

# Chapter Four

## BANTUSTANS

### **A. Stage of Development**

The Government continued to pursue its Bantustan policy, with the creation of more Legislative Assemblies in the homelands.

#### *Venda*

Venda was granted the first stage towards self-government with the inauguration of a Legislative Assembly on the 2nd February, 1973.

A 60-man Legislative Assembly was instituted with 15 government-nominated chiefs. Preparations for a general election were then put under way.

The first general elections for Venda were held on the 15th August, 1973. Two parties contested the elections. They are the pro-Government 'party' led by the Chief Minister of the six-man cabinet, Chief Patrick Mphephu, and the opposition party, the Venda Independence People's Party. The Chief Minister has not formed a party in the constitutional sense of the word. Believing in pro-Government chiefs he holds the sway over their stands on the Bantustan concept.

Leader of the opposition party is a Johannesburg businessman, Mr. Baldwin Mundau.

There were 403 polling districts for the 18 Assembly seats. The Opposition VIPP managed to win 10 seats and scored further victory by gaining 9 of the 15 Legislative Assembly seats for headmen. However, through sheer numbers with the 17 headmen and chiefs, automatic members to the Assembly, the ruling group managed to stay in power.

### *Gazankulu*

The Legislative Assembly for Gazankulu was inaugurated one day before that of Venda, February 1, 1973.

With 68 members, the Gazankulu Assembly also has a cabinet of six. 42 members hold designated seats. The other 26 were to be elected into the reconstituted Assembly. The election date for Gazankulu was October, 1973, with the results expected out by the 8 November. Until immediately before the elections there was as yet no party opposition to the ruling group headed by Professor H. Ntsanwisi.

### *KwaZulu*

The KwaZulu government went on with the taking over of various departments according to portfolios in the six-member cabinet. On April 1, 1973, the State Health Department was transferred to the KwaZulu Government. Employees have been asked to make contract with the new KwaZulu Department (*Argus* 9/5/73). The Education Department also introduced a Bill making English the medium of instruction in KwaZulu schools from Standard 3 upwards (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/5/73).

KwaZulu is still in the 'first phase' of semi-autonomy. The allocated government departments are still under Executive Councillors. The KwaZulu cabinet was formally installed on May 3, 1973, at Nongoma. The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M.C. Botha, was present.

On this same day the Zulu Royal Council was formally dissolved by the Paramount Chief, following urgings by the KwaZulu cabinet and the Zulu Government Legislative Assembly.

### *Lebowa*

This homeland is expecting Transkeian-type autonomy in 1974.

Lebowa went into general election on April 11th, 1973. There were two opposing groups under the leadership of cabinet ministers. The Chief Minister, Chief Mokgama Matlala, led the pro-Government group favouring the acceptance of separate development as laid down by the Government. Opposing Government policies was another cabinet minister, Mr C.N. Phatudi, whose faction has challenged many aspects of the Government's policies.

40 elected representatives were voted for, the others being chosen from 60 chiefs nominated to the 100-man Legislative Assembly.

The irony about the election is that it was a commoner, Mr C. Ramusi, who polled the highest vote in the election (*Rand Daily Mail* 2/5/73). Mr Ramusi is a supporter of Mr Phatudi. Both are commoners, though the constitution lays down that four of the six cabinet ministers must be chiefs.

The chiefs nominated to cabinet posts do not include the former Chief Minister, Chief Matlala. Two of the chiefs are former cabinet ministers under Chief Matlala.

Opinion has it that the exclusion of Chief Matlala is clear indication of the failure of attempts by the Government to retain power in homelands' Legislative Assemblies through the nomination of chiefs. Lebowa has a two-to-one ratio of chiefs to elected members. Yet the system did not pay off. (*Star* 9/5/73). The positions of elected speaker and deputy speaker went to commoners as well.

### *Ciskei*

This homeland had its general election in the early part of 1973. Leadership was assumed by a commoner, Mr Lennox Sebe, following the defeat of the traditionalist homeland leader, Chief Justice Mabandla. The Ciskei entered its second phase of development last year when its Legislative Assembly was opened and granted ministerial portfolios.

### *Basotho Qua Qua*

Basotho Qua Qua is the least 'developed' Bantustan. It is also the smallest of all the homelands.

Chief Mota is still Chief Councillor of the Legislative Assembly.

### *Bophutatswana*

The Tswana Legislative Assembly is still in the 'second phase' of its development. Like the Transkei it has an established anti-Government, opposition party, the Seoposengwe Party, working within the framework of separate development. It is the existence of this party which has forced the ruling faction under the leadership of Chief Mangope to take certain stands critical to Government policies.

### *Transkei*

The Transkei held a general election that was said to be the last one before the granting of full independence to this Bantustan.

The ruling Transkei National Independence Party again won the general election. Five seats were however lost to independent candidates.

The TNIP now has 27 of the 45 elected seats in the Legislative Assembly. The Opposition, the Democratic Party has 10. Three seats were lost to independent candidates by the Democratic Party. This means there are now 8 independent members in the Transkeian Legislative Assembly.

## B. Consolidation of the Homelands

### *KwaZulu*

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development the consolidation of this Bantustan may take 10 years to complete (*Daily News* 8/11/73).

In the midst of growing dissent as to how KwaZulu ought to be consolidated, the following plan has been brought forward by the Government:

1. The area around Jozini Dam and the Makhathini Flats, to the Mozambique border will go to KwaZulu. Let it be noted here that Jozini Dam will have to be shared by both the KwaZulu Government (for Blacks) and the Pretoria Government (for whites).
2. The Ndumu Game Reserve bordering Mozambique—KwaZulu.
3. Some 46 300 ha. of which 239 was state land go to KwaZulu.
4. About 30 000 ha. to be distributed later to KwaZulu, 'when needed'.
5. Some 188 Black areas to be reduced to ten for KwaZulu.
6. Sordwana Bay, Impendle, Hlabisa and Ulundi—KwaZulu.
7. Small coastal area to the south of Durban; also to go to KwaZulu.

Harding, Richards Bay, Empangeni, Eshowe, Mtonjaneni and Babanango would remain white, according to the plan.

The area north east of Stanger along the coast would be allocated to the Dunn family. The Dunns today almost form a Coloured tribe in Zululand.

The Indians have not been constitutionally granted separate land except in terms of the Group Areas Act, which means they fall under white areas (*Mercury* 28/4/73).

The KwaZulu Chief Councillor has charged as 'avarice' the white Government's consolidation plan. There is general complaint over Jozini being split, and the exclusion of Richards Bay from KwaZulu (*Argus* 18/11/73).

### *Transkei*

Demands for better consolidation of the Transkei have been made by the Transkeian Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima. In his demands for the town districts of Port Saint Johns, Matatiele, Elliott, Maclear and Mount Currie, he has stressed the need for more land (*Argus* 28/4/73).

The village of Elliotdale became the 5th village in the Transkei to come under the control of a Black local committee (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73). Other towns under Black local committees are Tsomo, Qumbu, Nqamakwe and Libode. Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, is not com-

pletely in Black hands.

### *Gazankulu*

The consolidation of this homeland has posed certain problems since the homeland's Legislative Assembly showed concern over the land deal given by the Government to this Bantustan.

The chief minister, Professor H. Ntswanisi, has made it plain that his homeland needs still more equitable land for its consolidation (*Star* 7/5/73). All the commercial centres were still under white control by the end of 1973. Giyane, the capital, is hardly a commercial centre. The Gazankulu leadership was not prepared to accept independence unless certain demands on land consolidation were met.

### *Lebowa*

The Legislative Assembly of Lebowa has rejected the Government's proposals to consolidate the homeland on grounds that the land issue has not yet been resolved. There are 12 'white' towns that the Blacks would want to have in any viable consolidation scheme. The people living in these towns should therefore not have to move before final consolidation.

The towns involved in the issue are Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Marble Hall, Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Belfast, Groblersdal, Burgersfort, Witbank and Mooketsi.

The Lebowa Legislative Assembly has been unanimous on the land consolidation plan (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/6/73).

### *Bophuthatswana*

The eight blocs of land in this homeland, and its other small bits, may have to be consolidated into 3 large blocs (*Daily News* 6/4/73).

This scheme has been found to be unacceptable to the Tswanas, who prefer the consolidation of the Bantustan into a single bloc.

### *Basotho Qua Qua*

With only 46 000 hectares of land and a population of 50 000 this is the smallest Bantustan. The rest of the population is to be found outside the homeland.

It has been said that most of the land is unsuitable for farming, since this homeland is largely inarable. It would therefore be hard to finalise consolidation of a homeland which only has one factory (*Mercury* 20/9/73).

### *Venda*

This homeland has 3 pieces of land. Some of the land expected to be consolidated into it lies in Gazankulu and Lebowa.

### Ciskei

The Pretoria Government is still being expected to consolidate the land in terms of the 1936 Land Act.

Like KwaZulu, it is not easy for the white Government to release land to the Ciskeian Xhosas. The Ciskei has been told to wait for as long as 15 years.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and other leading voices in the white sector have proposed that SOWETO, the urban complex near Johannesburg and covering a large area to the south of this city, be adjoined to the nearest Bantu homeland. The possible homeland, and nearest to the southern Reef, would be Basotho Qua Qua (*Rand Daily Mail* 25/7/73). The impediment would be that Soweto is not a predominantly Sotho urban complex. And that there are all the Black tribes of South Africa in Soweto.

### C. Legislative Moves

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly proposed a levy of R2,00 for an educational tax so as to lighten the burden parents have to carry in educating their children. This would be in keeping with the KwaZulu government's wish of granting compulsory and free education to Zulu children (*Daily News* 9/5/73). A further R3,00 would also be levied annually on all Zulu tax payers (*Rand Daily Mail* 10/5/73). The Bill also provided for a fine of R100 or up to 3 months in prisonment in case of failure to pay.

The Transkeian parliament on the other hand passed legislation for the bridging of the salary gap for white and Black doctors. In future Black doctors working in Transkeian hospitals would be given the same salaries as their white counterparts. Though the Transkei Government employs one full-time Black doctor the step was seen as an enhancement of closures to white and Black wage gaps. At the same time such a step was aimed at attracting more Black doctors into posts offered by the homeland Government.

The Health Department has decided to appoint a Black doctor to take over from a white superintendent at Butterworth hospital. Dr Bikitsha would be granted a white salary scale (*Rand Daily Mail* 11/7/73).

The Transkei Department of Justice also decided to take over control of six more police stations in the following Transkeian areas: Cala, Cofimvaba, Nqamakwe, Flagstaff, Tsomo and Ntsikeni. Such a step was seen to be in keeping with the Africanisation programme of the Transkei Department of Justice.

Towns placed under municipal control of Africans reached five this year. This has been facilitated by the Transkei and Townships Board controlled in the Legislative Assembly.

To push further with the 'Africanisation' programme two more of the 26 magisterial districts would be staffed completely by Transkei Africans as from April 1974. There are presently four magisterial districts that are completely staffed by blacks. Mount Frere and Kentani are the further two that will bring the total to six (*Daily News* 3/10/73).

The KwaZulu Department of Agriculture passed through a Bill introducing a 3-year course in nature conservation at the Cwaka Agriculture College. There will be training in Agriculture and Forestry. Training in Forestry has been provided for by the granting of a portion of Umfolozi Game Reserve and the Ndumu Reserve to KwaZulu (*Daily News* 19/5/73).

Through the Legislative Assembly a Planning Committee consisting of white experts to draw up a national development plan has been passed by the KwaZulu government. The Committee is to look into the future prospects in land planning and conservation, the settlement of people, employment and income, welfare services, training and education (*Rand Daily Mail* 6/11/73).

#### **D. General Issues**

Press statements showing dissatisfaction expressed by Blacks over the Bantustan programme increased during the year. Among the many were:

- (a) The demand for more Bantustan land by almost all the Bantustan leaders.
- (b) The bitter complaints against pay differences in salaries and wages between whites and Blacks.
- (c) Gatsha's warning on possible revolutionary upheaval in South Africa. This was broadcast through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/9/73).
- (d) A plea to the whites 'to listen to the Black man for he has a message of hope ...' (*Daily News* 5/9/73).
- (e) The openly expressed wish for the federation of independent homelands by leaders of the different Bantustans.

#### *Lebowa*

The deputy leader of Lebowa, Mr Collins Ramusi, made a scathing attack against Nationalist policy on the issue of terrorists and political prisoners. These persons were Black and could not be written off as non-persons in terms of their crimes or in terms of Blacks primarily considering them as fellow Blacks (*Daily News*) 5/9/73).

The Chief Minister, Mr C.N. Phatudi, expressed concern over the consolidation of the homeland. From 14 pieces Lebowa was being reduced to 5 pieces. Even these 5 pieces were scattered. It was impossible to govern

scattered territories. Besides, more land was still needed.

The Lebowa Minister of Interior, Mr. Ramusi, backed a move by elements in the Lebowa Government to resist the Pretoria Government's intentions to uproot the people of Lebowa from one spot to another. These people had been mining in the area for 2000 years and did not want to move, according to one of the spokesmen (*Rand Daily Mail* 28/8/73).

### *Venda*

Although the pro-Government ruling party was returned to the Legislative Assembly, the victory belonged to the opposition Venda Independence People's Party. It is because of the power of the chiefs, through nomination, that the opposition lost.

The ruling party had intentions of banning the opposition. This has generally been held as being an undemocratic gesture.

Venda remains pro-Government.

### *Bophuthatswana*

The leader of the Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister Lucas Mangope has criticised the Government's intentions of introducing foreign investment in the homelands which gained press publicity before the Government had contacted the homeland leaders (*Rand Daily Mail* 2/7/73).

Chief Mangope has also laid claim to a sum of R240 m. from the South African Government for the development of his homeland because Tswanas have also contributed to the development of the South African economy (*Rand Daily Mail* 12/7/73). The Tswana leader further revealed that he would almost immediately set about arranging a summit conference for all homeland leaders. The conference did take place.

South African whites were warned that unless they began to champion change, the militant attitude of young Black would only spell danger; not only for the white but for South Africa's future.

Chief Mangope's land demands have now and then been reiterated by this Tswana leader, who also has predicted a one-man one-vote system for the whole of South Africa.

### *Gazankulu*

Criticism against the Government's consolidation plans has also been expressed in this homeland's Legislative Assembly. Professor H. Ntswanisi has expressed the desire by homeland leaders to be consulted before any move is taken by the Government over the homelands (*Rand Daily Mail* 4/7/73).



### *KwaZulu*

Following widespread strikes by Black workers throughout Natal, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly threatened to exercise its 'powers' in labour disputes by withdrawing labour from white areas when necessary. The action taken by the South African Government against striking workers at Richards Bay in March was heavily reprimanded by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who called it 'provocative and irresponsible' (*Rand Daily Mail* 4/3/73). Mr B.A. Dladla, the Councillor for Community Affairs, said he was decided on restricting labour for the protection of workers' rights. Mr Dladla is a member of the Institute of Industrial Education formed by the Natal-based Wages Commission and Benefit Fund.

What is contradictory about the stand taken by these KwaZulu leaders regarding the position of the workers and the whole Bantustan programme is that they do not serve the long-term interests of Blacks by criticising within a structure created for them by the Government.

On the rights of workers, restriction of labour inflow does not solve the worker's problem but merely makes him dependent on legislation for his movement. Again, there is the question of foreign investment. These leaders support it. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has even attacked publicly the British Trade Unions and the anti-apartheid movement for advocating withdrawal of British capital. Yet it is foreign backing that makes bargaining with the Government so hard to come by.

At a meeting called by the Natal Workshop for African advancement, Chief Buthelezi called for Africans to unite. He pointed out the political lethargy that followed Sharpeville and called for unity of all national efforts under one umbrella (*Rand Daily Mail* 16/7/73).

There has been wide opinion against the Chief Minister's political stand in his criticism of exiled leaders on the question of political prisoners. If one was honest enough on unity of all national efforts, then exiled leaders, political prisoners and anti-Bantustan leaders within the country would be encouraged and not criticised by the Chief Minister as his actions have shown.

It has been generally felt that it makes mockery of self-determination and Blackness to appreciate the two ideals and then want to contain the forces that emanate from these ideals.

As the year moved towards a close KwaZulu was facing a problem of going into election with a pro-Government party challenging the present ruling faction under Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

A new party led by the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly, Chief Hlengwa, has been formed. It is called Umkhonto ka Shaka (Shaka's Spear). Based on the platform of restoration of political executive powers

to the Zulu King, the party intends to contest the coming elections.

Chief Hlengwa is a Government appointed member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He was elected Deputy Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, until the resignation of the Chairman of the Assembly, the Prince Clement Zulu.

Chief Hlengwa has been involved in squabbles over the loyalty of chiefs to the KwaZulu Government. He was asked before the Assembly to explain his involvement in politics and to re-affirm his loyalty to the KwaZulu Government. This was during a period of differences between the Zulu Paramount Chief Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu, and the head of the KwaZulu Executive, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

(a) On the day of opening for the Legislative Assembly, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had levelled a charge of interference by the South African Government in Zulu Affairs. The Legislative Assembly called on the Paramount Chief, Zwelithini, to dissociate himself from the Zulu Royal Council following a clash between Chief Buthelezi and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M.C. Botha (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/5/73).

(b) This move came as no surprise in view of the accepted fact that the Paramount Chief and the Chief Councillor for KwaZulu had become reconciled on the opening day of the Legislative Assembly. The reconciliation was confirmed by the dissolution of the Zulu Royal Council on the 2 May, 1973.

(c) On the demands for the dissolution of the Zulu Royal Council it was alleged that the head of the Zulu Royal Council, Prince David Zulu, had been discovered to have plotted for the ousting of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The Paramount Chief then summoned Prince David Zulu to answer the allegations. Despite denials by Zulu, the Department of Information had admitted the writing had been done by Zulu. Prince David Zulu is believed to have given his support to the new party of Mr Hlengwa (*Sunday Express* 4/11/73).

(d) At a mass meeting held at Umbumbulu, the KwaZulu Chief Councillor, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, censured the leader of the new party, in his absence, laying open previous moves by Chief Hlengwa to divide Zulus. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi claimed that Chief Hlengwa was using the King or chieftainship against the interests of KwaZulu (*Mercury* 26/11/73).

(e) Zwelithini has openly criticised the formation of the Opposition Party, Shaka's Spear—and has refused to identify himself with that party and its policies. (*Mercury* 25/11/73).

It is worth noting that the secretary for the new party is Mr Lloyd Ndaba, the Johannesburg-based businessman who has run the Xhosa National

Party, the Zulu National Party, the Venda National Party and other ethnic national parties. Mr Ndaba has been editor of a now defunct newspaper 'Africa South' which propagates tribalist opinion (*Sunday Tribune* 4/11/73).

Meanwhile the land question loomed larger and larger. The KwaZulu consolidation was likely to remove some 206 000 Africans, some 8 070 Asians, 4 220 Whites and 1 510 Coloureds (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/6/73).

On the other hand the Blacks showed clear vision of what they wanted. Self-determination. The refusal by 35 chiefs, headman and councillors to move their people out of the Drakensberg locations No. 1 and No. 2, exposed the graveness of the land issue. The people said they were not moving.

One of the Hlubi chiefs blamed the farmers in the area and accused them of plotting with the Natal Parks Board.

'I say, "hands off our land"', he continued. "What we need is more land than that offered to us under the 1936 Act".

Another chief laid claim to more than 400 ha. of land taken by the Natal Parks Board (*Daily News* 18/6/73).

All the five chiefs whose land was affected were adamant in their intentions not to move out of the area. One of the chiefs is a direct descendant of Chief Langalibalele, leader of the Langalibalele Rebellion.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr A.J. Raubenheimer, told the Natal Agricultural Union, according to a report, that he 'agreed in principle' to the removal (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/6/73).

The seeming interest by the Natal Agricultural Union to see the land being transferred from African ownership to whites openly confirmed African suspicions over the whole issue (*Natal Mercury* 11/10/73).

### *Lebowa*

The removal of Blacks for resettlement met with opposition from Lebowa. There was also anxiety over wages received by the homeland's workers.

The Government-appointed leader of the Executive in the Legislative Assembly could not be re-elected to the Legislative Assembly. He had lost votes as leader of the Bantustan and as Chief Executive of the Cabinet.

The elected Minister of the Interior, Mr C. Ramusi, accused the Government of:

1. Trying to force Blacks into the homelands 'to live and die'.
2. Discrimination and humiliation of Blacks through the Apartheid laws.
3. Creating ethnic hatred amongst Blacks.

*Basotho Qua Qua*

This homeland has been seen as an example of the inadequacy of the Government policy of 'separate development'. Firstly the area is too small to make a viable Bantustan. Secondly it has no major town. Yet it is only 56 km. from Harrismith. Thirdly, there isn't enough water. The only source of economy is maize crops, peaches, cattle and goats.

There is only one hospital, run by missionary workers of the D.R.C.

Therefore it is worth concluding that Basotho Qua Qua cannot create a power structure strong enough to manage the running of a viable state.

*Ciskei*

Among the grievances brought out by the Ciskei Legislative Assembly were:

1. Shortage of finance.
2. Shortage of land.
3. Petty apartheid.
4. Labour problems.

The Chief Minister, Mr L. Sebe, also felt that there was no communication that was enough for co-operative work between whites and Blacks.

*Transkei*

According to the Chief Minister of this homeland, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, the last general election was said to be the last for the homeland until independence was granted by the Government. The ruling party was returned into office with a big majority.

On the other hand eight members of the Legislative Assembly took up Independent seats.

This was the third general election for the homeland. The opposition leader, Mr Knowledge Guzana, expressed misgivings over the issue and stated that the ruling party no more kept to its promises.

Chief K.D. Matanzima was another of the homelands leaders to show open backing for a federation of the different Bantustans.

Though the Transkei has talked of independence, a recent development has put in question the power of the Transkei Legislative Assembly. Recently an overseas practising doctor from the Transkei, Dr C. Bikitsha, was appointed medical officer for the Transkeian hospital at Butterworth. Dr Bikitsha had been living in Britain since 1939.

The notion held by many people was that the appointment would mean complete Black superintendence at the hospital. However, as both Black

and white pressures rose, a compromise was reached. The new appointee would act as medical officer under a white superintendent until a division of the hospital into a white and a Black sector had been done (*Star* 24/8/73).

The impatience of the Black middle class in the homeland leadership was expressed by the chief Councillor of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when he said that amongst young Blacks he could see a certain 'impatience and militance'. The Chief was answering the question whether he did see any prospect of revolution in the country. However, he did state his commitment to non-violence. The Chief further stated that the main grievance of the Black was his lack of full human rights (*Star* 5/6/73).

Meanwhile the bannings against Black students were continuing. Following the first student bannings on SASO when 8 Black students, opponents of Separate Development, were issued with banning order restrictions, more Black students have been banned for student activities which naturally are anti-Government. Chief Gatsha was left with no choice but to condemn the bannings (*Mercury* 3/3/73).

The contention is held though, in many quarters, that the KwaZulu leader was only prompted by the simultaneous banning of 8 NUSAS leaders, among the first group of Blacks in March. Otherwise it is unlikely he would have voiced concern over the banning of Black students.

Already at the beginning of the year the Bantustan policy as a means of solving the country's racial problems had been challenged by a wing of the white nationalist leadership. It is this white questioning that led to the formation of Action South and Southern Africa (ASASA) by a former cabinet minister, Mr Theo Gerdener (*Argus* 26/2/73).

What is ironic about organisations such as ASASA is that the federal system advocated by the Bantustan leaders has met opposition from the same organisations. Mr Gerdener, a former Nationalist M.P., has recently formed a new organisation, the Democratic Party (*Rand Daily Mail* 6 11 73). Mr Gerdener advocates the formation of a commonwealth of independent homelands instead of federated 'Stans'.

This could mean that the Democratic Party is for white superiority, especially in the economic sphere. Further, this means that the federation concept is not only a compromise by homeland leaders but also a 'window dressing' designed for white counter-strategy.

The first move for a summit of homeland leaders to deal with federation and land consolidation was made by the leader of Gazankulu, Prof. Hudson Ntswanisi, in 1971. Then followed similar views from other homeland 'leaders': Chiefs L. Mangope, K.D. Matanzima and Gatsha Buthelezi (*Rand Daily Mail* 3/11/73).

The summit on federation did take place in November, 1973. Chief Lucas Mangope opened the meeting which was held at Umtata. All the homeland leaders, except two, were present. The chiefs who absented themselves were the leader of Basotho Qua Qua, Chief Mota, and the leader of Lebowa, Mr C. Phatudi. The Lebowa leader was represented by the Lebowa Minister of the Interior, Mr C. Ramusi.

Chief Mangope, on opening the summit, said he favoured federation but pleaded for immediate attention to more pressing issues. He also opposed a resolution calling for the granting of urban rights to Africans. He at the same time said he was against trade unions (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73).

The leaders passed resolutions and planned for another such meeting in November 1974. It is to be noted that whites also attended the summit.

Amongst the resolutions passed were:

1. That a deputation of homeland leaders go to Cape Town in February, 1974 and discuss the land issue with the white parliament.
2. That the idea of federation was fitting to the homelands concept but had to be considered as a long term policy.
3. That the influx control laws be abolished.
4. That the central government pass on to the homeland governments all departments that constitute any viable state.
5. That Blacks should now try to establish a Black-owned bank for black people.
6. That white patches between homeland areas be removed by the Central government.
7. That homeland governments refrain from supporting the Government's uprooting of Black people.
8. That the homeland governments strongly disapproved of any racial discrimination.
9. That the expenditure incurred by the Pretoria central government was not commensurate with the direct taxes and services rendered by Blacks to the country's gross national product.
10. That as in the case of the other race groups, the Government should attend favourably to homeland estimates of revenue.
11. That the homelands be free to seek foreign help from foundations, agencies of the United Nations and church bodies.
12. That laws restricting Blacks, such as pass laws, influx laws, be repealed by the Government (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73).

### *East London*

A call for the release of Black political prisoners was also made. This call came from the chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr M. Naidoo. Mr

Naidoo said that as a precondition for the resolving of any of the country's political problems the political leaders on Robben Island (with the banned leaders) had to be taken into consideration. Mr C. Ramusi, the Minister of the Interior for Lebowa, supported the move.

The twist of the move came about when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi expressed feelings that the call for the release of political prisoners was aimed against him and also at dividing Blacks on who the leaders of the people are.

The Zulu chief seemed to have forgotten that no lasting solution and genuine self-determination could be reached in the absence of other parties, representing different opinion whether they be banned or not.

The leader of Bophuthatswana did not support a resolution calling for the entrenchment of urban rights for Africans. The said leader also disagreed with the urgings that Africans form trade unions.

What was of significance about this first meeting (Umtata), held in the capital town of a Bantustan, is that owing to licensing regulations on liquor rights this meeting had to be opened on the steps of the Black-owned hotel where it was held, since whites would not be allowed into the hotel. Another point of note was that if the homeland leaders were now making significant demands on the whole future of the country, as has generally appeared in the press, why then did they have to continue supporting separate development and refrain from accepting the fact that true self-determination could only come out of non-collaboration with separatism? This opinion has come from NIC, SASO, BPC quarters in consistency with these organisations' policies.

### **E. Opposition Against Bantustans**

Moves condemning the development of Bantustans as separate entities within a common South African economy continued to meet opposition from various quarters.

(a) *The Black People's Convention*: This Black organisation continued to openly reject Government policies and the Government-created Bantustans. Bantustans have been seen as not being representative of the true aspirations of the Black people as a whole.

In retaliation against this body the Government has banned members of the organisation on the executive level.

The Secretary General of BPC, Mr Drake Koka, and the Public Relations Officer, Mr Saths Cooper, were banned in March, together with the SASO and NUSAS leaderships. Restriction orders on other members of BPC have since followed.

BPC has shown determination not to be deterred by the bannings but to

continue rejecting Bantustans, criticising vacillating elements within the Black community and projecting Black nationhood based on a common franchise for all the Black peoples of Southern Africa. BPC does not pretend to include whites in its assessments on opposition against the present political system.

The reason for this contention by BPC is that there are hardly any whites who do really commit themselves to the type of change that would ensure a true and lasting political security befitting a voiceless majority.

(b) *The South African Students' Organisation*: There has been no change in the stand held by the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) as regards Bantustans. In March members of the SASO executive were served with banning orders and restricted to their home districts. Steve Biko, founder member and former President of SASO, was banned and confined to King Williams Town. At the time of the banning, Biko was Field Worker and Researcher for the Black Community Programmes, head office in Durban. It is largely through the efforts of Biko that BCP was able to publish the *Black Viewpoint*.

The other SASO leaders banned are Nyameko Pityana, founder member and Secretary General of SASO at the time; Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu, Permanent Organiser for SASO before his banning; Strinivasa Moodley, until the bannings the Publications Officer for SASO; Mr Jerry Modisane, who took over the presidency from a student who was toppled and later left country, on a scholarship for the U.S. was also banned and confined to Kimberley.

Though Bokwe Mafuna was not a member of SASO at the time of his banning he was closely associated with the students' organisation. Until his banning he was Field Worker for Black Community Programmes at the Johannesburg offices.

Bokwe Mafuna and Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu have since left the country together with 3 other leaders of SASO.

The Bantustan leaders have on the other hand not done anything constructive to protect the rights of the Black students in the various tribal universities against growing repression by the white authorities.

It was discovered that there was general disillusion amongst the educated Blacks with the way the Bantustan leaders claimed leadership over their fellow Blacks.

(c) *Individual Opposition*: Some elements within the Bantustan leadership have now and then gone against the official policy of Bantustan 'development'.

Opinion from some quarters holds that Bantustans are a creation of fascist-orientated thinking. And that in terms of human relations, historic demands on land, economic development and socio-cultural stability,



Bantustans cannot be seen as offering any positive solution to the white-created problem, of privilege and economic exploitation.

1973 has been seen as the year that brought the whole concept of separate development to the test when almost all the Bantustan leaders did not hold back their criticisms and when the Blacks showed signs of moving towards a questioning of the whole situation in the country.

### *Definition of a Homeland*

At one gathering held by a group of students at a seminar, it was observed that the term 'homeland' had to be 'totally' rejected by Blacks. The so-called homelands were no 'home' to Blacks, the reasons given being the following:

1. The absence of household existence at any time of the year except about 2 weeks during Christmas holiday—in almost all the reserves.
2. The awareness that absence of communal existence, with the physical existence in the locale, could not be curbed due to migratory labour.
3. The identification of urban Blacks with their places of residence in the cities and towns.
4. The acceptance by Blacks that all South Africa is their home.
5. The switch made by the white supra-structure of replacing the term 'reserve' with 'homeland' as strategy—in keeping with the philosophy of separatism.

The so-called homelands also were no 'land' because of the following reasons:

1. The labour resources in the reserves are there primarily for the economy of white South Africa.
2. The land offered to Blacks is only 13%, the rest going to whites.
3. Most rural land is not arable.
4. The good lands are in the hands of white farmers.
5. The long term prospect of Bantustans land means Blacks could not survive in such small allotments.
6. Blacks—even those in the rural areas were now dependent on white markets for their meat, milk, vegetables and corn.

Therefore the protagonists of Black Consciousness had to be aware of the fact that 'homelands' were, ironically, 'neither home nor land'.

*(Information supplied by Black Students)*