnicht that further consolidation beyond the 1936 act was not government policy — Sapa

RAM

24/1/79

(101)

Homeland leaders work on new deal

CAPE TOWN. -- Black homeland leaders will meet early next month to prepare proposals they intend presenting to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at a joint meeting soon.

Dr Cedric Phatudi, who chaired a meeting of the leaders who met Mr Botha yesterday, expressed satisfaction with the Prime Minister's attitude towards consultation.

Yesterday's meeting was called to identify common ground and work out procedures for presenting well-balanced proposals to Mr Botha for a new dispensation.

Dr Phatudi said: "We all feel that the new Prime Minister has an open mind and would like to make full use of consultation. This is to his credit.

"I hope he will allow himself to be guided by consultation and carry on to bring about the changes we feel are necessary.

"He has made it clear that his door is always open for consultation and we know he can have no doubt in his mind that we do not agree with the present state of affairs.

"We assume therefore that if he is willing to meet and consult with us and that he is willing to correct what is wrong.

"One point we mutually agreed on was that discrimination on the basis of race and colour must be abolished," Dr Phatudi said. -- Sapa.

Actions speak lou than words, PM t

CAPE TOWN -- The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, must follow up his land consolidation comments to homeland leaders with real action, the acting leader of the Opposition, Mr Ray Swart, said yesterday.

Mr Swart said an early and definitive statement of Government policy, setting out the extent to which the Government was prepared to proceed beyond the confines of the 1936 Land Act, was now necessary.

"The Prime Minister's statements to homeland leaders is a significant change in Government attitude to the whole question of homeland consolidation," he said.

"It is now vitally important that Mr Botha follows up his own opinion and ensures full Government backing for it.

"There ought to be no great delay because the whole question of additional land for blacks has been the subject of investigation by the Government and other agencies since the Tomlinson Commission's report."

Any unreasonable delay would lead to disillusionment, frustration and disappointment, he said.

"The good effect of the Prime Minister's comments will quickly be lost.

to utilise communal grazing. The Report on Rural Development does touch on the subject but does not provide satisfactory answers. The reason for the failure seems to lie in the mechanistic nature of the methods proposed. A serious fault is the absence of any reference to the large number of families who have no cattle. Is that position simply to be accepted for the present and for the future? It may be that the extensive discussions now being carried out in Botswana over the White Paper proposals will educate the public as to the intention of the proposals so that the public itself will become a watch-dog on the working of the arrangements. Thus far nothing has arisen that would reduce the concern. The final section of the Rural Income Distribution Survey raises the same concern.

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1. The freehold farms are largely owned by non-citizens. In recent years wealthy Botswana have bought many of these farms with the aid of a steeply differential transfer tax on sales to non-B Swana.

PM urged to act on more land

(101) 24/1/79 DD

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, must follow up his land consolidation comments to homeland leaders with action and the government should indicate to what extent it was prepared to allocate additional land, the acting leader of the opposition, Mr Ray Swart, said yesterday.

He said an early and definitive statement of government policy setting out the extent to which the government was prepared to proceed beyond the 1936 Land Act was necessary.

"The Prime Minister's statements to homeland leaders on Monday are a significant change in government attitude to homeland consolidation.

"It is now vitally important that Mr Botha follows up his own opinion and ensures full government backing for it."

Meanwhile, black homeland leaders are to meet early next month to prepare proposals which they plan to present to the Prime Minister at a joint meeting with him shortly.

Dr Cedric Phatudi, who chaired the meeting with the Prime Minister, on Monday, expressed satisfaction with Mr Botha's attitude towards consultation.

The meeting had been called to identify common ground and work out procedures to present well-balanced proposals to the Premier for a new dispensation.

"We all feel the new Prime Minister has an open mind and would like to make full use of consultation. This is to his credit.

"I hope he will allow himself to be guided by consultation and carry on to bring about the changes we feel are necessary."

Mr Botha yesterday objected to remarks about the attitude of his predecessor, Mr Vorster, to the 1936 Trust and Land Act.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi said Mr Vorster "pretended the 1936 Act was proclaimed by God."

While Mr Vorster as State President may not enter a public controversy, Mr Botha said: "My predecessor never adopted that attitude and I regret that the State President has been involved in this way." — DDC-SAPA.

The Natal Mercury

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1979

WELCOME SIGNALS

THERE could hardly be a more promising start on the political front for 1979 than the Prime Minister's declared willingness to take another look at the thorny issue of homelands consolidation.

Indeed the new note of optimism in statements by homeland leaders, after their separate discussions with Mr Botha this week, suggests that the Prime Minister may at least have broken the log-jam of antagonism and suspicion which obstructed meaningful dialogue between his predecessor and the same Black leaders

At this stage Mr. Botha has been careful to emphasise that his thoughts concerning consolidation other than on the basis of the 1936 Land Act are strictly his own and not those of the Government. That is understandable, since the ferment within the National Party on the question of giving more land to the homelands is still far from being resolved.

The controversy was given added substance late last year, when a plan published by a member of the Prime Minister's Advisory Council proposed the inclusion of 19 major White towns in consolidated homelands. The plan came in the wake of statements by influential members of the Nationalist hierarchy, in which homelands consolidation was viewed in the context of a larger southern Africa confederation or federation.

Subsequently a clear division over consolidation emerged at the Transvaal congress of the party, when Nationalists were told that the Government had no intention of moving from the 1936 land allocation as spelled out in the 1975 proposals. Meanwhile, at the party's Cape congress there were calls for consolidation to be stepped up.

Beyond the bald statement that homelands consolidation will need to be reviewed with the emphasis on consultation and negotiation, Mr. Botha has given no indication of what he has in mind. However, his whole attitude towards consolidation implies that he does not favour the hard-line approach of his predecessor, and that he recognises that there will have to be some sort of compromise over land apportionment if there is to be an end to the long-standing confrontation between Black leaders and the Government.

What is particularly encouraging is that the Ministers who will be most involved in any future consultations, Dr. Piet Koornhof and Mr. Punt Janson, both seem to be held in high esteem by the Black leaders. From the overall picture, therefore, it is hard not to conclude that the Prime Minister may be setting the stage for a significant shift in Government policy.

6. The sum of all expenditures for final goods and services is the equivalent of:

(1) All income paid out as wages and salaries.
(2) The amount of money in circulation.
(3) Disposable income.
(4) The total of all "values added".
(5) All the above.

7. Which one of the following best approximates the Department of Statistics reported "national income"?

(1) Total income received by individuals.
(2) Total cost of producing goods and services.
(3) Total payments (including profits) to the factors of production.
(4) Total income received by individuals after all taxes have been paid.
(5) Market value of goods and services produced.

8. In the national income and product accounts, a negative gross investment figure:

(1) could never occur.
(2) would automatically occur if there were no current investment.
(3) could occur if inventory disinvestment exceeded gross capital formation.
(4) would occur if capital used up by depreciation exceeded replacement.
(5) means simply that the economy has produced more than it has consumed.

9. Every payment from one individual to another automatically increases:

(1) National Income.
(2) Gross Investment.
(3) Gross National Product.
(4) Net National Product.
(5) None of the above.

10. GNP exceeds NNP by:

(1) The amount of all taxes.
(2) Government expenditure on goods and services.
(3) Government transfer payments.
(4) The difference between gross investment and net investment.
(5) Purchases by businessfirms from other business firms.

11. If NNP were R360 million in 1965, measured in current prices, and the price level rose by 20% from 1960 to 1965, then the 1965 NNP, in 1960 prices, would be:

(1) R300 million
(2) R320 million
(3) R400 million
(4) R360 million
(5) R520 million

LAND ACT

No big deal

(101) FM 26/1/79

This week's promise by Prime Minister Botha to review the Land Act is not, as many seem to think, a significant departure from government policy. Rather, a source intimately involved in policy planning tells the *FM*, Botha's statements are simply the first hints of the next step in the practical implementation of existing policy.

Faced with the many limping fragments of the BophuthaTswana archipelago, policy-makers are convinced that economic viability in the bantustans is possible only with geographic unity — ie greater consolidation.

"The Land Act is a step in the right direction," Botha said this week. "But we should review our progress so far and establish what is of importance to carry out the principle of proper consolidation."

Consolidation, however, does not necessarily mean more land. Indeed, if its record is anything to go by, government is decidedly reluctant to buy more land. In December 1977, after 41 years and R313m, government still owed the bantustans nearly 800 000 ha of the 6,2m ha promised in the 1936 Trust and Land Act. A further 54 000 ha must be added as compensation for removals from "black spots" (black-owned land in white areas). Only in 1985, with an annual budget of at least R130m, will the 1936 quota be fulfilled, according to sources close to government.

Besides the 6,2m ha provided by the 1936 Act, about 5,4m ha were scheduled for African occupation by the 1913 Land Act. Including the Transkei (not part of these figures) would bring the bantustans' total land up to 13%-14% of SA.

Minor additions

Instead of granting substantially more land, government evidently envisages a swap of white and black areas. Full consolidation is possible, claims the source, with only minor additions of land — perhaps as little as 4%-5% of the 1936 quota, at a cost of R45m-R55m. The details, of course, remain open to change.

That such a swap must involve large population removals is incontrovertible.

A few more smaller white towns might be incorporated in the bantustans through further consolidation. Policy planners predict fierce white opposition. But, says the source, "government has decided that the future of SA cannot depend on the wishes of the few."

Botha's statements have been hailed as a "significant change in government attitude," and "a breath of fresh air." But Soweto Committee of Ten chairman Nthato Motlana denounced the promises as meaningless. "If more land was being given to help black farmers, it would be a different story," he tells the *FM*. "But since they are part of the bantustan policy, we reject such promises with all the contempt they deserve."

KwaZulu leaders have reacted less vehemently. Says Inkatha's Gibson Thula: "We would welcome additional land, although this would make no difference whatsoever to our rejection of independence."

The prime objection concerns the fact that the bantustan policy means depriving Africans of their South African citizenship. Says the Black Sash's Sheena Duncan: "More land or greater consolidation in no way affects the millions of black South Africans whose citizenship is being removed against their will."

CITIZENSHIP

Halfway house

26/1/79 (101) FM

The Department of Plural Relations has created a new category of black person — halfway between a SA citizen and a foreigner. This is the implication of a circular issued by the department's chief commissioner for the Witwatersrand, Frans du Randt.

The circular deals with Africans who were deprived of their SA citizenship when Transkei and BophuthaTswana became independent and who became exclusively citizens of one or other of these territories. Du Randt tells the *FM* that "employers are concerned about the situation of employees who have now become foreigners." The circular seeks to reassure them that the department does not see such people in the same light as it does foreigners from, say, Malawi or Mozambique.

Du Randt says that if former SA citizens had urban residence and/or employment qualifications under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act before they lost their citizenship, they are entitled to retain these qualifications despite the loss of their SA citizenship. The only difference, he adds, is that the qualifications now have to be endorsed in their passports since they are no longer entitled to obtain SA reference books.

For example, if a man could be lawfully employed in Johannesburg before his putative homeland became independent, he can still lawfully be employed there — despite the fact that he has become exclusively a citizen of Transkei or BophuthaTswana.

Furthermore, the passport issued by the government of the newly-independent state serves the same purpose as the pass or reference book once did. Says Du Randt's circular: "For purposes of identification there is no difference between a conventional reference book and a travel document issued by Transkei or BophuthaTswana."

However, the retention of Section 10 rights applies only to Africans *who were once SA citizens*. Children born to citizens of Transkei or BophuthaTswana after the dates on which those bantustans became independent are no longer eligible by birth for either SA citizenship or "white area" residence rights, even if they are born in the "white" areas of the Republic. The coming generation will therefore not fall into the category of "former SA citizens."

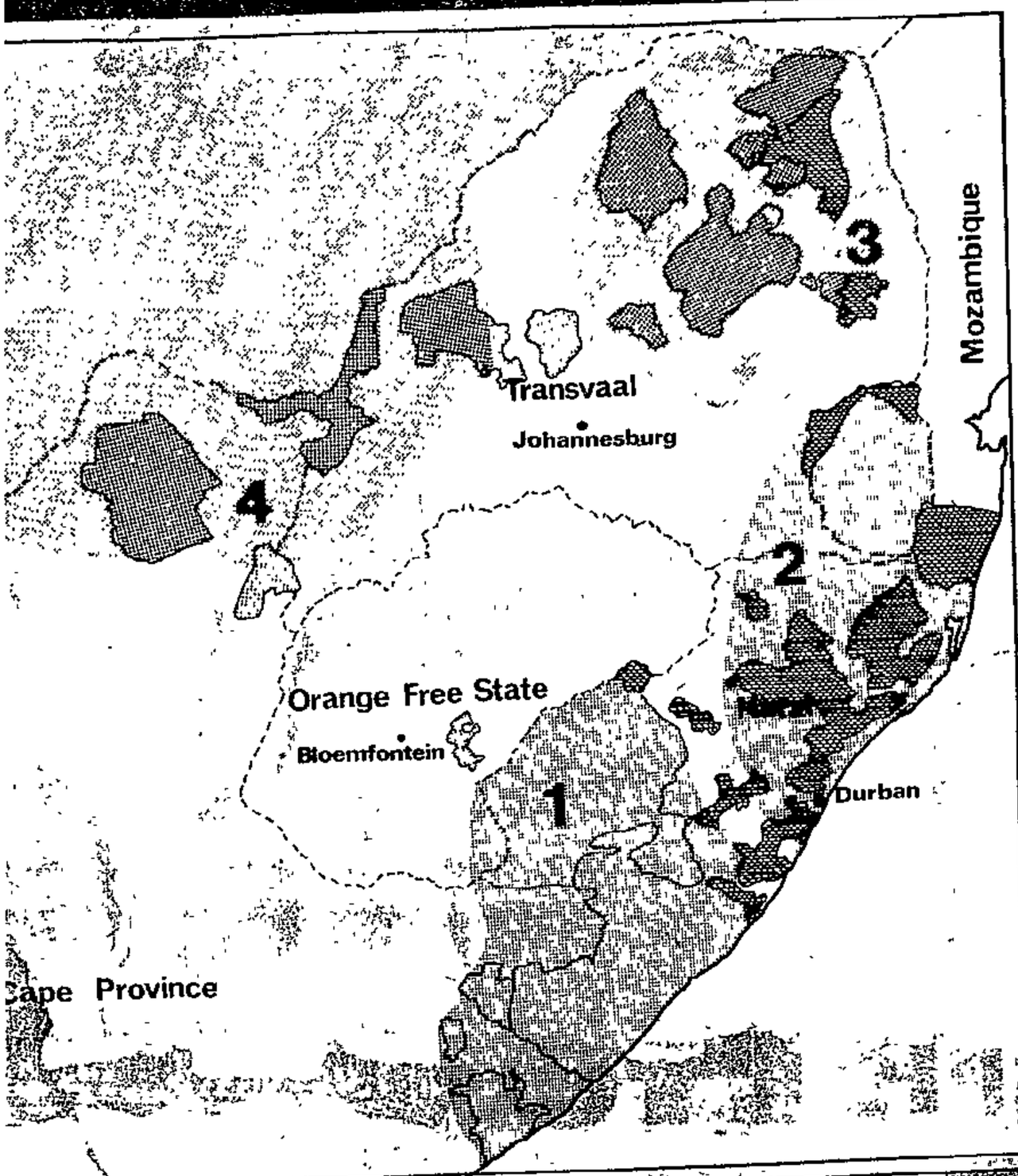
Du Randt tells the *FM* he is "not certain" what will happen to children born after independence, but that "it would seem that they would fall under Section 12." In other words, they will be subject to the same disabilities as truly foreign Africans, like those from Malawi, Lesotho, Mozambique, etc.

Horwood . . . packi

(101) Sun. Exp. 28/1/79

28-1979

E FARMERS MAY BE ALLOWED TO STAY ON OR SELL OU



Is this of our in 2000 ● Act is

THE Prime Minister's new approach to consolidation could mean White farmers might be allowed to stay on farms consolidated into homelands or to sell privately to Black individuals or Governments, a leading academic told the Sunday Express this week.

Dr Chris Jooste, director of the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) said this week that this was his interpretation of the Prime Minister's statement this week that progress in homeland consolidation would be reviewed.

Mr Botha sent a ripple of speculation through the country with his hint this week — and it was no more than a hint — that the amount of land for Blacks should be increased.

What Mr Botha actually Act was that the 1936 Land direction step in the right should be reviewed so that progress achieve the principle of proper consolidation consultation with academics, Blacks and leaders in commerce, industry and agriculture.

This has been widely terpreted as meaning Blacks will get more land.

But those in the know point to the Prime Minister's use of the word "proper consolidation".

So they are pinning the prophecies not on federally based plans put forward by White opposition parties and some homeland leaders, but on something approaching the proposals first made by Professor Carel Boshoff, head of Sabra, at an ASB congress in August, 1977 and expanded at last year's Sabra congress.

Professor Boshoff used a rough map based on official consolidation maps, and the basis of his proposals was that blocks of ethnically linked states forming a commonwealth ("gemeenebes") were preferable to a federal system.

His map showed four blocks of Black states surrounding a White industrialised "heartland".

His aim was to reunite Black peoples who were torn apart by colonialism, he said.

Briefly, his Black blocks were:

● Transkei, Ciskei and QwaQwa — the Sotho block up to the Lesotho, the single block up to the Zambique border.

● The northern homelands — Lebowa, Venda and Gazankulu — consolidated in to the boundaries of the Transvaal, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

● Bophuthatswana, consolidated into a single block against the Botswana border.

The fifth block, the White "heartland", takes up the central Transvaal, with narrow corridors to the Natal coast, Mozambique and Rhodesia, the Orange Free State and the Cape Province.

Although Professor Boshoff's original plan included Lesotho and Swaziland, there are several highly significant aspects which make it applicable to the Premier's statement.

● It is a very much extended version of both the

Statement of Assets and Liabilities

Accumulated Fund	R301.15	77/78	Current Assets	
Balance Sept. '77		Savings a/c		R300.2
Savings a/c	43.89	Petty cash		.8
Petty cash	1.04			

for the purchase of Asterix books which will be presented to variou in the Western Cape and R28.50 is held in trust for the purchase of Thus a sum of R72.65 remains for routine expenses ('77-78 = R65 - items in Exp. and Rev. a/c). This excludes the cost of prizes an commentaries project. As we have already received our grant for CASA it is clear that we shall have to call on outside sources for as is likely, the expenses connected with the above, recur this co year.

J.C. SANG.

SUNDAY EXPRESS

— IT'S THEIR CHOICE

the face country if Land changed?

By JEAN LE MAY

Tomlinson Commission recommendations and the 1936 Land Act.

● It allows for White land, and even White towns, to be included in Black states — which would go a long way towards meeting the land demands of homeland leaders and could point to the reason why the Prime Minister is planning to consult with leaders in agriculture, commerce and industry.

● It is the basis of a huge academic operation which has been taking place with little fanfare over the last two or three years — "Academic Action", supported by 1 400 academics who subscribe to apartheid and who, guided by Sabra, have made an intensive survey of homeland consolidation.

□ □ □

In August last year Dr Chris Jooste, director of Sabra, said the outcome of the survey would be made known "within the next two months".

But now that Mr Vorster has stepped down — he was known to oppose any amendments to the 1936 Land Act — the survey is understood to have gathered new impetus.

Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Plural Relations, is said to be "excited" about the new approach, and told a colleague that "we are entering a new era".

Dr Jooste, secretary to the "Academic Action" project, told the Sunday Express he could not speculate on the Prime Minister's intentions.

He confirmed, however, that academics involved in the project had done a great deal of work on it, and that their proposals could "be a great help to the Government".

He foresaw an amendment to the Land Act which would do away with the present system under which land intended for Blacks must be bought by the Bantu Trust and later transferred to the homeland governments.

Instead, he suggested, Whites who owned this land might be allowed to sell direct to homeland governments or even to individuals.

"Money can always be found by the homeland governments for really important projects," he said.

He also said it had been suggested White farmers should be permitted to stay on farms consolidated into the homelands.

The buying out of farms has been one of the thorniest problems faced by the Government in the 15 years, and criticism has often been voiced at National Party congresses.

A new plan along the lines suggested by Dr Jooste would not only answer those criticisms, but would save the Government millions of rands still to be spent on consolidation.

Moreover, several homeland governments have asked that White farmers should be allowed to remain, and have offered to guarantee their rights of occupation.

The Ramusi Commission, which set forward the land claims of the Lebowa Government in 1974, made a point of this.

In its report, the commission claimed almost the whole of the central Transvaal — about 10 times more land than Lebowa has now — and including a score of towns.

The rights of Whites would be specifically protected by agreement between the Lebowa and South African Governments, it said.

□ □ □

Chief Buthelezi has repeatedly said that KwaZulu should be consolidated into a single block taking in White farms and towns.

At the least, it should take in the whole area ruled by King Cetshawayo before the Zulu War of 1879 — which stretches from the Tugela River to the Mozambique border, and from the sea to Swaziland.

This would probably double the present area of KwaZulu.

Mr Chris Cilliers, secretary of the South African Agricultural Union, told the Sunday Express he thought the present legislation which compelled farmers to sell was wrong, and that they should be allowed to stay if they wanted to.

"But most farmers involved will want to sell their land and get out," he added.

47. The opportunity cost of using funds to purchase a machine is:

(1) The cost involved in setting up the machine.
(2) The interest one could receive from loaning out the funds.
(3) The marginal efficiency of capital.
(4) The cost of the machine.
(5) None of the above.

48. If the productivity of capital rises, we would expect the:

(1) Demand for capital to fall.
(2) Output of capital to decline.
(3) Present value of the stream of expected net yields to rise.
(4) Rate of interest to fall.
(5) Disinvestment to take place.

49. Which of the following is <u>not</u> true about inventory investment?

(1) It is part of GNP.
(2) It tends to rise when sales rise unexpectedly.
(3) It tends to considerable annual fluctuation.
(4) It tends to be higher, the lower the rate of interest.
(5) All of the above.

Plan for homeland advisory body (101)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government intends establishing a permanent advisory committee of academics and economists to advise it on homeland consolidation and development.

Negotiations are believed to already be in progress at a high level to get the committee established as soon as possible.

The Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr Koornhof, declined to comment when approached today, but indicated that a statement would be made as soon as the Government was ready.

The move follows the announcement earlier this month by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the Government intended reviewing the progress made so far with homeland consolidation.

At this stage it is not clear whether the Government intends co-opting any homeland leaders or black academic and economic leaders on the advisory committee.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the chief Opposition spokesman on black affairs, said the present plan for consolidation was so hopelessly impractical and inadequate that any possibility of improving it was to be welcomed.

She said that at the same time it should be realised no moves in this direction could obviate the fact that while South Africa was being split into numerous ethnic homelands the greater proportion of blacks were still living in the so-called white areas, in the urban centres and on white farms.

But by consulting economic and academic leaders, one could at least hope for a more objective attitude than that taken by the Government so far, she said.

31/1/84

- increasing, the demand for consumer goods must continually rise by a constant amount.
(4) In order for the demand for investment goods to keep increasing, the demand for consumer goods must increase at an increasing rate.
(5) A decreasing demand for investment goods will cause consumer goods demand to decrease more and more.

52. If at a time of full employment with GNP in equilibrium, the government wishes to increase its spending on goods and services by R10m and maintain full employment with stable prices it should:

(1) Increase tax receipts by R10 million.
(2) Decrease tax receipts by R10 million.
(3) Increase tax receipts by more than R10 million.
(4) Increase tax receipts but by less than R10 million.
(5) Leave tax receipts unchanged.

53. If the slopes of the consumption, investment and government spending functions are called respectively MPC, MPI, MPG, the complete multiplier appropriate to an autonomous shift of the aggregate demand schedule is given by:

(1) 1/MPS
(2) 1/1-MPC
(3) $1/\left[(MPI-MPS) + MPG\right]$
(4) $\frac{1}{MPC} + \frac{1}{MPI} + \frac{1}{MPG}$
(5) $\frac{1}{1-MPC-MPI-MPG}$

54. If full-employment national income is R1 000m, the deflationary gap is now R20m and the MPC is 4/5, then equilibrium national

consume of 2/3 and
the economy to full
ase of:

tment spending.
tment spending.

on increases by R1,50.
consumption increases by R2,50, investment increases by R1.
(3) Investment increases by R1, consumption increases by R2,50.
(4) Investment increases by R2,50, consumption increases by R1.
(5) Income increases by R1, investment increases by R1,50.

Homelands: Pretoria to set up body of advisers

Argus 27/7/79

(1a)

Political Staff

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Negotiations are believed to be in progress already at a high level to establish the committee as soon as possible.

The Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr P G J Koornhof, declined to comment when approached this week, but he indicated that a statement would be made as soon as the Government was ready.

The move follows the announcement earlier this month by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the Government intended to review the progress made so far with homeland consolidation.

CONSULTATION

Speaking after he had told homeland leaders that the Government could move away from the 1936 Land Act as a basis for consolidation Mr Botha emphasised the importance of carrying out consolidation in a spirit of consultation between the Government, academics, economic leaders and black leaders.

At this stage it is not clear whether the Government intends to co-opt any homeland leaders or black academic and economic leaders on the advisory committee.

WELCOMED

Opposition spokesman said they would welcome any move to bring about better consolidation and development of the homelands.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the chief Opposition spokesman on black affairs, said the present plan for consolidation was so hopelessly impractical and inadequate that any possibility of improving it was to be welcomed.

OBJECTIVE

She said at the same time it should be realised that no moves in this direction could obviate the fact that while South Africa was being split into numerous ethnic homelands the greater proportion of blacks were still living in the so-called white areas, in the urban centres and on white farms.

But by consulting economic and academic leaders, one could at least hope for a more objective attitude than that taken by the Government so far, she said.

HOW TOP NAT INTERPRETS NEW PLAN FOR BLACKS

Sun. Exp. 4/2/78

(101)

It's still the same old policy

By JEAN LE MAY

THE Government's blueprint to fit Blacks into the new constitutional dispensation, announced this week in the State President's address at the opening of Parliament, will probably go no further than a system of formal links between the homelands and Blacks who live outside them.

This was the "educated guess" of Professor Roelf Botha, a member of the Prime Minister's Economic and Planning Advisory Council, in an interview with the Sunday Express.

"In my view, this simply means that on the basis of the new consolidation plans Black autonomy in the Black states will be spelt out in relation to Black political rights in other parts of South Africa," he said.

"It definitely does not mean that Blacks will be given political rights outside the homelands, or that they will be brought into the new structure on the same basis as the Coloureds and Asians."

Professor Botha, who is a member of the head committee of the National Party, admitted that there was little new in this concept, which, he said, was "in line with previously spelt-out Government policy".

As for revised consolidation plans, the Government appeared to be making a serious attempt to meet the land demands of Black leaders, he added.

Some political scientists, however, see the new "meaningful consolidation" — announced by the Prime Minister last week and also referred to by the State President — as part of a deal to make up for Blacks being virtually left out of the new constitutional dispensation.

Dr Nancy Charton, senior lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at Rhodes University, said there was no doubt there had been strong pressure from homeland leaders. This was a cause of increasing concern to the Government.

"In addition to that, giving more land will give greater credibility at home and abroad to the homeland policy," she said.

"It is a rational move which will aid economic development of the homelands. It is impossible to develop a country coherently if it has as many spots as a Dalmatian dog, in Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's words."

She cited the example of the Ciskei, where a commission is at present considering consolidation proposals prior to deciding whether to opt for independence.

Chief Minister Lennox Sebe has in the past claimed all the land between the Gamtoos River and the Transkei border, including Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown and King William's Town.

Other political scientists see the offer of more land as conditional on independence, as happened with Transkei when Chief Kaiser Matanzima accepted independence.

TABLE 1: OUTPUT, EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY ON THE GOLD MINES: 1946-1977

Year	Output (kilograms)	Employment	Output (kgs) per worker
1946	370 972	370 959	1,00
1947	348 359	359 777	0,97
1948	360 334	341 324	1,06
1949	364 067	357 038	1,02
1950	362 792	372 000	[illegible]
1951	358 188	[illegible]	[illegible]
1952	367 613	[illegible]	[illegible]
1953	371 407	[illegible]	[illegible]
1954	411 717	[illegible]	[illegible]
1955	454 143	[illegible]	[illegible]
1956	494 453	[illegible]	[illegible]
1957	529 724	[illegible]	[illegible]

2 SUNDAY TIMES, February 4 1979

(101)

Free hand to homelands

THEY MAY SCRAP SA LAWS

By FLEUR DE VILLIERS

MORE independent authority will be granted to homeland governments in terms of one of the first Bills to be debated in Parliament during the present parliamentary session.

The legislation will, among other things, empower legislative assemblies in non-independent homelands to amend or repeal certain South African statutes.

Although the full scope of the Bill will not be known until it is tabled in Parliament, political observers believe that it could empower homeland governments to repeal the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts and other discriminatory legislation.

The Bill, to be known as the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Bill will also:

- Repeal the controversial Black Services Levy Act of 1952 which requires employers to pay a levy on all black workers.
- Enable homeland governments to draw on sales tax as an additional source of revenue.
- Delete references to the black services levy fund from the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.
- Further define requirements for exemptions under this Act which is one of the key laws controlling the lives of the urban black.

The Bill also extends the powers of the Minister of Plural Relations and Development in relation to the Black Land Act of 1913.

The aspect of the Bill which is certain to be welcomed by black homeland leaders, however, is the power it will give them to repeal South African laws

This concession was forecast some years ago before the retirement of Mr M C Botha as Minister of Bantu Administration, but has been gathering dust since then.

It could mean that there will soon be large areas of South Africa where apartheid will disappear completely

Another Bill will amend the Black Taxation Act. No details are known of this legislation but it is assumed that it will finally abolish poll tax.

A possibly controversial piece of legislation to be introduced this session will relate to people who quit South Africa without passports and to those who help them to cross the border

Politicians said yesterday the country without a passport or permit

Nationalists and Opposition politicians are puzzled by a reference in the President's opening speech to Parliament on Friday to a "blueprint for fitting blacks into the constitutional dispensation".

Nationalists, including members of the party's verligte wing, said that they did not believe that the reference should be taken to mean that blacks would be accommodated within the new constitutional plan for coloureds, whites and Indians

Such a move would be directly counter to declared Government policy. A change in policy could only be brought about by the party congresses and could not be simply announced in the President's speech.

The Government had stated often that blacks would not be brought into the new constitutional plan and had fought and won an election on that basis, party sources said

Any attempt to reverse that decision would certainly lead to an open revolt and an eventual party split

They believed that the President's speech referred to nothing more than the plan to give the homelands extra territorial powers over urban blacks.

Despite calls from Nationalist academics and commentators for the urban black to be accommodated within the new constitution, the Prime Minister was believed to be still firmly committed to keeping them out

efficiency is 3 000 units/employee/ year - more than five average labour productivity of 560. Plewman assumes all in output will be at the current maximum level.

Blacks find loophole in citizenship regulations

By Tony Davis

Urban blacks are making use of a loophole to escape having to take out citizenship of Transkei and Bophuthatswana — and it is perfectly legal.

Officials in the Department of Plural Relations have confirmed that Tswanas or Transkei Xhosas can apply for citizenship of another homeland.

Close to 3-million people will be affected by the citizenship issue by the end of the year with Venda's independence also due in September.

In recent months, many urban blacks have been making inquiries at te kwaZulu office in Tembisa about taking out kwaZulu citizenship.

Blacks who become Bophuthatswana or Transkei citizens as a result of these states' independence face two major difficulties:

- The loss of their South African citizenship.
- Non-recognition by the rest of the world of their independent status.

HELPING

Mr G Thula, KwaZulu's urban representative, said Inkatha was trying to help people who were faced with citizenship problems.

Asked whether there were any problems for urban Xhosas taking out non-independent homeland citizenship, an official in Transkei's Department of the Interior in Umtata said this week there were no difficulties.

"South Africa must not feel that everyone who speaks Xhosa must take out Transkei citizenship," he said.

The chief information officer of Bophuthatswana, Mr David Mothoagae, said urban Tswanas were free to take out any citizenship they wanted.

Only five Transkeians out of more than one million had taken out Transkei citizenship by late last year.

RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, Feb. 9, 1979.

i Koornhof reaches for some small change at a recent National meeting at the Pretoria City Hall. The Minister for Plural lations and Development has promised blacks a "new era".

No pass ... or new freedom

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE INTENTION to replace reference books with identity documents — announced by Dr Piet Koornhof in Parliament yesterday — will not in itself free blacks from influx control.

The definition of reference book in the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act includes any identity document issued to blacks.

Carriers of these documents are subject to the key influx control laws, including the Abolition of Passes Act and the Bantu Urban Areas Act.

The definition of reference book includes travel documents issued by the Transkei and BophuthaTswana governments and those homelands who are co-operating under the agreement signed between South Africa, BophuthaTawana, lebowa and the Ciskei in 1977.

These travel documents contain the same particulars as reference books, including the "nationality" of the holder, his serial number and his special endorsements to be in prescribed areas.

They must be produced on demand and failure to do so can result is prosecution and punishment by way of a fine and, for "presistent offenders," imprisonment.

Dr Koornhof reportedly compared the proposed identity documents with those carried by whites. In one sense at least they are not strictly comparable. Whites identity documents are not reference books by another name, are not producable on demand and not linked to influx control laws which restrict freedom of movement.

But the reduction of the number of administration boards, which Dr Koornhof foreshadowed in the speech, will result in greater mobility for blacks by widening the areas in which they can move freely and seek work.

Frage: Wem entsprechen die Ziele der Bildungsreisen?
Antwort:
a) Wer öfter in das gleiche Land fährt und sich besser auskennt versucht abseits der Orte zu bleiben, wo sich viele Touristen ansammeln.
Frage: Wo versucht ein Reisender zu bleiben, der das Land besser kennt?
Antwort:
b) Im Urlaub merkt ein Europäer, wie viel verschiedene Kulturen in Europa gibt, und dass es sich lohnt Fremdsprachen zu lernen.
Frage: Was merkt ein Europäer im Urlaub?
Antwort:

Abschnitt III - Das kulturelle Leben in Deutschland

Bilden Sie aus der Apposition einen Relativsatz. Verwenden Sie das jeweils angegebene Verb.
Beispiel: Sie bildeten Arbeiterbildungsvereine, vorgänger der sozialistischen Parteien - hervorgehen
Lösung: Sie bildeten Arbeiterbildungsvereine, aus denen die sozialistischen Parteien hervorgingen.

Ndabeni, the Board said, was an old location. There were no grounds for an increase in rents there.98

Wednesday, 22 February 1922, the Ndabeni Advisory Board drew up a comprehensive memorandum on the existing conditions in the Ndabeni location and 'the state of the people' as accredited representatives of the Ndabeni location, the Superintendent in opening the wishes of the people, pointed out that in view of the existing conditions the Board was of the opinion that the proposed new rental of 10/- was much too high. The residents had complained of the policy of the Board in imposing the new rental and gazetted it without consulting the Advisory Board. The Mayor and Other matters complained of were the policy of sanitation and the lack of pavements. The Mayor up to a hut, the state of the streets and the state of the Ndabeni Advisory Board on the street-lighting. At a meeting with the Mayor and the Chairman, the Mayor told them that they no longer regarded him as their representative. The Mayor and Chairman then insisted on having an interview with the Mayor. The Mayor refused to see them except together with the Native Affairs Committee. The protestors would not lay their complaints before the Committee, that makes the law by the Capetown City Council.

'The same Committee, that makes the law, and James Mafu elaborated:

What Advisory Board has from time to time been ignored by the Native Affairs Committee, and he is therefore not prepared to hear the Mayor himself.

The Committee, but only the Mayor himself.

That conditions at Ndabeni were indeed deplorable was confirmed by the Cape Town Medical Officer of Health in mid 1929:

The site is on an almost level tract of loose sand, and the houses are arranged in a series of straight streets intersecting each other at right angles. There has apparently been no attempt at road making, and the surroundings of the houses are composed of soft sand in the dry weather, and in the lower and flatter parts of the location the ground is muddy in the winter and puddles abound. There is no grass or other vegetation in the area on which the houses stand and the place is practically devoid of gardens. The buildings are really all huts of corrugated iron, many of them rusty, and there are many unsightly outbuildings and fences. The general appearance of the location is squalid and dreary.

Koornhof promises new era for blacks

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Passes used by blacks are to be scrapped and replaced by documents similar to those used by whites

This was announced by the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, yesterday. He told Parliament that the new political era which the white, coloured and Indians were entering also heralded a new era for blacks.

Speaking in the No Confidence debate, Dr Koornhof said it was clear that the consolidation of the homelands was one of the most important political happenings which had occurred in South Africa for a long time.

"With this the Prime Minister has opened the door to a new era in the execution of a satisfactory political dispensation for all the people of a multi-national South Africa."

With the opening of this new door, the Prime Minister had brought new hope which in time would be regarded as a turning point in the history of South Africa, he said.

It was not only a new era for blacks in the black states, but also those in the urban areas.

Concerning black labour, it was the Government's aim to simplify the identity documents for blacks and to make the documents more convenient for them.

The intention was to scrap the present pass (dompas) system as soon as possible and to replace passes with identification documents similar to those used by whites and other population groups.

He said his aim in urban black residential areas was to let blacks operate as freely as possible through the market mechanism, in order to create economic opportunities in their own areas

Dr Koornhof said his motto was: "Let us plan with blacks and not for them."

As soon as the Cabinet Committee investigating the position of urban blacks in the constitutional set-up of South Africa had made its recommendations these would be laid before the Government.

Give us the opportunity to try to find a solution together with the leaders of the black states and the black leaders in white areas."

Dr Koornhof said his first priority in his new portfolio would be the economic development of the black states of South Africa. Both he and the Government planned to give special attention to this — Sapa.

'Eglin should resign'

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Government was not corrupt, nor had it ever been corrupt, the Minister of Finance, Senator Owen Horwood said yesterday.

Speaking during the No Confidence debate, Mr Horwood said the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, had made scandalous statements which he could not substantiate, during his speech on Monday.

"He is the most irresponsible Leader of the Opposition this country has seen and he should resign." Mr Horwood said.

The Opposition's act in opposing an address to the State President on Monday had branded them "as utterly unpatriotic and anti-South African."

The true perspective on the Information affair was that a handful of people had gone wrong and committed what amounted to serious irregularities regarding the use of public funds

Black leaders meet

SEVEN black South African homeland leaders will meet at Jan Smuts Airport near Johannesburg on Sunday to draw up an agenda for a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha

Those who are expected to attend are Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu, Dr Cedric Phathudi of Lebowa, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu Chief Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, Mr J Mabuza of Kangwane (Swazi), Mr J Mahlangu of Ndebele and Mr T K Mopeli of Qwa Qwa.

A spokesman for the leaders said it would be a closed conference but a statement might be issued — Sapa

Black leaders meet to seek 'third option'

By PATRICK LAURENCE

LEADERS OF eight black terrorities meet near Johannesburg at the weekend in the search for a third political option between the plans propagated by the governing and opposition white parties.

The meeting is the sequel to earlier discussions last December, but it has since been given greater urgency by the stated willingness of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to review the 1936 Land Act.

The Land Act, which envisages a division of land between white and black which would leave blacks with less than 16%, has been the rock on which past discussions between Pretoria and the homelands have foundered.

The black delegations hope to reach consensus on their stand in preparation for a scheduled combined meeting with Mr Botha in the near future.

The land question is likely to figure prominently at both the weekend meeting and the later summit with Mr Botha for two reasons:

- Mr Botha's flexibility on the issue (the Parliamentary Plural Relations Commmittee which was mandated by Mr Botha to look at the land issue afresh had its first meeting yesterday).
- More than half of the 17 006 000 ha set aside for blacks has already been absorbed by the independent homelands of Transkei and BophuthaTswana, leaving the eight terrorities participating in the weekend talks with only about 8 000 000ha to divide between them.

No public statements have been made on what "third option" the eight non-independent homelands will strive towards in their quest for agreement among themselves as a first step.

But a source close to one of the delegations disclosed that majority rule within a unity constitution has thus far been the first preference, and that various federal alternatives have also been under consideration.

The unitary v federal constitutional debate apart, pressure by the Inyandza Movement of the Swazi delegation, under Mr E J Mabuza, for the homelands to unite forces by joining Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Black Alliance is certain to evoke lively discussion.

Another item likely to figure on the agenda is the need to consult with urban-based organisations before the meeting with Mr Botha.

Organisations on an unofficial consultative list include the National African Federation of Chambers of Commmerce (Nafcoc), the Independent African Ministers Association of South Africa (Idamasa) and, possibly, the newly-formed Urban Administrators of South Africa (Uasa).

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA/DIE KLASSIEKE VERENIGING VAN SUID AFRIKA

WESTERN CAPE BRANCH/WES-KAAPLANDSE TAK

All members are urged to attend the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING which will be held on Wednesday 4th October 1978 at 7.30 p.m. in Beattie Building (Room 114), University Avenue, University of Cape Town. This business meeting will be followed at 8 p.m. by a lecture by

Professor Neville DUBOW: Director of the Michaelis School of Fine Art, U.C.T.

Subject: The antiquities of JERUSALEM (illustrated by slides)

Professor Dubow originally trained as an architect but moved to the Michaelis School where he won renown for his lectures on the history of art, and became

Black leaders seek meeting with PM

(101) R.D.M 12/2/79

By PATRICK LAURENCE

LEADERS and Cabinet representatives of six black territories yesterday decided to seek an urgent meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in a bid to find a mutually acceptable solution to South Africa's political impasse.

The leaders, who deliberated for about six hours at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport, were Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, the chairman, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Chief Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Mr Enos Mabuza of Kangwane (Swazi).

They reiterated their rejection of "independent homelands" and their objection to being by-passed by the proposed "new deal" constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians.

The leaders — who object to being called "homeland leaders" — agreed on a "statement of intent" on the future of South Africa.

Professor Ntsanwisi would not elaborate on the statement, but said it would be send to Mr Botha "with a request for an urgent meeting".

But it was clear from discussion at a news conference later that the statement was formulated only after debate in the meeting on the issue of a unitary versus a federal constitution for South Africa.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi must have advocated a unitary constitution as the policy of his Inkatha movement is majority rule within a unitary South African state.

Present at the meeting as an "adviser" was Professor Robert Tusenius, director of Action South Africa and director of the Graduate School of Business at Stellenbosh University.

Professor Tsuenius is a known protagonist of a federal solution.

Another issue discussed was whether the leaders present should join the Black Alliance headed by Chief Buthelezi.

Although those leaders who have not joined — Professor Ntsanwisi, Dr Phatudi and Chief Sebe — did not do so yesterday, the meeting decided to sent a delegation of chief ministers to the alliance's next meeting.

appendix B

ON FEMINISM - THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT REPLY

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Six homeland leaders reject independence

South Africa's homeland leaders have decided to call for an urgent meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to discuss the country's future.

At a meeting held in Johannesburg yesterday the leaders representing six territories rejected outright the Government's policy of granting independent status to the homelands.

They also strongly objected to being classed as homeland leaders saying the term "homeland leaders" was used by the Government to denigrate them.

PRESENT

The leaders present at the meeting were Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu who chaired the meeting, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Mr Kenneth Mopeli of Qwaqwa and Mr E J Mabuza of KwaNgwane.

Professor Ntsanwisi said at a press conference after the 8-hour meeting that South Africa was living in dangerous times.

"We are trying to get a serious solution to a serious problem. If we do not do that all the population groups in South Africa — white and black — will not survive," he said.

INITIATIVE

He said the reason they wanted to see the Prime Minister urgently was that the initiative always came from whites.

"Now we want to take the initiative and say we want to solve the problem you (whites) have failed to solve," he said.

Professor Ntsanwisi also said they were sending a telex message to the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Koornhof, asking him to stop the repatriation of squatters in the Western Cape in view of the impending meeting with the Prime Minister.

SPATCH ...

Sebe to meet Alliance

15/7/89

DD

PORT ELIZABETH — Six homeland leaders will meet the South African Black Alliance here on Saturday to explain their strategy for a new South African dispensation.

Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei said yesterday the briefing about a recent meeting in Johannesburg was the only reason he would attend Saturday's meeting.

He had no plans of joining the alliance. He said he did not think the meeting could influence him to join because "I do not make decisions on the spur of the moment."

Other homeland leaders are Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (KwaZulu), Dr Cedric Phatudi (Lebowa), Mr Kenneth Mopeli (QwaQwa), Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu) and Mr Enos Mabuza (Kangwane).

Chief Buthelezi (national chairman), Dr Phatudi and Mr Mopeli, are members of the alliance. — DDC.

Grants to homelands

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government paid out R214,5-million to Transkei and BophuthaTswana in grant and services last year and R310,5-million to the non-independent homelands.

Transkei's share was R130,3-million and BophuthaTswana's R84,1-million.

Of the homelands, KwaZulu took the lion's share with R150,8-million, followed by Lebowa (R58-million), Ciskei (R52,3-million), Venda (R20,1-million) and Gazankulu (R19-million).

Movable Government property handed over to Transkei and BophuthaTswana totalled R2,7-million.

The figures are contained in the report of the Auditor-General for the 1977-78 year.

The significance level is derived from the t value for the coefficient by establishing what the probability is that the particular t value with the appropriate degrees of freedom would be obtained if the distribution of the t value is symmentrical around the origin.

The Coefficient of Determination, R^2, which is the square of the coefficient of multiple correlation, indicates the proportion of variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by the independent variables in the multiple regression equation. In all cases R^2 is corrected for degrees of freedom.

In all the backward stepwise regressions performed the inclusion and exclusion significance levels were set at 0,10, i.e. the 90% significance level.

Significance Level

The significance level (abbreviated to sign. level) indicates the degree of certainty with which we can conclude that the estimated coefficient in the regression equation does not represent a population coefficient that is equal to zero. The notation used is similar to the one employed for representing the confidence level in contingency tables. A significance level of 0,01 thus means there is a 99% probability that the population's coefficient is not equal to zero.

Contents (continued)

Contents (continued)

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†Indicates translated version.

22/2/79 Hansard 3 (152)

(101)

Black doctors/dentists/chemists and druggists/veterinarians/nurses in Black states

9. Mr N. B. WOOD asked the Minister of plural Relations and Development:

(1) How many Black (a) doctors, (b) dentists, (c) chemists and druggists, (d) veterinarians and (e) nurses are serving the Black people at present in the Black states whose governments have not taken over health services.

(2) which Black state governments have not taken over health services.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Nil.

(b) Nil.

(c) Nil.

(d) Nil

(e) 168

(2) KaNgwane Government Service

Star 23/2/79

Blacks remark 'opinion not policy'

Parliamentary Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The Minister of Health, Dr van der Merwe, said yesterday he had expressed his own opinion and not party policy when he said he could not envisage a time when there would be no black South Africans.

Facing a barrage of Opposition questions, he refused to agree to suggestions that his viewpoint conflicted with Government policy as expressed by the former Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, and the former Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

The question of black citizenship became a hot issue after a statement by Dr van der Merwe in the Assembly earlier this week which had been interpreted by Opposition MPs as a repudiation of Dr Mulder's concept of "no future black South African citizens."

The issue was raised during the debate on the Dental Technicians Bill which provides for the setting up of a South African Dental Technicians Council. The council's membership will exclude all those who are not South African citizens permanently resident in the Republic.

During the committee stage debate on the Bill yesterday, Dr van der Merwe rejected an Opposition amendment seeking to include blacks who had lost their South African citizenship as a result of black states becoming independent.

Dr van der Merwe said he stood by his statement earlier this week when he had said he could not envisage the day would ever come that "we have no black South Africans."

He said he had given the Hansard copy of his speech to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Dr van der Merwe said he had spoken of "black South Africans" and not "South African citizens."

He also stood by his statement that no South African citizen would be compelled to give up his South African citizenship.

Here he had spoken of what the South African Government would do and not of what the governments of independent black homelands might do, the Minister explained.

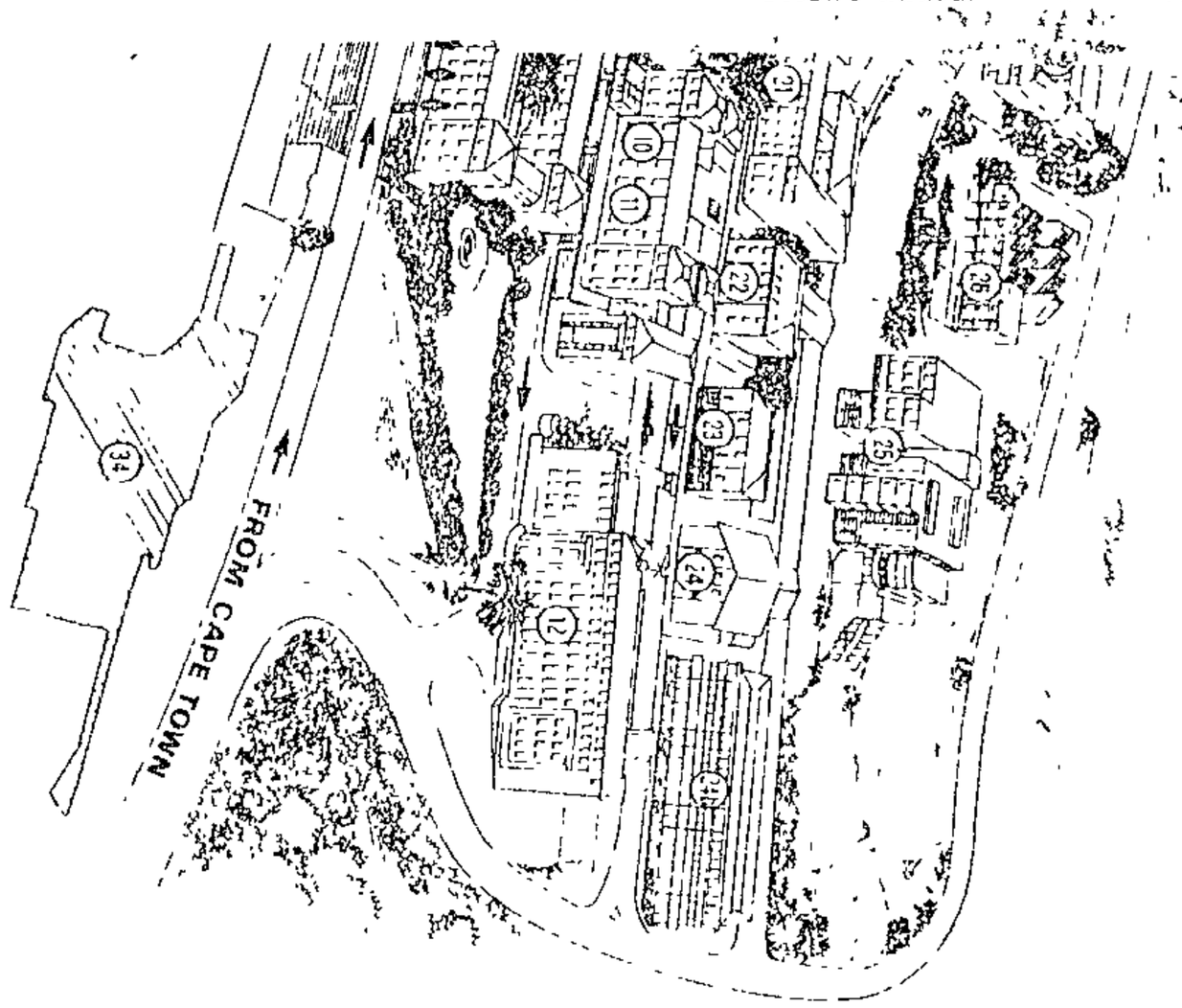
He said he had expressed an opinion and had given the Prime Minister the Hansard version.

"If he disapproves of it he will tell me so. It is an opinion of mine. It was not policy."

Mr B W B Page (NRP Umhlanga) asked whether the Minister meant he did not agree with the opinions expressed by the former Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the former Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder.

Dr van der Merwe said he remembered Dr Mulder's statement that if Government policy was followed to its logical conclusion there would be no black (South African) citizens.

"I don't think that will be possible," Dr van der Merwe added.



Science Faculty (Dean's Office) (21)
Science Lecture Theatre (24)
Smuts Hall (1)
Snape Building (28, 29)
Sociology (5)
Sports Centre (34)
Sports Secretary (25)
Students' Health Service (21)
Students' Union (20)
Urban and Regional Planning (4)
Zoology (11)

CAPE TIMES 27/2/79 (101)

Govt has fingerprints of 15 m blacks on file

Political Staff

THE South African Government now has a centralized record of almost 15 million fingerprints of black people.

This record, which is kept for identification purposes and to prevent the "infiltration" of black people from other parts of Africa, is kept at the Department of Plural Relations' "reference bureau".

The bureau has a register with personal details of all black people over the age of 16 who are citizens of the Republic of South Africa. The register also contains passport particulars of black workers from neighbouring black states who have been recruited for contract work.

Only black

But it is only black people whose fingerprints are kept on record in this manner.

For white, coloured and Indian people there are defined circumstances — in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act — in which fingerprints may be taken. And if a suspect is found not guilty or an appeal is upheld, the fingerprints "shall" be destroyed.

Details of the extent of the government's fingerprint record for black people have been disclosed in the annual report of the Department of Plural Relations and Development for the year from 1 April 1977 to 31 March 1978, which has just been tabled in Parliament.

The report says that "a complete set of fingerprints in respect of each person whose name appears in the register is kept separately.

"The fingerprint record is absolutely essential, because it guarantees positive identification and precludes the possibility of foreign blacks infiltrating into the Republic from other parts of Africa on the pretext of being legal residents.

"Only those who are citizens of the Republic and whose particulars are contained in the population register, qualify for reference books."

It then gives details of the fingerprint record as "an indication of the work done" during the year under review.

At 31 March last year, there were 14 878 843 sets of fingerprints on record at the reference bureau.

During the year, a further 352 141 sets were added to the register. This figure included new applications for reference books, passports as well as repatriations.

The reference bureau has a substantial administrative task each year in keeping its records up to date and issuing new documents. During the year under review, for example, it had to issue 872 650 "reference books", which is the official term for the controversial document known as the "pass book" or "dompas".

This included 625 088 duplicate reference books, 212 565 new reference books, 24 616 temporary identity certificates for prisoners, and 381 "identity documents".

In addition, 107 215 drivers licences and 553 fire-arm licences were entered into reference books. Reference bureau officials also gave evidence in 714 court cases concerning forged driver's licences where black people were involved.

All aspects of border control were taken over by the reference bureau at the beginning of October 1977 — relating to black people — and it dealt with 63 106 cases during the year by 31 March 1978. There were 13 287 574 South African black people on the population register.

The bureau also processed fingerprints from 525 909 foreign black people. They included: 43 936 from Botswana; 248 909 from Transkei, 139 712 from Lesotho; 14 790 from Swaziland; 14 346 from Rhodesia, 53 from Zambia; 21 798 from Malawi; 40 428 from Mozambique, 481 from Angola, 1 455 from Bophuthatswana (for a period of three months only), and one from Tanzania.

At 30 June 1977, 3 270 986 South African black people were registered as employed and a further 876 600 foreign blacks were registered.

The foreign blacks were employed in the following categories: agriculture (94 214); mining and quarrying (452 664), manufacturing (86 247); construction (56 964), wholesale and retail trade (33 167), government services (69 831), domestic services (56 931) and other (26 532).

What the report underlines is a separate registration for black people only, with fingerprint records, and separate border control for black foreigners.

For white, coloured and Indian people, fingerprints may only be taken under restricted circumstances.

In terms of Section 37, Subsection 1, of the Criminal Prodecure Act, the police may take fingerprints of people arrested for a crime; of people reasonably believed to have contravened a condition in a postponed or suspended sentence, of people it is reasonably believed have failed to pay a fine, of people who fail to submit themselves for periodic imprisonment, of any person summoned to appear under Schedule 1 (for serious offences such as treason), for offences relating to the suspension, cancellation or endorsement of licences or permits, where admission of guilt has been paid and the minister has ruled that it is an offence under the Section, and a court may order it both before proceedings, or after conviction, if a police officer is not empowered to do so.

Destroyed

The Criminal Procedure Act also lays down that fingerprints "shall" be destroyed if the person concerned has been found not guilty, or if a conviction was set aside by a higher court or if no court proceedings took place under the original charge.

Clearly, for white, coloured and Indian people, the taking of fingerprints, as defined by law, is something associated with crime, or, at the very least, suspected crime.

For black people, however, whether South African citizens or not, fingerprinting is part of daily life which, by racial definition, they have to live with.

Hartzenberg: consult blacks on planning

PRETORIA — Blacks wanted to be consulted in the planning of their states. It must not be planned for them or they would turn against the planners.

This was the warning given by the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg, when he opened a three-day conference of secretaries of works and engineers from the homelands, South West Africa, Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Dr Hartzenberg said he was not always convinced that all the projects tackled in the black states were economically viable. It was important for the priorities to be right in the present financial climate.

After defence, the Department of Plural Relations and Development was the biggest with a budget of R480 million or 6½ per cent of the state income for 1976/77. Of this amount, R250 million was spent on development work.

The department also had taken over the development of urban residential areas from the Department of Community Development. Its planning division was responsible also for black townships in white areas. — SAPA.

(101) DD

13/7/79.

Black citizenship laws criticised

EAST LONDON — Black and white South Africans and the press shared a common misapprehension about citizenship — that the taking of a passport from Transkei or Bophuthatswana made someone a foreigner.

So said Mrs Sheena Duncan, ex National President of the Black Sash at a lunch hour forum of the Institute of Race Relations here yesterday.

This was not the case she said.

"The kind of identity document which one carries is irrelevant.

"Anyone who is classified as Tswana or Xhosa (excluding those Xhosa-speaking people who are computerised as belonging to the Ciskei) is a foreigner, an alien in South Africa, from the day of independence of the homeland to which he or his parents, or his grandparents, are deemed to belong. He has ceased to be a citizen of South Africa," Mrs Duncan said.

Speaking on the issue of citizenship in a talk entitled: The new foreigners, Mrs Duncan said 1970 saw the introduction in South Africa of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act.

"Every black South African has since that time been a citizen of one or other of the Bantustans whether he likes it or not and whether or not he even knows where in South Africa his family originated.

"The only question remaining is that of the particular territorial authority to which he belongs," Mrs Duncan said.

The act could categorise someone belonging to a certain homeland by virtue of the language he spoke or even if he had a relation or had merely identified with a member of a certain ethnic group.

Transkeian and Bophuthatswana independence left no choice of citizenship and no legal right for anyone to remain a South African and to refuse the citizenship thrust upon him.

There was, said Mrs Duncan, only an administrative procedure whereby a person wishing to renounce citizenship of his new country might apply for citizenship of another homeland.

If the application was granted he would become again a South African citizen by birth — until his new homeland became independent.

This application could only be made by people who were born before the date of independence of their so-called homeland. Children born after independence could not apply.

Mrs Duncan compared the reception given to white immigrants who became naturalised South African citizens with that given citizens of independent homelands coming to South Africa.

The naturalised white South African received a message from the State President saying: "It is my sincere wish that you will avail yourself wisely of the privilege of South African citizenship and that it will bring to you and your descendants peace, happiness and prosperity."

A black person who was forced to become a citizen of an independent homeland even though he was born in South Africa and whose ancestors, as far back as the family went, were born and lived in South Africa was given a six month permit to undertake unskilled or domestic work in South Africa on a contractual basis — DDR.

Black states: per capita income

Hansard 5 (292) 5/3/79

272. Mr R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

What was the per capita income in each of the Black states in the latest three years for which statistics are available

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT: 101

Gross National Income per capita (Blacks only)

	Ciskei	KwaZulu	Qwaqwa	Lebowa	Venda	Gazankulu	Kangwane
1973 .	R142	R164	R146	R135	R138	R165	R102
1974 . . .	R184	R205	R169	R179	R179	R231	R138
1975 .	R223	R277	R183	R224	R225	R272	R169

Blacks: South African citizenship

Hansard 5 (241) 6/3/79

101

267. Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

Whether any Blacks have regained their South African citizenship in terms of the provisions of the Black States Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978, if so, (a) how many are (b) how many applications (i) are pending and (ii) have been rejected if not, how many applications have been received.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

Yes.

(a) 1 437

(b) (i) It is not possible to state a number, but several hundred applications are still receiving attention

(ii) Nil.

Homeland incomes up

6/3/79 (101)

THE ASSEMBLY — Individual incomes in all but one of South Africa's seven homelands rose by over 57 per cent between 1973 and 1975.

This was disclosed when the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Koornhof, replied to a question tabled by Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Musgrave).

The only homeland whose per capita income did not exceed 57 per cent was QwaQwa where it increased by 29,5 per cent from R146 to R183.

The next lowest increase was in the Ciskei where the 57 per cent increase raised individual incomes from R142 to R223.

In Venda, the increase was 64,4 per cent from R138 to R225, in Gazankulu it was 64,8 per cent from R156 to R272, in Lebowa it was 65,9 per cent from R135 to R224, in Kangwane it was 65,7 per cent from R102 to R169, and in KwaZulu it was 68,9 per cent from R164 to R277. — PC.

Hansard 6 Quest. Col 426 (102)

14/3/79

[illegible] Development Trust and Land Act [illegible]

276. Mr. [illegible] A. L. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development [illegible]

(1) What was the total (a) area of land which has been bought in each province in terms of the Development Trust and Land Act since 31 December 1976 and (b) amount paid for the land;

(2) what area of land (a) was bought in each province in 1977 and 1978 and (b) is earmarked to be bought [illegible];

bought in each province as at 31 December 1978;

(3)(a) what area of land was added to the Black states as compensation for the removal of Black spots in each province and (b) what area of compensatory land remains to be acquired in each province.

THE MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT [illegible]

(1) (a) Area of land bought to 31 December 1976

Transvaal	2 515 347 ha
Cape Province	1 118 68[illegible] ha
Natal	39[illegible] ha
Orange Free State	73 1[illegible] ha

(b) R255 0[illegible]

(2) (a)

	1977	1978
Transvaal	53 75[illegible] ha	25 2[illegible] ha
Cape Province	27 0[illegible] ha	7[illegible] ha
Natal	21 1[illegible] ha	[illegible] ha
Orange Free State	2 2[illegible] ha	Nil

(b)

Transvaal	274 22[illegible] ha
Natal	5 6[illegible] ha
Orange Free State	10 0[illegible] ha
Cape Province	352 2[illegible] ha

(3) (a)

Transvaal	54 55[illegible] ha
Natal	17 3[illegible] ha
Orange Free State	5 17[illegible] ha
Cape Province	40 57[illegible] ha

(b) Area of land still to be acquired to compensate for Black spots (including [illegible] situated Black areas) still to be removed.

Transvaal	1 8[illegible] ha
Cape Province	1[illegible] ha
Natal	26 87[illegible] ha
Orange Free State	1 522 ha

Hansard 6 Question Column 1431

14/3/79

101

c

Purchase of land for consolidation of Black states

349. Mr. L. J. R. MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

What amount was allocated for each of the last five financial years for the purchase of land for the consolidation of Black states.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

1974-75	R26 625 000
1975-76	R52 000 000
1976-77	R55 500 000
1977-78	R[illegible] 000 000
1978-79	R49 371 000

Mineral production in Black states

Hansard 7 col 495 21/3/79

338. Mr. R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

101

What was the value of mineral production, excluding platinum, in each of the Black states in 1978.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

Black States	Value of Mineral Production 1978 R
Ciskei	875 839
Gazankulu	286 695
KaNqwane	14 238 100
KwaZulu	6 627 854
Lebowa	66 017 948
Ndebele	7 280
Venda	963 900

Vehicles in service in Department of Mines

101

STAATSKOERANT

VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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CAPE TOWN, 21 MARCH 1979

DEPARTEMENT VAN DIE EERSTE MINISTER

No. 582. 21 Maart 1979

Hierby word bekend gemaak dat die Staatspresident sy goedkeuring geheg het aan die onderstaande Wet wat hierby ter algemene inlighting gepubliseer word:—

No. 16 van 1979. Wysigingswet op Wetgewing op Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling, 1979.

DEPARTMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER

No. 582. 21 March 1979

It is hereby notified that the State President has assented to the following Act which is hereby published for general information:—

No. 16 of 1979. Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Act, 1979.

Act No. 16, 1979 LAWS ON PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT, 1979

GENERAL EXPLANATORY NOTE:

[ ] Words in bold type in square brackets indicate omissions from existing enactment.

_____ Words underlined with solid line indicate insertions in existing enactment.

ACT

To amend the Black Land Act, 1913, so as to transfer certain powers from the State President to the Minister of Plural Relations and Development; to amend the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, so as to change, in respect of the Orange Free State and the Cape of Good Hope, the maximum extent of land that may be held by the Trust at any time; to transfer certain powers from the State President to the Minister; and to extend the meaning of the word "Minister"; to amend the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, so as to further define the requirements for certain exemptions; and to delete references to the Black services levy fund and to prescribe the manner in which the balance of moneys in that fund shall be applied; to repeal the Black Services Levy Act, 1952; to amend the Promotion of Black Self-government Act, 1959, so as to substitute the South-Ndebele national unit for the Tswana national unit; to amend the Black States Constitution Act, 1971, so as to empower legislative assemblies to amend or repeal certain laws of the State President; and to provide that sales tax shall be an additional source of the revenue fund of an area for which a legislative assembly has been established; to amend the Contributions in respect of Black Labour Act, 1972, so as to delete the prescribed limitations on contributions and to vest the Minister with the power to prescribe matters in connection with the appropriation of part of contributions; and to provide for incidental matters.

(English text signed by the State President.)
(Assented to 13 March 1979.)

BE IT ENACTED by the State President, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:

Amendment of section 1 of Act 27 of 1913, as amended by section 50 of Act 18 of 1936 and section 38 of Act 11 of 1960.

1. Section 1 of the Black Land Act, 1913, is hereby amended—

(a) by the substitution in subsection (1) for the words preceding paragraph *(a)* of the following words: 5

"(1) From and after the commencement of this Act, land outside the scheduled Black areas shall be subject to the following provisions, that is to say—

Except with the approval of the **[Governor-General]** 10 Minister of Plural Relations and Development—";

and

(b) by the substitution for subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2) From and after the commencement of this Act, no person other than a Black shall purchase, hire or in any other manner whatever acquire any land in a scheduled Black area or enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire or other acquisition, direct or indirect, of any such land or of any right thereto or interest therein or servitude thereover, except with the approval of the **[Governor-General]** Minister of Plural Relations and Development".

Amendment of section 10 of Act 18 of 1936, as amended by section 5 of Act 17 of 1939, section 11 of Act 1 of 1965, section 2 of Act 14 of 1970, section 3 of Act [illegible] of 1973, section 6 of Act 1 of 1976 and section 1 of Act 110 of 1976.

2. Section 10 of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, is hereby amended by the substitution for paragraphs (*c*) and (*d*) of subsection (1) of the following paragraphs:

(*c*) shall not in the Province of the Orange Free State exceed **[80 000]** 109 000 morgen, and

(*d*) shall not in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope exceed **[1 616 000]** 1 637 000 morgen;".

Amendment of section 11 of Act 18 of 1936, as amended by section 35 of Act 36 of 1937.

3. Section 11 of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, is hereby amended by the substitution for subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2) Notwithstanding anything in this section or in any other law no company or other corporate body in which a Black has or Blacks have a controlling interest and no association, syndicate, partnership, aggregation or number of persons which includes more than six Blacks other than a recognized tribe, shall acquire land or hold land which at the commencement of this Act was not held by any such company, body, association, syndicate, partnership, aggregation or number of persons save with the written permission of the **[State President]** Minister and subject to such conditions and upon compliance with such procedure as he may prescribe. Any agreement or transaction entered into in contravention of this subsection shall be null and void.".

Amendment of section 12 of Act 18 of 1936, as amended by section 6 of Act 17 of 1939 and section 3 of Act 73 of 1959.

4. Section 12 of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, is hereby amended

(*a*) by the substitution in subsection (1) for the words preceding paragraph (*a*) of the following words:

"(1) Except with the approval of the **[State President]** Minister ...", and

(*b*) by the substitution for subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2) In approving of any transaction under subsection (1) the **[State President]** Minister may impose such conditions as to matters incidental to the occupation of land as he may deem fit."

Amendment of section 49 of Act 18 of 1936 as amended by section 14 of Act 18 of 1954, section 10 of Act 13 of 1956, section 7 of Act 79 of 1957, section 36 of Act 42 of 1964 and section 6 of Act 70 of 1974.

5. Section 49 of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, is hereby amended by the substitution for the definition of "Minister" of the following definition:

"Minister" means the Minister of Plural Relations and Development or any other Minister of State acting in his stead, and includes any officer of the Department of Plural Relations and Development acting under his authority;".

Act No. 16, 1979

LAWS ON PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT, 1979

Amendment of section 10 of Act 25 of 1945, as substituted by section 27 of Act 84 of 1957 and amended by section 5 of Act 16 of 1955, section 36 of Act 36 of 1957, section 57 of Act 12 of 1961, section 3 of Act 110 of 1977 and section [illegible] of Act 97 of 1978.

6. Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, is hereby amended by the substitution for paragraph *(c)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(c)* such Black is the wife, **[or the unmarried daughter or]** the unmarried daughter, or the son under the age **[at which he would become liable for payment of general tax under the Black Taxation and Development Act, 1925 (Act No. 41 of 1925)]** of eighteen years, of any Black mentioned in paragraph *(a)* or *(b)* of this subsection and after lawful entry into such prescribed area, ordinarily resides with that Black in such area; or

Amendment of section 19 of Act 25 of 1945, as amended by section [illegible] of Act 43 of 1945, section [illegible] of Act 54 of 1952, section 10 of Act 61 of 1952, section 9 of Act 16 of 1956, section 38 of Act 36 of 1957, section 11 of Act 53 of 1957, section 11 of Act 70 of 1961, section 29 of Act 63 of 1967, section 58 of Act 47 of 1961, section [illegible] of Act [illegible] of 1976, section 9 of Act 9 of 1977 and section [illegible] of Act 125 of 1977 and appropriation of certain moneys.

7. (1) Section 19 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, is hereby amended:

(a) by the deletion of subsections (1) *(f)* and (1)*bis*;

(b) by the substitution in subsection (2) for the words preceding paragraph *(a)* of the following words:

"(2) Subject to the provisions of **[subsections]** subsection (3) **[and (3)*bis*]** the Black revenue account shall be chargeable only with:",

(c) by the deletion of subsections (3)*bis* and (3)*ter*;

(d) by the substitution for paragraph *(a)* of subsection (5) of the following paragraph:

"*(a)* The appropriation of moneys from the Black revenue account shall not take place otherwise than in accordance with estimates of expenditure which have been passed by the urban local authority under the law governing such urban local authority and approved in writing by the Minister or an officer designated thereto by him, subject to such conditions as he may deem fit: Provided that such estimates shall **[except in the case of the appropriation of moneys from the Black services levy fund]** be prepared by such urban local authority after consultation with the Black advisory board or boards (where such a board exists or such boards exist) or with a meeting of members of two or more such boards convened in terms of any regulation, or with an urban Black council established under section *two* of the Urban Black Councils Act, 1961 (Act No. 79 of 1961) (where such a council exists), or with the relevant community council or community councils established under the Community Councils Act, 1977 (Act No. 125 of 1977) (where such council exists or such councils exist), in the manner determined by such urban local authority or, if the Minister is satisfied that the manner so determined does not afford an opportunity for proper consultation, in the manner then determined by the Minister, and any relevant report submitted by such board or boards or meeting or council shall be duly considered by the urban local authority.", and

(e) by the deletion of subsection (10) *(e)*.

(2) Notwithstanding the repeal of the Black Services Levy Act, 1952 (Act No. 64 of 1952), and the provisions of subsection (1) of this section, moneys standing to the credit of the fund referred to in the repealed section 19 (1)*bis* of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (herein referred to as the Consolidation Act), after appropriation to amortize any accumulated debts in respect of any matter referred to in the repealed section 19 (3)*bis* of the Consolidation Act, shall be appropriated in accordance with the provisions of section 16 (2) of the Consolidation Act.

Act No. 16, 1979

LAWS ON PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT, 1979

Amendment of section 40*bis* of Act 25 of 1945, as inserted by section 69 of Act 42 of 1964 and amended by section 4 of Act 63 of 1966 and section 1 of Act 56 of 1968

8. Section 40*bis* of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, is hereby amended by the deletion in paragraph *(a)* of subsection (4) of the expression "the Black Services Levy Act, 1952 (Act No. 64 of 1952)".

Repeal of Act 64 of 1952

9. The Black Services Levy Act, 1952, is hereby repealed.

Amendment of section 2 of Act 46 of 1959, as amended by section 9 of Act 12 of 1978

10. Section 2 of the Promotion of Black Self-government Act, 1959, is hereby amended by the substitution for paragraph *(e)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(e)* **[the Tswana unit]** the South Ndebele unit;".

Amendment of section 3 of Act 21 of 1971, as amended by section [illegible] of Act 71 of 1971

11. Section 3 of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971, is hereby amended by the substitution for paragraph *(b)* of subsection (1) of the following paragraph:

"*(b)* provide in any such law for the amendment or repeal of any law (other than an Act of Parliament **[or a law made by the State President]**) in so far as it relates to any such matter;"

Amendment of section 2 of Act 29 of 1972, as amended by section 27 of Act 102 of 1977

12. Section 2 of the Contributions in respect of Black Labour Act, 1972, is hereby amended:

(a) by the substitution for that part of subsection (2) which precedes paragraph *(a)* thereof, of the following:

"(2) Different dates or contributions may be determined under subsection (1) in respect of employers, on the one hand, and Blacks referred to in paragraph *(b)* of that subsection, on the other hand, or in respect of different categories of employers, Black employees or such Blacks, or in respect of different parts of the defined area in question **[but a contribution shall not exceed]**";

(b) by the deletion of paragraphs *(a)* and *(b)* of subsection (2);

(c) by the insertion after subsection (2) of the following subsection:

"(2A) The Minister may from time to time by notice in the *Gazette* determine that a specified portion of a contribution shall be appropriated in such manner as he may prescribe"; and

(d) by the substitution for subsection (5) of the following subsection:

"(5) A notice under subsection (1) may at any time **[but subject to the proviso to subsection (2) *(a)*]** be amended or withdrawn by the Minister by notice in the *Gazette*".

Amendment of section 5 of Act 29 of 1972, as amended by section 28 of Act 102 of 1972

13. Section 5 of the Contributions in respect of Black Labour Act, 1972, is hereby amended by the deletion of paragraph *(a)* of subsection (1).

Short title

14. This Act shall be called the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Act, 1979.

STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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PROKLAMASIES

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 48, 1979

PROKLAMASIE R. 188 VAN 1969

REGULASIES BETREFFENDE GROND IN SWART GEBIEDE — WYSIGING VAN AANHANGSEL 8

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 48 (1) van die Ontwikkelingstrust en Grond Wet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936)—

(a) wysig ek hierby Proklamasie R. 188 van 1969 deur Aanhangsel 8 deur die volgende Aanhangsel te vervang:

"AANHANGSEL 8

REGULASIES BETREFFENDE GROND IN SWART GEBIEDE

Erfpagtariewe

Op bewerkbare erwe:

Vir enige grootte van hoogstens twee hektaar: R3.
Vir enige grootte wat twee hektaar oorskry maar hoogstens vyf hektaar: R4,50
Vir elke addisionele hektaar wat vyf hektaar te bowe gaan: R1.

Op woonerwe:

Vir enige grootte van hoogstens 'n halwe hektaar: R1.
Vir enige grootte wat 'n halwe hektaar oorskry maar van hoogstens een hektaar: R1,50.
Vir enige grootte wat een hektaar oorskry: R2.";

(b) bepaal ek hierby dat hierdie Proklamasie in werking tree op die datums en in die distrikte wat die Minister van Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling van tyd tot tyd by kennisgewing in die *Staatskoerant* bepaal.

PROCLAMATIONS

by the State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 48, 1979

PROCLAMATION R. 188 OF 1969

BLACK AREAS LAND REGULATIONS.—AMENDMENT OF ANNEXURE 8

Under the powers vested in me by section 48 (1) of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936)—

(a) I hereby amend Proclamation R. 188 of 1969 by the substitution for Annexure 8 of the following Annexure:

"ANNEXURE 8

BLACK AREAS LAND REGULATIONS

Quitrent rates

On arable lots:

For any in extent not exceeding two hectares: R3.
For any in extent exceeding two hectares but not exceeding five hectares. R4,50.
For any additional hectare in excess of five hectares: R1.

On residential lots:

For any in extent not exceeding half a hectare: R1.
For any in extent exceeding half a hectare but not exceeding one hectare: R1,50
For any in extent exceeding one hectare: R2.";

(b) I hereby determine that this Proclamation shall come into operation on the dates and in districts determined by the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, from time to time, by notice in the *Gazette*.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Sewe-en-twintigste dag van Februarie Eendu-send Negehonderd Nege en sewentig

B. J. VORSTER, Staatspresident

Op last van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

P. G. J. KOORNHOF.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twenty-seventh day of February, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-nine

B. J. VORSTER, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council

P. G. J. KOORNHOF.

STAR. 23/3/79 (3)

Deterioration in homeland farming

Inadequate farming technique and know-how in the homelands is leading to gross deterioration of much of their grazing land.

If this deterioration continues then these lands could become totally unproductive, Professor T J Bembridge of the University of Fort Hare told a Manpower symposium yesterday.

Professor Bembridge said that the homelands have the potential to feed more than 25-million people. "Crop and livestock production can at least be trebled by improving present traditional farming methods," he said.

He cited malnutrition as the prime factor in the high stock mortality rate in homelands — a herd mortality of 11 percent compared to one of three percent in South Africa.

Overstocking and a number of other poor farming techniques, caused by poor farm management, were responsible for the malnutrition.

"Since individual black state governments assumed responsibility for agriculture, the extent of grazing management has declined to almost zero," said the professor.

"Considering that much of the rural population is illiterate there needs to be new thinking on educational programmes directly related to rural development," he said.

As a result the professional farming staff in the homelands was "hopelessly inadequate."

(105) (101) Rand Daily Mail 24/3/79

Who cares? Sebe asks the Whites

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, demanded to know yesterday whether "White South Africa" cared about a few hundred thousand starving Black people.

When the South African Government required finance for the defence of the country during the Angolan war, the money was found overnight, but when capital was required for the development of the homelands excuses were offered, he said.

Addressing a conference on the development of the homelands, Chief Sebe called for "a five-, 10- or 15-year plan for the homelands. Let us identify the cost and let us finance the undertaking and have done with it".

He also said the development corporations in the homelands should be responsible to the governments of those States and that the corporations should be attached to one of the homelands ministries.

He did not believe anyone in authority had faced up to the financial implications of separate development since the "untimely and tragic death" of Dr. Verwoerd.

Excuses

"There are always a thousand reasons why it appears that things cannot be tackled with the priority they demand. Everyone present here is as aware as I am of the excuses which are offered as to why finance cannot be made available this year, next year, some time, never.

"While we make pitiful efforts at developing the Black States on a minimum of money, we slap ourselves on the back and tell everybody about the great job we are doing.

"When the outside world criticises us and says that all these efforts are not even scratching the surface, the howls of indignation are long and pitiful.

"If I were told today that we had scratched the surface of development, I would be proud indeed. We haven't even identified the surface that needs scratching."

Chief Sebe said if the development of the homelands could not be promoted, one should be honest enough to say so.

Sebe lauds Koornhof for economic policy

(101) 24/3/79 DD

CAPE TOWN — Homeland leaders yesterday heaped praise on Plural Relations Minister Piet Koornhof for his bold approach toward the economic development of the black states.

Homeland leaders, directors of development corporations and industrialists from 46 leading South African companies have been holding discussions for two days on the future growth of the homelands.

KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who last year refused to even attend meetings with the former Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said yesterday the meetings "will one day be looked upon as a turning point in the history of South Africa."

He congratulated Dr Koornhof "for his boldness in taking a chance and gathering here such an important gathering of our leading industrialists."

Lebowa's Dr Cedric Phatudi said in the past people in South Africa had feared change, but the meetings had showed a large number were not afraid of change.

"If we have friends who fear change, then God Almighty we should pray to save our friends," he said.

Gazankulu's Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi praised Dr Koornhof for emphasising "a common patriotism" and what he regarded as important, a common destiny.

He said the economic development of the people had been left behind, but by black and white people planning together, poverty could be eradicated.

The Ciskei's Chief Lennox Sebe said the meetings had showed that the homelands were entering "a new era." In particular, he praised Dr Koornhof "because he is prepared to listen."

When he opened the public part of the proceedings, Dr Koornhof said the gathering showed that the Chief Ministers wanted co-operation.

Dr Koornhof quoted Chief Sebe with approval when he said that "the people of South Africa want to have real security. What is needed and what is so vitally important is a meal a day for all the people of South Africa."

Dr Koornhof said: "Is that too much to ask?"

He added: "The economic future is the most common factor binding the people of South Africa."

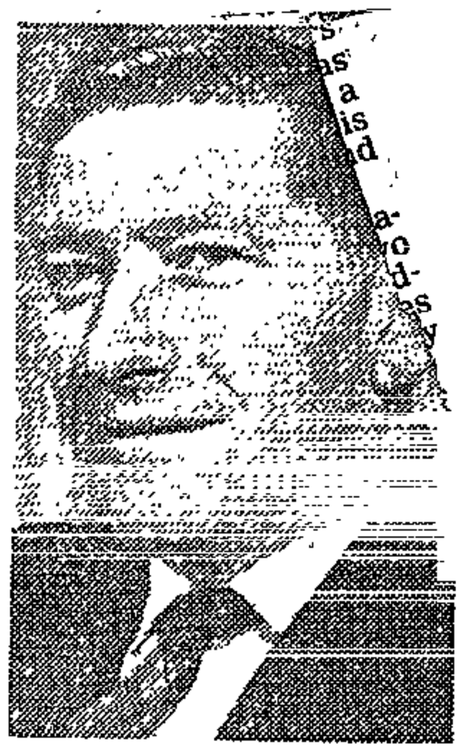
The Minister also said he would like to see a country in which everyone was bound by a common loyalty to enable the people to have a happy and meaningful life in South Africa.

Stimulation of economic development in the homelands was a top priority, Dr Koornhof said.

He said the private sector had played its part in the development of black states so far, but one of the aims of the conference was to try fo find how they could play an even bigger role.

Reacting to a complaint by a speaker about bureaucracy which allegedly hampered black entrepreneurs, Dr Koornhof said he had declared war on red tape in the previous portfolio he had held as a Cabinet Minister.

He now found he faced even greater red tape in his new post. It was essential that war should be declared on this. If red tape could be eliminated, he would be "the happiest man alive," he said.— PC-SAPA.



DR KOORNHOF . . . quoted Chief Sebe.

Let's get moving on homelands says Sebe

CAPE TOWN — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, demanded to know why he was going whether White South Africa cared about the hundred thousand starving black people.

When the South African Government required finance for the defence of the country during the Angolan war, the money was found overnight, but when capital was required for the development of the homelands, excuses were offered, he said.

Addressing a conference on the development of the homelands, Chief Sebe called for "a five, 10 or 15 year plan for the homelands. Let us identify the cost and let us finance the undertaking and have done with it."

He also said the development corporations in the homelands should be responsible to the governments of those states, and that the corporations should be attached to one of the Ministries in the homelands.

He did not believe anyone in authority had faced up to the financial implications of separate development since the "untimely and tragic death" of Dr Verwoerd.

"There are always a thousand reasons why it appears that things cannot be tackled with the priority they demand.

"It is a fact that when the government required the finance for the defence of this country during the Angolan campaign, the money was found almost overnight.

"In the very heart of South Africa we sit with a far greater problem which has rotted and festered there for years, and which is going to bring about the downfall of this country one day. And it is swept under the carpet.

"It is unimportant and low priority, and who cares in white South Africa about a few hundred thousand starving blacks anyway."

"While we make pitiful efforts at developing the black states on a minimum of money, we slap ourselves on the back and tell everybody about the great job we are doing.

"When the outside world criticises us and says all these efforts are not even scratching the surface, the howls of indignation are long and painful.

"If I were told today that we had scratched the surface of development, I would be proud indeed. We haven't even identified the surface that needs scratching." — UPI

More on conference, page 4

Koornhof in plea for betterment of black life

THE Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Piet Koornhof, yesterday that his purpose was to improve the quality of life and promote the well-being of blacks in the cities as well as the homelands

"The quality of life of the black man, wherever he is, must be improved and we will have to provide more job opportunities and more housing So much more still have to be done Dr Koornhof said

He was addressing a business lunch of the SA Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators and the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants at a City hotel

The advancement of blacks was a continuing process. They had developed new aspirations over the years, and it would be irresponsible not to take heed of this

Blacks had to share in the material and social progress of South Africa

"If we concentrate our efforts on the cities only, we will have frustrated blacks in the black states who will flock to the cities for jobs

Dr Koornhof called on employers to make better use of local labour, and not to treat the black states as 'labour depots".

It would take a combination of government and private enterprise to supply opportunities. Business and government should co-operate, as the responsibility for improving the quality of life did not rest only with the government

Companies should plough back some of their profits into training and educating black children. An unemployed black child was a threat to the internal security of the country.

Giving orders

Dr Koornhof called on businessmen to ensure that the way orders and instructions were given to black staff was improved. "If you've given him housing and education, but not friendliness and respect, you haven't given him a good quality of life "

He had always been proud to see and appreciate all the different races in the country. "The sun shines on all of us, why can't the Venda and the Zulu and the Indians all have the good things they want? They're all part of our country " Dr Koornhof said

patient methodical precision with which each detailed point is handled is to be appreciated. But at last the chase comes to an end; Ignatius is finally vindicated, and we can be assured beyond all reasonable doubt that we have here a considerable body of literature outside the canonical New Testament, but dating from exactly that period to which some of the later books of the New Testament almost certainly belong.

Research into the nature and history of another very ancient document, the so-called first Epistle of Clement, was going on at the same time. Here the problems were much less difficult, the main complication being, as we hav[illegible] the existence of a whole collection of other works bearing the [illegible] Judaistic form of Christianity [illegible] But, when these have been c[illegible] century, the first Epistle of [illegible] for a long time regarded as c[illegible] an authentic production of [illegible] The circumstances are well [illegible] Church of Corinth, in the [illegible] had been repudiated by one s[illegible] Rome has for a time been g[illegible] hardly be other than the pe[illegible] or about A.D. 95 and 96); [illegible] Church of Rome can write t[illegible] quiet but affectionate autho[illegible] brethren to a better mind. [illegible] hardly be any other than that Clement who is referred to by other authorities as the second or third bishop of the Church in Rome. The author does not refer to himself as bishop—in fact there is no reference in the Epistle to a bishop in Rome; the letter is written on behalf of the Church as a whole, and it is the authority of the Church that is throughout invoked. If this dating and identification are accepted, as they are by almost all scholars today,[1] we are brought even nearer to the world of the New Testament.

Now comes the crucial question. The reader may have wondered why it has seemed worth while, in a book on the New Testament, to

[1] Einar Molland, in his article on the Clementine Epistles in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. 3, mentions two exceptions in modern times—Merrill (1924) and Eggenberg (1951). We shall note a little later the attitude of the Tubingen school to this earliest of the Clementine writings.

(1) How many of the Blacks who [illegible] gained their South African citizenship in terms of the Black States Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978, [illegible] citizens of (a) Bophuthatswana and (b) Transkei;

(2) what is the territorial authority and [illegible] which each of them was also a citizen.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Nil.

(b) 1 437.

(2) Transkei.

devote so much space to matters which lie outside the Biblical material. The chase may have been exciting, but is it really of more than archaeological interest? Is it relevant to the interpretation of the New Testament? The answer of the historian must be that it is of cardinal importance; these texts give us a picture of the life of the Church at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, invaluable as a point of departure, from which we can turn back to look at the New Testament documents themselves. By great good fortune these letters do not come to us from obscure corners of the Church. Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, the three greatest centres of early Christianity outside Jerusalem, are represented in them. Ignatius has been bishop in Syria. He is [illegible] through Asia Minor, and there he writes his letters to the [illegible] He is on his way to martyrdom in Rome. And in the [illegible] he great Church of Rome, which is to play such an [illegible] he life of the Church, for the first time becomes [illegible] of picture of the life and thought of these churches [illegible] m the Clementine and Ignatian letters?

[illegible] itted that Ignatius is a peculiar and not altogether [illegible] nlike any other of whom we have record in the [illegible]

[illegible] y odd kind of Greek—short staccato sentences, [illegible] times almost unintelligible. An English scholar, [illegible] rs to 'the extraordinary medley of New Testament [illegible] religious and astrological language, which forms [illegible] us'.

[illegible] or martyrdom and the passionate desire *not* to be [illegible] which Ignatius expresses, suggest a pathological or neurotic strain which is less than attractive to the modern reader. But this trait has been very much exaggerated. In six of the seven Epistles Ignatius makes no reference at all to martyrdom, though he speaks often of his captivity and its hardships. It is only in the letter to the Romans that he refers to his approaching death. In the later records of the persecutions there is undoubtedly a pathological strain; we read of those who deliberately provoked the anger of the crowds and of the authorities in order to compass martyrdom—the Church had to rule that those who thus voluntarily brought about their own death would not be included in the official roll of martyrs. But this is not the case with Ignatius; there is no suggestion that he had sought arrest or tried to secure his own condemnation. Once condemned, he glories in the fact; he had perhaps heard that influential friends in

538. Mr. R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

(3) None.

(2) Yes.

Blacks: citizenship

CT. 31/3/79 (ICI)

Homeland memorandum

SESHEGO, Lebowa. — The leaders of non-independent black states had sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, rejecting the government's parliamentary dispensation for coloured of people and Indians, the Chief Ministerof Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, said here yesterday.

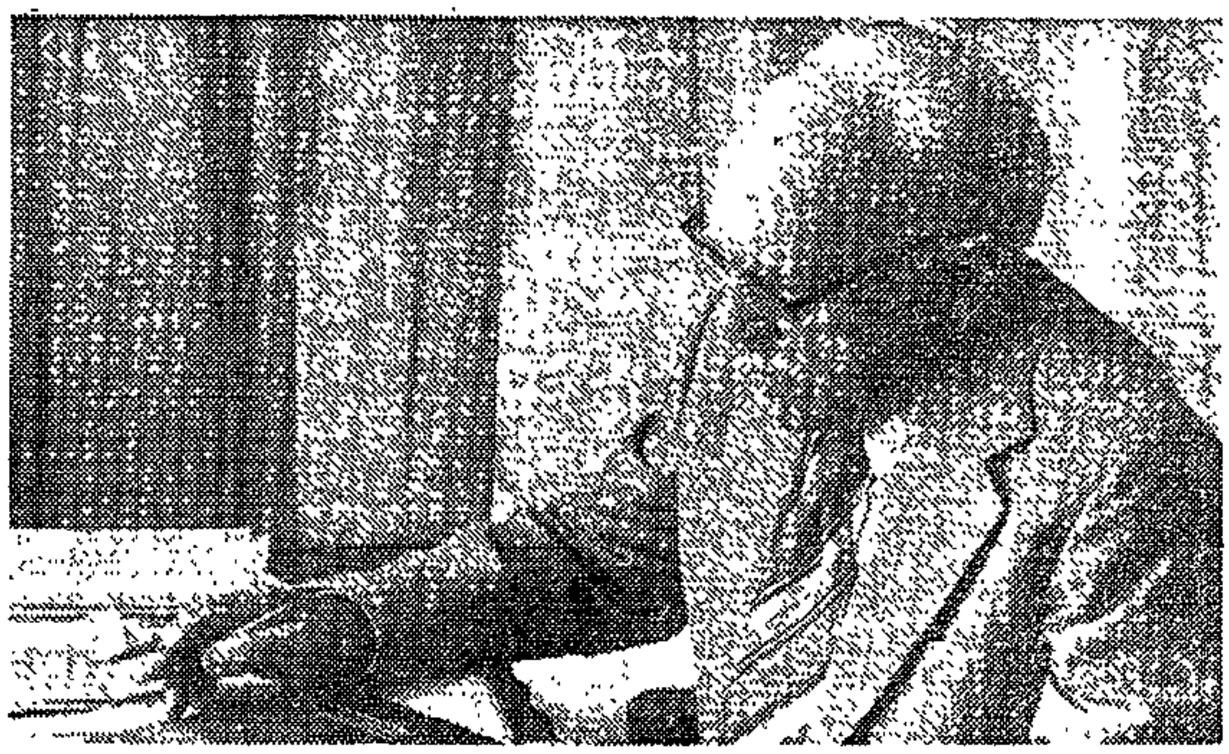
He was appealing during his policy speech in the Legislative Assembly to his party to support him and the Chief Ministers of Kwazulu, Ciskei, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa and Kangwane, in their stand on the issue.

The memorandum reads: "A unitary system of government appeals to most of the black people in the country, but they are prepared to consider reasonable and realistic options in this regard:

- That the type of independence opted for by Transkei and Bophuthatswana was totally rejected.
- That discrimination based on colour and race was not negotiable, from the black people's point of view. — Sapa

The Star
Thursday April 12 1979

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE ...



Chairman of the renowned Tomlinson Commission and noted agricultural economist, Professor Frederik Rothmann Tomlinson, although semi-retired is still deeply concerned with agriculture in South Africa.

The man himself

Nuggety Dr Frederik Rothmann Tomlinson (70), has a grave reluctance about expressing himself on anything outside his immediate field of knowledge.

This caution and carefulness can be ascribed to the high premium he places on scientific accuracy and his abhorrence of superficial generalisations.

That is why it is difficult to get the one person, who more than any other is responsible for South Africa's homeland policy, to speak about himself.

Professor Tomlinson is a private person and keeps largely to himself what he feels about the way he and his famous Tomlinson report have been treated by successive authorities.

His stalwart devotion to the Tomlinson Commission for five years is by no means his only contribution to South Africa.

With three doctorates to his credit and at present an honorary professor of agricultural economics at Stellenbosch University, Professor Tomlinson has devoted his life to agriculture, following his strong belief that "we are in Africa for God's purpose and have important missionary work to do." He also spent 35 years as a professor at the University of Pretoria.

As South Africa's most celebrated agricultural economist, Professor Tomlinson has served as chairman on two Government commissions and at least nine departmental or inter-departmental committees dealing with different aspects of agriculture.

Now semi-retired, he has time at last to stand on the stoep of his Swellendam home in the shadows of the Langeberg (where he was born), or fish to his heart's delight in the Breede River at Port Beaufort where his holiday cottage, "Broekskeur", high up on the river bank offers a view of the deep river mouth and the sea at Witsand.

Professor Tomlinson, who has travelled widely, visiting farmers throughout the country, believes the role of the farmer is crucial to South Africa.

"The farm, especially in its wider rural context, is the breeding ground of individuality and leadership. It is the farmer who will remain the crucial factor in our social structure," he said.

Always a farmer at heart, this withdrawn academic still runs his smallish bushveld cattle farm near Hammanskraal. "It takes up a lot of my time, but I love it."

Professor Frederick Tomlinson, the man who headed the Government Commission which 23 years ago laid the blueprint for homeland development, has consistently avoided publicity. Recently he was thrust into the news again after indications that the Government is rethinking its policy on the division of land between black and white. He speaks here to DEE RISSIK about what should have been done to speed up the development of the homelands.

TOMLINSON TALKS . . .

Professor Frederik Tomlinson, chairman of the commission which drew up the blueprint for South Africa's separate development policy, was never asked for his advice by the Government that commissioned his mammoth study nearly 30 years ago.

"From the time I handed over our report to the Government I have never once been asked for my views on the implementation of the plan. Perhaps it was because of my clash with Dr Verwoerd on certain vital issues. I feel South Africa was the loser but I have no regrets," said Professor Tomlinson.

In a relaxed atmosphere of his seaside cottage at Port Beaufort in the Cape the retired director of agriculture for the Transvaal Region spoke on pertinent issues arising from the Tomlinson Commission report.

- The Government was reluctant to establish a commission, or allow the Tomlinson Commission, to investigate the conditions of urban blacks — a great pity, he said.
- He did not agree with the Young and Prinsloo minority statement but allowed it to form part of the Tomlinson report.
- The urgent necessity of finalising the land consolidation programme laid down by the Tomlinson Commission in 1956 and neglected for 17 years.
- The expensive failure of the Government to establish a planning and development body to coordinate and direct homeland development — as strongly recommended in the Tomlinson report.

"Had we been given the green light to study the urban black problem," said Professor Tomlinson, "I'm sure we would have come up with some definite plan for their development, something that could at least have been productively discussed over the years."

Asked about the minority statement of commissioners Young and Prinsloo, Professor Tomlinson was emphatic in his criticism of his two good friends for their minority view which recommended that white entrepreneurship and capital should not become directly involved in homeland development.

"Thus far history has shown them to be completely wrong," he said.

The Tomlinson report stressed the need for white entrepreneurship and capital in the black areas under specific safeguards.

"I don't think Young and Prinsloo influenced the Government; they were merely following ministerial policy," Professor Tomlinson said.

Turning to the problem of land consolidation, Professor Tomlinson said adamantly: "Finalising the borders of the homelands is a very necessary step that has been decided upon by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and I support it wholeheartedly. It should be welcomed by everybody and I feel sure it is.

"In our report we stressed the vital importance of consolidation (see map) but unfortunately we lost many valuable years before South Africa really got to grips with this task."

Professor Tomlinson pointed out that neither the idea of consolidation as the commissioners saw it, nor the establishment of a development council was accepted by the Government in 1956.

"History will have to show what an unfortunate mistake this was. But it is also no use crying over spilt milk — we have got to go forward and face the problems at this late stage," he said.

The idea of a development council — a research and planning body that could avise the Minister—was decided on by the commission when the extent and depth of the proposed homeland development plan was realised. The commission was convinced that the Department of Native Affairs (as it was then called) on its own could not successfully tackle and complete such a development programme.

"I am not in the slightest doubt that the non-acceptance of the crucial proposal unquestionably delayed progress," stated Professor Tomlinson.

The Tomlinson report seemed to be concerned with the retaining of white identity. What about the other race groups?

"Although we didn't stress it we were also concerned with retaining black and coloured identity as well," he said.

"We proposed that the blacks be kept out of or removed from the Western Cape to enable the coloured people to maintain their identity," he explained.

Do you think South Africa should stick with separate development or can you envisage integration working here?

"It's a matter of degree. Total segregation is impossible at this stage, totally out of the question — you can't wipe out these cities with their millions of black people," he answered.

"But had the development programme as proposed been started earlier we could have shifted the pressure and a much larger proportion of the black people would have been able to exist economically from activities within the homelands."

The inequality of land distribution between whites and blacks is an explosive issue. How did the commission attempt to solve this problem?

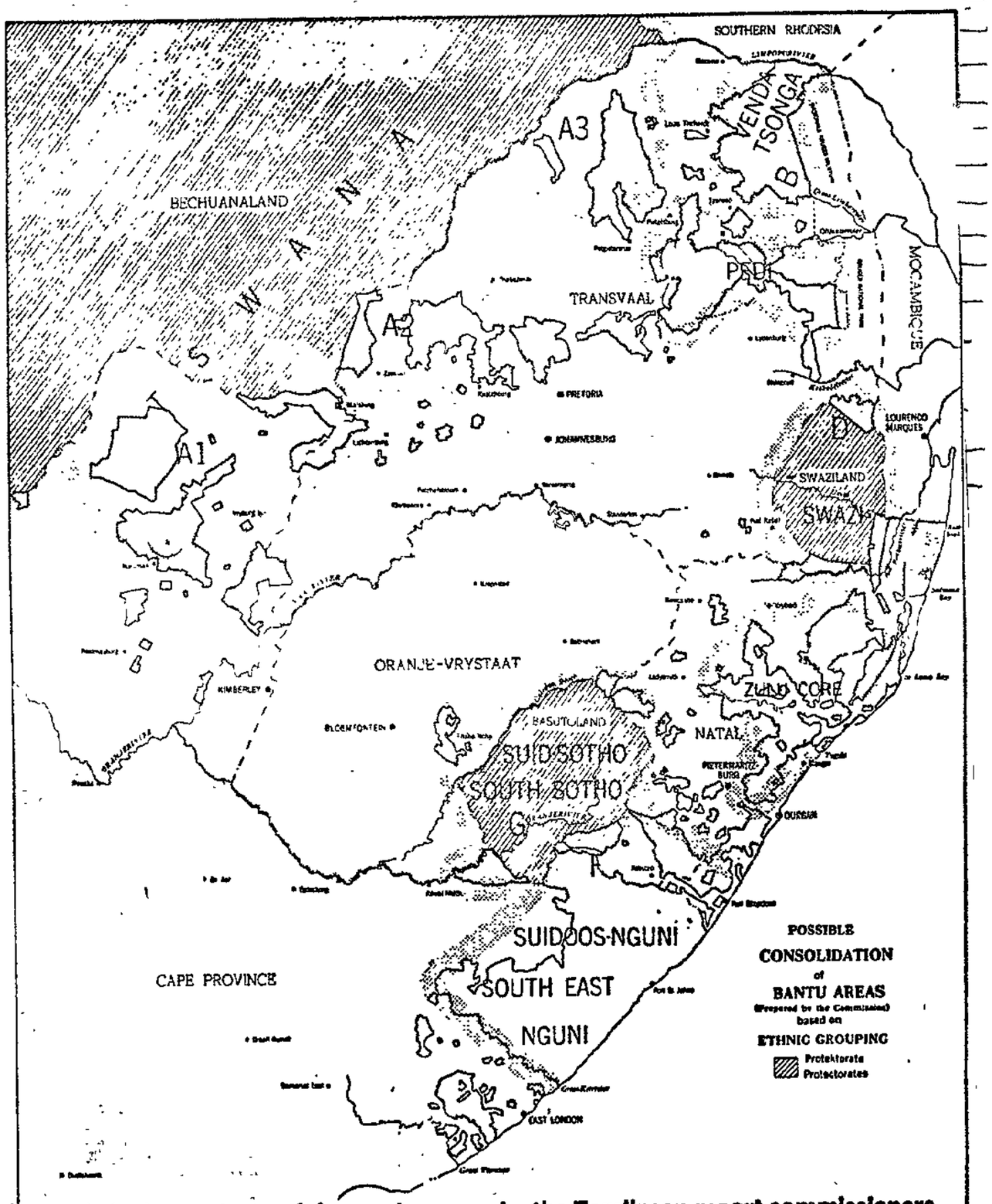
"When giving judgment on the fairness of land distribution which we envisaged in the report you must take the position of British South Africa as it was in 1909 — that is including the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. This will give you a better picture of the situation," he said.

"I believe that ethnically the people in the protectorates form a unit with their compatriots in South Africa. In years to come it is not impossible for, say, Bophuthatswana to join Botswana as one ethnic entity.

"If the protectorates could have been included in South Africa to give approximately an equal distribution of land between whites and blacks the pressure to acquire more land than that prescribed by the 1936 Land Act would have been far less than it is today.

"And," continued Professor Tomlinson, "comparing the economic potential of the two areas I think the black areas would be inherently more valuable.

"I have a very high regard for the potential, at this stage still largely dormant, of our black people. As far as their future development is concerned the sky is the limit," Professor Tomlinson concluded.



This is the controversial map drawn up by the Tomlinson report commissioners and published in 1956 as a proposal for consolidation of the homelands. The areas linked by stipple indicate the "line of thought" for possible consolidation.

Inquiry may change homeland boundaries

20/4/79 D.D (101)

THE ASSEMBLY — The Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday announced the names of an all-white 32-member committee to investigate possible changes to the boundaries of the homelands.

The committee's composition was immediately attacked by the chief opposition spokesman on homeland affairs, Mr Ray Swart.

"There is not one single black man on the commission.

"The very people who are concerned more than any other group with the question of consolidation are totally unrepresented on the commission and this is to be deplored," Mr Swart said.

This vital omission had to affect the effectiveness of the commission and the credibility of its recommendations as far as black people were concerned, he added.

In his statement at the start of the debate on his vote, Mr Botha said the Central Consolidation Committee had been approved by the Cabinet.

Its chairman would be Mr P. T. du Plessis, who is also chairman of the Plural Affairs Commission.

The other members included five other MPs, various government officials and advisers — including the head of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan — representatives from industry, agriculture and the Chamber of Mines, as well as nine academics — including Prof A. R. de Crespigny, of the University of Cape Town, and Dr Lawrence McCrystal.

During the debate, the leader of the South African Party, Mr John Wiley, said the future of Southern Africa could lie in the direction of greater consolidation and partition "provided that the mistake must not be made of granting independence to states unable to run their own affairs because of the absence of an infrastructure of a trained civil and police service, a viable economy and society with skills and not a peasant proletariat.

"In short, a state able to run itself and progress, not stagnate and degenerate," Mr Wiley said. — PC.

MONDAY, 12 MARCH 1979

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*Indicates translated version

For written reply Senate Hansard 4 col 11 12/4/79

Black spots: land acquired by Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure

6. Senator C C HENDERSON asked the Minister of Agriculture

(1) Whether the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure has acquired any land formerly classified as Black spots; if so,

(2) how many hectares of such land have been acquired in (a) Natal, (b) the Orange Free State, (c) the Transvaal and (d) the Cape Province,

(3) (a) how many hectares of such land are now privately owned by the Department and (b) how many viable farming units does it represent,

(4) whether he intends to make these farms available for purchase by farmers; if so, (a) when and (b) how many farms, if not, for what purpose will the land be used.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE

(1) Yes

(2) (a) Natal . . . . 3 389 196 3 ha

(b) Orange Free State 513 719 2 ha

(c) Transvaal . 13 236,[illegible]

(d) Cape Province . None

(3) (a) 17 139 229 4 hectares

(b) 2 895,002 3 hectares of land in Transvaal have already been divided into five viable farming units. The balance of the land will be divided into farming units as soon as the requirements of the State have been established and more information regarding the potential thereof is known

(4) Yes,—with the exception of large portions which are required for State purposes,

(a) the five farming units mentioned in 3(b) above will possibly be made available for allocation within the next few months

(b) unkown see 3(b) above

101

Urban blacks: Botha cautious

By John Battersby

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, walked a tightrope in the Assembly yesterday when he dealt with the explosive issue of the future rights of urban blacks.

Mr Botha, speaking during the debate on his vote, made it clear the homeland ties of urban blacks would remain an overriding factor in determining future policy.

He also left no doubt that it was his hope and belief that all black homelands would opt for independence eventually.

The Prime Minister said he did not believe that blacks wanted to be free from their ties with the rural homelands

He left his options open, however, by pointing out that expert opinion would be gathered by the Cabinet committee on urban blacks about whether they wanted to retain homeland links.

GREATER RIGHTS

Suggesting that the Government could be planning to give greater rights to urban blacks, Mr Botha said they would be allowed to evolve the process of self-rule beyond municipal status But he did not elaborate.

The Cabinet committee appointed to investigate the situation of urban blacks had recommended the establishment of six regional committees which would keep the Cabinet committee informed on the practical problems of urban blacks, he said.

Answering opposition questions why KwaZulu had not opted for independence, Mr Botha said he believed this was because of inadequate consolidation.

EDITORIAL OPINION

(101)

Pieces of the cake

The Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, cannot have it both ways.

He cannot, on the one hand, say that all the black homelands will be independent and, on the other, say it is not possible to allocate further funds for land purchases for one that has already accepted independence.

Transkei feels cheated in its land dealings with South Africa.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelazi, has made his attitude clear. He will not entertain the idea of independence while the Zulu "domain" is a hotch-potch of black dots on a map.

The name of the political game is consolidation. Persuading people to accept a piece of the cake is hard enough in any circumstances. If South Africa cannot offer at least whole pieces to blacks, their appetites will not be slaked.

But can the South African Government afford to consolidate KwaZulu? Wouldn't that involve eventually handing over Durban and much of the North and South coasts as well?

We don't hear many white fears expressed about the future of Durban, yet it is more in a "corridor" than East London is.

Obviously here in the Eastern Cape, where Transkei independence is a reality and where the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, seems well disposed towards accepting independence, East London's situation causes speculation. Particularly since Chief Sebe has laid claim to the city.

Defenders of the South African Government's grand apartheid land strategy say East London will stay white, but champions of Chief Sebe's political direction think differently.

Nor has the South African Prime Minister cleared the air in any way by patently refusing in Parliament last Friday to give one of his own followers, the MP for Aliwal North, Mr Johan Greeff, any reassurance about East London's future.

Not that East Londoners should worry too much about that. If the South African Government cannot even afford to buy up farmland already scheduled for transfer to black ownership, there's not much chance it could buy up a city.

Regrettably, however, it is not East Londoners, but outside entrepreneurs who react negatively to uncertainty about East London's future. That is why industrial development is virtually at a standstill and why Mr Greeff regards the city as "dead".

The governments of Mr Botha and his predecessor are to blame for that.

Homelands tag bad — professor

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Homelands opting for independence found a good ally and advocate in Prof Sibusiso Nyembezi who was guest speaker at the congratulatory function held at the Zwelitsha stadium for Chief Minister L. L. Sebe.

The occasion, attended by about 3 000 people, including the Chief Ministers of Qua Qua and Venda, Mr K Mopeli and Chief P Mphephu and the Qwa Qwa Minister of Interior, Mr S Mopeli, was organised by Ciskeians to congratulate Chief Sebe for obtaining an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Fort Hare University.

Apparently aware of the Ciskei's moves towards independence, Prof Nyembezi said the thought of independence appeared as a very dangerous thing for South Africa in the long term, according to some sources.

"It appears to be preparation for conflict rather than a prescription for peace," he said. "But it should not be forgotten that areas opting for independence di so partly because they wanted to throw away a burdensome yoke.

"In other words, there is this common sense of grievance as part of the motivation. Furthermore they do not forego their land claims when they go independent."

An examination of the areas earmarked for blacks revealed that if all of them opted for independence, a ring of independent black states would surround the rest of South Africa.

"Is it too much to imagine that harbouring a grievance of having been cheated of their land and birthright, such states could easily resolve their differences and turn upon what would be to them their common enemy?."

He did not believe the thinking was far-fetched whatever prevailing appearances indicated.

"It should also be remembered the generation now piloting independence will not be in power in a few years to come."

Congratulating Chief Sebe, Prof Nyembezi said: "The University of Fort Hare has found in you someone worthy of the honour they have bestowed upon you."

People who were awarded honorary degrees were people whose achievements were there for everybody to see.

"It must be quite clear, therefore, a decision to award an honorary degree is not lightly taken, for a university which hands out honorary degrees indiscriminately cheapens the worth of such degrees and also its own standing."

Because honorary degrees were a way of honouring people the black community was not accustomed with, people tended to think of a person's academic background to see whether or not it justified such an award.

"It will be observed, in the main, universities tend to avoid conferring honorary degrees on people who are actively involved in the hurly burly of politics, and when they do, they select senior politicians of undoubted merit."

The tag "homeland" had done so much to bedevil relations between black and black and there were people in urban areas, who were born in the country, who hated the mere mention of the word.

"At times it appears to be overlooked or forgotten that long before the tag or label "homeland" was used to describe these areas they were already established communities and people have lived there for generations.

"For generations they had their homes there. They were born, grew up and died there. The bones of their ancestors lie buried there.

"If that be the case, why then the objection to this label or association with homelands?"

The word aroused emotions because it had acquired a new connotation which suggested the area so designated was the only one in which a black man of a particular ethnic group could have a say.

"He has no rights whatsoever outside the designated boundaries of that homeland and by accepting that one belongs to a particular homeland, which is regarded as not part of the rest of South Africa, one is in fact surrendering or renouncing one's birthright."

That was what blacks found objectionable and what they opposed because South Africa, to them, was the land of blacks, and not just portions of it.

"What the black man refuses to accept is that there is no place for him in this country except as a member of his homeland. But blacks are not saying whites should go to the lands from whence they came.

"Black people accept the white people as South Africans and find it strange that white people find it difficult to acknowledge and accept that black people are also South Africans."

Prof Nyembezi is not a stranger to the Ciskei as he taught for some time at Fort Hare, his alma mater, where he graduated with a B A degree, obtaining distinctions in English and African languages.

A brilliant educationist, he was appointed senior lecturer and then professor at the University of the Witwatersrand. He took over the chair of African Languages at Fort Hare when Dr Letele passed away. — DDR

PARLIAMENT

Homelands aren't viable — Swart

5/5/79 (101)

THE ASSEMBLY — After a decade of separate development all that South Africa had to show was a group of independent "dependencies", Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party member for Musgrave, said yesterday.

Speaking in the Co-operation and Development Vote, he said there was no evidence of real economic viability in any of the homelands.

The government had, though the years, shown itself to be less and less concerned with the need for economic viability as a prerequisite to homeland independence.

One was led to the conclusion that economic under-development in the homelands was no longer a convenient reason for denying independence because it was a means by which continuing dependence on white South Africa was assured.

"It is circumstances like these that compel me to say that if independence is granted to such homelands, they must inevitably become nothing more than independent dependencies."

If that happened, far from meeting black aspirations, the homeland concept would become a major factor in precipitating certain race confrontations and conflict in South Africa.

The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Hartzenberg, said that between 1970 and 1975 the black States in Southern Africa had shown growth rates bigger than any other black State in Africa. — PS.

CPL 3

1(a) Present value of machine costs if factory is in Cape Town:

	Amount	P.V. Factor	Present Value
Outlay on machine	R100 000	1.0	- 100.000
Initial and investment allowances - 45% x 55? x R100 000	24 750	.893	+ 22 102
Wear and tear — 15% x 100 00	6 750	3.605	+ 24 333
NET PRESENT V			- 53 555

1(b) Present valu ... ctory is in Atlantis:

		P.V. Factor	Present Value
Outlay on ma	685 00	1.0	140 000
Initial and investment allowances - 45% x 105% x R140 000	66 150	.893	+ 59 062
Wear and 12% x 14	60	3.605	+ 27 254
			- 53 684

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2. The annua ... $\frac{555}{755x}$ = R19 439

Let x = ...

Then pres ... is

... x = 4.605x

and prese ... is

2.755x

Therefore ... ent is (... = 1.850x

45% ...

(b) Cost per work opportunity:

Mining	R3 600
Industry	R4 500
Agriculture	R1 000
Transport	R8 900
Commerce	R4 800

(2)(a) and (b) Due to various factors it is difficult to determine such estimations.

101

For written reply:

Uhuscwili (Fase) 4/5/79

Blacks: work opportunities

417. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

(1)(a) What was the additional number of work opportunities created for Blacks by each of the development corporations for Blacks in 1977-'78 and (b) at what cost;

(2)(a) what is the latest estimate of the additional number of work opportunities which will be created for Blacks by these corporations during 1978-'79, 1979-'80 and 1980-'81, respectively, and (b) at what estimated cost for each year.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Mining Corporation ... 84
Economic Development Corporation ... 4 258
Lebowa Development Corporation ... 324
Venda Development Corporation ... 353
Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation ... 282
Qwaqwa Development Corporation ... 109
Ciskei National Development Corporation ... 685

Land for homelands

Consolidation of the homelands implied more than territorial consolidation — it had to include the consolidation of nations and economic consolidation, the Deputy Minister of Development, Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said yesterday.

Speaking in his department's vote during the Budget debate, he said sensible consolidation meant that there would have to be an exchange of land and the protection and inclusion of economically suitable areas to cater for the general trend of urbanization in the homelands themselves.

The opposition charge that the government was creating poverty-ridden States with little hope of economic independence was nonsense.

The fact was that in the years of economic recession since 1970 the homelands had shown an eight percent growth, more than any African or other Third World State could hope for.

The Transkei alone had a greater economy and population than Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland put together.

It was not true that the government had underspent on funds provided for consolidation. The truth was that once offers had been made for land, such funds were considered spent and untouchable, even though they remained in State coffers until paid on transfer date. — Sapa

CT. 7/5/79

Homelands: Opposition sees danger of friction

(181)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The creation of under-developed homelands could lead to friction between the developed cosmopolitan core of white South Africa and the under-developed rural inhabitants of the homelands, Mr Ray Swart, the Opposition spokesman on homeland development, said on Friday.

Speaking in committee on the Plural Relations vote, Mr Swart (PFP Musgrave) said people travelling from the economically depressed rural areas across boundaries to work in relatively wealthy urban areas of white South Africa would notice the disparities

Were the independent States capable of satisfying the aspirations of their own people and therefore achieving international recognition, or were they merely dependencies, independent in name, only giving limited administrative rights to their own people, but because of their economic and other imperfections were merely the vassals of the white "core" of South Africa? he asked.

Economic under-development in the homeland areas was no longer a convenient excuse for denying independence — it was a means by which continuing dependence on white South Africa would be assured.

It was a devolution of problems and of power. Land allocation and consolidation of the homelands was inadequate

Under these circumstances, if independence were granted to such homelands, they would become nothing more than independent dependencies.

If this happened, far from meeting black political aspirations, the homelands concept would become a major factor in precipitating race conflict.

● Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said urban blacks were desperately unhappy about the removal of their South African citizenship

She said they did not like the fact that their children, born in Soweto and elsewhere after independence, had birth certificates marked "Transkei" or "Tswana" citizen.

IX DISEASES OF THE DIGESTIVE SYSTEM

	A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	0,10	0,21	0,78	0,29	0,49	0,48
	0,00	0,00	0,07	0,10	0,05	0,05
	0,03	0,01	0,04	0,03	0,05	0,05
	0,39	0,10	0,41	0,19	0,23	0,22
	1,60	0,72	1,31	0,67	0,80	0,68
	1,61	2,44	1,91	0,75	1,44	0,91
	0,33	0,16	0,33	0,17	0,25	0,20
	116	56	370	201	533	329

XIV CONGENITAL ANOMALIES

	W	
	M	F
0-1	1,57	0,76
1-4	0,05	0,04
5-24	0,01	0,00
25-44	0,00	0,00
45-64	0,01	0,00
65+	0,02	0,01
ALL	0,04	0,02
NO.	87	43

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

South African Development Trust: settlement of Blacks

22. Senator A. BOZAS asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

(a) What amounts were available to the South African Development Trust for the purchase of land for the settlement of Blacks in the Republic during the last five years for which figures are available, (b) what amounts (i) were utilized and (ii) remained unspent during each of these years and (c) why were all the available funds not spent.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) The following amounts were allocated for the acquisition of land:

1974-'75	R26 625 000
1975-'76	R59 000 000
1976-'77	R53 560 000
1977-'78	R47 328 000
1978-'79	R40 371 000

(b) and (c) An amount of R4 693 995 was overspent during the financial year 1974/75 while the allocated funds were otherwise fully utilized. Since 1975-'76 all the available funds were *committed* at the end of each financial year. The reason why all the available funds could not be *spent* is that it is not possible to have all the transfers registered in the various Deeds Offices on or before 31 March.

OF THE GENITO-URINARY SYSTEM

	A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	00	0,10	0,25	0,10	0,04	0,06
	02	0,00	0,12	0,14	0,02	0,04
	04	0,04	0,02	0,04	0,03	0,02
	6	0,09	0,17	0,13	0,06	0,08
45-64	0,23	0,19	0,44	0,37	0,36	0,36	0,34	0,25
65+	1,25	1,09	1,07	1,83	1,57	1,10	0,73	0,56
ALL	0,13	0,15	0,11	0,12	0,15	0,14	0,10	0,08
NO.	276	303	38	42	169	165	203	130

XV CERTAIN CAUSES OF PERINATAL MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	12,46	9,07	16,92	11,55	29,22	24,78	23,16	22,2
1-4	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,04	0,04	0,0
5-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45-65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ALL	0,25	0,17	0,48	0,32	0,83	0,67	0,55	0,67
NO.	519	359	170	113	942	785	1143	1075

No. R. 101, 1979

(101)

BLACK AREAS LAND REGULATIONS.—AMENDMENT OF PROCLAMATION R. 188 OF 1969

By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 25 (1) of the Black Administration Act, 1927 (Act 38 of 1927), read with sections 21 (1) and 48 (1) of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936), I hereby further amend the regulations promulgated by Proclamation R. 188 of 1969 as set out in the Schedule hereto.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twentieth day of April, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-nine.

B. J. VORSTER, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

P. G. J. KOORNHOF.

SCHEDULE

1. Section 49 (1) is hereby amended by the deletion in paragraph (b) of the word "widowed".

2. Section 56 (1) is hereby amended by the addition to paragraph (a) (i) of the following proviso:

"Provided that nothing in this subparagraph contained shall be construed as prohibiting a development corporation or corporation established under the Promotion of the Economic Development of Black States Act, 1968 (Act 46 of 1968), from taking, subject to the approval of the Commissioner, cession of occupational rights as security for a housing loan granted to the holder, and for the purpose of this subparagraph such development corporation or corporation shall be deemed to be a Black.".

No. R. 101, 1979

REGULASIES BETREFFENDE GROND IN SWART GEBIEDE.—WYSIGING VAN PROKLAMASIE R. 188 VAN 1969

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 25 (1) van die Swart Administrasie Wet, 1927 (Wet 38 van 1927), gelees met artikels 21 (1) en 48 (1) van die Ontwikkelingstrust en Grondwet, 1936 (Wet 18 van 1936), wysig ek hierby die regulasies afgekondig by Proklamasie R. 188 van 1969 verder soos in die Bylae hiervan uiteengesit

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Twintigste dag van April Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-sewentig.

B. J. VORSTER, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

P. G. J. KOORNHOF.

BYLAE

1. Artikel 49 (1) word hierby gewysig deur in paragraaf (b) die woord "weduwee-hoof" te vervang deur die woorde "vroulike hoof".

2. Artikel 56 (1) word hierby gewysig deur in paragraaf (a) (i) die volgende voorbehoudsbepaling by te voeg:

"Met dien verstande dat niks in hierdie subparagraaf vervat, uitgelê word nie as sou dit 'n ontwikkelingskorporasie of korporasie ingestel kragtens die wet op die Bevordering van die Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling van Swart State, 1968 (Wet 46 van 1968), verbied om, behoudens die goedkeuring van die Kommissaris, sessie van okkupasiereg te neem as sekuriteit vir 'n behuisingslening wat aan die besitter toegestaan is nie, en sodanige ontwikkelingskorporasie of korporasie word by die toepassing van hierdie subparagraaf geag 'n Swarte te wees.".

C6 6449

3. Section 60 is hereby amended by the addition after subsection (6) of the following new subsection:

"(7) The provisions of subsections (2), (3) and (4) shall not apply to the cancellation of any permission to occupy in respect of which the Minister has in terms of section 47 (2) (b) imposed an additional condition to that effect.".

4. Annexure 29 is hereby amended by the substitution in paragraph 9 for the words "Minister of Plural Relations and Development" of the word "Commissioner".

5. The Afrikaans text of Annexure 31 is hereby amended by the addition to paragraph 15 of the following:

"Die Suid-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelingstrust behou die reg voor om genoemde huurgelde na elke kringloop van drie jaar te hersien.".

3. Artikel 60 word hierby gewysig deur na subartikel (6) die volgende nuwe subartikel in te voeg:

"(7) Die bepalings van subartikels (2), (3) en (4) is nie van toepassing nie op die kansellering van enige vergunning tot okkupasie ten opsigte waarvan die Minister ingevolge artikel 47 (2) (b) 'n bykomende voorwaarde tot dien effekte gestel het.".

4. Aanhangsel 29 word hierby gewysig deur in paragraaf 9 die woorde "Minister van Plurale Betrekkinge" te vervang deur die woord "Kommissaris".

5. Aanhangsel 31 word hierby gewysig deur in paragraaf 15 die volgende by te voeg:

"Die Suid-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelingstrust behou hom die reg voor om genoemde huurgelde na elke kringloop van drie jaar te hersien.".

GRAND APARTHEID

FM 18/5/79

No brollies for these commuters

(101) (102) (200)

A flurry of puzzlement swept through PFP MPs recently when Minister Piet Koornhof waxed lyrical in Parliament about his 725 000 *pendelaars*. What on earth was a *pendelaar*?, the Progs taking part in the debate on Koornhof's budget vote whispered to one another. None of them knew, so eventually they had no choice but to ask the Minister.

"A *pendelaar* is a commuter," beamed the boss of Co-operation and Development (CAD) across the floor, hastening to add that their number had risen from 291 000 in 1970.

But these *pendelaars* are no ordinary commuters. As the men at CAD use it, the term has a special meaning: people who work in a "white" area by day and sleep in a bantustan by night. Commuters also engaged the attention of Dr Riekert and Professor Wiehahn.

The senior deputy minister at CAD, Ferdie Hartzenberg, tells the *FM* that government's first priority is that blacks should both live and work in their homelands. Where this is not possible because there are not enough jobs, priority number two is that they should be accommodated as daily commuters. The third, and least attractive, option is the migratory labour system, under which workers are accommodated in the "white" areas away from their families. Hartzenberg says he would like to see daily commuting replace the migratory system where possible.

He adds that commuter earnings constituted 24% of homeland gross national income in 1974. If the trade and services sector in the homelands could be expanded, this money could be spent there rather than in the "white" areas. Reducing the leakage of purchasing power from the homelands would, through a multiplier effect, stimulate homeland economic development.

Yet another advantage of the system, Hartzenberg adds, is that "if the blacks live in their own country and travel on a daily basis to SA, then the political problem will be solved."

Explains Lydenburg MP P T du Plessis, who is chairman of the Plural Affairs Commission and also of the central consolidation committee appointed by government earlier this year: "The white man must not govern the black man — that's when the trouble starts. If you could bring the homelands within commuter reach of the growth points, you are solving the so called problem of the urban blacks. You could accommodate them in a homeland where they can own property and govern themselves."

Ferdie Hartzenberg . . . South Africa's commuter king

Commuting took off in the Sixties, according to Hartzenberg — "when the expansion of urban black residential areas in the 'white' area was curtailed in 1967, to remove settlement and town establishment to the self-governing states."

BophuthaTswana supplies a quarter of the present commuters (mainly to industries in Pretoria/Rosslyn and, to a lesser extent, Rustenburg), and Lebowa about 10% (mainly to Pietersburg and Phalaborwa).

But KwaZulu, with half the total, is the largest supplier — although the increase Koornhof cites is to some extent artificial in that when Durban's KwaMashu township was handed over to KwaZulu two years ago, all the people living there and working in the city were suddenly translated into commuters. Nevertheless, Hartzenberg tells the *FM*, commuters from KwaZulu alone could nearly double to 618 000 under the newly-adopted development plan for the area.

He adds: "If you can bring the borders of a homeland within 70 km of a growth point, you can accommodate the people there."

Why 70 km? Hartzenberg explains that government adheres to internationally accepted standards in applying the commuter policy. Under these rules, he says, a worker can be expected to travel $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours to and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours from work each day. With present roads and transport in SA, this means 70 km. But better roads and faster trains could lengthen the distance without extending the time.

"In France, where I was last year, some people were commuting daily between Paris and Lyon by fast trains in less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours," Hartzenberg says.

P.T.O.

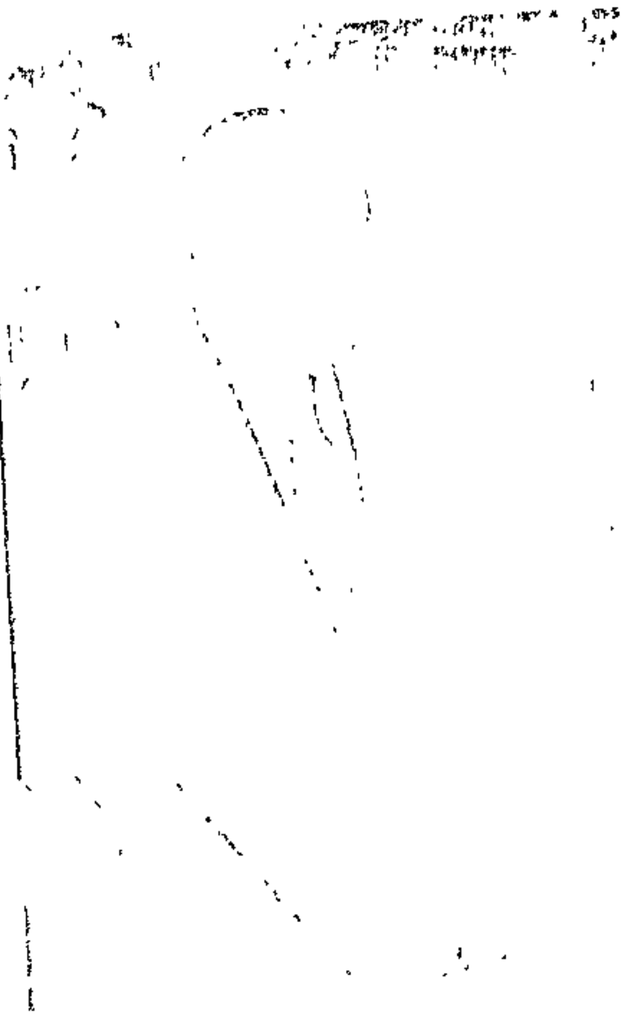
3

He thus clearly believes the system can be expanded. "Economic deconcentration" can be used to distribute economic activities not only to the homelands but also to smaller "white" urban areas — for example, Bronkhorstspruit, Witbank, and Middelburg, which are within commuting distance of Bophuthatswana, the South Ndebele area, and possibly even Lebowa.

"Eight more Sowetos will be needed by the year 2000. The best place to develop them is the homelands," Hartzenberg tells the *FM*. Moreover, homeland towns and roads should be planned with a view to establishing "good connecting routes" with "employment points in the adjoining white area."

The Rickert Report points out that commuting "makes very high demands" on the country's transport systems, and Hartzenberg stresses that cost must always be borne in mind.

To operate economically, he says, a train needs 26 000 passengers. Thus both the employment area and the settlement area must be concentrated enough. Hartzenberg adds that the SAR is constantly giving attention to this question, although at the moment nearly 60% of commuting is by bus. Trains carry 20% of the commuters, while private transport (including own cars, bicycles, and taxis) handles the remaining 20%. State subsidies for commuter transport have grown from R7,4m in 1971/72 to over R[illegible]m, [illegible] adds.



Protio du Plessis . . . getting commuting on the rails

The Rickert Report recommends that wh[illegible] permit and the necessary transport is or can be made [illegible] black workers should continue to be encouraged to obtain their own [illegible] the black states [illegible] ie, the [illegible] system should be expanded.

Rickert adds th[illegible] commuting is that A[illegible] the "white" area can no [illegible] for Section 10(1) [illegible] residence there [illegible] with their em[illegible] resident in the homelands.

[illegible] homeland consolidation [illegible] labour [illegible] black [illegible] job [illegible]

[illegible] Soweto [illegible] a solution. [illegible] ing between [illegible] and Bophuthatswana could involve [illegible] two hours' travel [illegible].

It is an interesting question.

= DIVISIONALISATION , DEPARTMENTATION, etc.etc.

Star 1/10/79

A homeland by any other name

(101)

Once they were known as Native Reserves, then Bantustans, then Bantu Homelands. Now, by official decree, they are Black States, but there are objections to this new name as well, writes political reporter, TOM DUFF.

It is not unusual for a government to influence our language. Changing times, sensitivities and philosophies will, of course, introduce new words into our vocabulary.

But there can also be an element of propaganda, of consciousness-raising, behind the decision to give a policy or a department a new name.

The Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act (102 of 1978) stipulates that Bantu homelands are to be officially known as black states. As a result we now have Government spokesmen and public servants referring in their speeches and reports to non-independent black states (homelands) and independent black states (independent homelands).

Homelands, as a description for the rural areas of South Africa which have been set aside for the occupation of black people has never been a universally popular name. Any effort to find a new name is obviously to be welcomed.

"Just whose homeland are you referring to?" is a typical response of an angry urban black in whose presence the word is used. He resents suggestion that he is linked to some distant rural region. He sees his political and economic future as inextricably linked with his urban environment.

Is the new term, black states, an improvement?

It has been welcomed by many homeland politicians. But it has had a cool reception from many urban blacks who say this is an attempt to elevate artificially the status of these regions and to give greater credibility to the politics of partition.

There are political scientists who have objections as well. Purists say there are four basic criteria for a region to be regarded as a state: it must have clearly defined territory, it must have a population which is identified with this, it must have a government and it must have sovereignty.

Bearing this in mind one should then take a look at the homelands. In many cases most of their so-called citizens live beyond their borders, while the territory of some of them is fragmented to a ludicrous degree. Massive grants from the South African Government form a major portion of the income of their governments — even the governments of Transkei and Bophuthatswana which opted for independence.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of the political science department at the University of South Africa, objects to the use of the word "State" to describe both independent and non-independent homelands.

● For the time being The Star will continue to refer to these areas as homelands.

CORPORATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Success amid failure

The Corporation for Economic Development should be allowed to help develop townships in "white" areas, urges the Riekert Report. But in keeping with government policy, the report suggests that this assistance be confined to small and high-value enterprises.

If Pretoria approves even this limited proposal, the CED's spending, which has soared in the past few years, could soon break the R200m barrier. Planned spending for the year ending March 1984 already stands at R161m — 63% up on last year. By contrast, in the first 10 years of the CED's life it was formed in 1963, total outlay amounted to only R25m.

This year's expenditure will be financed from profits, loans and a R50m contribution from government. The CED's wholly owned R34m on the local capital market. In the next two years it has foreign loans totalling R27m have been raised. Johanne Adendorff, the CED's MD, stressed that the amounts have been satisfactorily small to avoid "political resistance" from overseas investors.

The Bantustan development corporations will get R71m of the CED's budget, against R46m last year.

Despite claims for the CED that it is a growth development fund, top priority is placed on rural expenditure in the area from R15m last year to only R4m in 1979/80. Net outlays on transport are going up from R2m to R20m, much of which is earmarked for revamping 1 000 km of roads to cars from East London to Port St Johns.

A large chunk of spending on farming will go for cash, the expansion of coffee production in Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa.

In Venda two coffee estates are being set up — the Dashwanane and Le Roodepoort farms. The first, 60 ha at Dashwanane, half the eventual area, which is directly controlled by the CED, and phase one should be completed by March next year. The rest will be distributed among individual farmers. The CED's share will form the "nucleus" of the farm, from which farmers will draw expertise and commodities. The budget for the project in 1981/2 will create about 1 200 jobs.

On the Le Roodepoort farm the CED will control 140 ha and individual farmers 139 ha. The development cost of the "nucleus" will be around R1m.

The same concept is being applied on a R1m coffee farm in Gazankulu, which is expected to be between 100 ha and 200 ha. In Lebowa, tenders are being invited for a feasibility study on a similar project. The CED has already spent R1m on the land, but is reluctant to release the exact amount of its investment.

The CED estimates that these farms will be producing at least 1 5 t of coffee per ha within the next five years.

In Venda the CED has put forward a 500 ha citrus project which could yield 1 000 t a year. Jan Van Merle, director of agricultural development, says that the farm is an experiment to London and is of land of little or no agricultural value.

Some farms have been built for small plants, for a 200 ha of peach farm in Lebowa. Other farms, like the fruit farm, are planning to 1983. The CED's investment in the farm is R1m. The farm is expected to produce 1 000 t of peaches a year, which will be processed in a R2m plant. The CED's share in the farm is R1m.

Some farms have been built for small plants, for a 200 ha of peach farm in Lebowa. Other farms, like the fruit farm, are planning to 1983. The CED's investment in the farm is R1m. The farm is expected to produce 1 000 t of peaches a year, which will be processed in a R2m plant. The CED's share in the farm is R1m.

Tea pickers . . . [illegible]

[illegible] year [illegible] the total up to [illegible]

[illegible] handicap [illegible] homelands [illegible] under [illegible] subject to [illegible] will not [illegible] system [illegible] Piet [illegible] uses the [illegible] hectares [illegible] farm on [illegible] blocks be [illegible]

Pretoria's amplifier

[illegible] continues to [illegible] to black [illegible] a project [illegible] where [illegible] on 2 ha [illegible]

[illegible] industrial devel[illegible] proximity [illegible] and its [illegible]

[illegible] and Na[illegible] came on [illegible] sunk into [illegible] the ply[illegible] the plants [illegible] raise at [illegible] the two [illegible] project [illegible]

[illegible] National [illegible] space [illegible] moved by [illegible] conces[illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] that the [illegible] major [illegible] running [illegible] shafts [illegible] KwaZulu [illegible] be CED [illegible] 60 000 in [illegible] [illegible] Then [illegible] industrial de[illegible] by a mere [illegible] will not [illegible] would be [illegible] than R30m [illegible] needed [illegible] problems [illegible] that the [illegible] no longer [illegible] roads and [illegible] brakes of [illegible] not moving [illegible] [illegible]

Star 12/6/79 (101)

Committee to look at life of rural blacks

Pretoria Bureau

A regional committee on [illegible] problems in [illegible] has been [illegible] by [illegible].

The request was made in Pretoria yesterday by the Deputy Minister of Development D. F. Hartzenberg at a meeting of the committee organised by the Department of Co-operation and Development.

"I am confident that this committee will produce a [illegible] contribution to the [illegible] development in its own [illegible] the rural black people in rural areas."

He said the members were [illegible] charged with [illegible] the [illegible].

Dr Hartzenberg told the committee [illegible] evolution and not revolution and stressed the necessity of erecting a climate for evolutionary change to be set in motion.

He also appealed to the committee to regard its discussions as confidential and to treat the Press with the utmost [illegible].

The regional committee has now established five subcommittees to investigate [illegible] transport, education and local government matters.

No date has been set for its next meeting.

Let blacks realise aspirations —academic

101 14/6/79 RDM

Pretoria Bureau

IT IS imperative that real and modern municipal political structures be created in accordance with democratic principles for the rapidly urbanising black communities, a member of Pretoria University's Department of Political Science and Public Administration said yesterday.

Speaking at the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa conference in Pretoria, Dr J S H Gildenhuys said the recent riots in the black urban communities of South Africa constituted a striking example of external conflict caused by the frustration of political aspirations.

Dr Gildenhuys said modern municipal political structures were required for the black, coloured and Asian groups, where they could realise their political aspirations in full

It was also necessary to modernise the white municipal political structure in view of the new political dispensation envisaged by the Government, Dr Gildenhuys said

The plan showed strong federal features and Dr Gildenhuys believed that in order to be successful, it had to be geographically founded.

For this reason he foresaw municipal authorities playing an increasingly important role in the political future of South Africa.

Dr Gildenhuys said that every national group and individual within the group must be afforded the opportunity to fully live out his political aspirations on the municipal level.

"I am convinced that if this could happen the tense national and international political relationships would be considerably relieved," he said.

Dr Gildenhuys said the political climate was ripe for the creation of real modern political structures on municipal level for every urban population group.

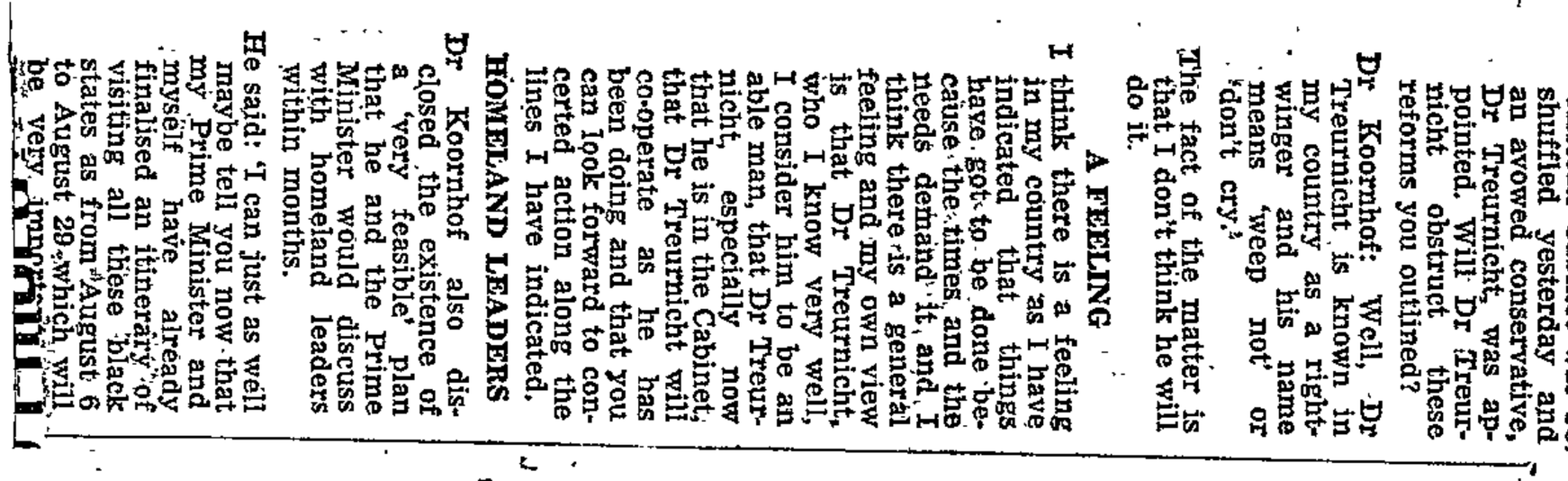
He was aware that the State was creating such structures and said the process should be executed as fast as possible.

"If independent black national states within South Africa can be successfully administered by blacks with the assistance of whites, I can see no reason why this cannot be the case with blacks, coloureds and Indians on the municipal level," Dr Gildenhuys said.

He added that a special task and obligation rested with white municipal officials to assist their counterparts in black municipal authorities with guidance and advice.

(or factory) on each occasion it is needed. Stock Control is concerned with the relationship between:

(*a*) The cost of placing an order.
(*b*) The discounts obtainable by taking delivery in large quantities.
(*c*) The cost of holding stock (interest on capital tied up, physical deterioration, obsolescence, cost of warehouse space, etc.).
(*d*) The cost (or loss of profit) in being unable to meet demand through shortage of materials.
(*e*) The amount and variability of demand.



Dr Koornhof also dis-
closed the existence of
a 'very feasible' plan
that he and the Prime
Minister would discuss
with homeland leaders
within months.

He said: 'I can just as well
maybe tell you now that
my Prime Minister and
myself have already
finalised an itinerary of
visiting all these black
states as from August 6
to August 29, which will
be very important.

HOW did Dr Koornhof expect Dr Treurnicht to react to his verligte statements? - Here are his own words from the transcript of the Washington tape:

QUESTION: The South African Cabinet was reshuffled yesterday and an avowed conservative, Dr Treurnicht, was appointed. Will Dr Treurnicht obstruct these reforms you outlined?

Dr Koornhof: Well, Dr Treurnicht is known in my country as a right-winger and his name means 'weep not' or 'don't cry.'

The fact of the matter is that I don't think he will do it.

A FEELING

I think there is a feeling in my country as I have indicated that things have got to be done because the times and the needs demand it, and I think there is a general feeling and my own view is that Dr Treurnicht, who I know very well, I consider him to be an able man, that Dr Treurnicht, especially now that he is in the Cabinet, that Dr Treurnicht will co-operate as he has been doing and that you can look forward to concerted action along the lines I have indicated.

HOMELAND LEADERS

Dr Koornhof also dis-
closed the existence of
a 'very feasible' plan
that he and the Prime
Minister would discuss
with homeland leaders
within months.

He said: 'I can just as well
maybe tell you now that
my Prime Minister and
myself have already
finalised an itinerary of
visiting all these black
states as from August 6
to August 29, which will
be very important.

The Koornhof tape — Page 13.

*** *Critical Path Methods* (q.v.)

** *Statistical Design of Experiments*
Proper design can ensure that an experiment will be as sensitive as possible to the factors under investigation, that it will not be subject to systematic bias and that the results will be capable of statistical analysis. Factorial Design, Latin Squares, etc., can minimize the experimental work required for a given accuracy in the results.

**† *Scientific Calculations on a Computer*
Many scientific calculations (for example, stresses in a structure) the scientific problem under study, it is possible to conduct 'experiments' in the computer rather than with physical objects. Particularly useful in studying changes in methods of operation of chemical plants, etc.

** *Eco*
The la
lower
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**† *Si*
Stock
complex. It may be preferable
of the stock problem and use simulation on a computer.

RESEARCH

How to Reduce the Time Taken to Complete Research

*** *Method Study* (q.v.)
Can be used with great effect to improve methods of carrying out routine research experiments.

S. 2 (Cont.)

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~~311~~ (101)

What Dr K said

By Hugh Robertson

WASHINGTON — Dr Piet [illegible] controversial [illegible] — when he [illegible] Minister of Public Works, Statistics and Tourism, [illegible] — [illegible] and [illegible] with members of the National Press Club [illegible] his speech.

Asked about [illegible] policy, he said: 'I don't [illegible] word [illegible] at [illegible] I use the word black states. . . .

PROVED

'The advantage [illegible] of the black states, if you look at it from the point of view of at least being regional government and if you accept the fact as I think scientists have proved, that in the plural set-up as we have, you have got to have good local government, you have got to have good regional government so that you can dispose of emotional issues in a plural set-up at those levels because if you can dispose of those issues at those levels — emotional issues at those levels — then it is not necessary to drag it to the State government, which then makes it so much more feasible to have [illegible] government at the top.

'These black states in South Africa have [illegible] good law and order. They are administratively [illegible], and in this plural set-up it must not be overlooked that they play a very important role.

BLUEPRINT

'That does not mean to say that they are necessarily the alpha and omega in this plural set-up . . . I don't think they are the alpha and omega and I have already indicated that we accept the fact that there will for time immemorial be black people living outside of these black states and we have now set up the committees to give us the blueprint of where they will fit in. I have already indicated that this indicates a very dramatic change of policy as far as this aspect is concerned.'

Question: 'You talk of equal rights for all races in South Africa. Do you expect to see blacks vote for national office within South Africa and if so how soon?'

Dr Koornhof: 'As I see the development, the constitutional process will end up either in a set-up at the top of confederation although it is not completely to be ruled out that after equality between the constituent states has been brought about that discussion on federation would ensue.

EQUALITY

'As a matter of fact my Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, very recently, two weeks ago, on a question by Mr Vause Raw in Parliament, when Mr Vause Raw put it to him: "Well, why don't you now discuss with us federation or confederation," the Prime Minister's reply was we must first bring about equality between the constituent states equality between the constituent [illegible], otherwise you are putting the cart before the horse.'

DOMPAS

Question: 'For many years, black South Africans have expressed unhappiness with the pass book system. Are you happy with this system which requires every black to carry identification documents at all times?'

Dr Koornhof: 'I am indeed very happy for that question. I stated in Parliament at the first opportunity after my appointment to this Ministry of Co-operation and Development that I detest the dompas. I declared war on the dompas. That thing must be ousted completely and totally out of my country and I have requested my officials to work on it. They have been doing it and the dompas will be ousted in my country sooner than later and I am working as far as this is concerned on a month's time span and not a year's time-span.

'As far as the influx control thing is concerned, the Riekert Commission as I have indicated has made very definite recommendations about [illegible] and these recommendations of the Riekert Commission have been accepted by my Government.

TURNING POINT

'The White Paper on the Riekert Commission is a momentous monumental affair, a turning point if ever there was one to my way of thinking. Before I left my country for the United States, this White Paper was finalised and the Government has accepted the fact that this influx control thing be changed in terms of the recommendations of the Riekert Commission so that the 72-hour regulation will be phased out and then we will work on a completely new system, namely work and house as the necessary to do the planning of townships and the planning within the Republic of South Africa.'

● This is just a short excerpt from the complete tape.

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25/6/79 (101)

[illegible] 2 [illegible] Street, [illegible] Times)

Koornhof's question and answer session at

By Hugh Roberton

WASHINGTON — [illegible] Minister [illegible] and Development [illegible] Koornhof [illegible] there would [illegible] changes in Government race policy during his appearance this week before the National Press Club in Washington.

But his controversial remarks, which have been repudiated by the Minister of Public Works, Statistics and Tourism, Dr Andries Treurnicht, during a question-and-answer session with members of the press immediately after he had pleaded through the text of his speech.

While Dr Koornhof's speech was transmitted to South Africa and approved by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, it was established today that his off-the-cuff answers to questions were not.

A tape recording of the question-and-answer session was made by National Public Radio, a radio network which broadcasts all addresses to the National Press Club live over its more than 200 transmitters across the United States.

The tape reveals that Press reports of Dr Koornhof's remarks, which Dr [illegible] has used as [illegible] for his attack, were fair and accurate.

Dr Koornhof was in the US for an investment symposium on South Africa.

The [illegible] are the questions put to Dr Koornhof, the precise wording [illegible] in his controversial replies.

QUESTION — Do you foresee any modification of the homelands policy [illegible] South Africa [illegible] black [illegible] tribal areas?

Dr Koornhof — [illegible] area [illegible] world black states [illegible] a much better [illegible] and which is making [illegible] much better [illegible] especially by people [illegible] side South Africa.

The [illegible] of the black states [illegible] long as it from [illegible] of view of at least [illegible] regional government [illegible] if you accept [illegible] think scientists [illegible] proved that [illegible] setup as we have now [illegible] have got to make good local government. You have got to have good regional government so that you can [illegible] emotional issues in a plural setup at these levels because [illegible] of those [illegible] levels, emotional issues [illegible] to be dealt with [illegible] necessary to draw in the State government which then makes it so much [illegible]

Because of these reasons what must not be overlooked is the regional government of Gazankulu, of [illegible] Venda, of Qwaqwa [illegible] and administratively extremely well endowed and in this plural setup it must not be overlooked that they play a very important role.

That does not mean to say that they are necessarily the alpha and omega in this political struggle. As I have indicated in my speech I don't think they are the alpha and omega and I have already indicated that we accept the fact that there will for time immemorial be black people living outside of these black states and we have now set up the committees to give us the blueprint of where the [illegible] and I have already indicated that that includes a very drastic change of policy as far as this aspect is concerned.

Question — You talk of equal rights for all races in South Africa. Do you expect to see blacks vote for national offices within South Africa and if so how soon?

Dr Koornhof — As I see the [illegible] process will [illegible] set up [illegible] confederation is not completely to be ruled out but after equality between the constituent states had been brought about that discussion on federation would ensue.

As a matter of fact, my Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, only recently, two weeks ago, on a question by Mr Vause Raw in Parliament, when Mr Vause Raw put it to him well, why don't you now discuss with us federation or confederation, the Prime Minister's reply was we must first bring about equality between the different states, equality between the constituent partners, otherwise you are putting the cart before the horse. Once you have done that then it is the appropriate time to do that.

Now as far as time span is concerned, I have my department if t[illegible] real co-operation [illegible] the leaders and ha[illegible] elicited the suppor[illegible] both the opp[illegible] al[illegible] opposition parties [illegible] told them in Par[illegible] and outside Par[illegible] that if there is this co-operation forth[illegible] I asked my depa[illegible] how long will it take[illegible]

They think to [illegible] about this equal[illegible] tween the con[illegible] partners or state[illegible] their reply to me, [illegible] believe that it is [illegible] is that it could be [illegible] about two years ti[illegible] I think there are p[illegible] ties in my co[illegible] because the time [illegible] important, the tim[illegible] important and we [illegible] accordance with [illegible] span.

I can just a[illegible] maybe, tell you r[illegible] my Prime Minis[illegible] myself have alrea[illegible] ised an itinerary [illegible] ting all these bla[illegible] as from August [illegible] gust 29, which [illegible] very important [illegible] have already ind[illegible] these leaders ti[illegible] visits will be fol[illegible] with a round ta[illegible]

Dr Piet Koornhof.

...n at National Press Club

25/8/79

is concerned, I have asked my department if there is real co-operation between the leaders and have also elicited the support from both the opp ... all three opposition parties and I told them in Parliament and outside Parliament that if there is this proper co-operation forthcoming, I asked my department, how long will it take?

They think to bring about this equality between the constituent partners or states, and their reply to me, and I believe that it is correct, is that it could be done in about two years time. And I think there are possibilities in my country because the time span is important, the time is important and we work in accordance with a time span.

I can just as well maybe, tell you now that my Prime Minister and myself have already finalised an itinerary of visiting all these black states as from August 6 to August 29, which will be very important and we have already indicated to these leaders that these visits will be followed up with a round table conference where a memorandum by these leaders, which I believe to be a very feasible document, that memorandum will be discussed fully and at length and I mention it because with that I also hope to convey, in reply to this question, that one can expect in this period of reform important developments not only in the years ahead but also in the months ahead.

QUESTION — The South African Cabinet was re-shuffled yesterday and an avowed conservative, Dr Treurnicht, was appointed Will Dr Treurnicht obstruct these reforms you outlined?

Dr Koornhof — Well, Dr Treurnicht is known in my country as a rightwinger and his name means "weep not" or "don't cry" The fact of the matter is that I don't think he will do it I think there is a feeling in my country as I have indicated that things have got to be done because the times and the needs demand it and I think there is a general feeling and my own view is that Dr Treurnicht, who I know very well, I consider him to be an able man, that Dr Treurnicht, especially now that he is in the Cabinet, that Dr Treurnicht will co-operate as he has been doing and that you can look forward to concerted action along the lines I have indicated."

QUESTION — For many years, black South Africans have expressed unhappiness with the pass book system. Are you happy with this system which requires every black to carry identification documents at all times?

Dr Koornhof — I am indeed very happy for that question. In stated in Parliament at the first opportunity after my appointment to this Ministry of Co-operation and Development that I detest the dompas. I declared war on the dompas. That thing must be ousted completely and totally out of my country and I have requested my officials to work on it. They have been doing it and the dompas will be ousted in my country sooner than later and I am working as far as this is concerned on a month time span and not a year timespan

I have already indicated as far as influx control is concerned, because this is erroneously sometimes by people who do not know the set-up referred to as pass laws. That is not so. We haven't got pass laws

But as far as the influx control thing is concerned, the Riekert Commission, as I have indicated, has made very definite recommendations about the influx control system and those recommendations of the Rieket Commission have been accepted by my Government

The White Paper on the Riekert Commission, which is a momentous, monumental affair, a turning point if ever there was one to my way of thinking, and before I left my country for the United States this White Paper was finalised and the Government has accepted the fact that this influx control thing be changed in terms of the recommendations of the Riekert Commission so that the 72-hour regulation will be phased out and then we will work on a complete new system, namely work and house as necessary to do the planning of townships and the planning within the republic of South Africa.

New deal essential for peace — Qoboza

(101)

29/8/79

JOHANNESBURG — Separate development met increasing resistance from blacks because it deprived them of their South African citizenship and birthright, the editor of the Transvaal Post, Mr Percy Qoboza, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the conference of the Study Group on Internal Relations, Mr Qoboza said there was a need for South Africa to seek a new dispensation and an alternative to the present policy of separate development.

He said the policy emphasised the philosphy of race superiority — where "whites must be regarded superior to blacks".

To counter this belief, blacks formed political groups aimed at destroying the concept of race in South Africa "which undermined their manhood and deprived them of their human dignity".

"Their protests were met with violent reaction by the government which introduced some of the worst forms of legislation to deal with black resistance. The more the government tried to suppress our aspirations, the greater the danger of conflict became."

Mr Qoboza said the first place to start with a democratic government was to hold a national convention at which all races would be represented. The convention would have to draw a constitution acceptable to a large section of the people.

Such a convention would have to tackle issues of how to overcome white fear on one hand and black anger and suspicion on the other.

"One can understand the fear of the whites in relation to the numerical strength of the blacks. But I must say there are far too many people in this country who hide behind the facade of this fear to justify the perpetuation of inhuman and insulting policies", he said.

The Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor H. Ntsanwisi told the conference injustices and inequalities found in South Africa were there for all to see.

He said there was poverty and discontent in the rural areas and still greater discontent in the urban areas because of unemployment, insecurity and tenure and citizenship problems.

The urban black was impoverished, but a glimmer of hope had come with the Wiehahn and Riekert commission recommendations.

MR QOBOZA . . . blacks deprived or birthright.

"The majority of black people, including those who have opted for independence, will never accept apartheid and all that it stands for. Apartheid is a policy both morally indefensible and morally depraved, for in spite of its positive qualities and contributions to the preservation of ethnic groups, it is essentially divisive and therefore evil and unacceptable."

He said blacks in South Africa needed new alternatives — a new political philosophy which would embrace all the various groups without one dominating the other.

The former principal of Orlando High School, Mr T.W. Kambule, told the conference the government was busy making excuses instead of introducing bold reforms, especially in black education.

"Some astronomical sums are spent on defence, and to think that defence has precedence over education underlines how we view our priorities. Investing more liberally in black education is the best form of defence for this country.

"If our country, which anticipates great changes, has to undergo these transformations without pain or tears, then education shall have to play a significant role, especially education for black people," he said.

Territories like Transkei and Bophuthatswana had no right to launch universities yet because they needed to build advanced technical schools as development was the prime factor in their education.

He said that if conflict and social unrest were to be avoided, the black-education time bomb had to be defused. — SAPA.

~~166~~
~~359~~
101

For full text see Acts 1979

STAATSKOERANT

VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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Vol. 169] KAAPSTAD, 4 JULIE 1979 [No. 6547
CAPE TOWN, 4 JULY 1979

DEPARTEMENT VAN DIE EERSTE MINISTER

No. 1439 4 Julie 1979.

Hierby word bekend gemaak dat die Staatspresident sy goedkeuring geheg het aan die onderstaande Wet wat hierby ter algemene inligting gepubliseer word —

No. 98 van 1979: Tweede Wysigingswet op Wetgewing op Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling, 1979.

DEPARTMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER

No. 1439. 4 July 1979.

It is hereby notified that the State President has assented to the following Act which is hereby published for general information:—

No. 98 of 1979. Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act, 1979.

Act No. 98, 1979 LAWS ON PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT SECOND AMENDMENT ACT, 1979

GENERAL EXPLANATORY NOTE:

[ ] Words in bold type in square brackets indicate omissions from existing enactments.

_____ Words underlined with solid line indicate insertions in existing enactments.

ACT

To repeal the Moroka Ward Land Relief Act, 1924; to amend the Black Administration Act, 1927, so as to provide further for the jurisdiction of commissioners' courts; to amend the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, so as to provide for the payment of the proceeds of certain fines to administration boards; to amend the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, so as to increase certain fines; and to extend the powers of the Minister of Plural Relations and Development to make regulations; to amend the Black Labour Act, 1964, so as to increase certain moneys; and to further regulate the allocation of certain moneys, fines and estreated bail to administration boards; to amend the Black Taxation Act, 1969, so as to introduce new scales for the payment of general tax; to amend the Black States Constitution Act, 1971, so as to provide that the proceeds of sales tax on certain transactions accrue to the revenue funds of the Black states; to amend the Black Affairs Administration Act, 1971, relating to the funds of administration boards; to amend the Community Councils Act, 1977, relating to the publication of certain decisions of community councils; so as to extend the powers of the said Minister to make regulations; to prevent the functions performed by community councils from being unnecessarily duplicated by another authority; and to provide for the transfer of certain Black employees of administration boards to the service of community councils; relating to the commencement of certain regulations made under the Community Councils Act, 1977; to provide for a change of the names or official titles of certain institutions and the holders of certain offices; and to provide for matters incidental thereto.

(English text signed by the State President.)
(Assented to 21 June 1979.)

BE IT ENACTED by the State President, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:—

Repeal of Act 28 of 1924

1. The Moroka Ward Land Relief Act, 1924, is hereby repealed.

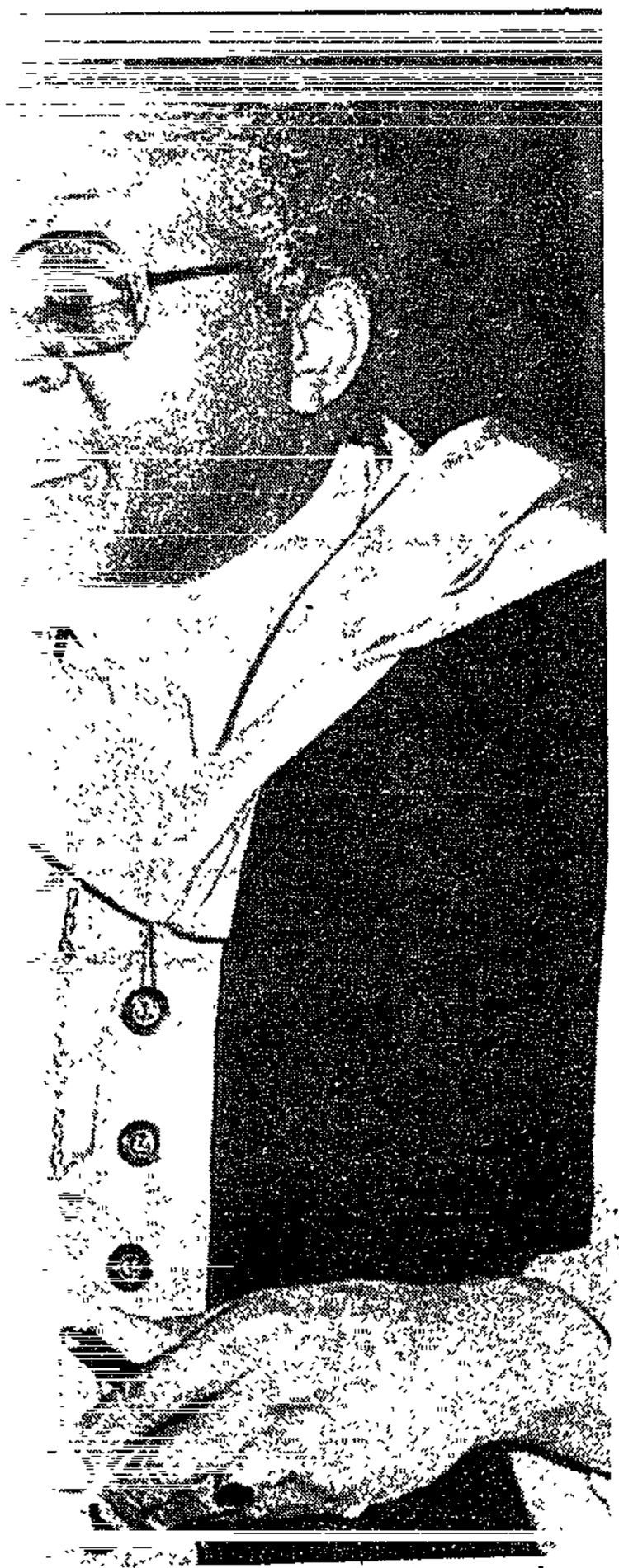
Amendment of section 9 of Act 38 of 1927, as substituted by section 2 of Act 79 of 1957

2. Section 9 of the Black Administration Act, 1927, is hereby amended by the substitution for subsection (1) of the following subsection:

"(1) A commissioner may hold a court—

(101) 25/7/79 Post

Tutu hits out at homelands



...ond Tutu . . . people dumpetd.

BANTUSTANS enable the Government to transfer the problems of unemployment, poverty and lack of housing to the rural areas, where people are dumped with not the slightest chance of being able to make a living.

This was said yesterday by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches during the SAAC's 11th national conference held at St Peter's Conference Centre in Hammanskraal.

Many have been removed from jobs and homes to eke out a miserable existence in a bantustan, he said. "I have visited some of these resettlement camps. I have been shattered by what I have seen and hope that our Christian conscience will not permit any of us to want to see this policy continued, once we know what is happening there," Bishop Tutu said.

"We live in a selfish society. We live in a society that is broken, divided and fragmented. We live in a society that is uncaring and without compassion, in which the law is the survival of the fittest," he added.

Bishop Tutu said we live in a society whose members have no real fellowship with one another, who look on one another with hostility, anxiety and fear, each grouped in its own little ethnic ghetto.

He said he hoped we will stop being a group of people who seem merely to react to events and situations.

"Dr Piet Koornhof, had I believe, come as a breath of fresh air in a closed atmosphere. We have already commended him for his courageous action in reprieving Crossroads which the authorities were determined should be demolished. He had acted with compassion in saving Alexandra Township and with moratorium about so-called illegal blacks.

"And we want to believe him when he speaks about the death of apartheid," Bishop Tutu added.

Bishop Tutu said as much as we have wanted to see that change was happening, he sad to report that he had found little substantial and fundamental change about. He said he wanted to believe that Dr Koornhof's committee would be about real dialogue for change.

"Alas, they are not geared for that. Those who want to talk about dismantling apartheid would also be a frustrated minority, for you are constrained to operate within the parameters of a system long ago rejected as unjust and immoral.

"We ought to make it clear that we refuse to be made foreigners in our own motherland. That is a point we need to stress what blacks really want is citizenship in an undivided South Africa," Bishop Tutu said.

Homeland hopes high for tour

NM 4/8/79 (101)

JOHANNESBURG — The Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, opens the first leg of his scheduled tour of the Black homelands on Monday with a visit to the Ciskei.

Accompanied by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. Piet Koornhof, Mr. Botha will take in an arc of five homelands on this leg, stretching from the Ciskei in the Cape through KwaZulu in Natal to Gazankulu, Venda and Lebowa in the Transvaal.

His first round of visits, which will be supplemented later by trips to the remaining non-independent homelands, comes on the heels of the first meeting of the Van der Walt Commission of inquiry into the question of better consolidation of Black territories.

By raising the possibility of a better distribution of land than provided for by the 1936 Land Act, Mr. Botha kindled Black hopes for more land and his talks with chief ministers will probably include discussions of land.

The homelands include some of the poorest rural areas in South Africa — which have had to absorb "resettled" people, whose arrival has compounded the twin problems of poverty and unemployment.

The Ciskei's rural slums particularly have been under the spotlight of publicity recently.

Professor Jill Nattrass of the University of Natal and Professor Arnt Spandau of the University of the Witwatersrand, have shown that rural or homeland Blacks are markedly poorer than their urban cousins in townships like Soweto.

It was learnt yesterday that a committee of three economists appointed in 1976 could not reach consensus on the question but nevertheless submitted a report to the former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha in 1977.

(Geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited (Beperk deur Garansie))

JAARVERSLAG
1978

SENTRUM VIR INTERGROEPSTUDIES

Posadres:
p/a Die Universiteit van Kaapstad
Rondebosch
Republiek van Suid-Afrika
7700

Kantooradres:
Leslie Social Sciences Building
University Avenue
Groote Schuur Campus

Telefoon: 65-4145; 69-8531 Uitb. 766

INLEIDING

Dit die eerste nege jaar van sy bestaan het die Sentrum vir Intergroepstudies gereeld 'n jaarverslag oor sy bemoeienisse gepubliseer. Om die Sentrum se 10de verjaardag op 1 April 1978 te vier is die jaarverslag vervang deur 'n Oorsig oor die Eerste Tien Jaar.

DOELSTELLINGS EN DOELSTELLINGS VAN DIE SENTRUM

Dit word grootliks gefinansier deur die Abe Bailey Trust wat ingevolge die testament van Sir Abe Bailey gestig is. Dit is geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited (Beperk deur Garansie) - 'n maatskappy beperk deur garansie en sonder aandele-kapitaal kragtens die Maatskappywet 1973 (Wet Nr. 61 van 1973).

Govt to have new national strategy—Mr Botha

Star 7/8/74

(101)

~~337~~

The Government was formulating a comprehensive national strategy to set new guidelines for the country, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said today.

Black leaders' no to 'new deal'

By Derek Thema

Black leaders today rejected the plan of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to introduce a "constellation of independent states" and a new deal for urban blacks.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, said that as long as the constellation of states was based on the homeland policy, it was not acceptable

"As long as this still-born concept is based within the framework of apartheid, it is not change. As long as the Government hopes to impose its policy by the gun there is no hope of our accepting it," he said.

Blacks had rejected the homeland policy and wanted to participate in policy formation. "I am disappointed because I do not think the Government is serious about change," he said.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said that as long as changes were based on the hegemony of whites, they were not acceptable.

"The whole thing is meaningless as long as it is based on the division of blacks on ethnic lines"

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said Mr Botha's words were promising but if they were to be translated into fact and reality, then everybody must be involved in the decision making.

"If South Africa hopes for a new and just society, then blacks must be involved in the decision processes and not just have things done for them," he said.

Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Community Council, welcomed the Prime Minister's statement

This would be done without changing the National Party's basic principles, he said in an interview with the Afrikaans morning newspaper, Die Transvaler, today.

National Party congresses would be kept fully informed about the strategies, which would be a broad plan in which the Government would work with the civil service and the public and private sector to achieve certain goals.

EQUALS

Because South Africa was sovereign, he rejected the idea of a national convention to formulate a new constitution. If the states which wanted independence worked towards it, a constellation of independent states could be formed in southern Africa to co-operate as equals to combat marxism and improve living standards.

Although some coloured and Indian leaders were still against working with the Government, he felt they would soon change their minds.

On the urban black population he said that it was possible they would be included in the constellation of states, but he did not want to comment further on this point.

MUST ADAPT

Asked about conflict in the National Party, Mr Botha said conflicting statements were inevitable until a leader established himself. But recent discussions with his colleagues had, he felt, ironed out different interpretations about broad policies.

He said the party was not moving away from its basic principles, but was moving with the world. "We must adapt or we will die," he said.

Star 8/9/79 (101)

Strategies for sharing

Review of plans for 'national consensus'

The Prime Minister is about to announce a "comprehensive national strategy." Differing comprehensive strategies are being researched by large numbers of people all over South Africa. There are at least half a dozen models — and dozens of maps — proposing federations, confederations, constellations and even downright partition.

To stimulate awareness and debate, HARVEY TYSON sums up, in successive articles on this page this week, some of the latest plans for "national consensus."

One of the most interesting blueprints for sharing power in South Africa comes from an outsider. The author believes that none of the conservative, liberal or radical plans yet proposed can succeed in the long run. He believes the best hope lies in taking elements from each model and synthesising them.

The author is Professor Wolfgang Thomas of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, West Germany. He is an "outsider" in both senses, for he was suddenly deported from South Africa while he was director of the Institute of Social Development at the University of the Western Cape.

It is necessary, before looking at Professor Thomas's plan, to look at all the other strategies — some of which are already evolving in practice. These models can be summed up thus:

Orthodox homeland policy

This is prescribed by the 1936 Act, the Tomlinson Commission, and Dr Verwoerd's policy. Eight black ethnic groups were supposed to develop to political independence (and presumably economic self-sufficiency) within the original Native Reserves. Many of the so-called "black spots" (tiny, scattered reserves) were to be cleaned up and swopped where possible for land adjacent to the main "bantustans."

The policy has led to the independence of three such homelands: Transkei, Bophuthatswana and, soon, Venda, but their independence is not receiving international recognition and has led to increasing criticism from political leaders of other homelands and nearly all other black politicians. Whites — including a majority in the National Party — accept that the old homeland policy offers no complete solution to South Africa's racial problems. The Government is currently working on an alternative strategy.

Comprehensive consolidation of homelands

Most people believe that additional land and economic uplift are necessary in the homeland areas, irrespective of policy. From the Government side, Prime Minister P W Botha has stated that greater sacrifices from whites are necessary to ensure that his Government's policy can work.

P W Botha . . . greater sacrifices from whites necessary.

A commission is currently exploring methods of consolidation and enlargement of the homelands. If the strategy is to succeed, some fairly dramatic changes in boundaries are necessary — even if white land-owners do not sell their land within the consolidated areas.

Prof Roelf Botha, a Sabra academic of the old school, recently resurrected some of the wider "suggestions" on consolidation that were tentatively drawn by the Tomlinson Commission 26 years ago. These include:

- More land for Transkei and Ciskei including King William's Town but excluding East London).
- KwaZulu broadened into just two parts, north and south of Durban-Newcastle corridor, and including Richards Bay, Empangeni.
- Bophuthatswana consolidated and enlarged into one area.
- Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu consolidated into one block, including Louis Trichardt, Tzaneen and Pietersburg.
- Two mini-homelands incorporated into Lesotho and Swaziland.

Prof Botha also suggests six provinces for the rest of South Africa, with blacks in these areas mainly excluded from local political power, but with coloured people and Indians gradually integrated.

The plan has negotiable alternatives that envisage giving the homelands the white corridors that lead to Durban and East London. His strategy is too radical in territorial terms for today's Government, yet it is also unacceptable to urban blacks and to many whites. It does not face the problem of power-sharing in South Africa as a whole.

Partition

This is advocated by those who believe that peaceful co-existence between black and white is impossible. The partition line is usually a diagonal one running north-east, from the southern Transvaal (or below) to Port Elizabeth, with a black state in the north-east and a white/brown state in the south-west. Partition, in one version, means moving about 4-million whites and Asians.

In another version it is seen as voluntary partition (a choice, over the alternative of a war to mutual destruction) with transfer of power to the black majority in the north, but not necessarily the movement of people. The line of partition would be even further south with Bloemfontein falling into the "black" state and Kimberley into the "white/brown" state.

Those whites who see their very existence — their culture and way of life — threatened in the "black" state would move south. The economic heart of South Africa (the Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging complex) would be part of the north. Though multiracial the "PWV" would be dominated by a black majority.

The Integration model, and Consociational Democracy.

Political integration has been a strategy advocated by liberals for more than a century. It embodies racial equality, qualified only by "standards." It envisages the gradual introduction of the general franchise, with all races on a common role and in one parliament. In practice, however, the emphasis on ethnic politics; the lack of development in educational and income resources of blacks; the failure to eliminate racial inequalities; have all contributed to making political integration impossible. To introduce it would merely precipitate black-white confrontation.

The Progressive Federal Party has therefore introduced a new model. It is designed to reconcile the political demands of moderate blacks and the reservations of liberal whites.

The PFP proposes a restructuring of the country into a number of regions or federal states, each with far-reaching sovereignty. Each state (its boundaries to be determined by negotiation and consensus) would have one-man, one-vote government with safeguards for minorities. The central parliament would be elected by the states, with the number of members for each state related to its population.

The "senate" would have representatives of each ethnic and cultural group, and the constitution would provide a veto right for all groups on matters of principle. "Consociationalism" is strengthened by adding a Bill of Rights, a constitutional court and an independent judiciary.

This consociational model has its own weaknesses — not least of them the lack of support from the whites whom the PFP represents.

Revolutionary models

Few proponents of revolution have thought through a strategy for reconstructing the country — other than in vague terms, marxist and otherwise. The main goal is to destroy the white power base, by violence, boycott, sabotage and riot if need be. To succeed, confrontation requires the solidarity of the "oppressed," leaving no scope for early steps in the direction of regional, ethnic or class differentiation, and no hope of reconciliation between the "oppressed" and the rest. The result, if successful, would probably be a one-party state or a military dictatorship.

Van Zyl Slabbert . . . PFP proposes a restructuring.

National convention as initial goal

This is popularly seen as a short-term panacea for the easing of race conflict. Its proponents argue, rightly, that no model for peaceful co-existence in this multiracial land is possible unless that model is accepted by the majorities of all races. Thus, the model can be "firmed up" only through a national convention. But who will attend the national convention? And who will "chair" it, and be in control — the UN, OAU, a western alliance, or the present government? For the majority of white South Africans an appeal for a national convention is still seen merely as an invitation to transfer power to the black majority.

As Prof Thomas says: "The dynamics of such an all-embracing convention and the legacy of the past virtually predetermine the outcome" . . . Or, he might add, they predetermine the impossibility under present conditions of such a convention being held.

The six models for a new South Africa, as outlined above, are the categories listed by Prof Thomas in a recent paper — though I have not necessarily followed his version of summaries of these models.

Prof Thomas says of all six: "It should be clear that none of the models outlined can actually 'solve' the complex set of interrelated political and socio-economic problems facing South Africa. The strategies are either opposed by the black majority or by the whites in power, or there are practical reasons why they cannot be implemented as foreseen. There is, in fact, no single optimum model to solve South Africa's problems."

What then is to be done to reach the political change that everyone agrees is needed?

The first step, says Professor Thomas, is to understand that the Government is nowhere nearly as inflexible as its internal and external critics suggest. The next step is to articulate a long-term perspective for the country — something which neither the Prime Minister nor any of his Cabinet could put in words, yet something that would not clash instantly with the policy of the party that is firmly in power.

Professor Thomas suggests ONE possible pattern of development. He says it is not "the optimal path." Nor does it purport to be the strategy implicit in current government policy. Instead he tries to take into account existing government policy; visible adjustments to past policies; the "overall dynamics of race relations," and the socio-economic change that is already occurring in South Africa.

His model will be described on this page tomorrow.

Through Darkest Africa with Piet

Star 8/8/79 (101)

Through the Dark Continent with Piet and Promises; being an account of an Expedition to the Native or Caffre Tribes of Southern Africa by Pieter Willem Botha, Esquire from his own Journal.

So it Goes...

August 8 — Our sojourn in the land of the Zooloos was an experience somewhat at variance from that with the Khosas of the Eastern Cape. As before, we exchanged friendly salutations and gifts. I related to them my account of the Great Pie in the Sky which would bring unbounded riches to their backward land. The Zooloos' leader, however, was disbelieving, asking all manner of questions.

"Where," he inquired, "is this Constellation of States of which you speak? Is it a veritable entity or a mere Bauble, similar to this Parliament and this Statehood with which you previously endowed us? What is in it for us? Will my Peoples yet be able to travel the Land of Umlungu and find gainful employment and their own households in the distant Fiefdom of Soweto?" And so on.

I was hard put to answer the man's importunity. The Zooloos appear to be experiencing difficulties between their King and his Great Council. The sight of their spears called to mind certain not dissimilar problems which we ourselves have been experiencing.

To ease their minds, I asked my companion Koornhof to divert them with some amusing anecdotes about life in the Land Across the Vaal. Nobody laughed.

Passed an uncomfortable night. Hopefully we shall see a better outcome tomorrow, when we move on to the domain of the Vendah people.

★ ★ ★

August 9 — A singular people, the Vendahs, even if we call them Plural. Their chief having arrogated to himself great powers with our help, a Faction continues to plague us with recriminations. To no avail did I assure this group that Independence was a far better thing than mere Liberty; that many other Lands across the seas were wont to lock up those who opposed their Chiefs; and that the advent of the Great Constellation would ease their discomfit.

After the Vendah warriors had danced before us, I asked Koornhof to respond in kind. He performed an antic which he described as his infallible Rain Dance.

Still the drought remains unbroken in Venda-land.

★ ★ ★

August 11 — Misfortune plagues our expedition. Not only are we suffering the ill effects of numerous Feasts and Beer Drinks arranged to honour us; to compound matters we appear to have lost our bearings.

By my calculations we ought today have crossed into the far Territory of Gazankulu. To my astonishment, however, we began to observe certain geographical Features reminiscent of the lands to the North of Pretoria. Consulting his Maps, my guide Koornhof then informed me that he had confused Gazankulu with Garankuwa in the Kingdom of the Tswanas.

"No matter," quoth he cheerily, "even the Tswanas are confused about their boundaries. Haply there is a good Hostelry in their region, a mere two days travelling distant, at a place called Mmabatho. There we may rrevictual and perhaps recoup our llosses at the Ggaming Ttables."

He perturbs me at times, this Koornhof. If he fails to lead us direct to QwaQwa next week I have resolved that I must perforce seek another Companion ...

Anti-family

Not many family newspapers would carry a main story about a world survey on the safety of contraceptives, followed by another front-page item headed "Condom sales boom in Papua New Guinea."

But the latest issue of IPPF News does, and I suppose that's because it's more of an anti-family newspaper. IPPF, in case you didn't know before (I didn't) stands for the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Adult attitude

That was a very adult attitude taken by young Kevin Anderson. The 12-year-old South African held his record as youngest Channel swimmer for barely a day . . . and yet he was still able to say. "I never really bothered that much about being the youngest. I just wanted to make the crossing."

Me. I'd have been furious. Especially at being wiped off the record books by a youngster a mere three months younger.

The episode recalls one of my all-time favourite cartoons, by a great American called George Price. It shows a stout mountaineer puffily reaching a summit . . . to be greeted by a runty little man at the top who extends an arm and says: "Congratulations, sir, you're the first white man to scale this peak — I'm part Indian."

The activists

A group named the Fight Against Unemployment and High Cost of Living Association was recently formed in Turkey. Police have just arrested nine of its members and charged them with staging 48 armed robberies.

Hector Sonet

Met die sedert sy stigting in kantoorruimte voorsien. uitbreiding van personeel het ons die huisie op die laer

c) Ander lede:

Mnr K. Bosman	Mnr H.W. Middelmann
Professor A. Cupido	Eerw. M.T.L. Moletsane
Mnr N. Daniels	Professor A.D. Muller
Mnr Achmat Davids	Sheik A. Najaar

d) Twee Ere-Fellows:

Professor J.L. Boshoff
Dr Sheila T. van der Horst

Lede word na die Algemene Jaarvergadering van die Maatskappy uitgenooi en kies elke drie jaar 'n verteenwoordiger op die Beheerraad. 'n Verkiesing is in 1978 gehou en die huidige ampsdraer is Biskop A.W. Habelgaarn. Terwyl geen verpligtinge aan lede opgelê word nie, word hulle geraadpleeg in verband met sake wat die Sentrum se program raak.

NAVORSING

Gedurende die verslagjaar het die navorsing van die Sentrum die volgende behels:

A. Mobiliteit en Politieke Verandering in Suid-Afrika

Hierdie projek is 'n paar jaar gelede aangepak. 'n Ondersoek onder die kleurling bevolking van die Kaapse Skiereiland is onderneem. 'n Aantal tydelike navorsings-

Doctors in relief move

DR NTHATO Motlana and Dr Selma Browde are bringing together concerned people and organisations to form a crisis relief organisation for the people in rural resettlement areas.

The doctors are among the hundreds, both black and white, who have been shocked by the inhuman conditions under which people in the homelands and resettlement areas live.

They were spurred by a series of articles in **SUNDAY POST** about resettlement areas in homelands and other parts.

Recently, as a result of widespread unemployment and resettlement of many black families in rural areas where there are few jobs, little food and insufficient water or space for growing subsistence crops and many other factors, the situation has become critical.

"We believe that it is essential for the various concerned people and organisations to get together to cut across any affiliations that they may have, and devise a practical programme of assistance for people in a desperate situation," Dr Browde said.

She added: "Our function is merely to act as a catalyst, to get all the concerned bodies together, and to offer our assistance to whatever committee is formed in our medical capacities.

"We suggest that the following may form the basis of a six-point programme which could be embarked upon by a comprehensive committee of concerned organisations:

1. Famine relief.
2. Expertise for setting up self-help subsistence farming and for teaching methods of preservation of foods so grown.
3. Education to combat ignorance of correct feeding habits.
4. Cottage industry.
5. An appeal to the Government for unemployment schemes and/or some form of dole.
6. Medical supplies and medical assistance where deemed necessary.

"A meeting will be held on August 23 at 8 pm at Senate House, Wits University."

Friends (Quakers) en van die American Friends Service Committee deurgebring. Hy het 'n aantal konferensies in verskillende dele van die land bygewoon, baie vergaderings toegespreek en senior beamptes van die Carnegie Corporation van Community Rela[illegible] [illegible]wices van die

Professor J.L. Boshoff, ere-Fellow van die Konstruktiewe Program, het met 'n aantal instansies, wat universiteite in Natal en Transvaal insluit, en met verskeie handels- en industriële firmas in Natal, kontak opgebou.

(b) Konferensies

Gedurende 1978 het die Direkteur die volgende konferensies bygewoon:

Jaarlikse Konferensie, Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee- en Raadsvergadering van die Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut vir Rasseverhoudinge, Kaapstad (Januarie).

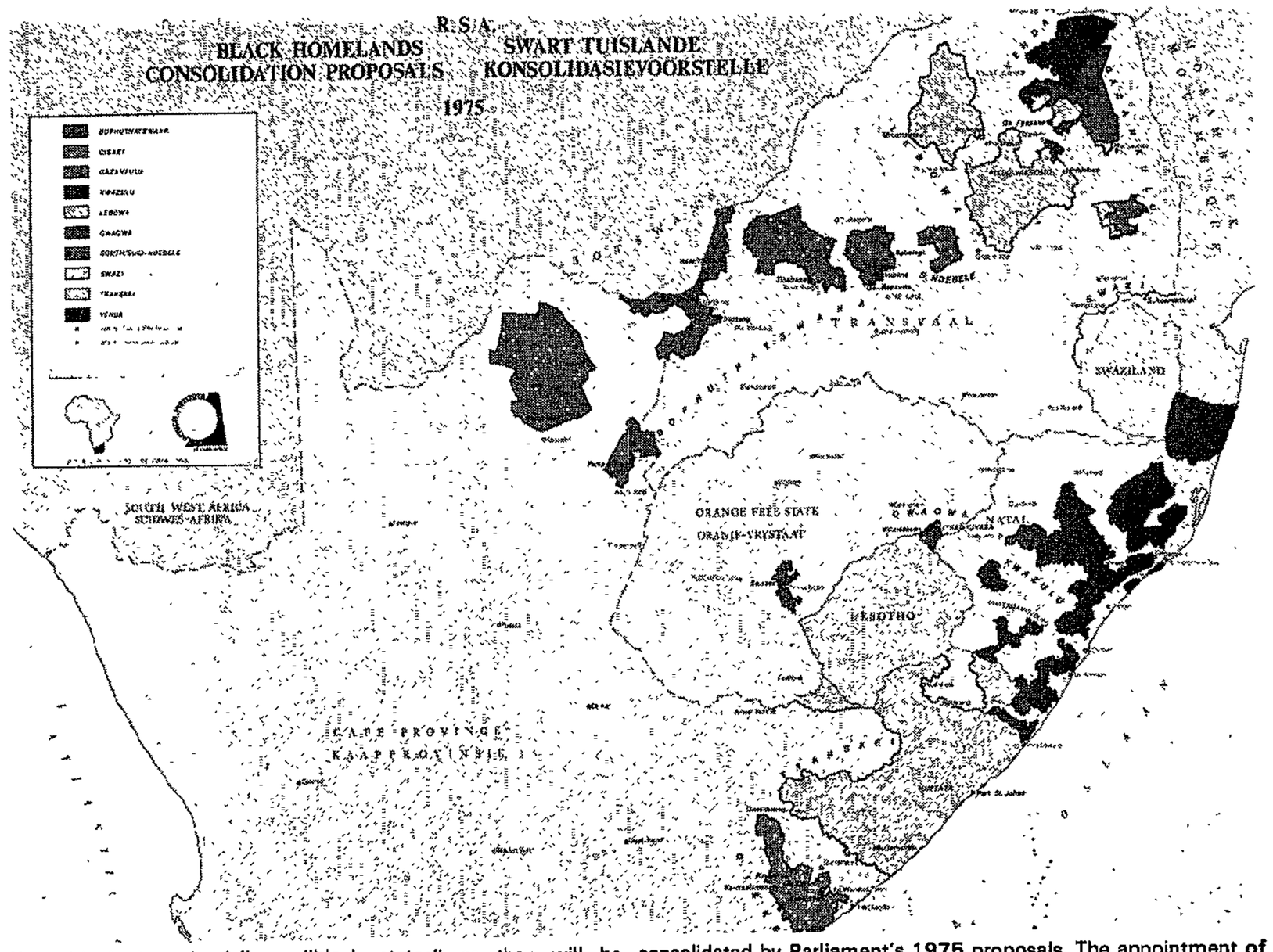
Suid-Afrikaanse Jaarlikse Vergadering van die Religious Society of Friends, Stutterheim (April).

Negende Wêreldkongres van Sosiologie, Uppsala, Swede. Verhandeling voorgelê in Werkgroep 6 en vergaderings bygewoon van die Raad van die Internasionale Sosiologiese Vereniging as die amptelike afgevaardigde van Suid-Afrika (Augustus).

(101)

The Prime Minister has just completed a rapid-fire five-day tour of the five largest non-independent black "homelands". During his visit he displayed hidden talent as a diplomat and undoubtedly raised black hopes of a better deal. But was his tour of these strategically placed areas significant beyond its success as a public relations exercise? **PATRICK LAURENCE,** who accompanied Mr Botha, left, on the tour, reports:

PW's wind of hope



The "black homelands" or "black states" as they will be consolidated by Parliament's 1975 proposals. The appointment of a commission of inquiry earlier this year to see whether they cannot be better consolidated has raised black hopes anew.

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, returned in a hopeful mood at the weekend from his tour of five of South Africa's self-governing black regions.

He was impressed by the "positive" attitude of the chief ministers and their followers.

Mr Botha, who was greeted by large crowds in Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, Venda and Lebowa, summed his feelings at a news conference given for newsmenwho accompanied him on the tour.

"The people are relaxed," he said. "They are friendly and there is a positive attitude among them . . .

"Naturally I grant them the right to put questions, express opinions and even question certain proposals we make. But as far as I am concerned they want to co-operate with us and accept the challenge of the future."

Mr Botha, who was usually introduced to the people by the Minister of Co-Operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, similarly made a favourable impression on the chief ministers, who in general terms praised him as a man who was at once open-minded and decisive.

Chief Lennox Sebe, of Ciskei, said of Mr Botha after his decision to suspend the unpopular resettlement at Glenmore on the Ciskei border: "He has a totally new approach. We now have a man who can take a decision there and then without fearing (his right-wing)."

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, of Gazankulu, compared Mr Botha to his predecessor, Mr Vorster, saying: "He (Mr Botha) is more flexible, more courageous and more honest."

Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, said of Mr Botha to cheers from the Lebowa Legislative Assembly: "For the first time in years the wind of change is blowing in the right direction. Over the years it has blown in the wrong direction."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the chief minister with the most clout politically, mobilised 10 000 Zulus to greet Mr Botha on the dusty plain of Ulundi. The huge crowd served to underline Chief Buthelezi's significance politically as much as it made the ceremonial welcome colourful.

Chief Buthelezi was more circumspect in his praise. Predicting that Mr Botha's premiership might well see apartheid crumble, he added: "It may be that this will happen because of you or it may happen in spite of you."

The same caution was reflected in Chief Buthelezi's reference to a speech made by Mr Botha at Upington last month which presaged the final demolition of petty apartheid. "Your pronouncement in Upington . . . has given us some hope that you, sir, may turn out to be unlike your predecessors — an exception to that long list of failures."

But even allowing for Chief Buthelezi's praise, Mr Botha came up goodwill for himself, his Government and whites generally in the five black territories, which stretch in a scattered arc around the strategically vital Witwatersrand industrial region.

Mr Botha, who has a reputation for being quick tempered, contributed significantly to the success of his visit by his relaxed manner and his judicious mix of earnestness and humour in both his formal and informal dealings with his black hosts.

Critical assessment of Mr Botha's tour, however, demands more than merely recording its success as a public relations exercise and acknowledging the Prime Minister's hitherto unrevealed skills as a diplomat.

A trite but important point to note is that the chief ministers whom he visited are "moderates" whose relationships with Pretoria have generally been fairly good. It was therefore pretty certain that Mr Botha would be well received.

But it should be conceded that Mr Botha, with the help of Dr Koornhof, has apparently improved relations between Pretoria and Chief Buthelezi effectively, following sharp differences between Chief Buthelezi and the former Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the former Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger.

Chief Buthelezi was boycotting meetings with Mr Vorster as a "waste of time" after the October 1977 summit meeting between black chief ministers and the former premier. The significance of that was implicit in the finding of the Arnold Bergstraesse Institute that Chief Buthelezi was the leading political personality in the black community.

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, however, one wonders how significant it was for Mr Botha to have been welcomed by Chief Patrick Mphephu and his entourage in Venda.

Chief Mphephu has lost two successive popular general elections and had to detain opposition members of Venda's Legislative Assembly before securing re-election as chief minister last year. He is a minority ruler, indebted to the backing of chiefs and headmen for political office.

How significant is it for Mr Botha to be cheered by schoolchildren or entertained by tribal dancers acting on the instructions of Chief Mphephu and/or his white advisers? Is Chief Mphephu not in the mould of the Rhodesian chiefs upon whom Mr Ian Smith, of Rhodesia, once thought he could rely politically?

Taking a wider perspective, there is evidence to show that support for the chief ministers is steadily diminishing. It is contained in an official publication — "Statistical Survey of Black Development" — which was included in the Press-kit given to journalists who accompanied Mr Botha.

The publication shows a ble voters who voted in general elections held between 1972 and 1978. To quote two examples: in the Ciskei the drop was 112 879 (or 33,3%); in Lebowa it was 43 530 (or 22,8%).

These figures provide prima facie evidence that black people are losing faith in the ability of "homeland" governments to improve their lot, that voting for them is a waste of time. The rise of unemployment, particularly in the rural areas, helps to explain the disillusionment underpinning the voting pattern.

ebbing away because of the inability of black governments to improve the lot of their people, as a memorandum which he submitted to Mr Botha shows.

Chief Sebe declared in his memorandum: "If we are not given an adequate say in future decision-making, then be warned, sir, that the accusation levelled against us that we are puppets of your government will be seen to be true by the people. The day our credibility is condemned is the day that the South African Government will lose the only reliable base South Africa."

The question which arises is: will Mr Botha appease his right-wing and take the risk of seeing these local black administrations swept aside and "moderate" black leaders with them — or will he defy his right-wing and introduce changes to up-date separate development and salvage the leaders operating within its framework?

There was evidence before his tour that Mr Botha was seeking to modernise race policies, but the tour seems to have [illegible] his commitment to

At a news conference last week Mr Botha identified three problem areas in his policy of creating viable self-governing black states and welding them into his proposed Southern Africa "constellation of states".

The problem areas were:

- The need to consolidate the black "homelands" more effectively. "It is a problem area which all who are concerned with peace must (try to) solve," Mr Botha said.
- The challenge of providing work for the burgeoning populations of the black regions, all of which are characterised by a
- The necessity of solving problems associated with "certain facets" of the citizenship policy and of fitting blacks outside the homelands into the constellation of states.

As Mr Botha pointed out at the news conference, the consolidation issue is already under scrutiny by a commission of inquiry. There have been clear hints that the commission will consider new methods of consolidation.

Instead of buying land from whites for exclusive black occupation and of shifting blacks out of "black spots" the co[illegible] boundaries simply be drawn to delineate the "black states" and that white farmers or town residents who fall within them be given the choice of staying behind with guaranteed property rights.

If this procedure is adopted, the chief ministers will have the satisfaction of saying, "I told you so." It is a matter of public record that they have long recommended this approach.

The need to provide work for growing populations has long been a challenge — the more so because of the rising number of black unemployed, most of whom are concentrated in the rural areas, which can provide only a small number of jobs each year.

Mr Botha, who envisages a joint attack by the central and homeland governments and private enterprise, assured the Lebowa Legislative Assembly: "It (unemployment) is receiving my Government's urgent attention."

Finally, of course, there is the citizenship policy, under which all blacks living in white-designated South Africa are stripped of South African citizenship if they are ethnically related to the people of a homeland which opts for Pretoria-style independence.

No single aspect of official policy has proved as unpopular as this or as detrimental to the popularity of the different chief ministers. No matter how much they may protest that they have no intention of taking independence, blacks in the urban areas remain suspicious.

They have heard similar protestations before, only to lose their South African citizenship as first Transkei's government, then BophuthaTswana's and now Venda's accepted independence at the price of depriving blacks in "white" areas of their birthright.

At his news conference, Mr Botha held out the hope of revising the citizenship policy to provide blacks in white-designated South Africa with a niche in his proposed constellation of states, saying: "The constellation of states can solve (the problem) if we make provision for blacks who are outside these national states (or homelands)."

To this the chief ministers can say, "A step in the right direction but not far enough." As far back as 1974 Chief Buthelezi was propagating adaptation of the homelands policy into a form of federation. Mr Botha is proposing a looser form of confederal association. But it could be seen as a move toward the federal solution mooted by Chief Buthelezi and Professor Ntsanwisi.

If Mr Botha's resolve to initiate change in these three problem areas was strengthened by his tour, his time was well spent and the public relations spin-off for his Government its own reward. If he can eliminate or drastically reduce the problem areas, he will not need to undertake similar exercises. The public relations aspect will

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi . . . been given some hope.

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi . . . favours federation.

[illegible] a warning.

The Natal Mercury

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17, 1979

101

LITTLE FRESH LIGHT

THE PRIME MINISTER'S first major congress speech of the season, made in the Durban City Hall on Wednesday night, has come and gone leaving much as it was before and with little new light cast on his plans for "a constellation of southern African States." Indeed the only fresh glimpse of what he has in mind — that homelands will have to become independent before there can be any new getting together (something like a divorce before a wedding) — makes one somewhat despondent.

It is depressing because it suggests that this Government still believes that it can persuade, if not compel, those who have rejected separate development to go along with it when Black leaders like Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu have made it abundantly clear that they will not.

In the case of Chief Buthelezi he has said that he refuses to exchange his people's birthright of a fair share in South Africa's wealth for independent poverty. And why should he, even if the price were to be a consolidated KwaZulu embracing virtually the whole of Natal? That proposition, we emphasise, is not as far-fetched as it sounds, for it was pretty well what he was asked if he would like when visited by senior Nationalist Broederbonders not very long ago.

What Mr. Botha appears to have in mind is that the consolidation of the fragmented homelands should be speeded up even if the R1 000 million which the Van der Walt commission says is needed has to be found at short notice. Presumably during this consolidation there would be a deal of horsetrading with attractive offers designed to persuade the disinclined to take independence. Unfortunately we do not believe that the bait, the as yet ill-defined constellation of States, will be good enough.

The Prime Minister said that talk of his vision culminating in some sort of federal or confederal arrangement was "putting the cart before the horse", but we feel that unless consolidation, the creation of "States" and the ultimate form of association are harnessed together in talks simultaneously at some sort of national indaba he will not have a horse or cart with any future at all.

Mr. Botha, who is also Minister of Defence, said that the country must be prepared to change or die. He was at pains to point out that while congresses were the custodian of principles his Government would decide policy. He said he was not like the French general who, when asked where his followers were, replied: "Up ahead". He was prepared to lead.

We ask him then, if he is not like that French general, to lead us into serious discussions with Blacks about the future while we remain strong and still have considerable bargaining power. What we cannot afford is the sort of vacillation which saps our strength while this Government clings to outmoded policies. There can be reasonable accommodation between Black and White, but it will have to be bargained over together.

PW sidesteps main issues for SA—Raw

The recent 12-point policy statement by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had sidestepped the fundamental issues in South Africa, Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, told a political meeting in Edenvale last night.

Mr Raw listed these as.

- The political rights of urban blacks, who would still, in terms of Mr Botha's policy, have to exercise these rights "in some mythical homeland he has never seen in his life."
- The link between the homelands and the rest of South Africa which had not been formulated.
- The homelands were still being offered only the Hobson's choice of independence or nothing.
- The division of power between whites, Indian and coloured people rested only on a basis of consultation without any joint decision-making.

NEW DRESSES

He added that there was a need to change some of the legislation before one could talk of removing discrimination.

"Except for some positive attitudes, these are just 12 new dresses covering the naked bones of apartheid," said Mr Raw. "And these bones are sticking out all over the place through the new dresses because of a pay-off to the Nationalist right-wing."

Mr Raw defined the fundamental difference between the approach of Mr Botha and that of the New Republic Party as that between a one-way road and a two-way road.

"The Prime Minister sees a one-way road along which the homelands must move to independence. The NRP sees a two-way road moving towards autonomy, but another leading back to co-operation between South Africa and the homelands."

PATRIOTISM

Mr Raw called on Mr Botha not to weaken South Africa's patriotism by exploiting it politically.

"There is a fundamental difference between a 'national strategy' in the defence context and a party-political strategy," he said. "The NRP is totally committed to a national strategy for the defence of South Africa. Our loyalty and dedication to South Africa are beyond question and political differences."

(Report by Graham Esch at Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Nat vote for PFP

A branch chairman of the National Party in Johannesburg West has said he would vote for the Progressive Federal Party in next week's by-election, PFP candidate Mr Peter Soal said last night.

Mr Soal said the branch chairman had told him he was sick and tired of "the Government stealing money."

He refused to reveal the identity of the branch chairman

Slabbert warns students of conflict

The major stumbling blocks to the Government's separate development policy were enforced ethnicity and unequal land division, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, PFP member for Rondebosch, told Rand Afrikaans University students yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said that the Government was attempting an internal decolonisation by emancipating black population groups into independent nations.

Enforced ethnicity caused a paradox which was built into the Government's policies and conflict was unavoidable.

The second problem was caused by the Government's attempt to push the populations back to agricultural areas where there was little development at a time characterised by industrialisation and urbanisation, Dr Slabbert said

Koornhof-Treurnicht tension will 'affect all'

The outcome of the Koornhof-Treurnicht tensions in the National Party will determine whether there will be co-existence or conflict between blacks and whites in South Africa, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert Progressive Federal Party MP for Rondebosch said last night.

The outcome of the Koornhof-Treurnicht tensions in the National Party will determine whether there will be co-existence or conflict between blacks and whites in South Africa, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Progressive Federal Party MP for Rondebosch, said last night.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert, who is expected to be elected PFP leader next month, was addressing a by-election meeting attended by 100 people in the Johannesburg West constituency in support of PFP candidate Mr Peter Soal.

He said there was confusion in the NP, and a minority of NP members wanted genuine negotiation as opposed to mere consultation.

"Do not take the tensions of Dr Koornhof and Dr Treurnicht lightly, they will affect our lives deeply," he said.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert suggested three questions which would throw the two factions of the NP into conflict:

- Is the black man a citizen of South Africa?
- Must more ground be given for homeland consolidation?
- Must there be more negotiation with other groups?

Dr van Zyl Slabbert said the "high-falluting" language used by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, showed the NP was unsure of its policy.

(Report by D Greef, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

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n Oorsig oor die Eerste Tien Jaar.

DIE OORSPRONG EN DOELSTELLINGS VAN DIE SENTRU

STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

REGULASIEKOERANT No. 2849 — PRYS 11c AVB 20c PRICE 11c GST — REGULATION GAZETTE No. 2849

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GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

DEPARTEMENT VAN SAMEWERKING EN ONTWIKKELING

No. R. 1935 — 24 Augustus 1979

UITBREIDING VAN WETGEWENDE BEVOEGDHEDE VAN WETGEWENDE VERGADERINGS

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 37A (2) van die Grondwet van die Swart State, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), bepaal ek, Pieter Gerhardus Jacobus Koornhof, Minister van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling, hierby—

(a) dat die bepalings van items 2, 5, 21A, 21B, 28, 31K, 31P, 31R en 31S van Bylae 1 van die Grondwet van die Swart State, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), soos gewysig by Proklamasie R 150 van 1979, op 24 Augustus 1979 in werking tree in—

(i) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die Ciskeise Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R 118 van 21 Mei 1971 ingestel is;

(ii) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die Lebowa-Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R. 156 van 30 Julie 1971 ingestel is;

(iii) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die Venda-Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R. 119 van 1 Junie 1971 ingestel is;

(iv) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die Gazankulu- Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R 148 van 1 Julie 1971 ingestel is;

(v) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die Qwaqwa-Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R. 225 van 1 Oktober 1971 ingestel is;

(vi) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die KwaZulu-Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R. 70 van 30 Maart 1972 ingestel is; en

(vii) die gebied ten opsigte waarvan die KaNgwane-Wetgewende Vergadering by Proklamasie R. 214 van 16 September 1977 ingestel is; en

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

No. R. 1935 — 24 August 1979

EXTENSION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 37A (2) of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), I, Pieter Gerhardus Jacobus Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, hereby determine—

(a) that the provisions of items 2, 5, 21A, 21B, 28, 31K, 31P, 31R and 31S of Schedule 1 to the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), as amended by Proclamation R. 150 of 1979, shall come into operation on 24 August 1979 in—

(i) the area in respect of which the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R. 118 of 21 May 1971;

(ii) the area in respect of which the Lebowa Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R 156 of 30 July 1971;

(iii) the area in respect of which the Venda Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R. 119 of 1 June 1971;

(iv) the area in respect of which the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R. 148 of 1 July 1971;

(v) the area in respect of which the Qwaqwa Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R. 225 of 1 October 1971;

(vi) the area in respect of which the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R. 70 of 30 March 1972, and

(vii) the area in respect of which the KaNgwane Legislative Assembly was established by Proclamation R. 214 of 16 September 1977; and

(b) dat die bepalings van item 31T van Bylae 1 van die Grondwet van die Swart State, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), soos gewysig by Proklamasie R. 150 van 1979, op 24 Augustus 1979 in die gebiede bedoel in paragraaf (a) (i), (iii), (iv) en (vi) in werking tree.

P. G. J. KOORNHOF, Minister van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling.

(b) that the provisions of item 31T of Schedule 1 to the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), as amended by Proclamation R. 150 of 1979, shall come into operation on 24 August 1979 in the areas referred to in paragraph (a) (i), (iii), (iv) and (vi).

P. G. J. KOORNHOF, Minister of Co-operation and Development.

INHOUD

CONTENTS

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101 RAPP 26/8/79

PW antwoord

* VERVOLG VAN BL. EEN *

voor kruisig as hulle wil.

Maar hy het dit beklemtoon dat die belange van die mense wat geraak kan word, die hoogste prioriteit sal kry. Daar sal nie verwag word dat belange en bates sonder behoorlike vergoeding prysgegee moet word nie.

Hy vra almal wat deur moontlike toekomstige konsolidasie geraak kan word, om dit met die sentrale komitee, die streekomitees of die betrokke departemente te bespreek. Die Regering sal nie roekeloos optree nie.

Voordat die Regering besluit het dat 'n deurtastende ondersoek na konsolidasie ingestel moet word, het „ons eie geleerdes gesê dat die huidige stand van konsolidasie nie bevredigend is nie". Ook in landbou- en ekonomiese kringe, van die kant van swart leiers en die buiteland, was daar kritiek. Dit was 'n verstandige besluit om ondersoek in stel. Dit was die beste om die politici, akademici, nyweraars, landbouleiers en die swartmense vir hierdie doel bymekaar te kry.

* Mnr. Botha het meer lig gewerp op die gedagte aan 'n konstellasie van Suider-Afrikaanse state:

Oor gemeenskaplike sake moet met soveel moontlik buurlande saamgewerk en tot verstandhoudings gekom word. Van die gemeenskaplike terreine is die landbou, die vervoerwese, gesondheid, arbeid, tegnologie en die ekonomies.

„Ons moet organisasie, sekretariate, skep waardeur ons met mekaar kan beraadslaag". Besluite moet uitgevoer word en daarom sal dit nie help om alleen op streekvlak te vergader nie, maar omvattend.

Ons is op pad na samewerking in 'n konstellasie van Suider-Afrikaanse state. Hy dink ons mense wil dit hê, omdat alle redelike mense so 'n pad sal verkies bo die alternatief dat jy 'n vasgedrukte land is.

* Dit is sy voorneme dat van alle „onnodige en aanstootlike diskriminasie wat die eer en waardigheid van die mens kan seermaak" weggekom moet word.

Dit is nie só dat iemand selfmoord pleeg as hy 'n ander met respek behandel nie.

Daar is vandag goeie verhoudinge tussen die verskillende volkere in die land—„die land is redelik ontspanne". Ná sy jongste besoeke aan die swart state moet hy getuig dat hy net die grootste welwillendheid van die massas ontvang het. Daar is geen enkele belediging na hom geslinger nie.

„Ek sê met al die nadruk waaroor ek beskik: Ek is van plan om alles in my vermoë te doen om met die wil van God die goeie verhoudinge te bewaar. Ek sal alles doen om revolusie te voorkom", het hy onder groot gejuig gesê.

Hy kan nie net populêre toesprake hou nie, want dan is hy geen Eerste Minister nie.

Oor die volgende sake het hy volstrekte eenheid bepleit:

'n Regte gesindheid teenoor ons veiligheidsdienste. Almal moet saamwerk teen die Kommunistiese euwel, almal moet vra wat kan ek vir my land doen, ons moet meer doen vir ons liefde as vir ons haat.

Die openbare media en almal wat boodskappe uitdra, vra hy om dit wat verhef en veredel, die voorrang te laat geniet en nie die dinge wat vernietig nie.

JAARVERSLAG

1978

SENTRUM VIR INTERGROEPSTUDIES

(Sentrum as The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited (Beperk deur Garansie))

Posadres:
Universiteit van Kaapstad
Rondebosch
Republiek van Suid-Afrika
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University Avenue
Groote Schuur Campus

Telefoon: 65-4145; 69-8531 Uitb. 766

INLEIDING

Gedurende die eerste nege jaar van sy bestaan het die Sentrum vir Intergroepstudies gereeld 'n jaarverslag oor sy werksaamhede gepubliseer. Om die Sentrum se 10de verjaarsdag op 1 April 1978 te vier is die jaarverslag in 1977 vervang deur 'n Oorsig oor die Eerste Tien Jaar.

DIE OORSPRONG EN DOELSTELLINGS VAN DIE SENTRUM

Die Sentrum word grootliks gefinansier deur die Abe Bailey-Trust wat ingevolge die testament van Sir Abe Bailey gestig is. Dit is geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited (Beperk deur Garansie) - 'n maatskappy beperk deur garansie en sonder 'n aandele-kapitaal kragtens die Maatskappywet 1973 (Wet Nr. 61 van 1973).

Homeland move not enough, says Eglin

201

Political Correspondent

Argus 31/8/79

THE attempt by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha to break loose from the 1936 land settlement should not allow the National Party to run from realities, Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition, said today.

He was reacting to a weekend speech by the Prime Minister in which Mr Botha made it clear that the Government was not willing to make a 'holy cow' of the 1936 Land Consolidation Act, which limits the amount of land which can be given to homelands.

Mr Botha indicated that the Government was prepared to change this in order to create better opportunities for blacks.

Mr Eglin said today that, while this was a welcome development, it was fallacious to believe that consolidation of the homelands in itself would satisfy the political aspirations of the majority of blacks.

PIPE-DREAM

It would also be a pipe-dream to imagine that, by changing the boundaries of the homelands, one could allow South Africans to escape the challenge of sharing power and responsibility for a common future.

'Of course the homelands should be consolidated to make them more meaningful and viable administrative units.

'This is something the Progressive Federal Party has consistently advocated as part of its policy for a geographic federation.

'Two realities have to be faced. On the one hand, meaningful consolidation can take place only by redrawing boundaries so as to include white-owned land and towns, thus making the homelands more multiracial and less racially exclusive.

'On the other hand, the legitimate political aspirations of the millions of blacks who live and work permanently in our cities and on our farms cannot be satisfied in a distant homeland.

PW concludes homelands tour

(101) 29/8/79 Post

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, embarks on the last leg of his goodwill tour of the homelands today with one-day visits to QwaQwa and KaNgwane.

Mr Botha, who started his tour earlier this month with visits to the Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, Venda, Lebowa and the Southern Ndebele, is being accompanied by the Minister of Co-Operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, and officials of his department.

Throughout his tour so far Mr Botha has been well received by the homeland leaders and their peoples.

Mr Botha said the talks held so far had been fruitful and frank.

The tour, described as historic, was seen as part of an effort on the part of the Prime Minister to better acquaint himself with the problems of the homeland leaders and their peoples.

HELICOPTER

On his arrival today at Phuthaditjhaba, the QwaQwa homeland's seat of government, Mr Botha will visit the area by helicopter before meeting the Basotho people at the local stadium.

After a luncheon hosted by the QwaQwa Cabinet, Mr Botha and Dr Koornhof will hold discussions with the homeland's Chief Minister, Mr T K Mopeli, and his cabinet.

QwaQwa, situated in the north-eastern Free State and bordering on Lesotho and Natal, became self-governing in October 1974, and has a 40-member Legislative Assembly. It comprises only of one district, Witsieshoek.

Tomorrow Mr Botha and his entourage moves on to Kangwane, in the Eastern Transvaal, where they will hold discussions at Louisville — the seat of government — with the homeland's executive, headed by the Chief Executive Councillor, Mr E J Mabuza.

Afterwards Mr Botha will make a short tour of the area by helicopter.

In the afternoon Mr Botha will meet and address members of the Kangwane Legislative Assembly at the Ngwane Hall at Kanyamazane.

The Prime Minister and his entourage are scheduled to return to Pretoria later tomorrow evening.

On Friday, Mr Botha and members of his Cabinet, including some deputy ministers, will visit Soweto on the invitation of Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Community Council. — Sapa.

c) Ander lede:

Mnr K. Bosman
Professor A. Cupido
Mnr N. Daniels
Mnr Achmat Davids
Professor R.J. Davies
Professor J.J. Degenaar
Mnr René de Villiers
Dr I.D. du Plessis
Professor J.J.F. Durand
Professor J.B. du Toit
Mnr A. Flederman
Professor R.F. Fuggle
Mnr G.J. Gerwel
Eerw. D. Guma
Professor A. Paul Hare
Dr Gertrud Heydorn
Mnr F.A. Jacobs
Mnr H.M. Jimba
Mnr H.W. Middelmann
Eerw. M.T.L. Moletsane
Professor A.D. Muller
Sheik A. Najaar
Mnr Victor Norton
Professor N.J.J. Olivier
Mnr L. Phillips

d) Twee Ere-Fellows:

Professor J.L. Boshoff
Dr Sheila T. van der Horst

Lede word na die Algemene Jaarvergader skappy uitgenooi en kies elke drie jaa op die Beheerraad. 'n Verkiesing is in huidige ampsdraer is Biskop A.W. Habel verpligtinge aan lede opgelê word nie pleeg in verband met sake wat die Sen

NAVORSING

Gedurende die verslagjaar het die nav Sentrum die volgende behels:

A. Mobiliteit en Politieke Veranderil

Hierdie projek is 'n paar jaar gelede soek onder die kleurling bevolking va eiland is onderneem. 'n Aantal tydeli

Opposition to homeland 'surgery'

As the "independence" of Venda approaches (the deserting procession of Mpnephu satellites tailed up in July), the Black Sash urges voices to protest against the amputation of yet another limb of our body politic. The body can and does survive radical surgery but the amputated limb is clinically dead as soon as it is removed.

Without expert advice, South Africa entered an era of elective surgery in 1976. This whim initiated by the Government first manifested itself in the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970, reflecting the wishes of only a small section of the population of the entire country. The decision to dismember South Africa was taken without any consultation of the vast majority of its citizens. They became, by act of the all white parliament, citizens of the various homelands whether they actually lived in those areas or not. The all-powerful computer in Pretoria allocated citizenship to thousands of people who had never seen their so-called homelands, now referred to by Government by the grandiose title of "Black States."

South Africa would be a healthier body politic if these excisions were to stop. All of South Africa belongs to all its citizens, including those whom the Government has seen fit to deprive forcibly of their citizenship.

The vast majority of South Africans, black, brown and many whites object strenuously to the dismemberment of our country. In fact, if Transkei and Bophuthatswana could be grafted back and the amputation of Venda on September 13 undone, there would be hope for a peaceful future for us all.

By what right has the South African government deprived people born and brought up in South Africa of their citizenship, while keeping the right to confer citizenship and vote participation on foreigners? Nazi Germany deprived citizens of their citizenship and the world was horrified; Communist Russia still does this, and other nations are appalled.

competent than the present writer have already commented on the poverty, lack of infrastructure, overcrowding and the total dependance on South Africa. They are poor and likely to get poorer as they become increasingly overcrowded dumping grounds.

Mandatory reading for the South African Cabinet, National Party members, and indeed for all the thousands of white voters who are going to cast their white votes in the numerous by-elections now pending, should be Hans Christian Andersen's "The Emperor's New Clothes." What is the "Constellation of States" but the non-existent new clothes? South Africa can sort out its problems and they are many and various without all this needless, expensive surgery. Money could be better spent on creating jobs for the millions of jobless, for closing the urban-rural poverty gap, for closing the black-white poverty gap, for decent education for all South Africans, for adequate medical care for all South Africans, in fact dozens of vital projects, rather than in creating and maintaining farces, embellished with all the trappings of ambassadorial residences, sports stadiums, independence "celebrations" and all the other guff that is viewed with hatred and contempt by the majority of all South Africans.

We can't afford the dismemberment of our country in the name of ideology. We dare not strip people of their rightful citizenship, without engendering hatred. Blacks, browns and whites want their country whole and beautiful, not disfigured by foolish unnecessary surgery.

Gita Dyzenhaus
Vice-President
The Black Sash
36 Victory House
34 Harrison-st
Johannesburg

DIE OORSPRONG EN DOELSTELLINGS VAN DIE SENTRUM

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What value has the citizenship of the excised territories? None: no one recognises them except South Africa and each other. If a Transkei citizen, including the President himself, wishes to travel abroad, he can only do so on a South African passport, and proud black South Africans refuse to go through the farce of taking a Transkei or Bophuthatswana passport in order to get a South African passport, which ought to be theirs by right of birth.

As to the political and economic viability of these states, many more

Koornhof makes another change

Goodbye Black States, Hello national States

NM 7/9/79 (101)

Mercury Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — Dr. Piet Koornhof has made yet another name change in the department he inherited from Dr. Connie Mulder — the homelands in future will be known officially as national States, not as the Black States.

Dr. Koornhof, who changed Dr. Mulder's Department of Plural Relations and Development to the Depart of Co-operation and Development, made no announcement when he addressed the Free State National Party congress yesterday. He simply used the term "national States" whenever he referred to the homelands.

One of his deputy ministers, Mr. George Morrison, told the congress later he had not had time to get used to the change. He then went on to introduce a change of his own — he urged South Africans to get away from the term urban Blacks, and to refer instead to "Black people in White areas".

"These people are not only found in the cities. The term urban Black also gives the idea of a homogenous unit, which is not so. They are composed of Xhosas, Vendas, Ciskeians, Tswanas and others. Therefore it is wrong to talk of urban Blacks."

A delegate criticised the new names and said they were confusing.

The department had gone from Bantu Affairs to Plural Relations to Co-operation and Development, he said, while homelands had become Black States and then national States.

● The rapid change caught even Prime Minister Mr. P. W Botha unawares. He arrived at the congress yesterday afternoon and told delegates about his recent tour of "Black States".

C.T.

National Party Congress 1979

Jobless 'fertile for revolution'

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — After recent changes had been criticized, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, yesterday defended the government's labour policies by emphasizing the danger of revolution by workless people.

One delegate at the Free State congress of the National Party asked whether black people were ready for trade unions and another claimed that the scrapping of job reservation was "United Party policy".

Mr Botha said there were about one million unemployed in South Africa and if this situation continued it would create fertile ground for revolution.

During his reply, a slide-tape show about the government's new labour policies was given in which it was stated that the changes would protect white workers and that job reservation was no longer working.

Mr Botha was questioned closely on government policies, but was loudly applauded when he had finished.

In his reply, he said: "We must just accept that the situation in the year 1979 is completely different to that in 1948 because the facts have changed completely."

There were 5,5 million workers in South Africa and about one million unemployed, most of them black. By the year 2000, six million would be looking for work.

Jobs had to be found or millions would be out of work and "fertile for revolution", as they would be hungry. "South africa cannot survive in such a situation."

Manpower training was essential. Already there was a shortage of 30 000 to 40 000 trained artisans and professional people, not only in the white area but also in the border areas and the homelands.

"There has to be total training for the whole of South Africa.

"Let us accept one thing and that is that any worker wants one thing and that is security, not to be thrown out of his home tomorrow and to be able to look after his family," Mr Botha said.

Through the new policies, workers would be protected through the industrial councils and the industrial court. But employers and employees had to be partners in South Africa's 13 000 factories.

This system would ensure equal pay for equal work and people would not lose

Koornhof's new term

Political Correspondent

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Dr Morrison then went on to introduce a change of his own — he urged South Africans to get away from the term urban blacks, and to refer instead to "black people in white areas".

C.T. 7/9/79

Blacks to vote in homelands, says Koornhof

(101)

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, yesterday reaffirmed that blacks in urban areas would have to exercise their political rights through the homelands and would not be incorporated in the white political structure.

His remarks come at a time of strong speculation that urban blacks could be included in a new constitutional set-up making provisions for whites coloured people and Indians.

The Schlebusch Constitutional Commission is hearing evidence from all sectors on a new constitution for South Africa.

Reassuring delegates at the congress, Dr Koornhof said: "Blacks in urban areas will not be cut loose from their national states and taken up in the white political system.

"The decision-making rights of black people will be transferred to the hands of black governments in the different black states. The black man's political rights must be exercised in his national state."

Dr Koornhof's words underline a major aspect of the government's national strategy — improvements in social and economic conditions of urban blacks, with political rights falling within the homelands. His words were underlined by the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr George Morrison.

Dr Morrison said community councils were not meant to act as political plaforms for blacks in white areas but to give blacks increasing control over their own municipal affairs.

Dr Morrison also announced that the cabinet committee on the position of urban blacks would investigate:

- The infrastructure and township development.
- Local government powers in black urban areas.
- Education.
- Economic opportunities for blacks in black urban

PEANUT CRISPS - Biscuits — Mrs V. Eyles, Pinelands

1/4 lb margarine)
1 cup brown sugar) blend together
1 egg)

Add 1 cup flour, 1 cup Jungle oats, 1 cup cornflakes, 1 cup salted peanuts, 1/2 t bicarb, 1/2 t baking powder.
Mix well. Roll into walnut size balls. Place well apart on baking sheet. Flatten slightly with a fork. Bake at 350°F for about 10 minutes.

---oOo---

GINGER BISCUITS — Peggy Grey[illegible] vlakte

3 lbs flour (1500 g)
500 g syrup
500 g margarine
1 pkt bicarb
salt

1 kg yellow sug[illegible]
5 small eggs
2 - 4 T ground [illegible]
1 pkt cream of [illegible]

Sift flour, salt and cream of tartar. Melt marg[illegible] sugar; allow to cool. Add beaten eggs and ginge[illegible] ingredients and mix thoroughly. Dissolve soda i[illegible] Add. Allow to stand overnight. Roll into small [illegible] with thumb. Bake for 15 - 20 minutes at 350°F.

---oOo---

GINGER NUT BISCUITS — Janet Brow[illegible]

2 1/2 oz margarine
3 oz golden syrup
1/2 level t mixed spice
1 level t bicarb of soda

3 oz soft brown
1/2 lb cake flo[illegible]
1 1/2 level t g[illegible]
1 T warm water

Melt margarine, sugar and syrup in pan over low [illegible] spice and ginger into a bowl. Add melted marga[illegible] bicarb combined with water. Mix well and shape [illegible] Stand on buttered baking tray allowing room for [illegible] just above centre of oven at 325°F for 15 minute[illegible]

---oOo---

COCOANUT FINGERS — Maria Cannone, Durbanville

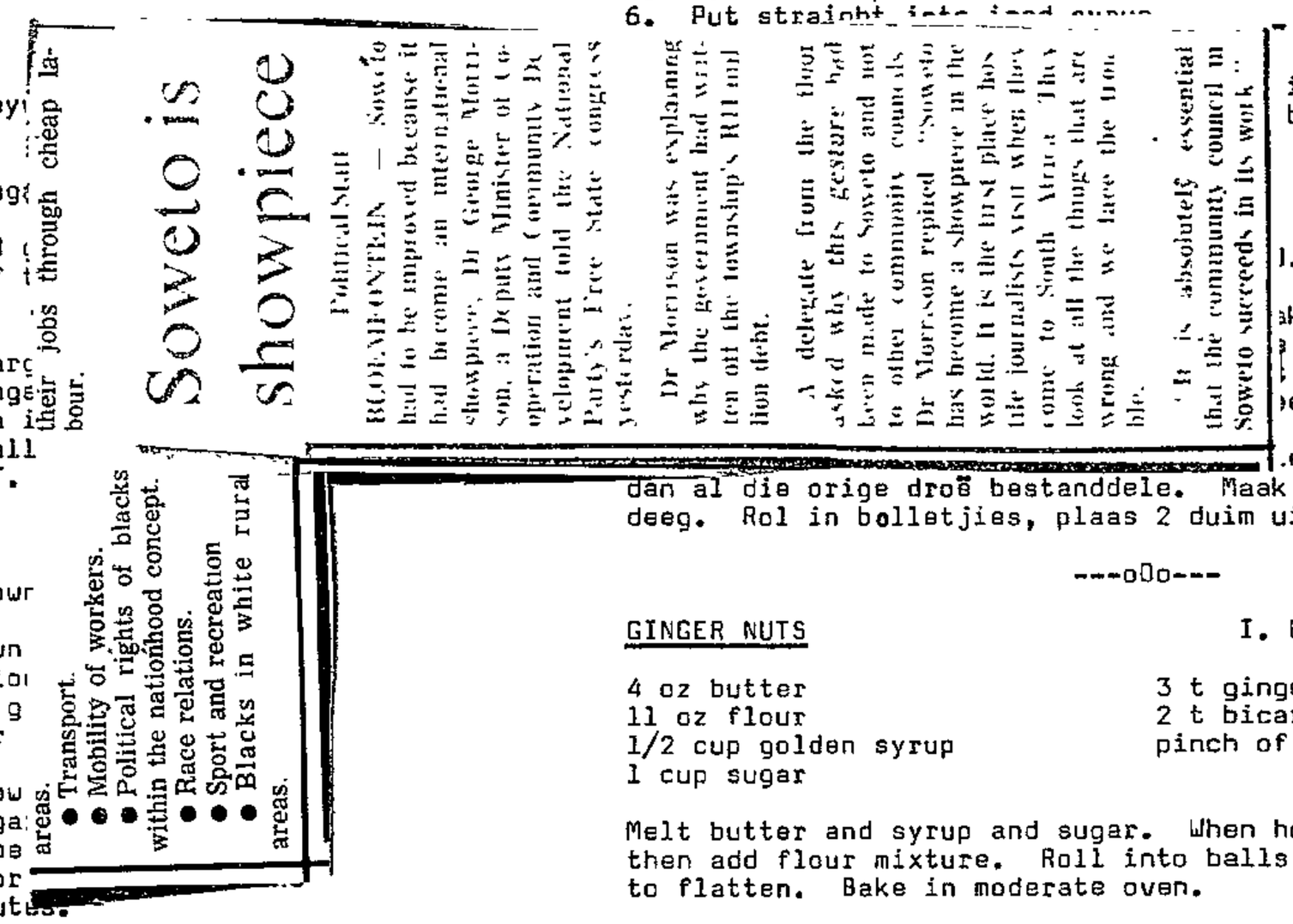
1/2 lb butter/margarine
2 small cups flour
2 t baking powder.

4 ozs sugar
2 small cups cocoanut

Mix altogether. Mixture rather crumbly. Press into tin 15 x 10. Bake at 325°F for 1/2 hour. Cool slightly.

Pour over:
Mix 2 cups icing sugar, 1 T cocoa, 1 t vanilla essence. Mix with a little boiling water - mix well. Pour over biscuits, let it set, then cut.

---oOo---



Sowetos showpiece

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN — Soweto had to be improved because it had become an international showpiece, Dr George Morrison, a Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Community Development told the National Party's Free State congress yesterday.

Dr Morrison was explaining why the government had written off the township's R11 million debt.

A delegate from the floor asked why this gesture had been made to Soweto and not to other community councils.

Dr Morrison replied "Soweto has become a showpiece in the world. It is the first place his the journalists visit when they come to South Africa. They look at all the things that are wrong and we face the trou-ble.

"It is absolutely essential that the community council in Soweto succeeds in its work."

cheap labour.
through
their jobs

● Transport.
● Mobility of workers.
● Political rights of blacks within the nationhood concept.
● Race relations.
● Sport and recreations.
● Blacks in white rural areas.

KOEKSUSTERS — Sharon Young, Rondebosch

1 cup flour
2 t baking powder
± 1/2 cup milk to make scone dough

salt
2 d margarine

1. Sieve flour, salt and baking powder
2. Rub in butter
3. Add liquid to make scone dough
4. Make into koeksuster shapes
5. Cook in deep fat
6. Put straight into [illegible]

[illegible]inger
[illegible] boil for 2 minutes. Pour

[illegible]l. van Zyl

[illegible]akpoeier
[illegible] fyn klapper

[illegible]eksoda

[illegible]ers in, voeg by klapper, dan al die orige droë bestanddele. Maak tot 'n taamlike stywe deeg. Rol in bolletjies, plaas 2 duim uitmekaar in pan.

---oOo---

GINGER NUTS — I. Brown, Stutterheim

4 oz butter
11 oz flour
1/2 cup golden syrup
1 cup sugar

3 t ginger
2 t bicarb
pinch of salt

Melt butter and syrup and sugar. When hot, mix in bicarb and then add flour mixture. Roll into balls ± walnut size - no need to flatten. Bake in moderate oven.

---oOo---

SHORTCAKE BISCUITS — Janet Brown, Ridgeworth

150 g butter
100 g castor sugar
pinch of salt

200 g cake flour
vanilla essence

Cream butter and sugar, add flour and essence. Bake in 325°F oven. Cut into fingers.

---oOo---

CT, 10/8/79 (101)

Back-tracking on blacks

THERE are ominous signs of retrogression by the government in one respect, at least, after Koedoespoort and in the face of "confused" Nationalists at last week's Free State congress. Both Dr Koornhof and one of his new deputies, Dr George Morrison, most effectively dashed hopes that urban blacks might be incorporated into the new constitutional plan. This, in spite of the fact that the constitutional commission under Mr Alwyn Schlebusch is hearing evidence from, among others, black spokesmen. Much is made of the local autonomy to be enjoyed by black community councils in Soweto and elsewhere. But these councils, according to Dr Morrison, are not intended as political platforms for blacks, only as bodies to exercise control over municipal affairs.

In other words, the most that Soweto can expect is to be raised, like Bellville, to the status of a city. Its residents can choose the equivalent of a mayor, make momentous decisions on drainage, street lighting and the like, but will be prevented from exercising any meaningful political rights in the area they inhabit. They have to exercise these rights, says Dr Koornhof, through the homelands, a philosophy identical to that propounded by Mr M C Botha and, indeed, Dr Verwoerd. So much for progress. Dr Morrison comes close to suggesting blacks won't even be permitted to *talk* politics in these councils, let alone practise political power, though how he thinks he will be able to enforce this ruling he does not say. But his statement is symptomatic of the misguided belief that people without power will do as they are told. If they want to use a community council as a political platform, they will do so. And there is precious little that Dr Morrison or anybody else can do to stop them.

The new deputy has hardly made an auspicious debut. In Bloemfontein he urged South Africans to drop the term "urban black" and instead call urban blacks "black people in white areas". As though a bit of clumsy semantic juggling, five words in place of two, will change the facts. The facts, acknowleged even by some of Dr Morrison's colleagues, are that many blacks constitute a permanent urban population. And that Soweto and other townships will never be white. Even more inept was Dr Morrison's admission that Soweto had to be improved because it was an international showpiece. It was the first place hostile journalists visited, he said, explaining why the government had written off the township's R11m debt. Perhaps he would explain to other large townships how they might attract hostile journalists, if that is the way to be improved and have multi-million-rand debts written off.

The Star

Thursday September 13 1979

Independent Venda, a beautiful failure

VENDA passed tranquilly to independence last night to become South Africa's third independent black state. We wish its people a prosperous future. Home of the legend of the crocodile and the snake dance, Venda is probably the most beautiful of the homelands, and it has agricultural potential. But in political terms it represents failure. That is the sad reality that has to be faced.

It is all very well to argue that Lesotho and Swaziland are also independent black states, created by Britain to the applause of the world; that the policy is the same. The argument will not hold water for obvious reasons, not the least being situations such as that involving a prominent Sowetan professional man who has to go, say, to Bophuthatswana — a place he had never seen before — for a passport to go abroad. What we have in Transkei and Bophuthatswana, and now Venda, is seen by the world as a piece of political sleight of hand which will not earn international recognition. In Venda's case, some of the early conjuring was too clumsy to deceive the eye. In 1973 Chief Mphephu gained power with only five of 18 elected seats, his support in the assembly coming from 41 traditional leaders. Last year he again relied on the backing of the traditional leaders and the detention of opposition members to retain power in new elections.

The South African Government would be wise to seek consensus on regions such as Venda and many others being developed as entities and being embraced into a South African federation, confederation or even a constellation. They are regions which have to be developed and expanded. The best way to expand, in fact, is to include large tracts of white land and allow the whites to retain ownership so that they would be guaranteed a prosperous future and form a nucleus for development.

If the problem is tackled this way, then Venda — and other homelands — will become part of the solution instead of part of the problem.

(101) 14/9/79 Post

Thought for today

THOSE white officials at places like the pass office will always try to make you feel inferior. It is all part of a psychological war to make you believe it. Don't. You are better than them. Be proud and stand up for your rights. Don't let them win this war.

PATRICK DID IT

BELIEVE me, I'm not trying to be funny. But if my sources (usually impeccable) are anything to go by, the story about Chief Patrick Mphephu's first urge to get independence is worth repeating.

I can't vouch for its authenticity, but having heard Chief Mphephu before, I have a sneaky suspicion the story is true.

My sources tell me that Chief Mphephu was having a big indaba with his chief followers. And, in his usual fashion, he declared: "Matanzima did it. Mangope did it. So why can't we did it."

The end result, of course, is the "independence" that was being celebrated at Thoho-ya-Ndou this week. All I can say is that, indeed, Mphephu did it!

Well, what is it that all these honourable gentlemen "did it"?

Well, as from midnight one night this week, about half a million people were deprived of their South African citizenship. Mphephu did it.

As from midnight one night this week, half a million people will be forced into citizenship of a country which, Mr Mphephu says, he hopes South Africa will recognise.

Added to that, those people now join millions of others who have found nothing of the sort of "freedom" that goes with independence. Those citizens still join the same queues as those who also have leaders aspiring for "independence". To the South African situation, they are still blacks to be looked down upon.

I just wonder who is next to "did it". I will put my money on Ciskei. Any odds?

Some years ago, one gentleman wrote a book called "Agter Die Magalies." In that book, the said gentleman said that blacks smelt "like stale biltong". I laid a charge against him. The State declined to prosecute.

I still feel just as bad about that statement. And now old Arrie has come up with another one just as blatantly offensive. It will go on and on. As long as the State does not believe it matters.

I will devote the rest of this page to our readers' reaction to Mr Paulos' statement. I will also add that there are some letters we simply dared not publish because unlike Arrie, we are law abiding citizens.

Land for blacks will be a prickly issue

(101) 14/9/79 (STAR)

The possibility of the 1936 land quota for blacks being exceeded once the eventual consolidation of the homelands is decided upon is expected to be a prickly issue at the congress.

An undercurrent of dissatisfaction at the lack of finality in consolidation plans, that were supposed to have been finalised in 1975, marked the recent Transvaal Agricultural Union congress and farmers are likely to raise the issue again.

Besides the fact that consolidation is once again under investigation, farmers are concerned that they are being consulted about details of proposed boundary changes only once the Central Consolidation Commission has set its guidelines, and not before.

A resolution compiled by the Alldays-Levubu and Soutpansberg branches asks that should the commission really find it necessary to exceed the 1936 quota the affected land should be bought by the homelands at market prices and paid for out of the homelands' own resources.

The resolution is seen as a tough rejoinder to government requests to farmers for co-operation and sacrifice in realising the ideal of meaningful consolidation.

Meanwhile, news during the past week that Mafeking appears headed to become part of Bophuthatswana has provoked unease in a number of white communities close to homeland borders.

People in Pietersburg appear to be especially concerned, a random survey of white feelings in the Northern Transvaal has revealed.

It is understood from reliable Government sources that at this stage there is no intention to have Pietersburg included in Lebowa.

However, several people in the town who were interviewed this week expressed fears about possible inclusion into the nearby homeland.

"They once said Port St Johns would remain white — and then it became part of Transkei. Then they said Mafeking would stay white — and now they are saying it's going to go black. What are we supposed to think now?" said one resident.

These 'homelands' are just a bluff

SIR — In SUNDAY POST, September 2, I read what Sam Mabe said about BophuthaVenda. Really Sam said something important which we often fail to consider.

It is true that Mphephu is "diding" it because Mangope and Matanzima did it. It would be pointless for me to discuss the Venda election.

We all know what happened, we are just not sure how it happened.

Brother Sam is right when he says that Mr Baldwin Mudau would not have been Pretoria's idea of the Venda leader.

Pretoria knew that he would not dance "Vastrap" on his head, that is the reason Pretoria interfered.

Most of us take the independence issue as it comes, but should it be like that?

It is like receiving a bomb wrapped as a Christmas parcel.

If we look at what is happening in Transkei, we can see what the results of independence will be.

The world outside has been fed propaganda about Transkei. If we think back to the photos of happy adults and children, happily swimming in the sea etc, that is in fact the opposite of what is happening in Transkei. Life in Transkei is rather a shame.

But pressure is being put on Pretoria from the outside.

Universities in America have offices to deal with apartheid in South Africa.

Steps are being taken to boycott goods from South Africa. Those who are regular radio listeners or newspaper readers will recall news about the boycott of sportsmen.

Matanzima did it... Mangope did it... ... why can't I did it.
—SUNDAY POST Script, Sept 20

The wheel of life is turning. Those resisting the turning of the wheel are accepting the independencce indoctrinations.

But who is applying the resistance when the world outside is pushing?

Without any doubt, Matanzima, Mangope and Mphephu are the culprits.

I can assure you these three are not working for the nation — the black nation. They are working for their children and for the non-black community.

When some say "my people are happy" they mean that their children are happy.

Independence is a useless procedure. Try something else, Pretoria.

For your information, you can't tell me that I am independent where part of my place is yours. I know there will be no change, you are just bluffing the outside world.

I appeal to all black people to write to SUNDAY POST so that we can share ideas. We have been waiting for a long time. Now it is time to discuss this matter.

AZANIAN,
Durban.

City blacks' 'homeland rights'

Star 19/9/79

(101)

Political Reporter

Virtually all urban blacks had ties with the homelands which must be strengthened as far as possible. The Minister of co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, said yesterday.

At the Nationalist congress in Pretoria he faced a number of questions from delegates concerned about the Government's handling of urban black issues.

He told delegates that the black people who lived in urban areas did not represent a population group as such and that most of them had ties with the homelands. These ties had to be strenghtened as far as possible and the homelands had to be strengthened at all costs.

Registered voters in urban areas had the right to take part in homeland elections and to serve in homeland governments, Dr Koornhof said.

Homeland plan 'costs billions'

101

STAR. 20/9/79.

MR VAN DER WALT
. . . beyond the Act.

By Rob Meintjes

The Government's plan to speed up homelands consolidation by drawing fresh borders could cost the South African taxpayer billions of rands.

This emerges from a survey by the Bureau of Economic Research of the Department of Co-operation and Development, and from statements to the National Party's Transvaal congress yesterday by Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the Central Consolidation Commission.

The Bureau for Economic Research (Benso) calculated that consolidation in terms of the 1936 Land Act would cost more than R800-million and take a century to complete unless the Government moved faster.

But yesterday, Mr van der Walt put it beyond doubt that the Government would have to go beyond the limitations of the Land Act — under which about 2-million hectares still had to be bought in 1976.

He said: "It is a disgrace that in 1979, we still have to consolidate on the basis of promises given to the black people in 1936.

"We are not consolidating, we are drawing frontiers of new states that can be viable and play their part in the constellation of states we envi-

HOT BUTTERSCOTCH SAUCE — Mary Snelling, Ridgeworth

1 T syrup
2 T brown sugar
squeeze lemon juice
1/2 oz butter/margarine
1/2 pt warm water
1 d custard powder mixed with 1 T water

Put butter, sugar, syrup into a pan and cook to a rich brown toffee, draw aside, add water carefully, then the lemon juice. Boil up sauce and pour onto custard powder, reboil till mixture thickens. Serve hot with ice-cream.

---oOo---

TOMATO SAUCE — Sharon Young, Rondebosch

4 tomatoes
4 sliced onions
4 t sugar
8 level t maizena
salt and pepper
4 small carrots - grated
1/2 pt boiling water
4 T cold water

1. Wash and cut tomatoes into rough pieces.
2. Put tomatoes, onions, carrots into a saucepan with water and seasoning; boil until soft.
3. Sieve, add maizena, blend and boil again.

---oOo---

BARBE

2 oni
2 T
2 T
1 T

Mix

SHER

Warm sherry
a pot of nearly boiling water until thick a
once, adding sugar to tasts.

---oOo---

SAUCE WITH WHITE WINE — K.W.V. Paarl
(For White Meats and Sea Foods)

1 cup hot cream
1/4 cup dry white wine
3 T butter
1 T flour
salt and pepper
1 t chopped parsley

Melt butter in saucepan. Add flour; cook till brown. Beat in cream and wine. Whip very well. Boil for 5 minutes. Add salt and pepper to taste and chopped parsley.

---oOo---

His statements followed the clear pointers by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, earlier at the congress that the Government would scrap the limitations of the Land Act in its haste to bring firm and positive change to the southern African scene.

Under the old plan, the homelands would have been consolidated into 24 blocks of land making up less than 16 percent of South Africa's surface.

Sharp changes

Details of present planning are not yet known — Mr van der Walt's commission is due to make recommendations concerning Bophuthatswana to the Government tomorrow — but it is believed that several sharp changes in policy are envisaged.

One is that instead of buying out white farmers whose land will fall into homelands, the Government will probably simply draw the new borders around them, and then invite them to stay in the homelands if they wish, or to sell up themselves if they want to get out.

Dr Eric Leistner, director of the Africa Institute of South Africa and an expert in the economics of homelands development, said today that the South African economy would not be able to cope with the burden of consolidation unless cheaper methods were used.

Buffer

Bulk buying of white property would push up land prices, he said.

One unconfirmed report from sources close to the Government states that the intention with Bophuthatswana is to consolidate it as one huge block of land abutting on southern and south-eastern Botswana.

This would reach from somewhere in the northern Cape to Derdepoort in the Western Transvaal and incorporate a large part of Bophutatswana's existing areas.

It would provide a buffer against infiltration into South Africa and probably have the agreement of the Botswana Government, the sources indicated.

BRANDY SAUCE — K.W.V. Paarl
(For Steamed Puddings)

Make a white sauce with 1/2 oz butter, 1 oz flour, 1/2 pt milk, add 1/2 oz sugar and 2 t brandy.

---oOo---

HOT CHOCOLATE SHERRY SAUCE — K.W.V. Paarl
(For Ice-Cream)

1 1/2 cups sugar
3 T butter
4 oz chocolate (melted)
1 cup cream
1/4 cup medium sherry
1 t vanilla

Mix sugar, butter, chocolate and cream in a saucepan. Stir until dissolved. Heat and boil for 7 minutes without stirring. Stir in sherry and vanilla. Remove from heat. Set pot over hot water until ready to serve.

---oOo---

HOT HONEY AND VAN DER HUM SAUCE — K.W.V. Paarl
(For Ice-Cream)

2 T honey
1/4 cup van der Hum
9 cherries finely chopped
4 walnuts finely chopped

Heat in a double boiler until very hot. Serve over ice-cream.

101 DD 20/9/79

Consolidation to exceed 1936 Act congress told

PRETORIA — The Transvaal National Party congress was told yesterday that planned large-scale consolidation of the homelands would necessarily exceed the restrictions of the 1936 Land Act.

Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the government's consolidation committee, said it had to be stated plainly that the issue was not simply consolidation.

"We are drawing boundaries for the states in Southern Africa which will form part of the Prime Minister's constellation of states.

"We must be prepared to say that, if we are serious about consolidation, about economic viability of the homelands and about our policy of separate freedoms for these states, we cannot consolidate on a small scale."

The consolidation issue, which is causing unhappiness in many areas of the Transvaal, did not provoke the expected protest when it came up for discussion yesterday.

The resolutions as worded asked homelands to contribute to the purchase of land out of their own funds where 1936 quotas had to be exceeded, and said the capitalist system should not suffer in the consolidation process. This was generally accepted.

Mr Van der Walt said the congress would have to accept that the 1936 quota would be exceeded, and that meaningful consolidation would be expensive.

"It is a scandal for our country and for the National Party that we are still concerned with consolidation in 1979 and that we have not yet fulfilled our 1936 promises to blacks."

He supported the idea of homelands contributing to the cost of consolidation, which was a tremendous burden on the South African economy.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, urged delegates earlier to ignore rumours and press speculation about consolidation plans until the committee reported next March.

"Nobody, not the Prime Minister, not me and not the committee chairman, can know at this stage what consolidation will involve," he said. — PS.

'It's a scandal that we have not fulfilled our land consolidation promises to Blacks'

(101) NM 20/9/79

Govt set to redraw the map

Mercury Correspondent

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Vast areas

Opposition spokesmen said yesterday that meaningful consolidation in terms of the Prime Minister's intention of moving beyond the 1936 Land Act could mean vast areas of White-occupied land — including growth points — being given to KwaZulu, writes our political reporter.

The new initiatives were seen as major changes in Nationalist thinking, moving into the realm of opposition politics.

Spokesmen for the PFP and the NRP welcomed the ideas but wanted to see if these could be put into action.

Mr. Bill Sutton, MP, described any form of consolidation in Natal as

MR. HENNIE van der Walt said the congress would have to accept that the 1936 quota would be exceeded and that meaningful consolidation would be expensive. "It is a scandal for our country and for the National Party that we are still concerned with consolidation in 1979 and that we have not yet fulfilled our 1936 promises to Blacks." He supported the idea of homelands contributing to the cost of consolidation, which was a tremendous burden on the South African economy.

Koornhof hints at urgent housing programme

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA — The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. Piet Koornhof, yesterday hinted at an urgent housing progamme for urban Blacks.

He was replying at the congress to discussion on the implementation of the Riekert report on manpower.

After a delegate had raised the issue of Black housing, Dr. Koornhof said failure to take realistic action would not be in the interest of Whites, let alone Blacks.

abolished was rejected by the Government.

Where the Riekert report recommended that influx control be governed solely by the availability of jobs and housing, Dr. Koornhoof said there should be control of movement both at the work place and where people lived. It had therefore decided to retain the 72-hour restriction.

Emphasis on this measure, which implied demanding indentity books from Blacks on the street, could

43

May Bennett, Ridgeworth

SPRING GREEN SALAD

lettuce
1 cucumber
mint (fresh)
scallions

44

May Bennett, Ridgeworth

Lettuce, chop onions finely and parsley; for garnishing. Wash cucumber peel and cube. cut tops off leaving a short piece of the the lettuce, parsley, cucumber, onion and salt and pepper. Pour over a little French n a glass bowl. Garnish with a few sprigs

---oOo---

(LAD)

Mrs Futter, East London

STUFFED CABBAGE SALAD — May Bennett, Ridgeworth

1 fresh green medium size cabbage
onions
carrots
tomatoes
fresh pineapple
redishes

Cut the centre from the cabbage, leaving the outer leaves to form a bowl. Wash well. Chop onion. Pe[illegible] and pineapple. Cube tomatoes. Thinly sli[illegible] leaves of the cabbage leaving the stalks. [illegible] pineapple, tomatoes, sliced cabbage and th[illegible] in a bowl adding any juice from the tomato[illegible] salt and black pepper to taste. Toss well [illegible] into the cabbage "bowl". Garnish with rad[illegible] bowl of mayonnaise for those who like it. [illegible] roses, cut across the top in a double cro[illegible] iced water until the redishes open up.

---oOo---

GERMAN POTATO SALAD — Ethne [illegible]

boiled potatoes
cooked bacon
mayonnaise
chopped onio[illegible]
salt and pe[illegible]

Cube the potatoes while still hot. Chop u[illegible] with the potatoes, onion and mayonnaise. [illegible] salt and pepper. Use hot or cold.

---oOo---

EGG SALAD — May Ber[illegible]

hard boiled eggs
salanaise
salt and pep[illegible]
paprika and [illegible]

Cut eggs in half and lay on a flat salad pl[illegible] down. Pour over salanaise.

---oOo---

CHICKEN AND CUCUMBER SALAD — S. Drur[illegible]

1 cup cooked chicken, diced
4 T finely chopped walnuts
French dressing/mayonnaise
lettuce
1 cup cucumbe[illegible]
1 cup cooked [illegible]

Marinade chicken, cucumber, nuts and peas wi[illegible] Serve on lettuce with mayonnaise. Cover wit[illegible] and refridgerate until ready for use.

French dressing:
Blend together 6 T salad oil and 2 T lemon juice.

---oOo---

"self defeating" since KwaZulu did not want independence. The Government would have to hand over growth points such as Richards Bay.

He accused the Prime Minister of "political piracy" with his constellation of States, which, Mr. Sutton said, was the same as the NRP's confederation.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, and Dr. Koornhof are to visit Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, two Black areas near Pretoria soon.

Dr. Koornhof also said that the 72-hour restriction on Blacks being in White urban areas might eventually be lifted. The Riekert Commission's recommendation that this aspect of the pass laws be [illegible], accompanied by stronger application of the other controls proved effective. "This could result in the 72-hour restriction being repealed in time," he told the congress.

"The Government has accepted in principle the creation of free trade areas in group areas for Whites, Coloureds and Indians to ensure participation by all population groups in the economy."

SPRING GREEN SALAD — May Bennett, Ridgeworth

1 medium size lettuce
2 onions
parsley
1 cucumber
mint (fresh)
scallions

Wash and shred the lettuce, chop onions finely and parsley; keep a few pieces for garnishing. Wash cucumber peel and cube. Wash scallions, and cut tops off leaving a short piece of the green left on. Toss the lettuce, parsley, cucumber, onion and scallions together, salt and pepper. Pour over a little French dressing and serve in a glass bowl. Garnish with a few sprigs of mint and parsley.

---oOo---

CURRIED GREEN BEAN SALAD — Mrs Futter, East London

2 lbs sliced green beans
2 chopped onions
1 d salt, level
2 cups water

Coil the beans (sliced) with salt and onions till cooked, then pour off the water.

Sauce:
1 1/2 cups sugar
1 d curry powder
1 heaped T flour
1/2 bottle vinegar

Mix the curry powder, flour with a little water. Mix well, so that no lumps form, and then add the sugar and vinegar, boil up and stir all the time, then add the cooked beans and onions, bring to boil again. Bottle.

---oOo---

APPLE TUNA TOSS SALAD

1 medium head lettuce, torn in bite-size pieces (4 cups)
2 cups diced apple
1 11 oz can (1 1/3 cups) mandarin orange sections, drained
1 6 1/2 or 7 oz can tuna, drained and broken in large chunks
1/3 cup coarsely chopped walnuts
1/2 cup mayonnaise or salad dressing
2 t soya sauce
1 t lemon juice

In a large salad bowl, combine lettuce, apple, orange sections, tuna and nuts; toss together. Combine mayonnaise, soya sauce and lemon juice; mix well. To serve, add dressing to salad; toss gently. Makes 4 - 6 servings.

---oOo---

Fate of 50 white towns in balance

21/9/79 Star (101)

For more than 30 years, the National Party Government has rigidly adhered to a formula for partition of South Africa which allotted less than 16 percent of the country to blacks and the rest to whites.

The Government did so in the face of widespread protest against the injustice of the formula, contained in the 1936 Land Act.

On Wednesday, it was announced that the 1936 yardstick would finally be discarded.

"We are not consolidating, we are drawing frontiers of new states that can be viable and play their part in the constellation of states we envisage," said Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the Central Consolidation Commission.

To exceed the 1936 formula by means of buying up white land would require billions of rands, and experts have suggested that the Government should rather invite white farmers to remain in the homelands as growth catalysts. Some speculate that the Government's new consolidation plans will make provision for this strategy.

PROBLEMS

But white farms are not the only problem.

The Government would have to give away about 50 "white" towns to satisfy past claims for territory made by leaders in the seven homelands, Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Mr Van der Walt said earlier this month that certain white towns might be included in the homelands. White residents of Mafeking have shown their willingness to be included in Bophuthatswana.

Professor Roelf Botha, a member of the Prime Minister's Planning Advisory Council, has proposed a reallocation of land which would include 19 "white" towns in the homelands. Among these are Richard's Bay, Tzaneen, Louis Trichardt and King William's Town

But many towns are bound to resist strongly, inclusion in the homelands.

The Transkei has for years demanded the incorporation of the white districts of Elliot and Maclear to the west of the territory, and East Griqualand on the Natal side of the Transkei.

In the Ciskei, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe is on record as demanding consolidation of the homeland up to the Transkei border, which would mean incorporation of East London, Queenstown and King William's Town.

17 CLAIMS

In 1973, the kwaZulu Government claimed 17 white towns, including Richards Bay, Empangeni, Eshowe, Melmoth, Stanger and Mtunzini.

The legislative assembly of Gazankulu has resolved that if consolidation is to be meaningful, the homeland should gain Tzaneen, Phalaborwa, Mica, Hoedspruit, Komatipoort and White River.

> "It is a disgrace that in 1979 we still have to consolidate .. on the basis of promises given to the black people in 1936. . . . We are not consolidating, we are drawing frontiers of new states that can be viable and play their parts in the constellation of states we envisage."
>
> — Mr Hennie van der Walt

Lebowa also laid claim to Phalaborwa and Tzaneen, as well as Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Marble Hall, Belfast, Groblersdal, Burgersfort, Witbank and Mooketsi.

CORRIDORS

Chief Minister Dr Cedric Phatudi has said the white corridor — dividing the two main parts of Lebowa and containing Pietersburg, Potgietersrus and the railway line — should form part of Lebowa.

Before independence the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly produced its own plan for the consolidation of the homeland which would have doubled its area if implemented at the time.

The white towns claimed by the assembly were Rustenburg, Kuruman, Warrenton, Vryburg, Delareyville, Lichtenburg, Mafeking, Koster, Zeerust, Brits and Swartruggens.

Warning to States on Botha plan

N M 22/9/79

(101)

UMTATA — Should Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland refuse to join Mr. P. W. Botha's proposed constellation of southern African States, it could easily be construed as "a club of international outcasts in the South African orbit".

This was said here yesterday in a closing address to the Transkei conference on law by the assistant director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Dr. Deon Geldenhuys.

He said that before committing themselves, Transkei and other prospective members of the constellation should consider a number of important factors such as:

- The restoration of diplomatic ties with South Africa. This would "certainly be a prerequisite to membership".
- Whether Transkei should revive its abrogated non-agression treaty with South Africa, "because Pretoria wanted military co-operation within the constellation".

Dr. Geldenhuys said this might draw Transkei back into the South African fold in a more formalised way than ever and compromise its independence especially if the other States were former homelands and dependent homelands.

"Transkei's claims to international recognition have been undermined by the other homelands such as Bophuthatswana and Venda opting for independence, because Transkei is lumped with these States as part of South African fragmentation," Dr. Geldenhuys said.

If Transkei had been a product of post-war British colonial policy, he said, the country certainly would have been recognised internationally. However, Transkei would, in the final instance, still not be judged primarily on its merits, but instead on South Africa's demerits. — (Sapa.)

East London

(101) 24/9/79 AD

port may be shared

EAST LONDON — Part of East Griqualand may be ceded to Transkei and East London may become a "joint venture" port to be shared by South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei.

This is the prediction of a Johannesburg newspaper today.

In a report today, Patrick Laurence of the Rand Daily Mail says the Van der Walt Commission is virtually certain to recommend that at least part of the disputed territory of East Griqualand be given to Transkei in a move to consolidate Transkei and repair the breach between Pretoria and Umtata.

Laurence writes that cession of part of East Griqualand to Transkei is integral to a plan under discussion by the Van der Walt Commission both to consolidate South Africa's black homelands more effectively and to draw neighbouring black states into the proposed constellation of Southern African states.

The plan embraces several bold ideas, including:

- Establishment of East London as a "joint venture" port to be shared by South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei (some observers believe Ciskei is likely to become the next independent homeland).
- Installation of Richards Bay as another joint venture port, with South Africa, KwaZulu and Swaziland as operating partners.
- Enlargement of the tiny Basotho homeland of QwaQwa as a prelude to its incorporation into the neighbouring Kingdom of Lesotho.

East Griqualand separates the two main blocks of Transkeian territory. Its cession from the Cape to Natal last year was the immediate cause of Transkei's decision to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa.

The Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, has said Transkei's decision on whether to restore diplomatic ties with South Africa will depend on the outcome of the East Griqualand dispute.

The idea of East London evolving into a jointly-run port was put forward last month by Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of Ciskei, when the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, visited Ciskei on his tour of the homelands.

Last week the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, expressed astonishment at a reported offer by South Africa to give a section of northern KwaZulu known as Ingwavuma to Swaziland.

Inquiries yesterday pointed to the reported offer being part of a wider deal being mooted by South Africa.

The rationale of the deal would be for Swaziland to receive part of Ingwavuma and Maputaland in KwaZulu to provide the Swazi Kingdom with access to the sea. In return, KwaZulu would receive compensatory land elsewhere.

A source close to the Van der Walt Commission commented yesterday: "I think you are on the right track."

On the broader question of shared harbours and their relevance to the constellation of states, another well-placed source had earlier drawn attention to the de facto "joint venture" between South Africa and Mozambique in the running of the harbour of Maputo. It is an open secret that South African expertise helps keep the harbour going.

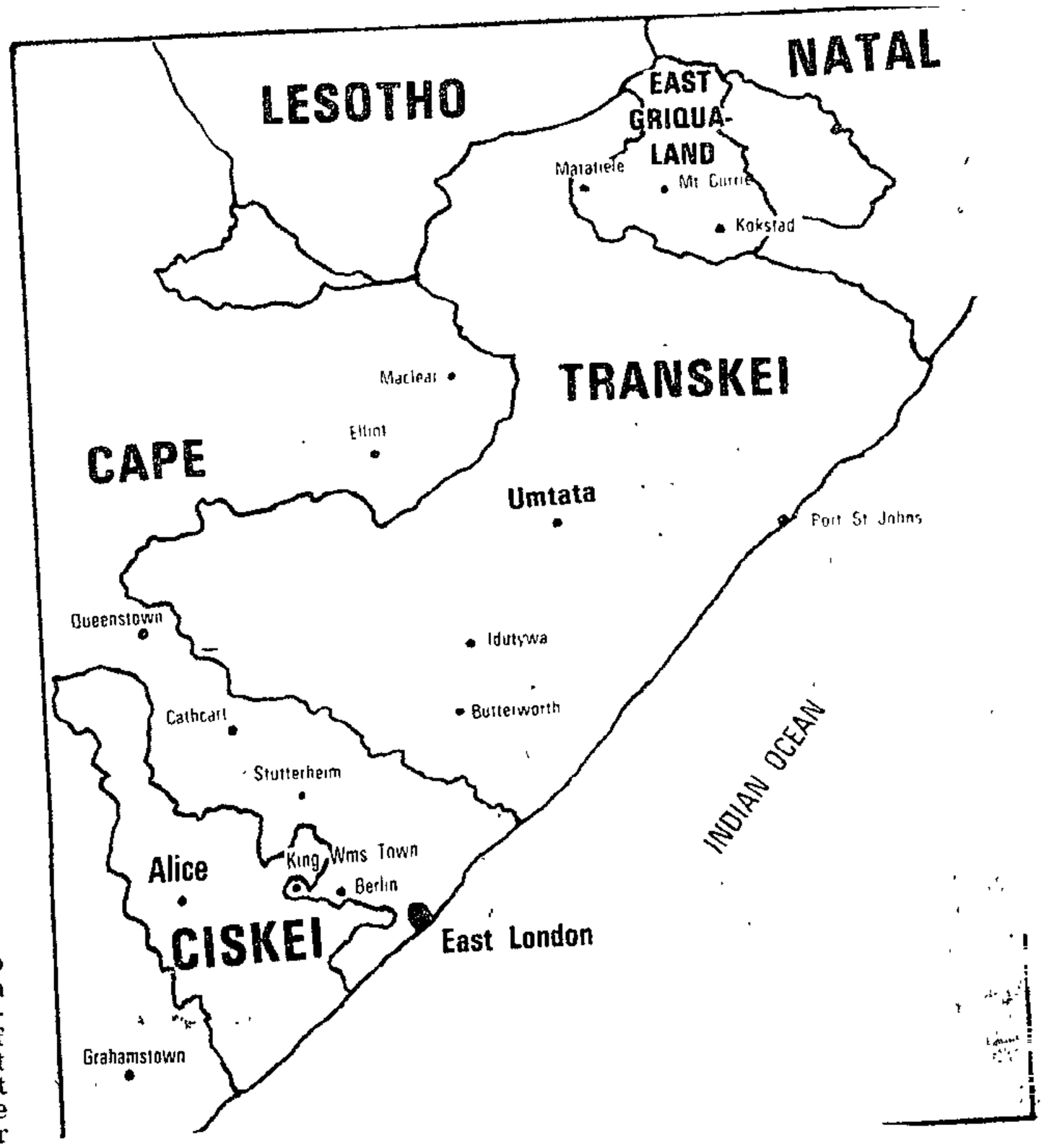
The Van der Walt Commission's preliminary report has recommended consolidation of Bophuthatswana into a single block. Its recommendation is based on the assumption that Bophuthatswana will surrender the tiny enclave of Thaba'Nchu in the Free State.

Some observers anticipate that Thaba'Nchu will be ceded to QwaQwa. Thaba'Nchu's population includes Basotho, but it is situated some distance away from QwaQwa.

On the question of incorporation of Thaba-Nchu into QwaQwa, one of the sources said: "The commission has something quite different in mind for QwaQwa."

The QwaQwa Chief Minister, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, has publicly declared that his eventual aim is some form of unification with Lesotho. But he has stipulated that he would first have to get more land for Qwa Qwa to make unification more attractive to both parties.

The Van der Walt Commission may provide him with the land he seeks. It may involve a land swop, in which the Transkei-held Maluti-region will go to QwaQwa in return for cession of part of East Griqualand to Transkei. — DDC.



Tswana deal denied

PRETORIA — The main report in yesterday's issue of the Sunday Times about the consolidation of Bophuthatswana was merely speculative and contained several inaccuracies, the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Koornhof, said in a statement last night.

Dr Koornhof said: "For example, the chart of the so-called consolidation plan appearing in the newspaper report is totally incorrect.

"The figures mentioned in connection with the costs of the so-called consolidation proposals are also totally wrong and excessive.

"The allegation in the report that the Hennie van der Walt Commission appointed in connection with these proposals had held extensive consultations with the President of the Republic of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, is also untrue.

"The fact is that only after the South African Cabinet has decided about the present proposals will discussions in this regard take place between the South African and Bophutatswana Governments.

"The report of the Van der Walt Commission, about the consolidation proposals, has at this stage not even been submitted to the Prime Minister or the government.

"Therefore, no decisions about these proposals have or could have been taken."

Dr Koornhof repeated his request, made at the Transvaal congress of the National Party, that the public and the news media should not take notice of this type of speculative story.

Decisions about the consolidation proposals would be announced as soon as possible, he said. — SAPA.

RAND Daily Mail

TUESDAY
September 25, 1979

Redrawing the map of South Africa

(101) RDM 25/9/79

THE VAN DER WALT Commission is obviously thinking in bold terms about redrawing the Bantustan boundaries — and it is becoming apparent that its recommendations are going to form the main feature of Mr P W Botha's "total strategy" for countering revolution.

Latest reports indicate that all kinds of ideas that were taboo before are now being seriously considered: such as giving part of Griqualand East to the Transkei; turning a substantial section of the Western Transvaal into a single-unit BophuthaTswana; and making both East London and Richards Bay into "joint venture" ports which South Africa would share with the adjacent Bantustans.

Most radical of all is the idea of trying to lure at least two of the BLS countries into the Southern African "constellation" with offers they could scarcely refuse: Swaziland by offering it a corridor to the sea and a stake in Richards Bay; Lesotho by offering it the incorporation of an enlarged QwaQwa.

It looks like a massive programme, both in terms of cost and physical upheaval. There are whispers of a preliminary costing of R3 000-million, but if it is really to be on the scale suggested it will probably run to a good deal more than that. And obviously a lot of land hitherto regarded as "white" is going to be involved. Mr Botha has made it clear he is prepared to go beyond the 1936 Land Act allocation but he hasn't said by how much. When one considers that half of that total allocation has already been used up on Transkei and BophuthaTswana alone, one begins to get some idea of what is involved.

The object of the exercise, obviously, is to give the Bantustans a greater degree of credibility as independent states, and their leadership more political legitimacy. With more land and resources in their possession, the Bantustan leaders will have more patronage to dispense and so they will be able to enlarge their support. Thus Mr Botha hopes to win more blacks to his side as a safeguard against revolution.

It is a bold, even an imaginative, strategy concept. Its one obvious weakness is that by this means the Government is still failing to address itself to the main pressure point in our society — the urban blacks, who constitute the unenfranchised working-class of modern, industrialised South Africa. That is where the real revolutionary threat lies.

New land issue is radical — Barratt

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE VAN der Walt Commission's thinking on the land issue was more radical than one expected, Mr John Barratt, director of the Institute of International Affairs, said yesterday.

"It seems to be concerned not only with better consolidation of the homelands but also with rationalisation of South Africa's borders with neigbouring states," he said

Mr Barratt was commenting on two ideas which are understood be be under consideration by the Van der Walt Commission

- Granting Swaziland — described by a source close to the commission as "a good friend of South Africa's" — access to the sea and participation with KwaZulu and South Africa in Richard's Bay as a "joint venture"
- Opening the way for unification between an enlarged QwaQwa and Lesotho which adjoin one another and whose peoples are Basotho.

These moves have been seen as an exercise to give greater credibility to the homelands and to simultaneously offer an inducement to neigbouring states to participate in the proposed Constellation of Southern African States

But Mr Barratt added, any proposal to alter or rationalise borders would raise considerable political problems for the neigbouring state

There would be the certainty of condemnation for "supporting South Africa" and resistance from the Organisation of African Unity, which long ago declared its opposition to any revision of frontiers drawn by the colonial powers

"The price South Africa would have to pay for neigbouring states to co-operate would have to be very high."

Mr Deon Fourie, senior lecturer in strategic studies at the University of South Africa, was doubtful of the possibility of drawing neighbouring states into participation of the proposed constellation in the present climate

As long as South Africa remained unacceptable to the outside world her neigbours would shun formal ties, however advantageous such ties might be economically, Mr Fourie said

Two reasons would operate against formal links: fear of being branded as South African collaborators and fear of subversion by more radical elements opposed to compromise with South Africa.

Asked how South Africa could make itself acceptable to the rest of world and therefore to her neighbours, Mr Fourie said: "I don't know. But we'll have problems until we reach a time in which white political participation is acceptable"

But the idea of a constellation of states was of great potential strategic importance to South Africa and would be opposed by the African National Congress and the Soviet Union, as it "defeats everything they are working for"

The buying up of farms from whites in the homelands consolidation process would cost R500 million or R600 million, the director of the South African Agricultural Union, Mr Chris Cilliers, said in Pretoria yesterday

'Encourage the whites to stay'

Political Reporter

WHITE farmers affected by the consolidation of homelands should be encouraged to stay where they were, accept the black administration and the customs of an open society, Mr Kowie Marais, PFP MP, said last night.

Addressing a report back meeting in Johannesburg, Mr Marais said if the prohibition on sex across the colour line were scrapped or amended, pillars of apartheid such as the Population Register and Group Areas Acts were in danger of collapse. This would endanger the whole apartheid structure.

"Equally obvious are the implications of the plans to consolidate the homelands by handing over to black states areas now inhabited and only whites.

"Whites must of necessity be encouraged to stay where they are and to accept in the process black administration and the customs of an open society," Mr Marais added.

Meanwhile, the sole NRP member in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Mr Francois Oberholzer, warned Edenvale voters against allowing the PFP to win the parliamentary by-election in the constituency on November 7.

Addressing a report back meeting in his Rosettenville constituency last night, Mr Oberholzer, who is also chairman of the Johannesburg Management Committee, accused the PFP of using local government instead of its policies as an issue "in its ambition to win Edenvale".

(Report by A Akhalwaya, 175 Main Street, Johannesburg).

NM 27/9/89 (101)

A new deal

APART from a few agonised wails from some traditionally Right-wing White unions, the Government's decision to give full trade union rights to Black workers, including commuters from the homelands, has drawn favourable reaction across most of the labour spectrum — and rightly so.

Industry, commerce, union leaders and homeland spokesmen have all signalled their pleasure with the new deal, and it now remains for the Government to ensure that the legislation matches the expectations that the announcement has stirred.

It is not unnatural that misgivings may arise concerning the political potential of organised Black trade unions. However, it would be unwise at this stage to litter the legislation with safeguards. Employers and employees at least should be given the chance to make the new dispensation work smoothly.

There will, of course, be a heavy onus on Black union leaders to act responsibly. Even from a cursory glance at the labour scene it must be acknowledged that there are plenty of thorny issues for unions to get their teeth into. It will be up to them to avoid provocative strategies that have brought trade unionism into disrepute in certain other countries.

By the same token employers might be well advised to prepare now for what lies ahead. Very soon they will be faced with the reality of collective Black bargaining, and those who are unable to negotiate from a position of strength could find themselves in for a rough ride. By ensuring now that wages are fair in relation to the work produced, and that minimum pay scales relate sensibly to the cost of living, employers will put themselves in a favourable position to cope with future pressures.

One of the most important benefits to flow from the establishment of registered Black unions will be the demise of the present chaotic situation in which many employers seem to react to wage demands only against the troubled background of illegal strikes and attendant unrest. The advantages of substituting this volatile atmosphere with an orderly negotiating process hardly need emphasis.

LAND CONSOLIDATION

(101) FM 5/10/79

Grand apartheid's grim arithmetic

High on the list of Prime Minister P W Botha's programme of national priorities is the need to create a stable and prosperous southern Africa. Accordingly, he has committed himself to revise black land quotas and redraw political boundaries over which blacks and whites will exercise hegemony.

He believes, firstly, that this will have the effect of de-racialising co-existence in the Republic. Later, better relations with black-ruled states in the subcontinent should come.

Is this realistic?

By accepting that land allocations under the hitherto sacred-cow 1936 Land Act are totally inadequate for creating consolidated, viable sovereign independencies, Botha may have aroused powerful new emotions on the land question. If they are not gratified, they may provide grounds for conflict

vatively estimated cost of R1 000m, and

How much more land?

What quantum of additional land needs to be tacked on to existing, or national, boundaries to meet the requirements of the black states, or their perceptions of what constitutes a meaningful apportionment of territory? Even before publication of the new proposals of Hennie van der Walt's Central Consolidation Committee, the financial commitment, in terms of government's 1975 proposals and the 1936 obligation, is enormous.

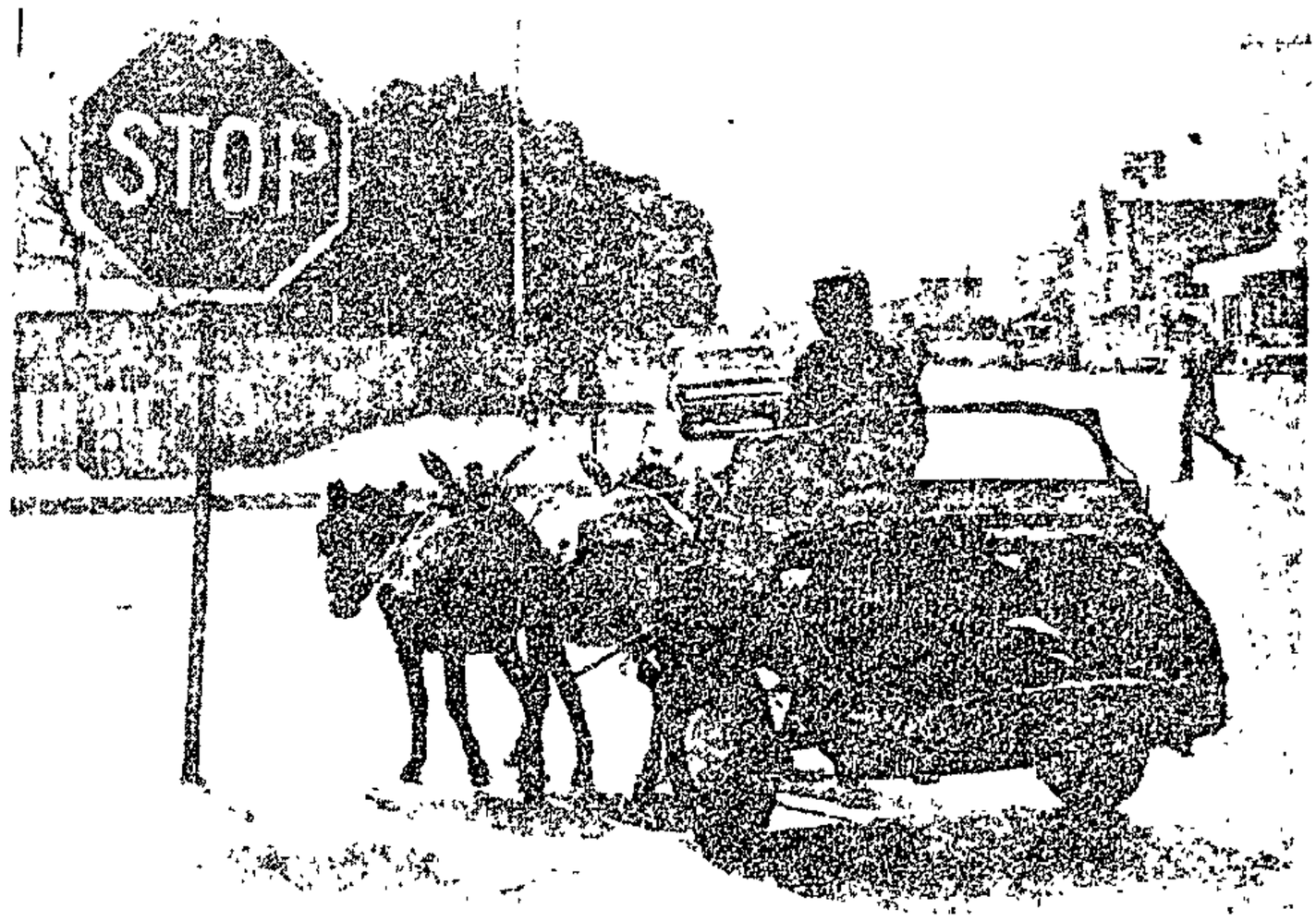
To date, land purchase in terms of the 1936 Act has required R358m. In terms of known commitment, government still has to provide a further 1 472 ha at a conser-

requiring the resettlement of 175 000 black families, or possibly 1m people

After 40 years of heel-dragging by successive SA governments, the Vorster regime stepped up consolidation expenditure five years ago:

1974-75 R26,6m	1977-78 R47,3m
1975-76 R59,0m	1978-79 R40,4m
1976-77 R53,5m	1979-80 R69,3m

In terms of existing plans, "decolonisation" of the bantustans means that blacks will be consigned to a mere 14% of SA



Land consolidation . . . moving at donkey-cart pace

territory — the root cause of international criticism of the system. But if radical partition is anathema to government, what mutually acceptable demographic rearrangement can be devised within the constraints of other massive capital spending priorities, such as defence and energy self-sufficiency?

Professor Nic Olivier, PFP research and liaison director, believes that Botha will not achieve his objectives unless massive additional land grants, including so-called white cities and towns, are made to the homelands and the three independencies.

He says it is significant that government's consolidation committee is consulting homelands leaders on a bilateral basis, whereas multilateral negotiations with all the leaders may have a better chance of producing a lasting solution, so reducing the danger of Pretoria being confronted with continuous land demands

Admittedly, it is the white government that has decided to fragment its territorial integrity in the interests of eliminating friction in the common areas. But if viable independence is to be the panacea, then the white parliament's hand-outs must aim to satisfy the demands of black leaders.

Consolidation and/or the enlargement of the black states could be achieved by buying additional tracts of "white" land, or by simply redrawing national boundaries and leaving white farms, towns and cities in the "net" — or by a combination of both. There is a growing body of opinion in the NP that it is neither necessary nor practicable to buy out whites. In fact, it is believed that retention of whites, and of white know-how, in reconstituted black states would hasten regional development.

But it is open to doubt whether this would relieve government of the enormous financial burden of its "decolonisation" plans, since it is hardly conceivable that whites would agree to remain in reconstituted black states unless firm indemnity guarantees and compensation options were offered. The scheme would then be barely marketable without certain financial assurances. For government, there is no soft option. And if consolidation plans include "white" towns and thousands of whites then chose to leave, the compensation requirement would be staggering.

Resettlement problem

Similarly, a system of land swaps would place a huge financial burden on the fiscus because thousands of people would have to be resettled.

Meaningful consolidation is clearly not attainable on the cheap, and it is open to question whether economic conditions in the years ahead will yield sufficient surplus flows to the Treasury to bankroll the plan without raising additional tax revenue (from disgruntled whites), or by cutting back on other spending priorities, including government's commitment to socio-economic and racial reforms in the "core" areas.

The notion put forward by Van der Walt that consolidation plans could be financed by foreign borrowing is probably out of the question, given the hostility of foreign governments to SA's homelands policy, and their implacable refusal to recognise homelands governments.

But, even if many whites decide to stay put in a territorial redistribution, what of their citizenship status, political rights, etc, in terms of existing law and the citizenship statutes of the independent homelands? Non-blacks do not automatically become citizens of these states, even if they want to. Citizenship is only attainable after five years' post-independence domicile, regardless of the period a person has lived in a territory.

This would mean that residual whites would have to exercise their political rights in a country (SA) which would be powerless to give free expression to their political will. Their franchise would be of no use to them — just as the franchise of urban blacks, who are expected to exercise their political rights in homelands they may never have seen, seems an exercise in the absurd.

Finally, businessmen might pose this question: even if radical consolidation is possible, at great expense, will there be the will and the wherewithal to undertake the massive regional development necessary to create jobs in the new countries outside the white-controlled economic core?

Or does the creation of new political boundaries imply that government plans to shift the responsibility of development and job creation to the homelands leaders? That would be to engage in Alice in Wonderland planning.

GENERALLY ACCEPTED ACCOUNTING PRACTICE

QUESTION

DEFERRED

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Draw up the income statement for the 19.8 financial year under a) liability method

b) deferral method

Assume the tax rate remains 42%

Homelands will need 10 times more homes

Star 5/10/79

101

By Sieg Hannig

About 110 000 houses will have to be built in the homelands each year in the 1980s compared with the 100 000 built in the past nine years, says Mr A S Dowie of the Bureau for Economic Research in the Department of Co-operation and Development.

From 1975 to 2000 the housing requirement would be 2,5-million units in the homelands, he told the Business Outlook Conference of the National Development and Management Foundation in Johannesburg.

This would cost about R100 000-million at a conservative R2 000 a house plus R2 000 for the roads, water and sanitation to go with it, Mr Dowie said.

The financial implications of job creation looked equally alarming.

At R8 000 in capital required for the creation of one job in manufacturing, R912-million would be needed annually in the 1980s to create the jobs needed in the homelands.

Only R125-million was budgeted for this purpose in 1978/79.

The cost of homeland consolidation had been estimated at about R3 000-million compared with the R60-million to R85-million spent on land purchases annually in recent years.

"Only if the private sector joins hands with the Government will the necessary economic development be made possible," Mr Dowie said.

NO FAMILY LIFE ARE SINS...

'Everywhere else comes to the Western Cape,' the report says.

'Wives wishing to live with their husbands are a perennial problem encountered by the Advice Office.

'It would seem that if you are black and living in the Western Cape it is sinful to want to live with your husband,' the report says.

'This stems partly from the appalling lack of housing. There has been no significant building of homes for black people in the Western Cape since 1968. Not even the natural increase of those legally resident has been catered for.'

'NO HOPE'

Many highly resident under section 10(1)(a) or 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act have the right to take their wives with them.

But the report points out the authorities insist the men have accommodation — and houses are only given to men with families already living with them.

'Contract labourers have no hope of ever being able to bring their wives to join them legally.

The contract worker is part of the rigid control of black labour for white use in South Africa — switched on or off as it suits the employer.

LOWEST PRICE

The contract labourer is a victim. He cannot withhold his labour or bargain with it. It is his means of survival,' the report says.

'If we cannot abandon the contract labour system, we must see that it is not abused. We ask for a contract which is a valid agreement of employment offered and accepted under statutory regulations, not the present contract where white capital secures black labour at the lowest possible price.

● The Cape Times yesterday condemned the uncontrolled application of the pass and coloured labour preference area policy in the Western Cape.

It resolved to expose the dark underside of the policy in the coming year and to campaign against it.

WHERE WORK A

THE Government's coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape is a rationalisation for maintaining 'the last white homeland', according to the annual report of the Athlone Advice Office.

The report describes the policy, rigorously applied in spite of coloured opposition, as economically, socially and morally harmful.

'It is dangerous and unhealthy to protect one group at the expense of another for the benefit of a third.

The policy is the cause, says the report, of unemployment, starvation, despair and misery for blacks despatched to the Eastern Cape where they cannot make a living.

NO RIGHT

To blacks who have lived in the Western Cape for generations but have no right to freehold or to ownership of houses or land, it is a source of bitterness.

Since the introduction in July of a new maximum fine of R500 for illegally employing a black worker, the Advice Office has been inundated with requests for help in legalising black domestic servants.

'It is violent to hunt a woman down, to have the right to search her out, to put her in a van, keep her in cells and put her in court, then fine her or keep her in jail — for working.'

In the rest of the country employers have been allowed to register their employees of one year or more.

'There is nothing we can do except hope that the change in the air

Accept homeland citizenship or else—trainees told

BLACK trainee electricians are expected to take out homeland citizenship before they get their certificates, POST found out this week.

This comes at a time when on the other hand the Government indicates acceptance of urban blacks as being permanent in the cities, pointing to the 99-year leasehold as proof thereof.

About ten trainee electricians employed by the Johannesburg City Council have completed the required five years' service, but they cannot get their certificates because they do not have homeland citizenship

Another 40 are at various stages of training, but it appears they will also be faced with the same problem when they complete their five years

The council has also offered 20 bursaries to people just starting training at the Jabulani Technical High School.

On Tuesday, the Johannesburg City Electrical Engineer, Mr W Barnard, said these are recent instructions from the Department of Education and Training

He said that his department had received a letter saying that there will be difficulty in awarding proficiency certificates to the electricians if they are not registered as citizens of voters of a homeland

A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training said that although the Department conducts the tests, the certificates are issued by the various homelands.

A trainee electrician in Soweto told **POST** that he had completed the required five years some months ago.

"At the end of the five years, we go for a crash course."

"When seven of us told the authorities that we had completed the five years and wanted to go on the crash course we were told that we could not go until we had homeland citizenship certificates.

"One of us applied for homeland citizenship and has now qualified."

All seven, according to our informant, were born in Johannesburg

Mr Barnard said that his department is still making inquiries about the letter they got from the Department of Education and Training

"All along, our dealings have been with the Department of Manpower Utilisation We were surprised to get this letter from the Department of Education and Training.

He said that all along the trade tests were conducted by the Babelegi Technical College.

ACCOUNTING PRACTICE

EXAMPLES

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of R60 000 in 19.8.

101 DD 23/10/79

Citizenship issue to be probed

CAPE TOWN — The government has appointed a top-level committee to sort out the controversial homeland "citizenship" issue.

Stripping homeland blacks of their South African citizenship has been a major stumbling block in the way of more homelands opting for independence and has been heavily opposed by black and white political leaders.

The system, which has already affected millions of blacks of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda — many of whom have never seen their homelands — has also been severely criticised abroad.

The investigation was confirmed by Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, who said: "This whole question has been referred to a Cabinet committee."

He said, however, that no decision had yet been taken and that various departments were involved.

Though nothing specific has been decided yet, it is understood that one of the suggestions offered as a possible solution to the controversy might be dual citizenship rights incorporated in a form of Bill of Rights.

It is understood that this would be aimed at introducing a broad "national" citizenship which would include everyone and then a parallel citizenship bound to whatever homeland a person belonged to.

The "national" citizenship would then have its place in the superstructure of the planned "constellation" of states of Southern Africa.

It is not known when a final decision will be taken.

Several homeland leaders have made it clear that they have no intention of opting for full independence, in the way that Transkei and others have, and so lose their claim to South African citizenship.

They have said, however, that they would be prepared to co-operate in a federal system of sorts, retaining local autonomy at the same time as retaining their citizenship and right to share in the common wealth of South Africa as a whole. — PS.

STUFFED CABBAGE SALAD

May Bennett, Ridgeworth

1 fresh green medium size cabbage
onions
tomatoes
fresh pineapple
radishes

SPRING GREEN SALAD

May Bennett, Ridgeworth

1 medium size lettuce
2 onions
parsley
1 cucumber
mint (fresh)
scallions

Wash and shred the lettuce, chop onions finely and parsley; the cucumber and mint and scallions finely and cube.

1 medium head lettuce, cut in bite-size pieces (4 cups)
2 cups diced apple
1 11 oz can (1 1/3 cups) mandarin orange sections, drained
1 6 1/2 or 7 oz can tuna, drained and broken in large chunks
1/3 cup cubed walnuts
1/2 cup mayonnaise or salad dressing
2 t soya sauce
1 t lemon juice

In a large salad bowl, combine lettuce, apple, orange sections, tuna and nuts; toss together. Combine mayonnaise, soya sauce and lemon juice; mix well. To serve, add dressing to salad; toss gently. Makes 4 - 6 servings.

---oOo---

STUFFED CABBAGE SALAD — May Bennett, Ridgeworth

1 fresh green medium size cabbage
onions
carrots
tomatoes
fresh pineapple
radishes

Cut the centre from the cabbage, leaving the outer leaves to form a bowl. Wash well. Chop onion. Peel and cube the carrots and pineapple. Cube tomatoes. Thinly slice some of the inner leaves of the cabbage leaving the stalks. Place the carrots, pineapple, tomatoes, sliced cabbage and the finely chopped onion in a bowl adding any juice from the tomatoes, pineapple and add salt and black pepper to taste. Toss well, then pile the salad into the cabbage "bowl". Garnish with radish roses and a small bowl of mayonnaise for those who like it. To make the radish roses, cut across the tops in a double cross, then put them in iced water until the radishes open up.

---oOo---

(101) DD 25/10/79

Dual citizen system rejected

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A homeland Cabinet Minister, a minister of religion, a leading homeland politician and a well-known playwright and businessman, were among many people who yesterday rejected dual citizenship for blacks in South Africa.

The ticklish issue of citizenship in South Africa became topical again with talk of the South African Government looking into suggestions for blacks to retain South African citizenship, even after they had assumed citizenship of their independent homelands.

The concession would then allow for the establishment of dual citizenship.

Emphasising he was voicing his personal opinion "because I would not like to comment at this stage," the Rev W. M. Xaba, Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, said:

"I see no reason for dual citizenship. I believe if Prime Minister Botha's constellation of Southern African states becomes reality, then members of that constellation should all have one citizenship.

"Consider the situation in West Germany where the country comprises several autonomous states, which form the Federal Republic of Germany. Citizens in the various states are citizens of West Germany and not citizens of just those states," Mr Xaba said.

Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, leader of the opposition Ciskei National Unionist Party, and former Cabinet Minister in Chief Sebe's government, said homelands were provincial areas within the broad South African context.

He pointed out blacks had been confined to the homelands "by a racist Nationalist regime" and their South African citizenship was taken away from them arbitrarily and unjustly.

A leading playwright, film script writer, director and businessman, Mr Ben Nomoyi, described the dual citizenship plan as "ridiculous".

"What the rulers do not understand is that the people who are the millions of blacks pigs, the millions of blacks in this country, are getting fed up and angrier by the day because of the role they have to play as political pawns on the country's political chess board," he said.

"There is no South African white who has dual citizenship in regard to the rest of the world."

The Rev T. Sibeko, a leading official in the Border Council of Churches said dual citizenship would create more problems that existed. — DDR.

SPRING GREEN SALAD — May Bennett, Ridgeworth

1 medium size lettuce
2 onions
parsley
1 cucumber
mint (fresh)
scallions

Wash and shred the lettuce, chop onions finely and parsley; keep a few pieces for garnishing. Wash cucumber peel and cube. Wash scallions, and cut tops off leaving a short piece of the green left on. Toss the lettuce, parsley, cucumber, onion and scallions together, salt and pepper. Pour over a little French dressing and serve in a glass bowl. Garnish with a few sprigs of mint and parsley.

---oOo---

CURRIED GREEN BEAN SALAD — Mrs Futter, East London

2 lbs sliced green beans
2 chopped onions
1 d salt, level
2 cups water

Boil the beans (sliced) with salt and onions till cooked, then pour off the water.

Sauce:
1 1/2 cups sugar
1 d curry powder
1 heaped T flour
1/2 bottle vinegar

Mix the curry powder, flour with a little water. Mix well, so that no lumps form, and then add the sugar and vinegar, boil up and stir all the time, then add the cooked beans and onions, bring to boil again. Bottle.

---oOo---

APPLE TUNA TOSS SALAD

1 medium head lettuce, torn in bite-size pieces (4 cups)
2 cups diced apple
1 11 oz can (1 1/3 cups) mandarin orange sections, drained
1 6 1/2 or 7 oz can tuna, drained and broken in large chunks
1/3 cup coarsely chopped walnuts
1/2 cup mayonnaise or salad dressing
2 t soya sauce
1 t lemon juice

In a large salad bowl, combine lettuce, apple, orange sections, tuna and nuts; toss together. Combine mayonnaise, soya sauce and lemon juice; mix well. To serve, add dressing to salad; toss gently. Makes 4 - 6 servings.

---oOo---

HOMELANDS (101) FM 26/10/79

Dearth of development

At last government is showing signs of recognising the economic interdependence of the homelands and "white" SA. According to Minister of Industries Dr Schalk van der Merwe, "government is realizing that we should have a comprehensive approach to the economy." Apparently, division of the economy along the lines of Verwoerdian ideology is to stop.

However, as long as government insists on political separation which strips blacks of their South African citizenship, it is difficult to envisage how government plans to do this. What of the tripartite agreement (which stipulates that blacks must have a share of any homeland venture in which whites are participating) and the prohibition on ownership of land and buildings in the homelands by white business?

An end to discrimination between border areas and homelands and freedom of labour and capital movement are prerequisites for economic unity. But, to go this far, calls for radical revision of Nationalist ideology.

Van der Merwe is mum on the implications of this approach for homeland development policy. He says only that the problem of closing the huge gap between subsistence and developed areas of SA is "under investigation".

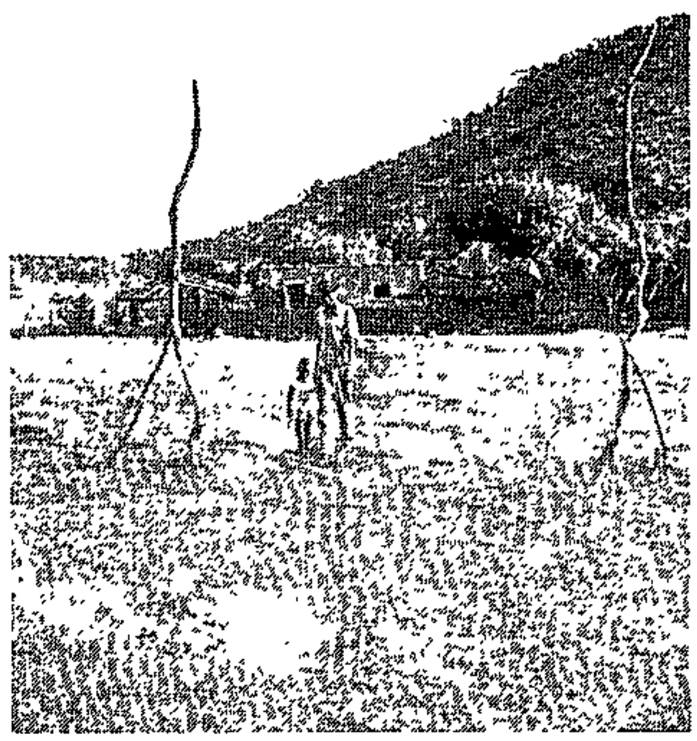
Nonetheless, economist Jill Nattrass, of Natal University, finds this change in attitude significant. Government, she reckons, seems to have realized both that it cannot hedge on its responsibility for homeland development simply because of plans to isolate these areas from SA politically and that efforts in this direction will have to be smartly stepped up.

Admittedly, past development programmes have had a measure of success. According to Athol Dowie, of Co-operation and Development's Bureau for Economic Research (Benso), the homelands' average national income per capita climbed from R101 in 1970 to R253 in 1975. But, of this, only R32 in 1970 and R73 in 1975 was income generated within the homelands. The rest comprised the earnings of commuters and migrant labour, most of which was spent in "white" areas — only about 20% of migrant workers' earnings reach the homelands. Moreover, these figures are still well below the international poverty cut-off level.

The real gross domestic product climbed by 8% a year between 1970 and 1975. Not surprisingly, these increases are largely due to government spending So far private enterprise has done little

Dowie adds that, in 1975, average per capita income in the homelands was higher than in 30 other African states. However, SA has little to boast about if these figures are compared with the rest of SA. For instance, average white earnings in 1975 amounted to R5 377, according to the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. Moreover, swelling unemployment in the homelands is a clear indication that not nearly enough has been done. Benso estimates that only 14% of all blacks found employment in the homelands between 1972 and 1975.

To mop up unemployment, 35 000 jobs must be created each year at a cost, to manufacturers, of R8 000 per worker. Government cannot do this alone and, therefore, the present inadequate concession must be revised to encourage private enterprise to move to the underdeveloped areas, argues Dowie.



New homeland plans are grandiose . . . but are they possible?

But the problem is not merely one of concessions. Infrastructure is almost nonexistent in some areas. Agriculture, on which almost 90% of the population depends, cannot provide for all the peoples' needs, education and training is poor; and housing is wholly inadequate. Benso reckons that about 110 000 houses will have to be built annually in the 1980s, against 100 000 in all the years since 1970. All this calls for greater government outlays which, in view of government's commitment to cut growth in its spending, implies a large reallocation of the proportion of resources going to the homelands.

However, Van der Merwe claims that, although government has not yet considered the money issue, he doubts if spending will be pushed up significantly. The emphasis will be on using present resources more efficiently Bringing homeland development corporations and the Corporation for Economic Development closer to the Industrial Development Corporation is the first step.

Nattrass asserts that, to date, the emphasis in development programmes has been on achieving a high rate of growth in the gross domestic product, rather than the broader meaning of development — greater participation of the community in the growth process. This means that the problems of poverty, income inequality and dependence on other economies must be tackled. The homelands are far from satisfying these criteria.

With the majority in farming, too much emphasis on industrial development will only exacerbate income inequality and poverty among large numbers of the population. Outlays for agricultural development are simply inadequate. Nonetheless, industrial development must not be neglected either.

Ideally, improving agriculture should go hand in hand with establishing industries using labour intensive techniques and producing goods for which there is a domestic demand such as food, clothing and basic housing requirements. However, the factories which have been set up are mainly manufacturing products for export.

Government will also have to come to terms with the migrant labour system. An estimated 40% or more of all economically active black men are migrant workers. Besides being socially harsh, this practice deprives the homelands of the younger and better educated workers

Freeing the movement of labour is a prerequisite to development, asserts Francis Wilson of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit. Critics argue that this would lead to slums in the cities. But retorts Wilson: "SA is still under-urbanized and we have already got a massive slum problem in the rural areas." Homeland farming will never get moving, unless there is some relief from population pressures, he adds.

Dowie argues that, when consolidating homelands, boundaries should be drawn so that people are moved closer to work. Because of the difficulty of developing areas, dumping people virtually in the middle of nowhere will lead only to deprivation and unemployment.

Homeland development is an enormous task, which government has finally admitted has not been dealt with adequately. The new approach, seemingly grandiose and promising, is extremely vague. Government must spell out what it plans to do and hopefully it will emphasise, as the Prime Minister is doing in the developed sector, the importance of the role of private interests.

CITIZENSHIP — 1

Passport to nowhere

It seems that government is now attempting to grapple with the most thorny item of its package deal for homelands which aim for its version of independence. According to Co-operation and Development Minister, Piet Koornhof, a Cabinet committee has been formed to look into the whole issue of citizenship as it affects blacks.

In terms of the Acts conferring independence on them, blacks who are supposed to belong to BophuthaTswana, Transkei and Venda, irrespective of where they were born or live, have had to relinquish their SA citizenship. Pretoria hopes that other homelands will follow suit and that eventually there will be no black South Africans, as former cabinet minister Connie Mulder predicted.

Koornhof's statement this week could well bring these predictions in line with the realities of the SA situation. The inter-departmental committee is charged *inter alia* with investigating the possibility of establishing a multi-faceted citizenship for all South Africans.

There are two possibilities. One is to continue the policy of ethnically determined citizenship. The other is to provide blacks with SA national status, so returning to the pre-1976 situation.

This move is seen by observers as trying to calm the fears of those homelands presently showing reluctance to hive off from SA. A major reason for government's attempts to modify its hard line on homelands citizenship could be the continued refusal by the world community to recognise homeland passports.

Runner Motshwarateu passport troubles slowed him

Last year [illegible] Bophuthatswana Minister Matome Motshwarateu [illegible] to attend a conference in Germany and a world tour sponsored by the Americans. He [illegible] passport was turned down by Pretoria and he was referred to the BophuthaTswana authorities. Motshwarateu is considered a citizen of BophuthaTswana by virtue of his ethnic origin. However, he declined to apply for a BophuthaTswana document on the ground that doing so would be tantamount to a *de jure* recognition of the homeland's independence and, moreover, an acceptance of his loss of SA citizenship.

Foreign embassies and the neighbouring states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have also taken a no-recognition stand on passports issued by homeland authorities. The British and the American consulates in Johannesburg refer holders of Transkei and BophuthaTswana passports to London and Washington respectively. This procedure applies only to those who come from countries with which the UK and US have no diplomatic relations.

An interesting twist in the passport wrangle surfaced when the long distance runner, Matthews "Loop en Val" Motshwarateu, was offered a scholarship to study in America. As a Tswana he had to apply to BophuthaTswana for a passport, which would have prevented his access to the US. The BophuthaTswana government made a request to Pretoria for Motshwarateu to be given SA travel documents, and eventually the Department of the Interior obliged — a step which could be interpreted as a back-down from Pretoria's intention of excluding blacks from common citizenship.

[illegible] investigating

citizenship could well take a leaf out of a booklet on independent homelands by Professor John Dugard. "There is nothing genuinely South African or *eiesoortig*," he writes "about separate development. It is simply a policy that was introduced to allay international pressure: but it has failed to achieve this goal."

Table 2

Annual Species present at Bushm

Species	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
Horn captera captena									1
Equo zebra zebra						1			2
cyc. Aethiopicus ichnelus									1
Large carnivore	1								3
								1	4
							1		4
				1	1				8
	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	21
	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	17
	1								1
		1							11
	1								4
									11
									7
									1
									6
									1
									2
									7
									21
	1	2	3						

Is per level

CITIZENSHIP — 2

A federal option?

Is the homelands policy irreversible? Over the past three years Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Venda have consecutively followed each other into the diplomatic wilderness, and it is clear by now that Pretoria's hopes that the ethnic-states would be recognised by the world community have been dashed.

A reflection of this is the amount of time and money the Nationalist government has been prepared to expend in launching the black states into nationhood: from doing its utmost to grab world media attention for Transkei in 1976, to scarcely the pop of a champagne cork for Venda this year.

Before independence, Transkei's Kaiser Matanzima was able to state with confidence that "we expect recognition- . . . from the world, particularly from our brothers in the rest of Africa." Neither

It was, above all, the stripping-away of SA citizenship from those "homelanders" resident in the common area that attracted the greatest criticism both at home and abroad. The issue has been a source of continual embarrassment to Pretoria, which has now appointed a Cabinet committee to look into it (see previous story).

One oft-mooted suggestion for gaining credibility for the black states is to include them in some form of South African federation. Even while taking independence, Matanzima did not rule out this possibility, and BophuthaTswana's President Lucas Mangope also spoke of it in an SABC TV interview at the weekend.

There is perhaps some significance in the fact that Matanzima was prominent at BophuthaTswana's second anniversary independence celebrations earlier this month Transkei — which failed in its ploy to gain world recognition when it broke off diplomatic relations with SA last year — could well, according to some observers, be re-assessing the possibility of federation with SA in concert with its fellow independent homelands. The fruits of "freedom" have been bitter.

This, of course, would be to give a more precise meaning to Pretoria's current catch-phrase, a "constellation of states" in southern Africa.

But how real is the option? As Deon Geldenhuys, assistant director of the SA Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), points out in a paper on "International Attitudes on the Recognition of Transkei," a vitally important consideration is "external, particularly African, perception of such a constellation. It has to be said that it can easily be construed as a South African contrivement to extend the frontiers of the 'white garrison' in order, in the first place, to protect white SA's power."

In this respect, "Transkei seems to be in a 'double bind' on the question of recognition: if it moves away from SA, it is not rewarded, if it were to move closer, it will be seen as even less worthy of recognition."

And even if Transkei and BophuthaTswana (with Venda to follow?) evinces an even greater willingness to "come home," the very concept of a federal state is itself fraught with pitfalls.

The SAIIA's director John Barratt tells the *FM* that the "problems of a federal state are as great as those of a unitary one." He does not see such a state as being viable if it is simply a broad division between black and white entities — that is, with the homelands, however their status may have been altered, co-existing with white SA. "There must be cross-cutting linkages and it would have to be a regional not an ethnic system."

The racial lines drawn by present policy would have to be blurred, says Barratt, if polarisation and potential conflict are not to be the outcome of federation as has occurred in Nigeria and Canada.

Even a con-federal structure "with a loose linkage at the top" would not avert tension since there would be "constant competition for more say at the top."

A part-solution would be to have racially mixed regions within the federal structure. Natal and the Witwatersrand being examples of such potential groupings. Otherwise the *status quo* — leaving millions of "homelanders" living in the white-dominated urban areas and farmlands as legalised citizens of distant states they may never have seen — will simply remain in force.

Finding the water chilly, the homeland chiefs might find it far more difficult to climb out than it was to take the plunge terms of trade. Attie de Vries of Stellenbosch's Bureau for Economic Research sees it as a "double edged sword," which will add to import prices at a time when imports are rising in response to the economic upswing, and which will also hit exports just as international economies move towards recession.

Conference sources point out that much northbound traffic will be protected from the increase by long-term contracts, and some imports, notably cars and chemicals, will be buffered in the same way.

Rex Trueform chairman Stewart Shub, who has a considerable export trade with Europe, sees the new rates as "extremely worrying."

Table 2

Annual Species present at Bushman Rock Shelter and m...

Species	Level 2	3	4	5
Homo sapiens sapiens		1		
Lepus saxatilis				
Cryptomys hottentotus				
Large carnivore				
Small carnivore				
Crocuta crocuta		1		
Incutata capensis		1	1	
Felis lunchelli		2	1	
Thaumatomys ethiopicus		1	1	
Hippopotamus amphibius				
Sylvicapra grimmia	1	3		2
Raphicerus campestris	1		1	1
Oreotragus oreotragus	2		4	1
Oreotragus/Raphicerus		2		2
Felis caprioles				
Redunca arundinum	1		1	
Redunca fulvorufula	2		4	1
Aepyceros melampus				

16	17	18	Total
			1
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			1
			3
		1	4
	1		4
			8
1	1	1	21
1	1	1	17
			1
			11
			4
			11
			7
			1
			6
1	1		21
			7
			2

COLLABORATION: Where is the point of no return?

RDM 31/10/79

(101)

"Our white masters laugh at our fratricidal warfare." — Dr Nthato Motlana.

"I want to emphasize the urgent need for us to bury the hatchet of petty political bickering . . ." — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The dilemma of whether to work within the system or outside it is one which faces many blacks. The views are as varied as they are sincere. Added to that there is another factor to be considered . . . one of time. Deputy Political Editor PATRICK LAURENCE examines the problems facing the black leaders.

MORE than a quarter of a century ago the black leader Paul Mosaka wrote in a letter to the now defunct newspaper Bantu World: "The leaders quarrel while the people die." Mosaka was lamenting the state of disunity in the black community.

Letters to newspapers today reflect a similar despair over continuing acrimony and division within black society. A recent writer to the Rand Daily Mail asked: "How myopic and unforgiving can we get?"

Then as now the dispute revolved largely around the controverial issue of "collaboration," a word which was popularised as a term of abuse by the Unity Movement in the 1940s and later taken up by black consciousness cadres in the 1970s.

Most blacks agree that they are born into and live under "the system," if by that is meant the network of segregationist and discriminatory laws which control their lives, as well as exemptions approved by the authorities.

But agreement ends there. At some point, compulsory living within these laws becomes active "collaboration with the system." But different black leaders define the the point at which collaboration begins differently.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, identifies it as acceptance of the "homeland policy," which has as one of its end consequences stripping blacks of South African citizenship

"If you make yourself an instrument, however unwilling, in that process, I draw one helluva line."

While shunning co-operation with black politicians working within the framework of the homeland policy, he says: "I can work with, say, a principal who is co-operating with the system by being in a 'Bantu' school because he is improving the quality of education of our children (and not) helping to deprive them of their South African citizenship."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has a different cut-off point. It is not whether a politician occupies a position in a "homeland" legislative assembly but how he uses that position.

Where it is used to thwart moves to "Balkanise" South Africa into mini-states, apartheid is subverted and black emancipation advanced, Chief Buthelezi contends. But, in his view, apartheid is aided by acceptance of independence and its consequence, loss of South African citizenship.

To quote Chief Buthelezi: "Apartheid cannot be brought to its logical conclusion unless the South African Government brings all the so-called homelands to the point where they voluntarily opt for Pretoria-style independence . . . KwaZulu will not become independent Pretoria-style."

It is, he said on an earlier occasion, as nonsensical to conclude that he accepts apartheid because of his position in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as it would be to conclude that Chief Albert Lutuli or Professor Z K Mathews accepted United Party segregation policies because of their positions in the old Native Representative Council.

But if Dr Motlana and Chief Buthelezi have different interpretations as to what constitutes "collaboration," Chief Lucas Mangope, of BophuthaTswana, and Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, of Transkei, have a third.

Although President Mangope and President Matanzima are seen as "collaborators" from the perspective of Dr Motlana and Chief Buthelezi, both would repudiate the label.

Judging from the speeches which they made at their respective independence ceremonies, both Chief Mangope and Chief Matanzima justify independence as a lever or powerbase from which to mount pressures for further change in South Africa.

Neither politician has completely closed the door to forging some form of confederal or even federal link with South Africa, provided South Africa purges itself of racist laws. In the interim they will make nonracialism a reality in their states.

To quote a speech made last year by President Mangope during his visit to Transkei: "I have never believed it to be in the interest of my people to embrace the rigid concept of "complete sovereign independence" in the sense of a total and final act of cutting ourselves off from South Africa . . . In the ultimate analysis we still are, and we will still remain, South Africans."

If, however, these different perspectives complicate the issue, they are but the start to a question of labyrinthian complexity.

Documents produced by the prosecution in the trial for sedition of 11 members of the now banned Soweto Student Representative Council reflect a radical black perspective that failure to to boycott Bantu Education schools constituted another form of "collaboration" during the period 1976-77.

The return to school of Soweto students since then introduces a new element, *time*, into the debate: what is collaborationist today may not be so tomorrow or the next day, depending on the prevailing political situation.

Another complicating factor is the position of, say, black clerks who help administer influx control laws, black policemen who help enforce "racist" laws and black prison warders who help staff prisons whose main inmates are people who have fallen foul of the hated "dompas" laws.

If a hardline stand is taken and these people are labelled "collaborators," what of the clerk who helps someone acquire a much-needed document, the policman who turns a blind-eye to people who break "racist" laws without neglecting his duty against geniune criminals.

The situation is likely to become more rather than less complicated as the interests of or the warder who helps the pass law prisoner?

Government and business converge increasingly — as they are almost certain to do as the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, presses ahead with his policy of minimising the role of Government in business while seeking the assistance of businessmen for his constellation of states.

What of blacks who hold positions in companies actively "collaborating" with Mr Botha? Do they become collaborators once removed but collaborators nevertheless? Reflection on the situation would seem to suggest that it should depend on what action is taken within any given situation.

Black journalists seems to have shown the way. In terms of black consciousness thinking, the established Press is white-owned and white-controlled. But in some newspapers black journalists, through their union, have succeeded in switching the emphasis away from sex and crime to fundamental and "relevant" political issues.

While black activists applaud the way in which these journalists have resisted "co-option by the system" and used the "white Press" to help politicise the black community, the same activists seem reluctant to concede that the same "subversion of the system" can be achieved by politcians working within the system.

Steve Biko, the founder of black consciousness, articulated the view that it was futile to seek to subvert the system when he wrote of homeland leaders: "It may . . . be true that they are extremely dedicated to the upliftment of black people . . . But if you want to fight your enemy you do not accept from him the unloaded of his two guns and then challenge him to a duel."

Mr E J Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane, reflects a different view when he says: "I found myself in the system. It was not a question of entering it. There was no choice . . . the system engulfs the people and they expect you to speak for them."

His Councillor for Community Affairs, Mr David Lukhele, says: "Not all people operating are operating within the system for the sake of collaborating with the Nationalist Party. They are using the platform to articulate (black views) and gain access to millions of blacks who are exposed to Nationalist propaganda through the Press and radio."

The nuances and shifts in the collaborationist debate have not been fully explored, but it should be clear that it is not subject to simple political diagnosis and remedy.

In the end each black man has to make an existential choice for himself in the knowledge that there will be fellow blacks who will criticise it. Hopefully it will be less acrimonious that it has in the past weeks.

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racial unitary State, as a basis for negotiation with the Government. Like almost every other black political grouping, it insists on African representation in any new deal.

The Labour Party's Indian colleague in the Black Alliance, the Reform Party under Mr Yelman Chinsamy, has a similar approach.

In fact, the aims of Black Alliance affiliates for a unitary State with universal franchise are basically the same as those of black consciouness groups, but their methods differ. And these methods towards "liberation" are the cause of the disunity and animosity which have plagued coloured and Indian —and indeed African — politics over the past decade.

The Black Alliance, drawing its strength from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha, has refused to go the whole hog with Government policies. Chief Buthelezi has rejected independence for KwaZulu, creating a major dilemma for the Government's homelands policy.

The Labour Party, majority in the Coloured Representative Council, rejected a separate coloured Parliament and put paid to the Government's original plan of a three-tier parliamentary system for whites, coloureds and Indians.

The Reform Party, likely winner of the first SA Indian Council elections next March, will, while it falls under the Black Alliance, almost certainly reject an Indian Parliament.

Labour and Reform draw their support mainly from older coloureds and Indians. As Labour leaders have repeatedly pointed out, coloured youth are in no mood to negotiate with the Government. The youth identify with the black consciousness movement, as witnessed in the 1976 solidarity marches of African coloured and Indian youth in Cape Town.

The subsequent Cape unrest made them more determined not to negotiate with whites. A new group of outspoken young men emerged, led in the Cape by people such as Mr Frank van der Horst, vice-president of the SA Council on Sport, and Dr Allan Boesak, chaplain at the University of the Western Cape.

In the Transvaal, the older Transvaal Indian Congress members have joined the youth in throwing their support behind Solidarity Front leaders such as Dr Joe Veriava and Dr Rashid Salojee, who once worked from within "the system" in the Lenasia Management Committee.

Since the days of the congresses, there have been attempts at alliances between the black groups. From the African side, there has often been suspicion whether the "toenadering" of Indians and coloureds was solely because of their rejection by whites.

Certainly, statements attributed to former Labour Party leader Mr Sonny Leon — to the effect that because coloureds had been rejected and humiliated by whites, they would turn to their black brothers — fanned the suspicion. Labour Party colleagues were deeply embarrassed.

While the "toenadering" towards blacks has had overtones of expediency to be "on the winning side" because of the feeling that black majority rule is inevitable, there has also been a conscious attempt by Indians and coloureds to identify with blacks simply because they feel it is their natural duty to unite as fellow-oppressed.

This was most evident in the days of the Black People's Convention and the SA Students Organisation, where young men such as Saths Cooper, Strini Moodley and Peter Jones identified totally with black aspirations.

Despite the banning of those organisations, the black consciousness philosophy has not been killed off among coloureds and Indians.

But just as some Indians and coloureds refuse to consider themselves black, there are Africans who don't regard Indians and coloureds as black.

Black consciousness leaders are aware of this. At a recent meeting in Soweto, the president of the Azanian Pepole's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, said some Africans pointed to the higher standards of living of Indians. But, he stressed, Indians were also victims of discrimination.

"There are levels of discrimination, yes," he said. "But it is still discrimination."

Now, with Indians and coloureds either voluntarily and militantly identifying with blacks or being wooed to identify, comes the Government plan to woo them into a new accommodation with whites.

The Government has a hard battle on its hands to convince them of a new deal. So far, it has given no indication of what it really has in mind for them. Whatever concessions are made will be looked upon with deep suspicion, and sometimes, as in the case of the sports policy, rejected with cynical contempt.

Coloured people have not forgotten their expulsion from the voters' roll, the removals and resettlements, the race classification trauma, and the unrest of 1976.

They have come to regard "new deals" as making them buffers in the confrontation between black and white nationalism, with the Government attempting to emasculate the black ranks and boosting its own numerical strength.

The Government's promises have come to mean little, and while it continues with its Group Areas removals and other humiliating racial actions, it has little chance of winning over even the moderates. The danger from the ruling party's point of view is that if it fails to deliver anything tangible, it will force even the moderates into the opposing camps.

Meanwhile, for the foreseeable future at least, the real battle in coloured and Indian politics will continue to be between the anti-racial, no compromise stance of black consciousness and "the liberation from within" nonracial stance of groups such as the Labour Party.

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'Homelands must train farmers'

10

Pretoria Bureau

The time has come for Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the independent homelands to start training their own agriculturists, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, told black leaders today.

"As most of you are dependent on agriculture, it is important for you not to neglect this subject at school level. A good start would be the introduction of agricultural subjects," he said.

Speaking during the visit of leaders from the homelands and neighbouring states to the Boskop Training Centre for black Agriculturists at Potchefstroom, he said the South African Government would give whatever help it could.

A blueprint of the Boskop centre was being compiled, and would be available to any government interested in it to show how farmers and their workers can benefit from regular short courses in all aspects of the industry.

Such courses lasting about three weeks brought savings in the repair and replacement costs of farm implements, saved labour costs because the labourer was equipped to handle more complicated tasks.

The Boskop centre was opened in 1977. So far, 432 blacks have attended courses.

interrogations at inquiries). It held that these costs could only be taxed by the taxing master (Registrar) of the Supreme Court. Subsequently, the amendment of Rule 70 of the Rules of the Supreme Court deprived the taxing master of the power to tax attorneys' costs in non-litigious matters.

And Regulation 22 of the Regulations for the Winding up of Companies provides that no bill of legal costs arising out of a liquidation shall be paid by the liquidator out of the company's funds unless it has been taxed. So there is just no legal basis on which the master can tax bills for liquidators under these circumstances.

The master also feels obliged to interpret the Insolvency Act so as to arrive at the same adverse result in the case of trustees.

As the legislation now stands, the master holds that creditors are not entitled to authorise that costs of interrogation be costs of administration (a view challenged by at least some attorneys).

Attorneys have an added complaint in this situation: bar rules require counsel to be paid within 97 days (regardless of whether they themselves have been paid). So attorneys, as well as liquidators, can find themselves at least temporarily out of pocket in respect of inquiry costs. In order to assist liquidators, trustees and attorneys, the master has directed that the special fee be considered in the first liquidators or trustees' account, instead of in the final account, as has been the practice.

One prominent liquidator believes that the present situation is in no way the fault of the master, who has been forced to do no more than his duty in interpreting the law as he sees it. But the present situation is most undesirable, and the legislature could never have intended this result, even though it flows from a correct interpretation of the relevant legislation. Consequently, Parliament should remedy the position by passing amending legislation to enable trustees and liquidators to tax bills of costs when legal representatives appear at inquiries. Professional bodies like the Incorporated Law Societies could well pursue this aspect on behalf of their members.

But, until then, a trustee or liquidator wishing to have legal representation at an insolvency inquiry will have to pay the costs out of his own pocket, and subsequently seek reimbursement from the master — a potential bo[illegible]

CONSOLIDATION

Problems ahead

SA should know by March just how far government intends to go towards consolidating the homelands into geographic entities.

This is the date Hennie van der Walt's commission on land consolidation submits its report to the Cabinet, which under PM P W Botha has apparently come round to the view that consolidation is necessary for viable development.

By now the six specialist sub-committees — economy and finance, politics, defence, agriculture, mines, planning and infrastructure — will have submitted reports to the Central Consolidation Committee.

This will chew over these findings in the next couple of weeks, then advise the four Regional Committees which will carry out in-depth investigations on their practicality before reporting back, according to a source close to the Commission.

The Committee's report on BophuthaTswana (including the possible inclusion of Mafeking into the homeland), has already been submitted, but no hint on its future has been forthcoming.

"Effective consolidation" of the black states would require either large-scale expropriations of land from white farmers, or a redrawing of national boundaries. It would also have to include certain urban areas, according to Professor Nic Olivier, PFP director of research.

The implications of such moves leave many observers sceptical about the extent of land transfer the government will allow. "A degree of consolidation is possible, but it won't be as extensive as we've been led to believe," says Olivier.

Financial and political hurdles will be enormous. Some 1 472m hectares still have to be purchased at a cost of perhaps R1 000m to bring the quota in line with proposals in the 1936 Land Act, and also those made in 1975 setting aside some 14% of SA territory for blacks (over 77% of the population).

The mechanics of the process presage a string of problems. Some are white opposition in areas designated for the "co-op" (witness the HNP's strong showing in Rustenburg, for example); the status of whites who find themselves in "another country", the cost (both human and financial) of resettling about a million blacks, and the question of their citizenship.

Olivier strongly doubts that "effective consolidation" will facilitate the government's grand design of channelling black political aspirations and the benefits of a free enterprise economy throughout the bantustans.

by 1970, this figure had decreased to 15,7%, indicating that the whites had improved disproportionately to the 'coloureds'. Similarly, for children

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Commission will be told to think again

KOM 2/11/79 161

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

WHEN the Van der Walt Commission on land consolidation meets today it will be told formally that the Cabinet wants it to reconsider its recommendations for the consolidation of BophuthaTswana.

The commission's proposals for BophuthaTswana were submitted to the Cabinet on September 15, but at a meeting last month the Cabinet is understood to have referred the proposals back to the commission for re-consideration.

Today's meeting will be the first of the more than 30-strong central committee of the Van der Walt Commission since it submitted its plan for the consolidation of the seven pieces of BophuthaTswana into a single entity.

Before presenting its proposals to the Cabinet the commission took the precaution of consulting with seven National Party MPs in constituencies likely to be affected by its consolidation plan.

The seven MPs from the western Transvaal, the northern Cape and the Free State are reported to have expressed agreement with the plan's basic principles, but to have voiced reservations about its practical implementation.

One of the constituencies involved is Rustenburg, where the NP saw its safe majority in the 1977 General Election sharply reduced last month in its by-election tussle with the Herstigte Nasionale Party. The result, plus the reservations of the MPs, may have influenced the Cabinet decision.

Emphasising the need for large-scale consolidation, Mr Van der Walt has described his commission's task as that of drawing frontiers for states which will form part of the Prime Minister's envisaged constellation of states.

But there seems to be evidence that concrete proposals, as distinct from broad generalities, are invoking resistance in the white community.

One sign is the memorandum submitted to the authorities by the multi-million sugar industry, protesting against further consolidation and warning of "disastrous" results for whites and blacks in the industry if more sugar-growing land is taken from productive white hands and placed in less productive black ones.

To the chagrin of the ruling NP, which is involved in a tough by-election fight against the New Republic Party in Eshowe, part of the memorandum was leaked to Natal-based newspapers and used by the NRP as a political stick with which to beat the NP.

Another manifestation of unease about, and opposition to, new consolidation moves is the speech made by the former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, implicitly criticising the new approach initiated by the Prime Minister.

An apartheid ideologue in the Verwoerd mould, Mr M C Botha was the author of the 1975 consolidation proposals, which were described as "final" at the time and based on strict adherence to the 87-13% division of land between white and black laid down in the 1936 Land Act.

In a reference to "controversial and grandiose plans", Mr Botha warned that attempts to re-divide land between black and white would lead to conflict between black and white and even chaos. The division was sanctioned by history, he contended.

Consolidation of BophuthaTswana is the first challenge to be overcome by the Van der Walt Commission.

Observers in Pretoria feel it is of parmount importance for the commission to meet the challenge of consolidating BophuthaTswana, as failure there could be detrimental and perhaps even fatal to its plans elsewhere.

The commission's task is complicated by its need to satisfy both white fears and black hopes and at the same time to give a sounder foundation to the black territories.

classification which have [illegible] dil. Disease categories with rates greater than 5/1 000 appear in italics in Table II. It will be noted that the mortality experiences of the 'coloureds'

examine the temporal changes of mortality rates in great[illegible]

(iv) Proportional Mortality, accounted for by specific conditions.

(v) Expectation of Life. This was calculated both at birth (e_o) l at 45 years of age (e_{45}) for both males and females. It expresses the erage number of additional years an individual would be expected to live yond birth and 45 years.

or Africans, the proportional mortality was the only index calculated.

ESULTS

The infant mortality rates (IMR) and standardised mortality rates (SMR) for whites and 'coloureds' are provided in Fig. 2 and Fig. 3. Whilst the whites have experienced a steady decline in both of these indices since 1929, the 'coloureds' after an initial decrease, show a comparatively static IMR since 1950 and an increase in their SMR since 1960.

From 1941 to 1970, the white IMR has fallen from 50,9/1 000 to 21/1 000, an improvement of 57,6%. During this period, the 'coloured' IMR has decreased from 164,8/1 000 to 132,6/1 000, a change of only 19,7%. This is of particular concern when it is appreciated that the greater the IMR, the more easily should improvements be accomplished. The decrease in SMRs between 1941 and 1970 were 28,4% and 25,7% for whites and 'coloureds' respectively.

The age specific mortality rates are summarised in Fig. 4. Since death is inevitable, it is to be expected that decreases in the mortality experience of younger age groups will give rise to a corresponding increase in mortality amongst elderly persons. Thus, although it is to be expected that for both whites and 'coloureds' the mortality rates for persons over the age of 65 years have shown a rising trend, it is of some concern that the mortality rates have also increased between 1960 and 1970 for 'coloureds' in the 25-44 and 45-64 years age groups.

The imbalance between the age specific mortality rates of whites and 'coloureds' has improved or remained constant for persons between the ages of 5 and 64. However, for children less than 5 years of age, the gap between whites and 'coloureds' is widening. In 1941, white children under one year old experienced 28,0% of the mortality of 'coloured' children;

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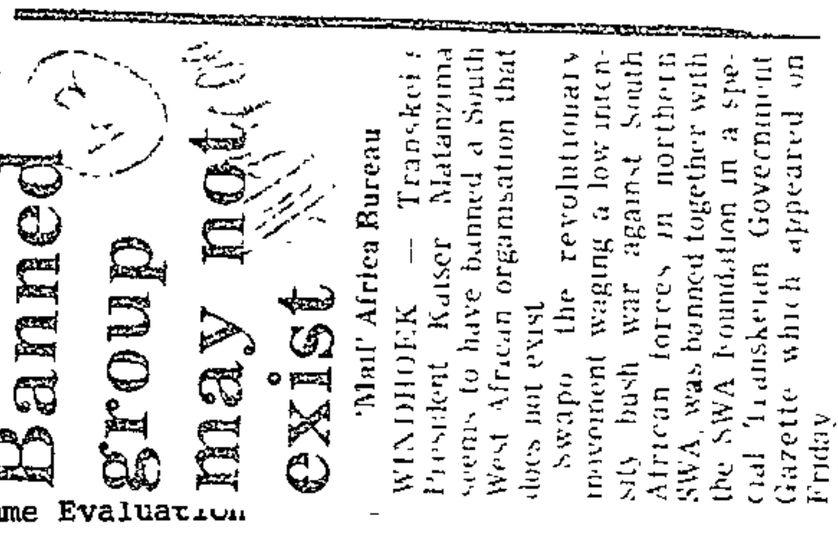
Banned group may not exist

Mail/Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Transkei President Kaiser Matanzima seems to have banned a South West African organisation that does not exist.

Swapo, the revolutionary movement waging a low intensity bush war against South African forces in northern SWA, was banned together with the SWA Foundation in a special Transkeian Government Gazette which appeared on Friday.

But the SWA Foundation apparently does not exist and the closest thing to it is the proSWA Namibia Foundation, which was formed about three years ago as an off-shoot of the South Africa Foundation.

Why?

"The banned?" said Mr Günther Kaschik president of the Pro-SWA Namibia Foundation, yesterday.

"There's absolutely no reason for it. It is supposed to be us. In fact, we hosted two Transkeian Cabinet Ministers who visited SWA early this year."

Mr Kaschik said that as far as he was concerned his foundation was on good terms with the Transkei Government.

He said the proSWA Namibia Foundation had about 600 members who financed visits to SWA by influential politicians, businessmen, industrialists and journalists.

No Swapo spokesman were available for comment on the banning of their movement in the former homeland.

Swapo has never been banned by the South African authorities in SWA despite the guerrilla war it is waging from bases inside Angola and Zambia.

POLITICAL comment [illegible]

Speaks Bergen [illegible]

Talks by Hoveni [illegible]

Can it be Paul Hoveni [illegible]

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2.2 Programme Evaluation

Methods of evaluation range from simple procedures for looking at costs, where the conclusions are left largely to intuition, to highly complicated processes which present more or less clear-cut solutions. For these more precise methods, most of the value judgements have to be made explicitly in advance. Some points on the spectrum between these two extremes are analysed below.

2.3 Looking at Expenditure

Basically, one is looking for inconsistencies. It was noted that a logical axiom, basic to economics, is that a rand should yield approximately the same value in whichever programme it is spent. If the net social benefit from the marginal expenditure on one programme much exceeds that on another, one can do better by withdrawing funds from the second programme and increasing expenditure on the first. By simply looking at a breakdown of the budget between programmes, the amounts spent on each may be compared with our intuitive notions of how much 'ought' to be spent on these things. Our judgement will depend on what we consider the benefits of expenditure under each programme to be, a process which cost-benefit analysis seeks to formalise (see below). For example, if it can be shown that expenditure on preventive medicine constitutes approximately 2% of all expenditure on health,[11] it may be felt that the benefits from this kind of provision warrant an increase in the share of the budget allocated to it.

Unfortunately, such intuitive processes can pick out only the grossest incongruities which are recognised by all, whatever criteria of 'value' are used. The optimum level of expenditure on a particular objective is, from the point of view of intuitive judgement, highly uncertain, because of the wide variation in benefits attributable to a particular type of spend-

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em comparable to one another.

2.4 An Informal Method for Setting Objectives

The following method for guiding the choice of priorities has been described by John Bryant.[12] It has been used by medical and nursing students in Thailand, and one of its advantages is that it can be used where no numerical data is available. It, therefore, lends itself to discussion, to draw on the experience of a group of people.

Potential health problems are first listed, and then given a score (from one to four pluses) under each of four headings:

Diagram 1: A method of ranking health problems

Problem	Prevalence	Severity	Community concern	Vulnerability to management	Total
Large & poorly spaced families	++++	++++	+++	++	96
Inadequate ante-natal & obstetric care	++++	++	++	+++	48
Malnutrition	+++	+++	++	++	36
Need for medical care	++	++	++++	++	32
Specific diseases:					
V.D.	++	++	++	++	16
Dental problems	++++	+	++	++	16
TB	+++	+++	+++	++	54
Common cold*	++++	+	+	-	0
Yaws*	-	++	+++	++++	0

* Added to test scoring method

the cost of raising the necessary funds has to be taken into account. The funds themselves are already justified by comparison with the alternative methods of provision, but there are additional costs involved in raising them: interest on loans, or administrative and incentive costs of raising taxation. These are normally insignificant for any given project, but may affect the overall amounts available for the health budget.

Where the methods of providing a given service use the same kinds of resources in different proportions, the decision-making can be simplified by means of Linear Programming, though health service choices cannot usually be presented in the simplified way required by this method.

2. CHOICE

So far, we have to know the effectiveness of a given amount of money when spent objectives, so that choices can be formulated in terms of the alternatives we might afford - so many geriatric beds to be given day care centres, so many child welfare clinics, etc.

more to children

Overall criteria

way that traditionally arranged on this basis but in problem is not 'salaries', 'transport', 'medicines', etc. A separate to relate to

There are various categories such as 'salaries', 'transport', 'medicines', etc. A separate expenditure on different disease groups or age groups

2.1 Programme budgets

Programme budgets cannot be made.

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This is necessary

(a) to

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(c) to know the effectiveness of a given amount of money when spent on different objectives, so that choices can be formulated in terms of the alternatives we might afford - so many geriatric day care centres, so many child welfare clinics, etc.

Financial statistics are not traditionally arranged on this basis but in categories such as 'salaries', 'transport', 'medicines', etc. A separation, e.g. between expenditure on different disease groups or age groups cannot be made.

The grouping of expenditure into programmes is an art. Pole, an economist in the U.K. Department of Health, writes:

Background

Homelands citizenship 'indefensible'

Argus 8/11/79

101

THE Government's decision to appoint a Cabinet Committee to consider the question of homeland citizenship clearly shows that some members of the Nationalist Party now realise the urgent need to rethink existing policy on this pivotal issue.

Why is citizenship a pivotal issue?

It hangs like a political albatross around the neck of the Government's policy of granting independence to homelands.

The political scheme to deprive millions of black citizens of the Republic of their birthright without their consent is itself a manifest example of race or colour discrimination.

It is a legislative act unilaterally decreed by an all-white sovereign parliament creating millions of statutory foreigners in the land of their birth.

Not only is this political scheme contrary to essential principles of justice and morality, but, according to weighty judicial pronouncements, it is a violation of international law.

The vast majority of citizens of the Republic are treated as third-class citizens in the land of their birth. This is the real reason for the universal condemnation of the Government's racial policy — not 'double standards' as is so often maintained by apologists for the Government.

Indeed, the charge of 'double standards' comes strangely from a Government whose policy is based on the principle enshrined in the constitution of President Kruger's Transvaal Republic. Article 9 of the Grondwet of the old South African Republic provided:

'The people (het volk); are not prepared to allow any equality (gelijkstelling) of the non-white (gekleurden) with the white inhabitants (blanke ingezetenen).'

A special correspondent examines the double standards inherent in citizenship by birth, and discovers the urgent need for an agonising reappraisal.

In the growing realisation that the continuance of the Nationalist Government's policy of third-class citizenship for the vast majority of our citizens was indefensible even in those Western circles which were otherwise well disposed towards the Government, the ruling oligarchy in South Africa decided that, rather than abolish race or colour discrimination among its own citizens (the sensible and ethical course to adopt), it would instead attempt to abolish the South African citizenship which the vast majority of our population enjoyed by reason of their birth within the territorial boundaries of the Republic (or its predecessor, the Union of South Africa).

Three years have elapsed since the birth of an independent Transkei. This was the first homeland to be declared to be a sovereign and independent state by our whites-only Parliament. Transkei has still not received international recognition. It was conceived in a policy of racial discrimination and inequality.

The legitimacy of its birth was fundamentally besmirched by the arbitrary and forcible deprivation of the birthright of millions of black South Africans. This compulsory deprivation took place by virtue of legislation enacted in the Republic's Parliament. This was the Status of the Transkei Act, No 100 of 1976.

A noted legal author, Dr Martin Wolff, has written that the compulsory deprivation of citizenship, where made on racial grounds, is a violation of international law. He described such a deprivation as inconsistent with tenets of humanity and morality.

In the House of Lords case of Oppenheimer versus Cattermole (Inspector of Taxes) decided in 1975, three Law Lords expressed their concurrence with the views of Dr Wolff.

The Free World cannot give recognition to a law, or to a state which is based upon a law, that compulsorily deprives millions of black citizens of their birthright. For to do so would be to betray the principles of justice, democracy and human dignity which the governments of the free world claim to uphold.

Homelands planning: Nats creating 'monster'

The Government is to appoint yet another four regional committees next week to tackle the thorny homelands consolidation task — bringing the total to 11 with 114 members.

Their job is to represent local interests and make recommendations to the 33-member Central Consolidation Committee, but the entire structure is now coming under sharp attack from management experts.

The growing pyramid of committees is being described as a bureaucratic monster without teeth which can do little more than rubber stamp decisions already taken.

The Government's overall plan calls for the 11 regional committees in various parts of the country to hold 80 debates on eight homeland schemes, excluding those of the independent states of Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Each committee will have about 15 members representing State departments, the private sector, and the black states.

CRITICISM

Main criticism of the structure of committees is that while they are supposed to represent local interests, they will have little more power than to approve decisions made by six expert committees for which the work was done by the Bureau for Economic Research on Co-operation and Development.

And because the Government wants to resolve the homelands issue as quickly as possible, it will have to short-circuit the regional committees decisions.

Homelands may be recolonised — expert

(101) 9/11/79 PM

LONDON — One of Africa's most distinguished academics has predicted that at some stage the African homelands — or bantustans — might be recolonised by white South Africa for security reasons.

"As acts of sabotage within the white areas increase, black homelands would serve in part as areas of temporary refuge for guerillas."

Ali Mazrui of Kenya, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, offered his predictions in a lecture broadcast by the BBC.

He said: "Under international pressure South Africa will increasingly liberalise its system in fits and starts.

"But as a result of that liberalisation, the opposition to the system will find it much easier to organise itself."

In time the black opposition would include a radical and effectively organised and armed challenge to the white establishment.

South Africa's neighbours, like Mozambique and a black-ruled Zimbabwe, would have to brace themselves for Israeli-like reprisals from South Africa if they served as willing or unwilling hosts to guerillas.

Asking whether whites would leave South Africa in these times, Prof Mazrui said: "I agree that Afrikaners have more to lose than English-speaking white South Africans, but I am not persuaded the majority would rather die than seek refuge elsewhere."

The majority of any society, race or nation were pragmatic when it came to issues of life or death. The Afrikaners would fight, they would kill and be killed for a while. But when the cost really became too high the exodus would begin.

"Nor do I believe the argument that the Afrikaners have nowhere to go. If there is a revolution in South Africa, I haven't the slightest doubt that many Western doors will open for them."

The Netherlands might prefer for the time being to maintain a political and moral distance. But when the racial chips were down and Dutch-speaking whites are on the run from black revolutionaries, Holland would open its doors.

Prof Mazrui said he didn't expect to see South Africa in the future cease to be a multi-racial society. A third or even a half of the total white population might leave, but a million or two would remain to work out an alternative deal.

"It's conceivable that by the end of the century the proportion of whites within South Africa over blacks will remain relatively the same, while power has effectively shifted to the black majority.

"But half the whites need not be the same people."

He said that Kenya, for example, had more white people today than there were before black majority rule was conceded. But the proportion of the old style settlers had dramatically declined.

the cost of raising the necessary funds has to be taken into account. The funds themselves are already justified by comparison with the alternative methods of provision, but there are additional costs involved in raising them: interest on loans, or administrative and incentive costs of raising taxation. These are normally insignificant for any given project, but may affect the overall amounts available for the health budget.

Where the methods of providing a given service use the same kinds of resources in different proportions, the decision-making can be simplified by means of Linear Programming, though health service choices cannot usually be presented in the simplified way required by this method.

2. CHOICE OF PROGRAMMES

So far, we have discussed methods of choosing means to obtain a given objective. But what tools are available to aid the choice of objectives themselves? Can anything be said on the question of the priority to be given to particular diseases or age groups, whether to allocate more to child welfare clinics or care of the aged?

Overall criteria are needed, and they have to be expressed in such a way that they can guide these detailed questions. Essentially, the problem is not only to relate resources used to objectives achieved, but to relate the various objectives to each other.

There are various means of doing this; but all of them require that expenditure be accounted for by the ends it is expected to achieve.

2.1 Programme Budgeting

Programme budgeting, also known as budgeting by objectives, involves the presentation of expenditure data according to the objectives to which it is directed. Thus, projects to combat TB would be grouped together, geriatric problems, sanitation programmes, etc.

This is necessary:

(a) to know the cost of pursuing each objective;

(b) to group together activities with the same objectives which can be compared by cost-effectiveness analysis;

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tion ties up with an economic jargon of slightly better vintage - that of cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness; and through that to the main stream of neoclassical welfare economics, which attempts to make a distinction between the choice of the composition of the basket of outputs and the choice of the set of resources from which each output is to be produced. The former is, in a broad sense, a question of tastes, values, or utilities; the latter is a question of techniques".

He adds:

"In practice, it is not an easy matter to make a hard and fast distinction between technical matters and matters of values or utilities in the health services. From one point of view, the question whether to treat schizophrenics in hospital or in the community is a technical one. Which is the cheaper way to fulfil whatever are the society's requirements for the treatment of this group? But community care originally became fashionable as a good thing in itself. The practitioners are very apt to [illegible] the medical and economic arguments when it suits them, and the politicians and administrators [illegible] when it suits them, but the economist's concern is to keep them separate".

Programme budgeting, then, entails the attempt at this separation, sorting out from the multiplicity of decisions those which can be made on the basis of administrative or economic, together with medical-technical criteria, and those in which the role of the public through political

Farmers eye homeland deal

By ROY DEVENISH
Pretoria Bureau

THE Government has been reminded that it is "morally bound" to allow organised agriculture a say in the final homelands consolidation proposals.

A spokesman for the Transvaal Agricultural Union said the President of the South African Agricultural Union, Mr Jaap Wilkens, had given the TAU's General Council the assurance that everything would be done to see that the Government kept to its undertaking.

"Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the Department of Co-operation and Development's commission, has promised me that each district agricultural union which is affected will get an opportunity to put its case," said Mr Wilkens.

Mr Wilkens also referred to the speech by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, in Eshowe last week in which he said no final decision would be taken before discussions had been held with all parties concerned.

According to Mr Wilkens he would personally undertake to fight for this right "because it is nothing else", and appealed to farmers to act reasonably in the matter.

He said there were certain people who appeared to be trying to make some or other sinister gain from the consolidation committee by sowing confusion.

Mr Wilkens said affiliated bodies which had already drawn up memoranda on the subject should send them to the TAU for tabling with the Central Consolidation Committee.

Constellation key to citizen issue—PM

Star 9/4/79.

By Hugh Leggatt, Political Correspondent

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, hinted strongly last night that he would use the constellation of states concept to solve the problems of homeland blacks losing their South African citizenship.

He said he realised an issue causing concern, especially among urban blacks, was citizenship.

They attached value to their South African citizenship and often needed it — for example to travel abroad. This was one of the matters that could be solved by the idea of a constellation of states, he said.

Perhaps in the grouping of states travel documents could be issued without the citizenship of the holder being a factor.

This could be one of the ways of showing up the advantages, rather than the disadvantages, of belonging to an independent nation state.

The Prime Minister briefly mentioned the subject in answering a question at a National Party information meeting in Alberton. Afterwards he said he was not yet prepared to elaborate on the idea.

HIGHER STATUS

In answering the question, about the role of urban blacks in a constellation of states, Mr Botha reiterated the aim of consultation between independent states on matters of common concern.

He said urban blacks were really "urban dwellers who lived outside their states." They would remain tied to those states but they would enjoy local self government of a higher status than municipalities.

In his main address to about 800 card-carrying Nationalists including all Rand MPs, and most Transvaal Cabinet members, the Prime Minister expressed a determination to go ahead with efforts to counter threats to the country through policies of internal reconciliation.

He said the struggle was not only for Afrikaner survival but, through the policies of the National Party, for the survival of all minority groups and the attainment of their freedoms.

Every decent, balanced South African should realise there was no alternative to what the National Party was doing for the country through policies to avoid confrontation.

The Government had a daily duty to maintain security but it realised that in handling the situation internally it had to be careful not to create a situation akin to a powder keg.

Was it wrong to take steps to neutralise efforts at bringing about boycotts, or to strive for a spirit of consultation, or to bring about conditions of calm to protect the backs of the men on the border?

If the answer was yes, it was time to put the hand to the plough. If the answer was no, what was the alternative?

MR P W BOTHA

Removal of discrimination a latent Nat principle—Pik

Political Correspondent

The removal of discrimination was always latent in the principles of the National Party, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told the NP information meeting in Alberton last night.

As one of 10 Cabinet Ministers with the Prime Minister at the Mini Nat congress, Mr Botha answered a question about how moving away from discrimination would affect outside attitudes to South Africa.

He said the concept was not meant to satisfy the outside world but had always been latent in the principles of the party.

He could not believe that any Nationalist would advocate the alternative of humiliating people and harming their dignity deliberately.

Measures had been taken in the past to protect white identity, but after a time these had become obsolete and had the effect of harming relations.

If removal of discrimination had the side-effect of improving views on South Africa and of frustrating Marxist plans against the country by reducing agitation, that was a bonus. But the country's enemies would never be satisfied.

In SWA/Namibia and in Zimbabwe Rhodesia it had been shown that removal of discriminatory measures had failed to reduce international hostility.

The Minister of Environmental Planning and Energy, Mr de Klerk, said the search for oil was not based on hope and faith alone, but also on scientific facts.

The Government believed private initiative should take the lead in fabricating liquid fuels such as methanol and ethanol, but he would present a report on possible Government involvement to the Cabinet in the new year.

The Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr du Plessis, said that in terms of the Government's reform of the tax system black and white people would pay the same rates of tax on the same scales of income within three years.

He answered a question about teachers apparently getting favoured treatment when public service pay was reviewed by saying that teaching was a priority because the youth could not be neglected.

rural areas or cause of deaths' according to the Bantu Reference Bureau (Personal Communication)

DISCUSSION

The crude death rates and the standardised mortality rates for white Asians and 'coloureds' and urban Africans are shown in Fig. 1.

The interpretation of these figures is confused by the underlying structure of the population.

The various groups were pictured in Part I as urban Africans, which appears in Fig. 2. of healthy working males and lack of elderly migratory labour situation.

The standardised mortality rate provides a experience of a population which can only be series of age specific death rates. The S all the age specific mortality rates in the corresponding numbers in the standard popul death rates so obtained and dividing the total s this figure is independent of the age struc the choice of the standard population will the deaths in the various age groups. The population as a standard will give great we weight to deaths among the elderly, while a will reverse the position. The choice of s ranking of the mortality between the observe answer. As the Duke of Wellington said: 'T and statistics'!

Infant mortality rates are summarised in Fig is experienced in obtaining data for African Africans are not published by the central go cal officers of health[9] have estimated the their urban areas. These show considerable

The Cape Times

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1979

(101)

Fear of catastrophe

THE BLACK SASH is in daily contact with blacks through its advice office. For 16 years it has sought to solve their myriad problems, caused largely by the pass laws — of breadwinners ordered to leave their city jobs and return to homeland unemployment, of wives barred from staying with their husbands, of children separated from their parents. Inevitably the women who run the office have become sensitive to black moods and feelings in a way that ordinary white South Africans, isolated from their black compatriots, could never hope to be. So when the office goes to the length of issuing an emergency report to warn the country that in 16 years it has never experienced as much anger among blacks as now or such a "sense of impending catastrophe", then it is time to pay serious heed. Similar warnings, though less extreme, were issued a few weeks before the 1976 Soweto riots. They were spectacularly ignored.

In 1976 the conflagration was sparked by the official insistence on Afrikaans as a medium of school instruction. This time the trigger issue, according to the Black Sash, is the end of the three-month moratorium on the imposition of R500 fines on the employers of unregistered black workers. It is more fundamental than mediums of instruction. It could have the effect of frightening thousands of employers into dismissing their so-called illegal employees, thus putting a huge number of blacks, unemployed, hungry and desperate, out on to urban streets. The consequences are incalculable. In fact, in this respect, the Riekert commission, enlightened in other ways but which recommended the drastic penalization of employers, is responsible for a degree of seething unrest never achieved by the existing pass laws. Their very inefficiency in controlling the movement of workers in response to economic demand helped to ease tension. These laws often sent workers to prison, but as statistics released by the Black Sash show, even prison sentences did not prevent significant improvements in these workers' living standards, compared to the legal alternative of sitting jobless in some homeland. A Ciskeian employed illegally in Maritzburg, for instance, gained a mammoth 702,7 percent improvement in spite of spending three months of the year in prison. The risk of prison was therefore taken, because it was more than worth it.

A R500 fine is less of a threat than prison. But white employers stand to lose far more, in risking it, than a black worker risking a prison sentence. Dr Riekert was right in recognizing this as a more effective method of discouraging illegal employment. But he failed to appreciate the dangerous sociological effect it would have on the black community, an effect that the Black Sash have rightly noted with the gravest alarm.

(101) 18/11/77

Homeland officials in the dark on students

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

THE homelands to which the convicted Soweto SRC leaders were to have been transferred on their release were never informed about the move

Families of Sechaba Montsisi, Sibongile Mthembu, Murphison Morobe and Sandile Mazibuko were approached this week by officials of the Department of Co-Operation and Development and asked if they wanted to go to their respective homelands.

Mr Jack Makodi, Bophuthatswana's Minister of Internal Affairs, said: "No approaches were made to us

The chief urban representative of the KwaZulu government, Mr Gibson Khula, also denied they were approached.

(See Editorial — Page 8

JOBURG SCROOGES CASH IN ON THE PLIGHT OF THEIR BLACK WORKERS

Employers want more than a pound of flesh

CHARLES Dickens' Scrooge seems to have very little on some Johannesburg employers.

Once grateful for registration under the Government's moratorium on "illegal" workers, many Black domestics are now paying dearly for their legality.

These are the details of four cases I looked into — the names of all the women have been changed.

Mrs Joy Majola, from the Transkei, worked for a woman in Mondeor, Johannesburg, for more than a year. She was earning R40 per month, plus free accommodation and food.

Immediately after registration in October, her employer reduced her wages to R25 per month and no food.

□□□

Mrs Majola complained and was told: "If you don't like it you can b[illegible] off."

Mrs Majola chose to do just that. She immediately found another job, went to West Rand Administration Board to change her registration, but was refused and given 72 hours to leave Johannesburg and return to Transkei.

She took her case to the Black Sash which has asked Wrab to immediately extend the notice period and eventually transfer her registration.

For Mrs Jane Nqutu, the moratorium became a time of agonising anxiety as she waited for her employer to take her to be registered.

But time ran out on Mrs Nqutu and she had the dreaded stamp in her Transkei passport giving her 72 hours to get out of Johannesburg — and that was almost two weeks ago.

Mrs Nqutu's employer has confirmed the basic facts leading up to Mrs Nqutu's being "endorsed out" of South Africa.

Shortly before the end of October, after months of asking her employer to take her to Wrab to be registered, Mrs Nqutu went to the Board herself, during her time-off.

But she was told she could not be registered unless she was accompanied by her employer.

Mrs Nqutu then returned to the Wrab offices with a note from her employer, who said she was too ill to accompany Mrs Nqutu.

Mrs Nqutu then found that to attest her registration on her own, she would have to make certain affidavits at a Post Office — but time ran out.

The end of October came — and went. Mrs Nqutu had not got her affidavits signed, and when she went back to Wrab, she was told to go back to Transkei.

Her employer, who does not work, and employs two domestic servants, told me: "Ja, I suppose I did know if she didn't get registered she would have to go home. But I didn't really like her. She was very cheeky you know, and greedy. I have got a much better girl now, who is registered."

□□□

Mrs Nqutu, 30, was paid R40 a month, with accommodation but no food. She has two young children who live in Umtata with her ageing mother. Her husband is a chef, registered and working in Cape Town. They see each other occasionally at weekends.

She used to send R20 per month home, and keep the remaining R20 for her food, clothes and bus fares.

Mrs Nqutu now has nowhere to live, and flits around nightly from friend to friend, in terror of arrest, while her case is under investigation at the Legal Resources Bureau.

She told me: "I accept I must leave Johannesburg. But I didn't want to go like this. I didn't want to be forced out without money even for a ticket home. I have nothing left.

"But I am waiting. I want money from my employer. She treated me badly. My room was very dirty, and she was cheeky, not me, I was too scared of her. She was always calling me kaffir.

□□□

The third case involved a woman who worked for a medical specialist living in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

Mrs Irene Duma was paid R45 a month, plus free accommodation and food.

After she was registered in July by her employer, he started treating her irregularly.

One month two months registration fees were docked off her wages. Another month they took R5 from her wages because they said she had allowed their pet bird to escape from its cage.

When she protested, the R5 was returned to her, but at a later stage, after she complained about her registration money being docked off her salary, her employer took R10 from her salary.

"Please don't give my name," the terrified woman told me. "I am scared. I don't care if I get endorsed out. I just want to get away from them. But I must get my money."

Mrs Duma's case is being investigated by the Legal Resources Bureau.

□□□

The fourth woman was "Mrs Diana Dlomo" who was being paid R30 per month, and had to travel to work each day from Soweto to her work in Newlands, Johannesburg. She had to provide her own food and claims she was asked by her employer to pay back the R13,60 paid in back taxes at the time of her registration.

She has taken her case to the Legal Resources Bureau.

It is illegal to make domestic workers pay their own monthly registration fees. Employers are legally obliged to give them money in lieu of notice, but other than that there are no laws to protect domestic workers from exploitation as de-

this. I didn't want to be forced out without money [illegible] for a field home. I have nothing left.

"But I am warning I want money from my employer. She treated me badly. My room was very dirty, and she was cheeky, but me, I was too scared of her. She was always calling me kafir.

[illegible]

'I won't forget her'

The Legal Resources Bureau are investigating Mrs Nqutu's case, and said they were looking into whether she received severence pay, or leave pay.

Mrs Nqutu said she only came to Johannesburg to work because she wanted to be able to give her two children a better life. "There is no work for me in Umtata," she said.

[illegible]tion.

She has taken her case to the Legal Resources Bureau.

It is illegal to make domestic workers pay their own monthly registration fees. Employers are legally [illegible] to give them notice, but other than that there are no laws to protect domestic workers from exploitation as described above.

All the women had children.

O A Wrab spokesman said domestic workers registered under the moratorium could have their registration transferred to other employers. The announcement apparently follows instructions from Minister of Co-operation and Development Dr Piet Koornhof this week.

Farmers 'must have a say' in consolidation

Organised agriculture will insist on having a say in the consolidation of the homelands, Mr Jaap Wilkens, president of the South African Agricultural Union, has declared.

Mr Wilkens told the general council of the Transvaal Agricultural Union: "Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, promised me that every district agricultural union which is affected, will get the chance to put its case.

"I believe that Mr van der Walt's integrity is beyond doubt and that we can accept his word," he said.

Mr van der Walt is also chairman of the central consolidation committee which will receive findings of the various regional committees.

Mr Wilkens said he would do everything reasonable to ensure that Mr van der Walt's undertakings were adhered to.

He referred to an assurance by Dr Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, in Eshowe, that no final decisions on consolidation would be made without discussion with all interested parties.

Mr Wilkens gave his undertaking to farmers that he would do everything to strive for this right.

He called on farmers to act more responsibly than "those people who apparently try to draw some sinister advantage by spreading confusion."

Mr Wilkens asked farmers to collect convincing arguments to help put their cases as well as they could when they obtained the chance to use the correct channels.

He asked groups which had already prepared memorandums, to send them to the Transvaal Agriculture Union so they could be placed in front of the Central Consolidation Committee.

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Homelands need money, expertise to be viable

Star 20/11/79 (101)

Dr E Leistner . . . "big business should include homelands employees in decision-making."

By David Breier

South Africa's black homelands need money and expertise to become viable members of a constellation of states. The men at the Prime Minister's conference in Johannesburg this week have both the money and the expertise.

This is seen as a major reason for the decision by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to include South Africa on businessmen in his Southern African constellation strategy.

What big business in the homelands can provide is training, Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute and a conference delegate, said in a pre-conference interview.

On both the technical and managerial levels, homeland employees needed training to improve productivity, Dr Leistner said. Big business should include homeland workers in decision-making.

On the technical level, industrialists should send workers to in-service training centres where possible. Tax perks were available for those who did.

Where this was not feasible, employers should provide on-the-job training and also after-hours training.

"Even the most basic skills are lacking in the homelands," Dr Leistner said after a recent visit.

White business could help build up entrepreneurial skills in the homelands by going into three-way partnerships with national development corporations and local black businessmen.

One dilemma in the training of workers in developing areas, is to decide whether to go for quantity or quality of training.

Dr Leistner said both could be achieved, by training workers in quantity, and then choosing the pick of the bunch for quality training.

There are strong rumours that increased incentives for industrialists to invest in homelands may be announced.

Concessions such as tax cuts, have so far proved to be too little to lure industrialists into the homelands on the scale the Government hoped for.

INCENTIVES

Greater incentives have been given to white industrialists investing in homelands, than to those investing in border industrial areas outside the homelands.

This is because the Government has seen the development of the homelands themselves as priority.

A commuter work force living in the homelands and working in border industrial areas, is regarded as second best.

A sensitive issue to industrialists could be that homeland consolidation may swallow some border industrial areas.

However the Government is likely to guarantee concessions by financing homelands to continue them.

Businessmen at this week's conference may object to the huge cost of homeland consolidation — now estimated at R3 000-million.

This money must come from the taxpayers' pocket — including the pocket of big business.

The cost could be even higher if the Government departs from the 1936 Land Act, as already suggested by Mr Botha.

The only way m[illegible] ful consolidation [illegible] achieved witho[illegible] spending, is [illegible] white farms in [illegible] without buying [illegible] farmers.

Hope seen for future of homelands

Argus 22/11/79 (101)

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's homelands could become rich communities, Professor Walter Williams of Temple University, Philadelphia, told a 'free enterprise conference' in Johannesburg.

'Israel made a rich country out of a desert,' he said. 'Hong Kong made a rich country out of a rock.

'If the homelands cannot be rich agriculturally, they can be a rich manufacturing community. There is an abundance of cheap labour there. And this is why Taiwan and Hong Kong can effectively compete with the West.

Can be done

'Don't accept it as the bottom line that it is impossible to develop the homelands.'

Agreeing, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu said the homelands must be developed.

'After liberation, there will still be people living there. These areas are part of South Africa.'

Speakers disagree on the amount of restrictions facing blacks who wanted to start enterprises in the homelands areas. Mr Louis Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation, said he as a lawyer knew that the restrictions were great.

But Dr S du Toit Viljoen of the Corporation for Economic Development said any black person could approach the CED and develop an industry in the homelands. Talk of restrictions was entering into legalistic arguments, he added.

Restraints

A speaker contended that the corporation was run mostly by white bureaucrats who were appointed from head office in Pretoria, while Mr J N Reddy, chairman of the SA Indian Council, said there were restraints on capital formation and there were the Government's racial restrictions.

But, added Mr Reddy, the only resources the people of Japan and Taiwan had were people willing to get down to work.

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PM explains 'constellation' idea

THE CONCEPT "Constellation of States" did not primarily denote a formal organisation but rather a grouping of states with common interests and developing mutual relationships and between which a clear desire to extend areas of co-operation existed, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Opening his conference with representatives of all spheres of South African economics, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday explained his concept of a "constellation of states" . . .

Addressing businessmen at a conference in Johannesburg, Mr Botha said a rich diversity of cultures, ideologies and value systems which derived from the history and needs of each nation existed in Southern Africa.

"Given these factors and the existing links between countries in the region, it will not always be possible or desirable to attempt to establish uniform umbrella organisations. Co-operation will have to be voluntary and will have to grow naturally and organically from within," he said.

The membership of a constellation of Southern African states could include any country in the subcontinent which identified the need to expand relationships and to co-operate in a regional context.

"Firstly, the national states within South Africa's boundaries come to mind, but also those countries with which a measure of co-operation and economic exchange already exists. This, naturally also includes members of the Rand Monetary Area and the Customs Union. We must also bear in mind that in due course this area may grow and extend to other countries in the region," Mr Botha said.

Mobilise

"In the minds of many the question might have arisen of what is the purpose of this meeting. On my side there is the need to consult with you on how we can all work together to mobilise the extensive resources of our community to the benefit of our country, our region and all its inhabitants.

"It is important that we obtain the greatest possible clarity and accord about the basic principles to bring about the realisation of this ideal.

"My Government is irrevocably bound to the ideal of freedom which can only be attained within a framework of order. We, therefore, strive towards an order which will guarantee maximum freedom to individuals and peoples. At the same time, order and freedom will ensure the stability in which the individual can live to the greatest benefit of the community as a whole.

"There has been much criticism in the past that the South African economy, and business in particular, labours under too many rules, regulations and restrictions. The Government has not let these criticisms, inasmuch as they are constructive, pass by unnoticed;

"The current budget, as well as the current economic development programme, emphasises our determination to restrict Government spending and thus release resources to the private sector;

As a consequence, lower tax rates become possible;

"Removal of restrictions to facilitate equal access to economic opportunities, e g. black enterprise in metropolitan areas and the opening of certain industrial areas to all business groups;

"Less direct interference in the market mechanism as proposed in the de Kock, Riekert and Wiehahn commissions reports.

"Our continent is characterised today by political disorder, economic instability and a population explosion. It is faced with serious problems: Upheavals in the social order; starvation; malnutrition; human and animal diseases; illiteracy and poverty — in short, those problems which affect every individual and present a challenge to our ingenuity to find solutions.

"Very frequently these problems transcend national boundaries and can only be solved by the co-operative efforts of those concerned. However, it is too often the case that political and ideological predispositions make co-operation and therefore the finding of solutions impossible. Ultimately, the ordinary citizen is the victim.

"Moreover, these problems are compounded by the intrusion of foreign elements into Africa who do not come to help and to heal, but to enslave and destroy. Subversion and military threats are organised to intimidate peoples.

"These formidable obstacles must be overcome. I believe they can be overcome by the demonstration of a genuine sense of goodwill among nations of our continent, by the conscious pursuit of common interests and by co-operation across national boundaries to alleviate human suffering and to provide basic needs.

"The order which Marxism creates leaves no room for freedom. The greatest good in Southern Africa is not stability per se, or order for its own sake. A system in which freedom is dead is meaningless, and a system in which material welfare is limited to a few within a sea of poverty is not only indefensible, it is objectionable," Mr Botha said.

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IT IS A FACT, well known since the Verwoerdian days, that th Government's policy for the future is to exclude blacks from being part of South Africa.

This is done behind our backs while some people preach the nefarious gospel of municipal status for black townships.

This is the type of a fallacy we should spit at with contempt because it is a tree that will never bear edible fruits so long as the Nationalists are in power and the monster that is apartheid is still alive.

I wept for mother Africa when I was in Qwa-Qwa this week. Firstly, while it is a good idea to build houses for elderly people, the evil motives behind the idea are too hard to swallow.

People, like most of us, who know nothing about homeland life, are forced to leave our birth places and to queue for a turn to die in a so-called land of plenty, but where you can hardly see a lost bee — let alone the promised milk and honey.

And Pretoria tells us that these people volunteered to be taken to a country that most of them see for the first time when they arrive there in Government trucks.

If life was all that rosy in the homelands, there would be no need for the existence of these stupid influx control laws because we would not bother to live in their so-called urban areas, which are in fact very much our own land.

There would also be no need to pass the Black Citizenship Act which has robbed us of our rights to live in our own country.

We are not so naive as to be unaware of the Government's evil intentions concerning homelands. They exist to deny us political rights and to dismantle our unity by dividing us into ethnic groups — Pretoria knows that unity is strength.

Also, Pretoria wants to use them as training or breeding grounds for labourers.

When we are young, strong and active and can jump quickly to the master's call, we are recruited to the mines where we are drained of our every drop of blood, sweat and tears to enrich our masters and keep them in perpetual dominance over us.

But come old age when we lose our strength and cease to be productive. The first thing we are offered free of charge, besides a reference book, is transport to take us back to the dumping ground.

That is the type of generosity which I will never condone. It smells like the kiss of death to people who have produced food for South Africa and have dug gold and diamonds which glitter on the madams' fingers and necks.

Surprisingly, about a kilometre away from this township of shame is the Thekolohelong Welfare Centre where old and crippled people are having a royal time.

All the same, shame on the Nationalists and those who support them.

SUNDAY POST SCRIPT

The homelands are dumping grounds for blacks once they have given their youth and energy to the whites of South Africa, writes SAM MABE.

1940 will help rural black jobless

By Sieg Hannig, Labour Reporter

A new drive to create jobs in unemployment-ridden rural areas has been triggered by a will written almost 40 years ago.

The plan is to hold a meeting to co-ordinate the efforts of all people involved in rural development projects, Mr Justice Jan Steyn announced over the weekend.

The judge, well known as executive director of the Urban Foundation, spoke as one of the five trustees of the Desmond S Leech Bequest.

WAIVED

In terms of a will made in 1940, Mr Leech, a mining engineer and former member of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, left his estate for the creation of a fund to benefit the black people of South Africa and the three former British protectorates after the death of his widow.

Now the widow, Mrs Muriel Davies, has waived any right to income from the estate valued at R204 000 when Mr Leech died in 1946 and now worth more than R900 000.

As a result the trustees have made nearly R50 000 available to 11 rural development projects.

Mr Leech said in his will that "the black man by his loyalty and efficient labour has been one of the prime factors in building up and maintaining the economic prosperity of South Africa" but he believed "little is done to improve the conditions in which he lives."

FEATURE

A remarkable feature of the will, the judge said, was that Mr Leech wanted the fund to be administered by three whites and two blacks.

The black trustees are Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, and Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, a well-known Soweto personality.

Mr Justice Steyn invited all interested parties to write to: The Trustees, Desmond Leech Bequest, Syfret's Trust, PO Box 7419, Johannesburg 2000.

'Rural threat' to nation if poverty not tackled

(101) Star 26/11/75

By Graham Fysh

South Africa is facing a "rural threat," says Syncom director, Mr A F M Spier. And, although less visible and less concentrated than the threat of urban unrest, it is no less real.

"Recent proclamations by the homeland leaders warn us that neglect of rural development will develop into a threat to the total system," warned Mr Spier.

Establishment of a "Rural Foundation" was essential, he said. The Urban Foundation had been an effective response to the threat of urban unrest, resulting from concentrated and unmanaged urban crises. A Rural Foundation could act as a counterpart of, and supplement to, the Urban Foundation.

Unless the trek to the cities in South Africa was reversed in the next five to 10 years, massive poverty would result, Mr Spier said.

He pointed to five factors to support this thesis:

- The move to the cities would create the need for up to 5 million jobs in this time — or there would be mass-unemployment.
- Automation in the industrial centres would aggravate poverty as work ceased to be a natural distributor of wealth.
- Housing inadequacy in the cities would create slums, and increased rural poverty.
- Transport bottlenecks could be cleared only at high cost.
- The denuding of rural areas would develop into a national security threat.

"The urban bias-cycle must be broken in favour of a positive trend to establish in southern Africa a new rural society of high diversity, raised living standards and appropriate sophistication," Mr Spier said.

Such a decentralised society, he believes, would increase the resilience of the total system against any outside threat.

In addition, there is a vast untapped potential for food and energy production in the rural areas.

It was wrong, Mr Spier said, to believe that the farming community can solve the rural problem alone.

He envisages small, "human-size" communities in the rural areas that would work to provide basic needs from local materials.

Priest slams homelands 'surrender'

RDM 10/12/79 (101)

By DIAGO SEGOLA

HOMELANDS which had opted for "tribal" independence had done so as an act of self-surrender and had succumbed to the divisive policy of the Nationalist Government, a meeting in Soweto was told yesterday.

"Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Venda have given up the long walk to the top of the mountain. Furthermore, they defend their tribal pursuit by saying there is no alternative, that fragmentation of land on ethnic lines remains the only solution to the problem of political domination and racial discrimination," said Father Buti Tlhagale, of the Black Priests' Solidarity Group.

He was speaking in Diepkloof on "Black Unity" at a meeting called by the Diepkloof Civic Association.

It was the people who had opted for independence who were driving the "wedge of division" among blacks, he said.

"What is most repulsive is that these promoters of tribal pursuits — in defence of their ethnic interests — have now resorted to launching an attack on black solidarity because it threatens their provincial outlook and dissipation of their energy on village affairs."

Another threat to black unity stemmed from "sheer white avariciousness which derives from the implacable lust of the capitalist system."

Mr Godfrey Matsepe, of Diepkloof Civic Association, said that while Putco had applied to have its fares raised early next year, it was the people who were keeping the corporation running while it did nothing to improve the comfort of commuters.

Mr I Mogase, also of the DCA, said if Putco raised its fares nobody in Diepkloof would pay.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, said there was no reason why Putco should have a monopoly in running the bus service in black townships.

"There has been lot of talk about a free enterprise system. How free is it when there are these monopolies. This monopoly should end and blacks should be able to buy buses and run them in their areas," he said.

SUNDAY POST, December 30, 1979

LOOKING BACK IN ANGER

ZWELAKHE SISULU reviews a decade of black consciousness

THE BLOODY decade has drawn to an end — and for black people and their organisations, it is a matter of looking back in anger.

It was a decade of high political activity, when the lists of deaths in detention, bannings and banishments grew longer. So did the list of political trials.

The history of the past decade is essentially the history of the black consciousness movement, and the history of the movement is the history of Saso and the Black People's Convention (BPC).

The two organisations were to play an important role and the "conscientisation" of the people was the starting point.

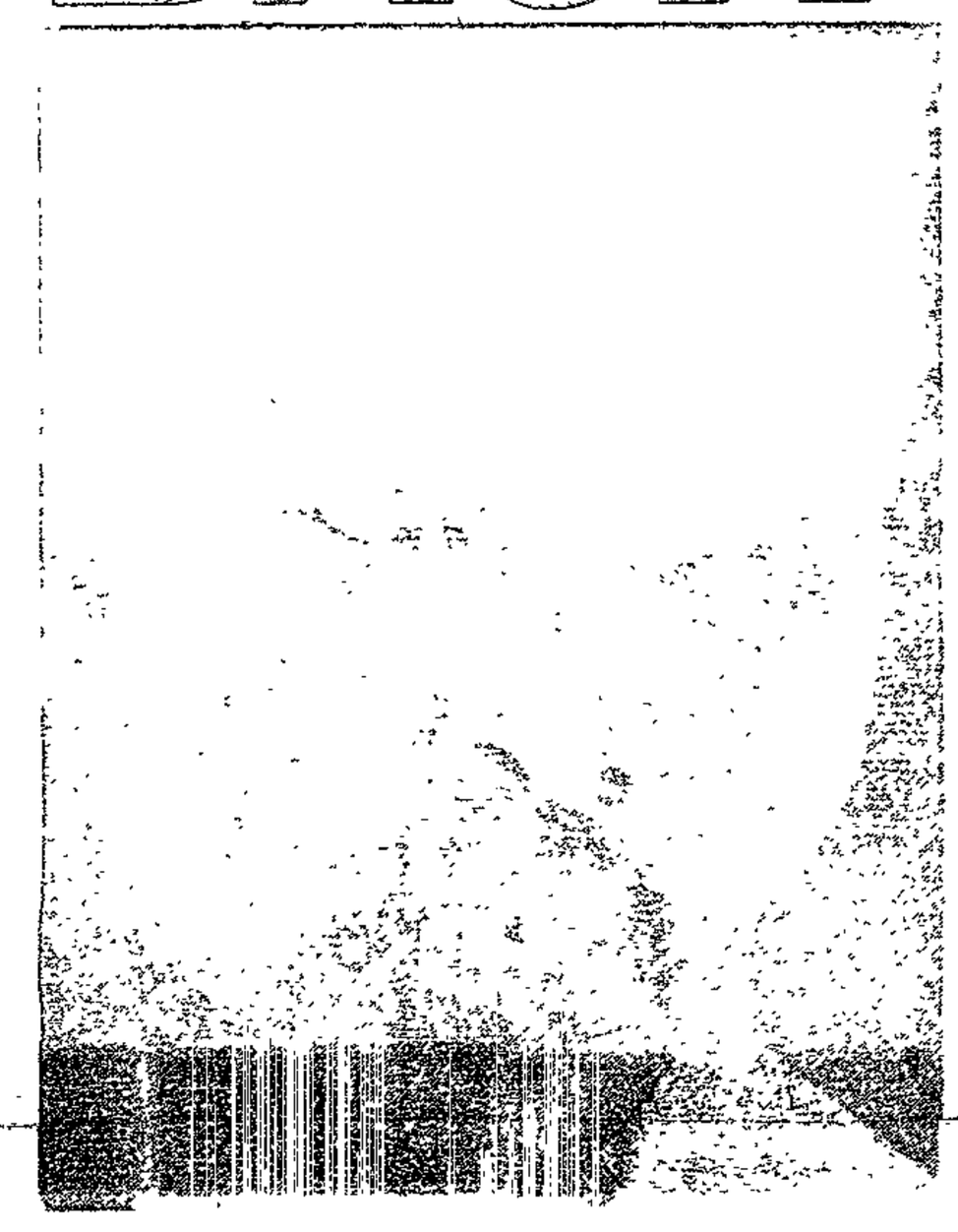
However, the violence of the Soweto uprisings in 1976 and the death of Steve Biko in detention were to act as the major points of political awareness.

After the lull in overt political activity the formation of the South African Students Organisation (Saso) towards the end of the last decade was to usher in a new blend of activism.

Although formed in 1969, Saso's outlook and influence were only to crystallise in the seventies, leading to the formation of numerous black organisations. It also became midwife to the black consciousness movement.

The movement, according to its detractors, was going to extinguish itself within months, but as the curtain falls on the seventies, its prophesied demise has lost credence.

In its 10 years, the black consciousness movement has been subjected to intense State action, beginning with the banning of eight Saso leaders in 1973 to the banning of 17 black organisations in October 1977.



of the movement, Mthuli kaDhlomo, was mysteriously crushed by a train at a railway station.

Onkgopotse Tiro, who had left the country for Botswana, died from a parcel explosion. Mapetla Mohapi died in detention.

SASM, which catered for non-university students, created an action committee in 1976, later to be known as the Soweto Students Representative Council.

It was this action committee which was to lead black worker and his role was to be highlighted.

Although Kenneth Mashalaba, president of the BPC, had already signified the turning point — from student activism to a broad base mass movement — in Mafeking in 1976, it was the Rev Buti Tlhagale who further expanded on this theme in 1978 at the formation of Azapo.

In his paper, A Further Determination of Black Consciousness, he stated: "In so far as the has been much in evidence in Port Elizabeth with the formation of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and its role in the strikes at the Ford Motor Company plant.

This point is taken further by Quorish Patel in his paper In Search of Ideology.

"Realising that black workers finally shape and determine the struggle, we discover that the survival of black consciousness, to be relevant,

when the Government banned the two parent movements, the ANC and the PAC in 1960, overt political activity at national level was stifled.

As a result, the 10 years preceding the formation of Saso were marked by a slow, almost imperceptible movement towards the establishment of a national organisation.

It was natural that the students, who had some measure of political mobility within the white, liberal-dominated National Union of South African Students (Nusas), should take the lead and offer militant leadership.

One of Saso's first tests was the expulsion of Onkgopotse Tiro from the University of the North. During an address at the university, Tiro was to outline the major failings of black education, much to the chagrin of university authorities.

The expulsion sparked off intense student activity on the various campuses, an exercise which drew the entire student body closer to Saso.

Up till that stage, the task of articulating black consciousness was left to Steve Biko, its founding president, and Barney Pityana.

Yet, what were the fundamentals of black consciousness? Although Nusas had provided a platform, however limited, it could not provide the outlet that the black student needed.

Saso had envisaged black consciousness as an instrument of ridding the black man of "slave mentality" that would also create an awareness of black collective strength.

Implicit in their outlook was the need for blacks to reject values and norms alien to them, and to explore and take pride in their past in a manner which the highly commercial "black is beautiful" culture could not.

"The call of black consciousness is the most positive call to come from any group in the black world for a long time . . . it is a realisation by blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and to build a strong foundation for this," said Steve Biko.

In many ways, Saso was the beginning of that foundation. Recognising its limitations as a student body, it saw the need for a national political organisation which would be able to accommodate all black people — including those who were passing through universities and Saso.

By 1975, the State found it increasingly difficult to restrain the developments of Saso and the BPC. Eight leaders of the organisations were detained and later charged and convicted under the Terrorism Act.

The convictions stemmed from the pro-Frelimo rally organised in Durban as a salutation to the coming to power of Frelimo in Mozambique. The Saso-BPC trial was seen [illegible] as a show trial

The late Steve Biko.

Other organisations began to mushroom. The South African Students Movement (SASM) and the Black Allied Workers Union (Bawu) were among those to play an important role in the coming years.

True, the movement saw itself as a liberation group, but it also saw the need to belong to a broader liberation movement. Attempts at unity talks between the black consciousness movement and the major organisations were initiated.

Once united, Biko said, it is only then that "we can effect the greatest results".

The formation of the Black People's Convention in 1972 allowed the movement greater mobility.

BPC addressed itself to national questions — the carving up of the country into Bantustans was one of the predominant themes.

In its 1975 congress, the BPC described Bantustans as a design to cheat blacks into participating in their own oppression "because of built-in safeguards that make it impossible for any black person participating in them to liberate himself".

All these developments were not without tragedies: A leading member

the protest against Bantu Education that year.

Soon after the Saso trial concluded, the movement was heading for yet another crisis — the uprisings in Soweto.

During the ensuing bloodshed, black consciousness leaders throughout the country were rounded up and detained. This was a pattern to be repeated in 1977 and last year.

Its culmination was the banning of black organisations, including Saso, BPC and BCP in 1977.

With the bulk of the leadership in detention, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was formed. It was with the formation of Azapo that the significance of the

capitalism system built on their (workers) collective productive efforts, their organisational power can equally bring the capitalist system to a crash."

Black consciousness, he says in the paper, addresses itself principally to black pride and self-actualisation without detailing how these could be translated into action.

Black solidarity spearheaded by black workers would give an added dimension to black consciousness: "Black consciousness ceases to be just an attitude of mind, it becomes an organisational power."

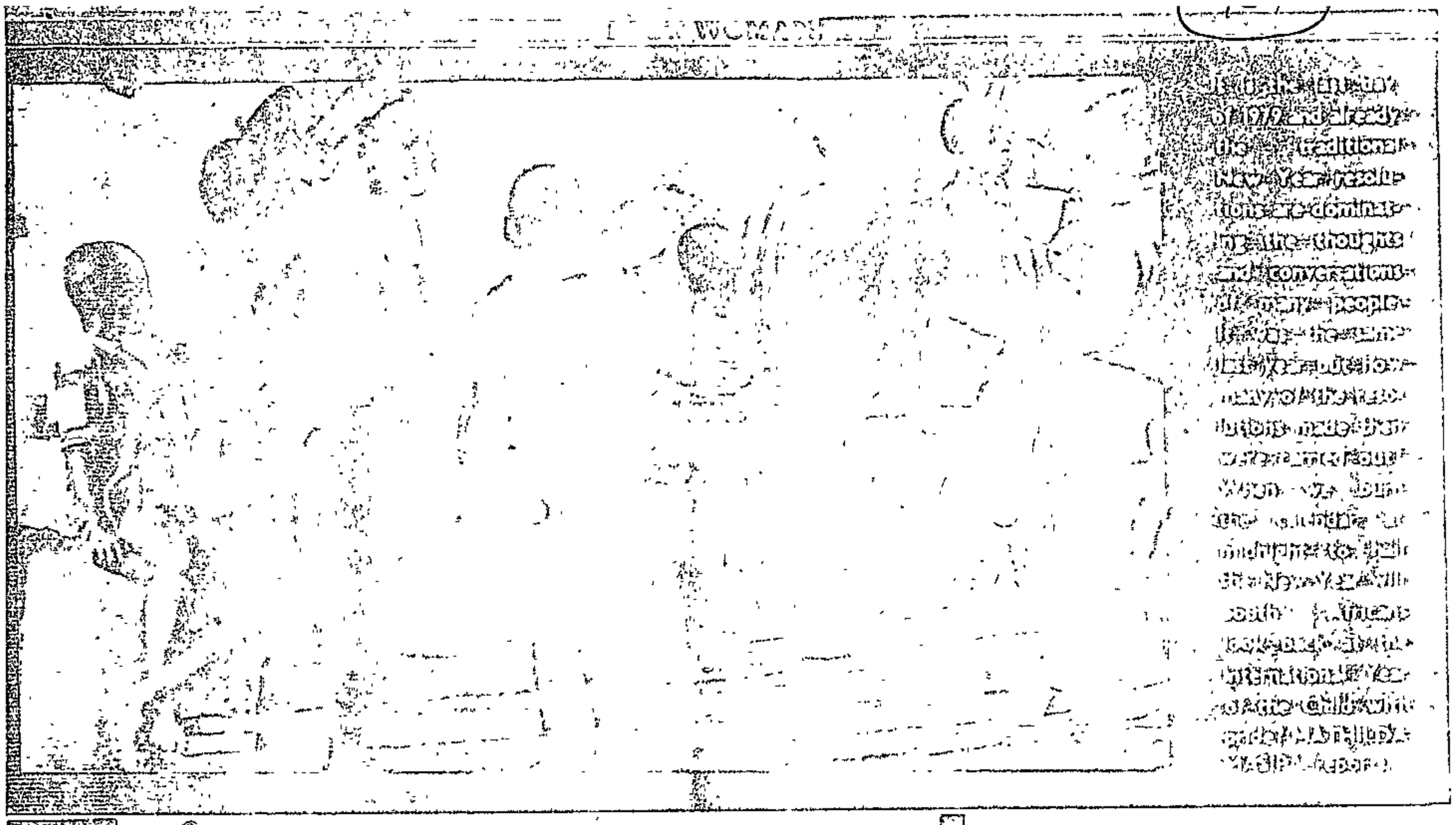
It is precisely this organisational power which

depends on the black workers."

This specific focus on the workers by the movement, he says, becomes the starting point of another phase of its growth.

Assessing the movement, Azapo president Curtis Nkondo says: "It brought about a change in thinking, and made people aware of what political changes are and rid us of the concession politics of the past."

Two other groups, the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), came into being this year to close a hectic decade of political activity.



This was not the year of the black child

A LOT might have been achieved during the International Year of the Child but those of us who will flip honestly through our 1979 diary will find the black South African child gained very little if anything. But for a few organisations and individuals who genuinely tried to better the lot of children this year would have been like any other.

The national celebration by South Africa to mark 1979 the Year of the Child might have brought some tears into the eyes of many. A colourful occasion it was with children of all races leading the procession and singing their hearts out. But when the make believe came to an end that day the black child was rudely brought back to reality.

His was a different world. He went back to the dark township streets, its overcrowded trains and houses and to his starving brothers and sisters who survive on garbage.

DREAM

Almost a year later he is still where he was, the rights of a child being a dream unlikely to come true.

It doesn't mat[illegible] but in the [illegible] country, basic education for most black children is a luxury. At an early age they are forced to seek employment to support themselves.

The few who are lucky enough to attend school face odds at every turn. With no school social workers, school psychologists or proper supervision to see to the problem child, it is not surprising that many drop out at an early age.

It might have been a good year for some children but it was definitely not a good year for those rotting their small brains away in prisons.

When Venda[illegible] became independent this year it was cause for celebration for some people but thousands of children were stripped of their South African citizenship. [illegible] have to be black to fully understand the implications of this.

Mr T V Khambule reputed educationist and lecturer at Wits University said in an article in POST recently:

"Regarding nationality, this (the black child) has been robbed of. Although physically they are in South Africa, they are not considered nationals. The state robbed them of their nationality via appropriate legislation. They are aliens in their country of birth," he said.

The Year of the Child was appropriately summed up by a 15 year-old child from Soweto who recently wrote a poem to POST which read in part ". . . "The time for free and compulsory education,

What I see now is only celebration

How can we celebrate when there is so much work for us to do?

"We celebrate in halls, eating and drinking, while hundreds of children are dying.

Others are out of school.

Others are dying of hunger

Others are drinking in shebeens.

"Others are doing hard work earning next to nothing.

But we are celebrating

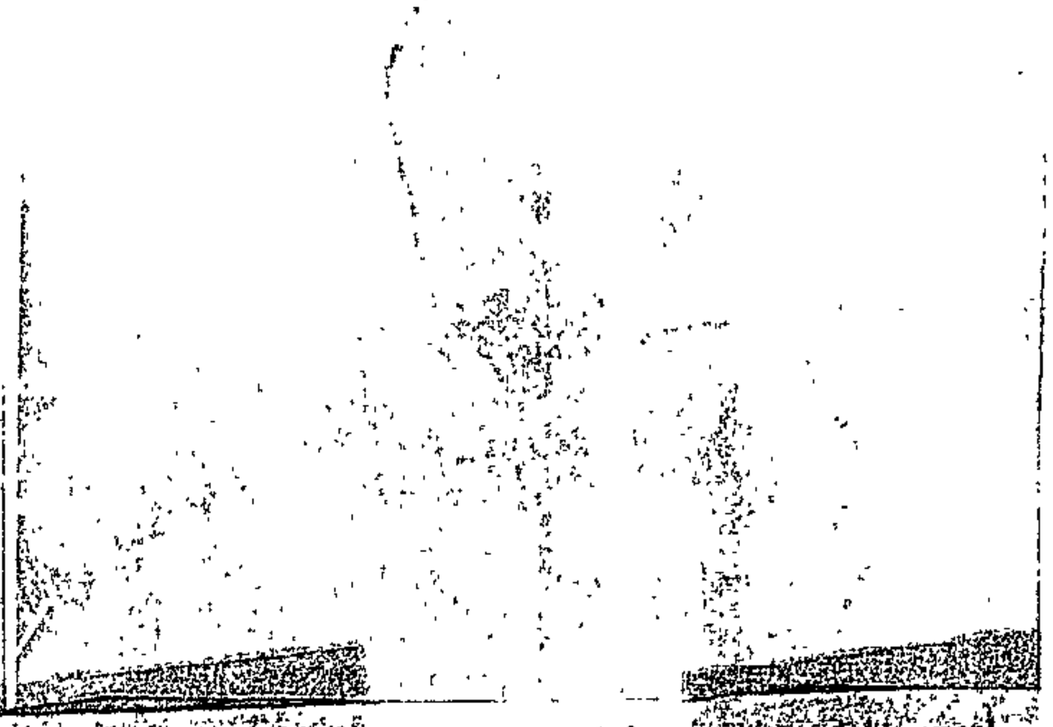
Even those who are celebrating have no rights at all

"The education is poor and there are no sporting facilities.

I think there has been more celebration and less contribution."

This then seen through the eyes of a child was the Year of the Child.

If South Africans really want to shame the devil they will admit that the year 1979 was certainly not the Year of the black Child.



Will his future be brighter because 1979 was declared this year?

POST OMO R5 000

ARE you fond of children? Have you done a little extra for children especially this International Year of the Child award. There is a total of R5 000 which Omo is itching to give away provided of course, the prize money is spent on children.

Our addi[illegible] in POST/Omo International Year of the Child [illegible]