

HOMELANDS - GENERAL

1989

~~TABLE~~ - ~~TABLE~~

# Three homelands get more land

CAPE TOWN — Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are to get more land from SA in terms of draft legislation tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Bill identifies tracts of farm land to be transferred to the three territories.

The additional properties going to the Transkei comprise portions of farms located to the west and south of the Elliot-Engcobo Road reserve boundary and, according to an explanatory memorandum, are sub-

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

ject to transfer to ensure a more practical and acceptable boundary between the homeland and SA.

## Exchange

Three major properties for Bophuthatswana include SA Development Trust land, the farm Hoedspruit, which had belonged to the Bafokeng tribe, and portion of Klipfontein farm previously transferred to the Bakgatla Ba Makau tribe.

Additional land to be handed over to Ciskei forms part of a compensatory package, in exchange for the corridor of SA land dividing Ciskei from Transkei.

It is located in the East London district and is bordered on one side by Fort Pato-Glenfields Road, and south of the Hilltop-Michaeldene Road.

Actual transfer of all these properties will become effective once the Bill is passed by Parliament and on a date to be published in the Government Gazette.

## Finance ministers meet

*Southern Africa 17/1/6*  
THE second conference of ministers of finance from the "self-governing territories" took place in Pretoria yesterday under the chairmanship of Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid.

The implications of

restricting government spending on the budgets of the self-governing territories and the exploitation of own sources to increase their revenue were some of the matters discussed, the Department of Development Aid said in a statement yesterday.

**SOUTHERN AFRICA'S LEADING CASH & CARR**

rsday January 19 1989

## Opposition to National Council grows

# Homeland leaders refuse to toe the line

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government is facing growing opposition from the six self-governing territories to its constitutional plans to give blacks a say in central government.

There are indications that all six self-governing territories are moving towards a united stand against participation on the Government's proposed National Council (NC) — the statutory body on which the territories and urban blacks are expected to serve.

Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on homelands, met Lebowa leader Mr Nelson Ramodike this week and said the Lebowa leader seemed to be a "moving force" in uniting the self-governing territories against the NC.

He said Mr Ramodike had already held meetings with kwaZulu and QwaQwa to discuss the NC and planned to meet Mr Hudson Nsantwisi of Gazankulu and the new leader of kwaNdebele for similar discussions.

The leaders of kwaZulu, Kang-

wane, QwaQwa and Lebowa have already said they will not participate on the NC. Mr Hudson Nsantwisi, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, is said to be undecided but could possibly make a stand after meeting Mr Ramodike this week.

A big question mark hangs over kwaNdebele's position as the election for a Chief Minister takes place on Friday. However Chief Minister Mr Majozi Mahlangu — who would probably back the NP — has been ruled out of the election by the Pretoria Supreme Court.

### Urgent attention

And the person expected to be elected in his place, Mr Solly Mahlangu, the former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly who was fired by him, is known to oppose participation on the NC.

The move comes at a time when the Government is giving urgent attention to its long-thwarted efforts to get blacks into central government.

This week the Government persuaded black town councillors to agree to establish a national

forum which would represent urban blacks in central government and participate in national negotiations — probably on the National Council.

The move was backed by the leadership of the two main black municipal bodies — the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) and the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

Enabling legislation to establish the National Council was passed last year. It makes specific provision for all six self-governing territories to be represented and for urban blacks outside the homelands to be represented indirectly through black town councils.

Mr Soal said he had discussed a broad range of political topics with Mr Ramodike in the Lebowa capital of Lebowakgomo.

"We had a very refreshing discussion about the values of democracy and non-racialism and found many areas of agreement between the PFP and the Lebowa government," he said.

Mr Soal will be meeting the leaders of the other self-governing territories in the near future.

Star 19/1/89

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REPUBLIC  
OF  
SOUTH AFRICA



REPUBLIEK  
VAN  
SUID-AFRIKA

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PRETORIA, 3 FEBRUARY 1989  
FEBRUARIE

No. 11679

## PROCLAMATION

by the Acting

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 4, 1989

PASSING OF CERTAIN LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF RUSTENBURG IN THE PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOPHUTHATSWANA

Under the powers vested in me by section 1 of the Borders of Particular States Extension Act, 1980 (Act 2 of 1980), I hereby determine that the land mentioned in the accompanying Schedule, situated in the District of Rustenburg in the Province of the Transvaal, shall, with effect from 3 February 1989, cease to be part of the Republic of South Africa and shall become part of the Republic of Bophuthatswana.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twenty-third day of January, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

J. C. HEUNIS,

Acting State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,

Minister of the Cabinet.

### SCHEDULE

#### PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL

##### *District of Rustenburg*

The area comprising the following:

From the south-western beacon of the farm Elandsheuwel 282 JQ; thence north-westwards and south-westwards along the boundaries of the farm Paardekraal 279 JQ, so as to exclude it from this area, to the point where it intersects the international boundary between the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Bophuthatswana; thence north-eastwards, southwards and south-westwards along the said international boundary to the south-western beacon of the farm Elandsheuwel 282 JQ, the point of beginning.

204—1

## PROKLAMASIE

van die Waarnemende

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 4, 1989

OORGANG VAN SEKERE GROND IN DIE DISTRIK RUSTENBURG IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL NA DIE REPUBLIEK BOPHUTHATSWANA

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 1 van die Wet op die Uitbreiding van die Grense van Bepaalde State, 1980 (Wet 2 van 1980), bepaal ek hierby dat die grond in bygaande Bylae vermeld, geleë in die distrik Rustenburg in die provinsie Transvaal, met ingang van 3 Februarie 1989 ophou om deel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te wees en deel word van die Republiek van Bophuthatswana.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Drie-en-twintigste dag van Januarie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

J. C. HEUNIS,

Waarnemende Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,

Minister van die Kabinet.

### BYLAE

#### PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL

##### *Distrik Rustenburg*

Die gebied bestaande uit die volgende:

Van die suidwestelike baken van die plaas Elandsheuwel 282 JQ; daarvandaan noordweswaarts en suidweswaarts met die grense van die plaas Paardekraal 279 JQ langs, sodat dit uit hierdie gebied uitgesluit word, tot by die punt waar dit die internasionale grens tussen die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Republiek van Bophuthatswana kruis; daarvandaan noordooswaarts, suidwaarts en suidweswaarts met genoemde internasionale grens langs tot by die suidwestelike baken van die plaas Elandsheuwel 282 JQ, die beginpunt.

11679—1

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS.

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS.

- (1) Yes, inspections are carried out twice during each eight hour shift over every twenty four hour period.
- (2) Yes, on 14 January 1989.

(a) On 14 January 1989, approximately two hours prior to the person having been observed at 11h49.

(b) A Black man gained unauthorised access to the runway area and proceeded to run across the take-off path of an Air Zimbabwe Boeing 737 aircraft. The captain of the aircraft therefore had to brake sharply to avoid running down the person concerned.

- (c) (i) Two tyres required replacement; and
- (ii) Approximately R1 200,00.

Passenger transport: subsidies paid to bus companies

68 Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What total amount was paid to bus companies in respect of subsidies for the transport of passengers in the (a) Johannesburg/Pretoria, (b) Cape Town/Peninsula, (c) Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage and (d) Durban/Pinetown areas in the 1987-88 financial year?

B169E

(a) R115 053 011,99

(b) R 37 211 683,61

(c) R 11 994 578,78

(d) R 55 652 221,87

The honourable member's attention is drawn to the fact that the amount reflected under (b) above includes payments in respect of commuters of the magisterial districts of Cape Town, Bellville, Simon's Town, Wynberg, Stellenbosch, Kuilsriver and Goodwood.

Conciliation boards/mediators

72. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Manpower:

(a) How many applications for the (i) establishment of conciliation boards in terms of section 35, and (ii) appointment of a mediator in terms of section 44, of the Labour Relations Act, No 28 of 1956, were (aa) made and (bb) approved in 1988 and (b) in respect of what percentage of the approved applications were the disputes settled in each case?

B173E

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(a) (i) (aa) 3 035

(bb) 1 550

(ii) (aa) 1

(bb) 1

(b) Conciliation boards — 29,6 per cent

Mediators — Nil per cent.

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INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs.

Independent Black states: diplomatic staff

1. Dr W J SNEYMAN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

In which suburbs of cities and towns in the Republic are diplomatic staff of the four independent Black states housed?

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Mr Chaurman, in replying to this question I assume that under diplomatic staff the hon member for Pietersburg includes consular staff. I also assume that the hon member is referring to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, because there are more than four independent states in Africa that have representation in South Africa. The hon member has indicated that that is what he means. Consequently I shall reply to the question I amended for him.

The answer is as follows. All four of these countries that I have mentioned have embassies in South Africa's capital cities, and consequently have embassy staff who are resident—for the purposes of the question—in those capital cities, viz Pretoria and Cape Town.

With reference to consular staff, the Transkei has consulates in Bloemfontein, Durban, Johannesburg, East London and Port Elizabeth. Bophuthatswana has consulates in Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Potchefstroom, Vryburg and Welkom. Venda has consulates in Johannesburg and Pietersburg, and the Ciskei has consulates in Bloemfontein, Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Newcastle and Port Elizabeth.

\*Dr W J SNEYMAN: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister was much calmer in replying to the question about these things today than he was six years ago when I asked him a similar question in March 1983. That was also during Question Time. At the time I wanted to know whether he

intended to grant permission for Venda's consular staff to live in Pietersburg. On that occasion the hon the Minister let rip with what one can almost call verbal diarrhoea of six and a half columns in Hansard. It was the longest reply I have ever heard in this House, and he accused me . . .

\*Mr S J SCHOEMAN (Sunnyside): Mr Chairman, on a point of order: On a prior occasion it was ruled that "verbal diarrhoea" could not be used because it was unparliamentary.

\*Dr W J SNEYMAN: I withdraw it, Mr Chairman. \*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: The hon member may proceed.

\*Dr W J SNEYMAN: On that occasion the hon the Minister accused me of a statement I had made in a letter I had addressed to him. I quote:

Dit was onder meer die totale miskennening en gebrek aan respek van die Regering vir die gemeenskapslewe van die inwoners van Pietersburg wat betreur word, en dit noop ons om onder meer hierdie standpunt in te neem.

I address that very same accusation to that hon Minister and his Government today. They do not care a rap about the established and traditional pattern of living in our own residential areas. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister must not insinuate as he did at that stage that we are acting in an insulting way towards a neighbouring country and its government. On the contrary, the then consular representative of Venda, the late Mr Netsituka, made a courtesy visit to me at my office. He was a friendly man, and we had understanding for one another's points of view. What is more, there was a fixed understanding between him and the Pietersburg Town Council and the then ambassador of the RSA in Venda and that the town council would develop an exclusive diplomatic quarter for this purpose, just as there are identifiable diplomatic residential areas in Western cities such as The Hague and Washington, to mention only two. [Interjections.]

Let me make it very clear. The CP supports trade relations, diplomatic contact and co-operation with neighbouring countries, but I have reason to suspect that this hon Minister influenced that government so that ultimately they did not accept



the town council's proposals. I say this with reference to the gentleman's agreement that existed. I do not know whether or not the hon. the Minister was aware of it. [Time expired.]

Mr C V EGLIN: Mr Chairman, this question of the hon member for Pietersburg ends up as a competition between the Government and the CP as to who is the most ridiculous in terms of racial attitudes and patterns in 1989. [Interjections.]

The hon member said that one should have separate enclaves. He does not mind Blacks living in servants' quarters, he does not mind Blacks living in high-rise flats serving people, but as soon as they stand there with dignity, he has an objection.

I want to put the following to the hon. the Minister: Surely the right that the Government gives to Blacks, provided they are foreign diplomats, to live in White areas undermines the concept of White separateness in residential areas. If Blacks from other countries in Africa can live in White suburbs, why in blazes cannot Black South Africans live in White suburbs? [Interjections.] Why should there be a differentiation made between Blacks who have diplomatic passports and Blacks who may be representatives of people of equal status and dignity? Why cannot they too have these rights?

We want to say to the hon. the Minister we hope that in the new mood of free association he will remember his speech of November 1974:

Yes, we do discriminate against people on the grounds of race in South Africa and we do not defend it. We will do everything in our power to move away from discrimination on the grounds of race or colour.

That was fifteen years ago! I want to ask the hon. the Minister if he is going to use his influence and power with his new leader to move away from the archaic situation of race discrimination when it comes to residential suburbs and move into a genuine new South Africa, "a totally new South Africa". To use the words of the hon. new leader of the NP, where people on the basis of free association can live where they want to live and associate with whom they wish to. [Interjections.]

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, there is no such thing as a formalised

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enclave or a demarcated place for diplomats anywhere in the free world. In Pretoria we also have a so-called diplomatic residential area, but this is not enforceable. They are not told that they must stay there.

None other than Dr Malan said in 1951, when he piloted the Diplomatic Privileges Act through this House, that diplomatic representatives had the freedom to live wherever they pleased anywhere in the country. At that stage Mr J F T Naudé was the MP for Pietersburg. He was part of the Government and he supported that.

\*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Dr Malan is too left-wing for the CP!

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Now, 38 years later, I have to discuss that in this House. On 9 September 1969 Mr Vorster said...

\*Mr J H VANDER MERWE: What do you say?

\*The MINISTER: ... that there was no such thing as a code for White diplomats and a code for non-White diplomats. There was only one code for all diplomats. The dialogue between our previous ambassador in Venda and the Pietersburg Town Council was initiated by me, not by him. I spoke to our ambassador and told him this was a sensitive matter and that he should tread cautiously in dealing with all the interested parties in this regard, because we were eager to get the agreement of the Pietersburg Town Council. I asked him to explain the position with regard to international law and the Diplomatic Privileges Act, to prevent feelings from being hurt and to prevent an international incident with banner headlines in newspapers in other parts of the world saying that Pietersburg was taking the same direction as Boksburg had. It was to prevent something of this kind from damaging our country's interests that we tried to resolve the matter behind the scenes. [Time expired.]

\*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, it is typical of the rhetoric on that side of the House to compare Boksburg and Pietersburg with one another. [Interjections.] As far as diplomatic staff are concerned, they have nothing to do with one another. We are specifically asking the hon. the Minister whether it is his or his department's standpoint to make specific residential areas available to diplomats, a practice that exists in numerous other states in the Western World.

\*HON MEMBERS: Where?

\*Mr S C JACOBS: I can refer to Bonn. The Hague and numerous other places.

My second question is whether the hon. the Minister can deny that this practice exists in other states.

In the third place I want to ask the hon. the Minister whether the Department of Foreign Affairs complies with section 7 of the Diplomatic Privileges Act, in terms of which they have to ensure that the Government provides compensation for the loss in income suffered by a local authority as a result of the tax exemptions due to diplomatic officials. If the answer to that is a positive one, we should like the hon. the Minister to mention a few specific examples in which town councils were compensated for the loss in tax revenue.

\*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, I should like to ask the hon. the Minister whether, since he agreed to the purchase for this purpose of a residential erf and a house in a residential area that is predominantly CP, he will give us the address. I know that if they make it known today, the neighbour will telephone me tomorrow morning to object. If he is a Nationalist, he will tell me he rejects that standpoint of the NP. I can guarantee hon. members that. [Interjections.] That is why I should like the hon. the Minister to tell us exactly where in Pietersburg the person is going to live.

\*Mr J H VANDER MERWE: He might move in next to a De Klerk!

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I would like to start by replying to the hon. member for Sea Point. It is not true that I am in competition with the CP about this matter. I have stated the position of the Government quite clearly and I am sure that the hon. member agrees with me.

The supplementary question that he asked about the right of Black South Africans to live amongst White South Africans has nothing to do with the Diplomatic Privileges Act. Nothing! That is a different matter which this Government is trying to face up to, namely the whole question of group areas and discrimination. My hon. leader has made his position quite clear as far as discrimination is concerned and since I made that statement in the United Nations way back in 1974,

dramatic steps have been taken in South Africa to remove discrimination. The hon. member knows that. More steps will be taken to remove more discrimination.

\*Once again, with regard to the question about the diplomatic residential areas, we have a diplomatic residential area in Pretoria, but it is unoccupied to a great extent. The law says one cannot compel a diplomat to go and live there. They have a free choice in the matter. This is not my law. It is an Act of Parliament that was passed in 1951. There is no way in which to compel them to live there; otherwise they can do the same thing to us abroad, because it is in conflict with international law.

I am not the one who approved the purchase of the specific piece of land. The Act grants other governments the right to purchase properties where they please. The Act grants that right. I cannot reject it. That is how the hon. member should see it. I did my best, through our ambassador in Venda who can confirm this, to arrange this matter behind the scenes in the best possible way. If the hon. member does not accept my word on that, he need not, but ultimately I have to contend with a legal provision—it was instituted by Dr Malan and followed by all civilised countries in the world—which we have to honour.

Instead of encouraging people to object, we should encourage our people to have discussions with all South Africans and to understand that it is in the interests of this country to have diplomatic relations with the largest number of states in the world for the sake of our trade and our prestige and to treat one another with mutual respect and esteem. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Mr Albert Vermaas: charges withdrawn.

2. Mr J B de R V A N G E N D asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether criminal charges laid against a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, have been withdrawn; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) what steps have been taken to ensure that this person and his assets do not leave the Republic?

\*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Chairman,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



## Homelands 'need financial aid from SA'

B/Den 21/2/89 (10)

CAPE TOWN — The independent homelands were, in a sense, paying the price of NP policy, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to committee-stage questioning on his department's additional appropriation, he said the income bases of the TBVC states were small and they struggled to provide basic services, let alone generate capital for projects. This fact was not recognised by the world.

The TBVC states could only go to SA for finance. They often felt that they were out in the cold, and had to endure isolation along with SA.

However, they were part of the larger growing southern African constellation of states that would one day, whether five or 15 years from now, share their industrial and other resources and would respect each other while still enjoying autonomy.

Botha said an additional amount of R72m was required under his department's vote for adjustments to the salaries of civil servants in the TBVC territories.

When these territories took independence they were guaranteed by SA that they would be no worse off than those that did not accept independence.

Accordingly, when the SA civil service received a pay rise and the TBVC states were not in a position to meet the cost of a similar rise for their employees, SA helped them to supplement their budgets.

Dealing with alleged corruption in these states, Botha said his department had gone out of its way to bring about greater import control. At one point, it had held back transfer payments to Transkei from the customs pool until the territory agreed to appoint a commission of investigation into a certain department.

This had eventually led to the appointment of the Harms Commission. — Sapa.

# TBVC salaries: R72-m more needed

The independent homelands were in a certain sense paying the price of National Party policy, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to committee stage questioning on his department's additional appropriation, he said the income bases of the TBVC states were small and they struggled to provide basic services, let alone generate project capital.

This fact was not recognised by the world.

The TBVC states could only go to South Africa for finance. They often felt that they were out in the cold and had to endure isolation along with South Africa.

However they were part of the larger growing southern African constellation of states that would one day, whether five or 15 years from now, share their industrial and other resources and would respect each other while still enjoying autonomy.

Mr Botha said an additional amount of R72 million was required under his Department's vote for adjustments to the salaries of civil servants in the TBVC territories.

When these territories took independence they had been guaranteed by the South African Government that they would be no worse off than those that did not accept independence.

In line with this understanding, when the South African civil service received a pay rise and the

TBVC states were not in a position to meet the cost of a similar rise for their employees because it was an unexpected expenditure, South Africa helped them to supplement their budgets.

The original amount calculated by the four countries had been R115 million, but after tough negotiation, with understanding for the dilemmas of the respective governments, the amount had

been reduced to R72 million.

Another R21 million had been required to bring social pensions in line with the South African increase.

Dealing with alleged corruption in these states, Mr Botha said an "absolute gossip campaign" was being waged on the subject. If anyone said anything the newspapers picked it up and it was believed.

His department had gone out of its way to bring about greater import control. At one point it had held back transfer payments to Transkei from the customs pool until the territory agreed to appoint a commission of investigation into a certain department.

This had eventually led to the appointment of the Harms Commission.

One should look not only at the negative side or the faults that had been made, but at the successes, he said. — Sapa.

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Step 2/12

## R3bn paid to TBV countries

CAPE TOWN — SA paid an estimated amount of almost R3bn to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda in the 1988/89 financial year in terms of agreements between SA and those areas, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in the House of Assembly yesterday in reply to a written question from Ray Swart (PFP Berea).

The respective amounts were: R1,379bn to the Transkei; R1,068bn to Bophuthatswana, and R352,9m to Venda.

Botha said the estimated amounts fell into two categories: direct assistance and transfers in terms of bilateral agreements. — Sapa.



# TBVC states have 19 consulates in SA (101)

B(DW) 9/3/87 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The four "independent" homelands had 19 consulates in different parts of SA, but Venda, which only had two consulates, had tried unsuccessfully to establish one in Pietersburg for six years, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Botha said the CP MP for Pietersburg, Dr Willie Snyman, had vehemently opposed the establishment of a Venda consulate in the Northern Transvaal town — in a way the Minister had never experienced before.

The Diplomatic Privileges Act did not require approval of a local authority or any government body for acquisition of accommodation for diplomatic or consular representatives.

However, in spite of this, Botha said in reply to a question from Snyman, his department had, for reasons

of courtesy, approached the local magistrate and the police in Pietersburg for comments in 1983.

This token of courtesy was answered by Snyman "in a tone which has nowhere yet been experienced in the Republic of South Africa".

Botha did not disclose Snyman's comments.

The Venda government had also discussed the matter with the Pietersburg municipality several months ago "without obtaining an acceptable solution".

As a result, consular personnel had to be accommodated in a local hotel, which cost Venda thousands of rand.



● BOTHA

OwaOwa	11 138
Lebowa	103 138
Gazankulu	47 303
KwaZulu	247 362
KaNgwane	33 468
KwaNdebele	15 706
TOTAL	458 115

(b) 789 270

Information as on 01 03.1988

The 1989 enrolment is not yet available.

Greater Cape Town: White/Coloured/Indian residents

62. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

What estimated number of (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds and (c) Indians resided in the Greater Cape Town area as at 31 December 1988?

B162E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Information for 1988 on the basis as required by the hon member is not available in my Department. Population numbers are obtained by means of population censuses. The latest available information therefore, is that in respect of the 1985-Population Census. In this regard I refer the hon member to my reply to Question No 548 of 11 March 1988 which appeared under his name on the Question Paper.

Self-governing territories/independent Black states: land excised

126 Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

Whether any land made available for occupation by Blacks since 1936 has subsequently been excised or is to be excised from self-governing territories or independent Black states, if so, (a) what area of land, (b) which such territory or state was involved, and (c) when, in each case?

B279E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

Yes. The required information, however, is

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not readily available. No special record in the form of a register is kept in this connection and the required information cannot be ascertained without performing a considerable volume of work, which is deemed unjustified.

Self-governing territories/independent Black states: land incorporated

127. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

Whether any land made available for occupation by Blacks since 1936 has subsequently been incorporated or is to be incorporated into self-governing territories or independent Black states; if so, (a) what area of land, (b) which such territory or state was involved, and (c) when, in each case?

B280E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

All the required information is not readily available as no special record in the form of a register is kept in this connection. The present total extent of the independent states and self-governing territories given hereunder, includes land which was set aside for occupation by Black people in terms of the Black Land Act, 1913 (Act 27 of 1913), as well as land released in terms of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936), which belongs to individual Black people, Tribes, the South African Development Trust and the various Black Governments.

Transkei	4 287 000 Ha.
Bophuthatswana	4 214 737 Ha.
Venda	708 897 Ha.
Ciskei	794 827 Ha.
KwaNdebele	239 958 Ha.
Gazankulu	796 789 Ha.
OwaOwa	90 276 Ha.
KaNgwane	505 615 Ha.
Lebowa	2 527 697 Ha.
KwaZulu	3 239 522 Ha.

Irrespective of the abovementioned areas of land already included into the areas of jurisdiction of the various states as indicated, the Government is also engaged in the systematic addition to the different states of a further ±2 300 000 hectares consisting of properties of the South African Development Trust, Tribally owned land and land belonging to individual Black people.

## INTERPELLATIONS UNDER NAME OF MEMBER

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# TBVC pay-hikes use up much of SA aid increase

8/20/89

(101)

THE increase in teachers' and civil servants salaries and in the social benefits paid to the TBVC states accounts for three-quarters of the 25% increase in Foreign Affairs' new budgetary aid for this financial year.

The budgetary aid is the main component of the annual total amount provided to them from the department, which this year shows an increase of 25,4% over the last financial year.

But, said an FA spokesman, of the 25,4% increase (R2,29bn compared with last year's R1,82bn), the real increase after mandatory expenses, list-

DIANNA GAMES

ed as improvement for conditions of service also applicable in SA, was 5,1%.

He said of a total increase of R553,2m in budgetary aid, R482,5m was voted for the carry-over of a 7% increase for teachers from December 1, a 15% increase for all civil servants from January 1 and an increase in social services and war veterans pensions.

These expenses were accounted for

in the last few months of the last financial year, and have a carry-through effect into the present financial year, he said.

For the tail-end of last year, R29m was swallowed up in increases in pensions and social benefits, while this year R117m has been allocated for it.

The spokesman said he could not provide a breakdown of the amounts for the individual states until they presented their budgets in the next few weeks.

The total amount of money trans-

ferred from SA to the TBVC countries (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) comprises the bulk of the Foreign Affairs budget, accounting for R2,81bn out of a total R3,25bn budget, and was a 20,9% increase over last year's total.

Besides the budgetary allowance, the total amount includes provision for manpower (secondments of staff from SA), project aid (loan fund), technical and other assistance, tax compensation and distress relief, which are all ongoing accounts.



Nobody was arrested during the police action and no firearms were fired. However, a flare was discharged on the instruction of the officer in command, because it was dark and the area is not lit up

**Fezeka High School: SAP present**

233. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police were present at or near Fezeka High School on the morning of 3 March 1989; if so, (a) why, (b) to which police station or unit were they attached, (c) how many policemen were there, (d) under whose command were they and (e) who called them there;
- (2) whether these policemen took any action, if so, (a) what action, (b) why and (c) in terms of what statutory provisions or regulations was such action taken;
- (3) whether any laws were broken; if so, (a) which laws, (b) by whom and (c) how many persons were arrested? B537E

**The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- (1) Yes
- (a) to (c) A number of members of the divisional riot unit under the command of a captain went to the school.

A senior official of the Department of Education and Training requested the police action in order to prevent an illegal gathering from being held.

- (2) Yes

(a) to (c) The police instructed pupils to return to their classes as the holding of such a gathering would have constituted a contravention of the Security Emergency Regulations.

- (3) No, the police action effectively prevented the contravention of any laws.
- (a) to (c) Fall away.

**Self-governing territories: manufacturing concerns**

252. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

What, as at 31 December 1988, was the total (a) number of (i) manufacturing concerns and (ii) persons employed and (b) amount invested by development corporations in each of the self-governing territories where decentralisation concessions or incentives are applicable? B557E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:**

All the figures up to 31 December 1988 are at this stage not available but in the list hereunder it is given up to the latest available date:

	(a)(i)	(a)(ii)	(b)
Gazankulu	155	6 718	R35 367 925
KaNgwane	49	1 759	R17 859 000
KwaNdebele	223	9 250	R93 035 000
KwaZulu	227	36 881	R260 012 000
Lebowa	188	11 814	R78 923 000
QwaQwa	206	25 000	R73 358 000
Total	1 048	91 422	R558 554 925

**Self-governing territories: amounts invested**

253. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

- (a) What amounts were invested by (i) the State and (ii) foreign agencies in the industrial sector, and (b) what was the total amount

invested by (i) the development corporation concerned, (ii) South African companies and (iii) foreign companies, in each of the self-governing territories in the 1987-88 and 1988-89 financial years, respectively? B558E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:**

Humand

1987/88

	Investment in industrial sector			Total amount invested		
	(a)(i)	(a)(ii)	(b)(i)	(b)(ii)	(b)(iii)	
Gazankulu	Nil	R118 000	R36 929 000	R21 940 000	R118 000	
KaNgwane	Nil	Nil	R7 145 525	R2 906 000	Nil	
KwaNdebele	Nil	R4 400 000	R65 987 900	R95 302 000	R4 400 000	
KwaZulu	Nil	R3 844 000	R112 038 000	R139 905 000	R3 844 000	
Lebowa	Nil	Nil	R50 596 000	R21 805 000	Nil	
QwaQwa	Nil	Nil	R33 233 000	R3 587 000	Nil	

As the figures for the 1988/89 financial year are not available as yet, figures as at 30 September 1988 are provided.

1/4/1988 - 30/9/1988

	Investment in industrial sector			Total amount invested		
	(a)(i)	(a)(ii)	(b)(i)	(b)(ii)	(b)(iii)	
Gazankulu	Nil	Nil	R19 579 000	R10 615 000	Nil	
KaNgwane	Nil	Nil	R4 531 000	R3 556 000	Nil	
KwaNdebele	Nil	R7 300 000	R33 500 000	R72 680 000	R7 300 000	
KwaZulu	Nil	R13 959 000	R61 174 000	(1)	R13 959 000	
Lebowa	Nil	R3 708 000	R19 529 000	R4 794 000	R3 708 000	
QwaQwa	Nil	Nil	R18 079 000	R15 471 000	Nil	

(1) Figures not available.

(101) FmM 14/4/71

## Cutting out courts

Government is again trying to force the 500 000-strong black community at Botshabelo near Bloemfontein into the neighbouring QwaQwa homeland — despite a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

This time legislation has been prepared expressly denying courts the right to inquire into or pronounce on the validity of the incorporation or any similar actions involving other homelands. The Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, tabled in parliament last week, gives the State President the power to alter by proclamation the borders of non-independent homelands either by adding areas to them or by excising land.

The Bill also validates proclamations issued in the past in terms of the National States Constitution Act or any other law under which homeland borders were altered and which were subsequently invalidated (usually after being challenged in court). The validation of such proclamations will be retroactive to the time of their original publication in the government *Gazette*.

Two edicts in particular are affected by the Bill: Proclamation R169 of December 2 1987 in terms of which Botshabelo was incorporated into QwaQwa; and Proclamation R227 of 1985 which incorporated Moutse in the north-eastern Transvaal into KwaNdebele.

In the case of Botshabelo the Bloemfontein Supreme Court reversed Proclamation R169 last August. By implication, government was heavily criticised for its actions (*Current Affairs* September 2 1988). Though the court found that in terms of the National States Constitution Act the State President has the power to alter homeland borders, and that only the relevant homeland authority need be consulted (as is the case in the new Bill), this does not mean that he can do anything "under the sun" as one of the three judges put it.

Another, Justice A J Findlay, spoke of the judicial responsibility to safeguard the rights of people with no official representation. Government appealed against the judgment, but now appears to be unwilling to go through with the action — preferring, it seems, to pass yet another law with a clause

to emasculate the judicial process.

Last year government attempted a similar move by including powers for the State President to alter homeland boundaries in another measure, the Self-Governing Territories Bill.

The Bill gave new powers to homeland governments and was described by critics as the "worst" measure affecting homeland blacks in the previous five years (*Current Affairs* February 19 1988). The Bill was eventually dropped.

The new move on Botshabelo may boomerang badly. It comes at a time when some government critics are starting to believe the old-style draconian apartheid era is ending and that the National Party is genuinely interested in ruling by negotiation. It is also likely to draw protest from foreign governments and anti-apartheid movements. The

credibility Pik Botha and his diplomats have built in recent months with Namibian negotiation successes (particularly against sanctions in the US) could easily come tumbling down.

And the image of the new NP leader, F W de Klerk, as a pragmatic realist who is ready to get reform moving again could be badly tarnished.

Though the measure appears to be aimed specifically at Botshabelo, it gives government wide powers to incorporate black communities anywhere in the country into homelands against their will and with no recourse to the courts. In effect such actions will allow government to clean up "black spots" in "white" SA and as such will be regarded as forced removals.

Two of the major concerns of black communities threatened with incorporation into

homelands are the possible loss of civil and social rights in SA, and possible repressive action against them by the homeland authorities.



# Threatened communities call for Bill to be scrapped

ARGUS 14/4/87

101

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Representatives of eight communities which have been subjected to or threatened with forced incorporation into various homelands have called for the scrapping of the Alteration of Self-Governing Territories Boundaries Bill.

In a joint statement, representatives of these communities declared: "If passed, the Bill will mean that our communities can be incorporated into non-independent homelands against our will and without any recourse to a court of law."

The Bill was tabled in Par-

liament last week.

Court action has been vital to the resistance of communities to incorporation. But if the Bill was enacted "victories such as that of Moutse will not be possible in the future," community representatives said.

Court rulings nullified both the incorporation of Moutse into Lebowa and Botshabelo into QwaQwa. The reasons for declaring these incorporations invalid differed and the proposed legislation poses a far greater threat to the population of Botshabelo.

If enacted, the Bill would nullify the court ruling which invalidated the incorporation of Botshabelo into QwaQwa, it was pointed out in the state-

ment, and it would render academic the outcome of the government's appeal against the existing judgment.

Representatives from the areas opposing incorporation met in a national workshop. The relevant areas are Braklaagte, Moutse, Leeuwfontein and Matjakaneng in the Transvaal, Botshabelo in the Free State, and Thornhill, Potsdam and Peeltion in the Eastern Cape.

Participants declared that they were "resolute to use all peaceful means to overcome forced incorporation".

They said they were "on the receiving end of harsh treatment because of our opposition to incorporation," explaining: "Many of us have been beaten

up by vigilantes, who in many instances have the open support of the state or homeland authorities."

In Peeltion residents had resorted to court action to restrain the Ciskei police from harassing and unlawfully arresting them, it was stated.

In Braklaagte, where 65 people were arrested at Easter, people were "brutally tortured for refusing to identify themselves with a chief imposed by the homeland government and for maintaining that they are South Africans".

Representatives urged that land be given to the Potsdam people so that they could leave the Ciskei and resettle in South Africa.



...said yesterday...  
...the minister...

# LP, DP Slam new self-governance Bill

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Political Staff  
THE Labour Party and the Democratic Party have slated government moves to deny courts the right to pronounce on attempts to alter the boundaries of self-governing homelands.

The 'Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, which was tabled in Parliament last week, denies courts the right to inquire into or pronounce on the validity of incorporation or any similar actions involving homelands.

It is expressly aimed at trying to force the 500 000-strong community of Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, to be incorporated into the neighbouring QwaQwa homeland, despite a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

Labour Party National PRO Mr Peter Hendrickse said the party rejected all attempts to balkanise the country to suit the ethnically-based ideology of the NP. The Bill was another instrument of this policy, he said.

Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) said the Bill was a shoddy attempt by the government to circumvent the courts.

At a time when new NP leader was making "verligte" noises all over SA, this was an attempt to inflict Verwoerdian-type legislation on the country, he said.

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# Most spurn homeland citizenship

Political Staff

THE vast majority of people living in the non-independent homelands have not become homeland citizens, according to figures provided by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha.

He said there were 1,6m KwaZulu citizens while 1,57m others were unregistered.

Figures given for the other homelands (with numbers unregistered in brackets) were:

Lebowa: 278 231 registered (1,2 million);

QwaQwa: 167 933 registered (869 953);

Gazankulu: 98 444 registered (416 552);

KaNgwane: 4 574 registered (536 663);

KwaNdebele: 38 778 registered (332 494).

SC



# New strategy 'more violent'

By PETER DENNEHY

INCORPORATING rural communities into homelands had been a more violent process than the former policy of forced removals, Transvaal Rural Action Committee fieldworker Ms Aninka Claasens said yesterday.

Delivering a paper on rural land struggles in the 1980s at a UCT conference on Forced Removals and the Law, Ms Claasens said successful struggles against removals all around the country had preceded Mr Gerrit Viljoen's 1985 announcement suspending the forced removals policy.

The announcement had been made during a period of political challenge by the unions and the United Democratic Front, when "popular mass action was the order of the day".

Since Magopà in 1984, there had been no forced removals of black land-owning rural communities, she said.

## 'Over 300 tortured in Moutse'

"The state has a new strategy for dealing with these areas. They are to be incorporated into one or another bantustan. This does not involve the physical removal of people, rather the redrawing of homeland boundaries to include their land."

However, all the recent incorporations (Moutse, Botshabelo and Braklaagte) had been much more violent than mass forced removals. Bantustan authorities moved in, rounded people up and "viciously assaulted them", she said.

People were told to shout pro-bantustan slogans and were assaulted if they refused.

"In Moutse over 300 people were tortured in this way on the night of the incorporation (New Year 1987) and over 20 died.

"In Braklaagte, over 100 people were seriously assaulted over the Easter weekend of 1989."

mandate was extended to include section 46 proceedings—the moneys as prescribed in scale C of the tariff in the Magistrates' Courts Rules, minus 20%, to a maximum of R250. The Director of the Legal Aid Board, however, retained the authority to grant legal aid to meritorious cases, to instruct advocates and senior advocates and to increase or remove restrictions.

(b) In order not to spend more money than was available.

**Citizen Force and Commando members called up**  
244. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) What percentage of Citizen Force and Commando members called up to attend camps (a) applied for deferment and (b) (i) failed to report for service and (ii) requested exemption from rendering service in townships in 1988;

(2) what total number of persons called up for military service in 1988 requested exemption on (a) religious and (b) other specified grounds?

B549E

**The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:**

(1) (a) 24,63%  
(b) (i) 14,55%  
(ii) 0,38%

(2) (a) 165  
(b) Educational : 9  
Essential Services : 682  
Service in other Forces : 11  
Occupational Circumstances : 74  
Medical : 27  
Other : 17  
820

**Public servants: pensionable service**

249. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) (a) (i) How many public servants have bought back pensionable service since 31 March 1988 and (ii) on what basis and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(2) how is the amount payable by public servants calculated;

(3) (a) what total amount had been paid to the Government Service Pension Fund by (i) public servants and (ii) the State, and (b) how much was owed to the Fund by (i) public servants, (ii) former public servants who are currently on pension and (iii) the State, as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B554E

**The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

(1) (a) (i) 1 029

(ii) — Former service: 947 cases on basis of refunding benefit received together with compound interest at 5,5 per cent *per annum*.

— Other periods: 82 cases in terms of formula  $n \times S \times F(x)$  in which —

"n" — represents the period purchased

"S" — represents the annual salary on date of application

"F(x)" — represent an actuarial factor (as published in Government Notices No R2121 and No R2123 of 21 September 1987 and No R416 and No R418 dated 11 March 1988 respectively), together with compound interest (currently) at 12 per cent *per annum* from date payable up to date of payment.

(b) 17 March 1989,  
(2) See (1) (a) (ii);  
(3) (a) (i) During period 31 March 1988 to 28 February 1989: R59 146 546,  
(ii) nil, members are responsible for the full settlement.

(b) 17 March 1989,

(2) See (1) (a) (ii);

(3) (a) (i) During period 31 March 1988 to 28 February 1989: R59 146 546,  
(ii) nil, members are responsible for the full settlement.

(b) (i) R208 117 203 as at 17 March 1989 (recovered by way of monthly instalment or in full on retirement).

(ii) none. Recovered in full on retirement.

(iii) ml, see (3) (a) (ii).

(iii) ml, see (3) (a) (ii).

Human

101

**South African Development Trust Account: money spent**  
**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:**

251. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

(a) Total amount spent:

1. Bophuthatswana R23 672 186  
2. Ciskei 3 359 111  
3. Transkei 17 863 418  
4. Venda 2 449 657  
None

(b) Projects on which this money was spent:

B556E

**A. BOPHUTHATSWANA**

1. Villages/Towns R516 R2 276 871

1.1 Atamalang

a. Housing 11  
b. Office Accommodation 484  
c. Schools 11  
d. Admin costs 10

1.2 Itoseng R2 153 633

a. Water 114 423  
b. Sanitation 167 894  
c. Electricity 22 231  
d. Machinery 95 434  
e. Housing 1 040 802  
f. Public Buildings 150 794  
g. Office accommodation 13 080  
h. Maintenance 29 708  
i. Schools 470 418  
j. Admin costs 48 849

1.3 Pamierstad R122 722

a. Roads 38 409  
b. Public Buildings 84 313

R271 240

2. Physical infrastructure

a. Road 114 Roodewal & Teerputfontein 31 943  
b. Hebron/Jericho road over Nietgedacht 132 671  
c. Hartbesfontein main water supply 106 626

R811 000

3. Independence projects  
a. Itoseng community hall 451 000  
b. Pamierstad community hall 360 000

**B. CISKEI**

1. Villages/Towns

1.1 Mdanisane

a. Roads 3 837 465  
b. Water 1 273 556  
c. Sanitation 260 276  
d. Electricity 656 101  
e. Machinery & Plant 136 409  
f. Housing 457 709  
g. Public Buildings 680 764  
h. Sport facilities 554 664  
i. Schools 186 521

R8 043 465

R 3 359 111

R8 981 010

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



1.2 Sada/Whittlesea	R937 545	365 951
a. Roads		6 143
b. Sanitation		224 498
c. Electricity		12 385
d. Maintenance		299 898
e. Schools		28 670
f. Admin costs		
2. Physical infrastructure		
2.1 Fees and Disbursements for:	R5 467 369	
a. Design Ntabetemba dam & irrigation scheme	2 159	
b. Oxtom irrigation scheme	310	
c. Northern Ciskei irrigation	107 183	
d. Ntabetemba settlements Phase I water supply	6 428	
e. Ntabetemba Zwelindinga project management	63 552	
f. Hewu district roads & stormwater drainage	101 572	
g. Ntabetemba water supply	94 913	
h. Hewu roads & stormwater drainage	299 364	
i. Ntabetemba settlement Phase II design of water supply	8 200	
j. Glenmore development of residential & agricultural plots	17 317	
k. Balfour infrastructure	29 755	
l. Drilling and grouting at Bushmankrantz dam	19 727	
m. Needs Camp temporary water supply	189	
n. Needs Camp/Good Hope water supply	19 503	
o. Ntabetemba water supply	780 423	
p. Border Black areas	20 929	
q. Proposed Binfield Park dam mass water supply	14 137	
2.2 Construction of:		
a. Hewu district 17.4 km gravel roads	2 299 173	
b. Hewu services water supply	1 427 667	
c. Glenmore electrical equipment section 2	18 992	
d. Binfield Parkdam 4.5 ml water treatment 6 ml reservoir	43 113	
e. Binfield Park/Alice pipeline	92 763	
3. Independence projects	3 415 039	
a. Civic square offices	291 396	
b. Health & Agriculture building	2 476 375	
c. Works & Transport building	235 704	
d. Middeldrift prison	144 887	
e. Radio Ciskei	803	
f. Garage/Service station	155 874	
g. Directors-General furniture	110 000	
		R17 863 418
C. TRANSKEI		
1 Villages/Towns		
1.1 Ezubelen	2 449 657	2 449 657
a. Roads		120 826
b. Water		31 265
c. Sanitation		31 763
d. Electricity		874 738

e. Housing	1 278 543
f. Maintenance	13 916
g. Schools	89 606
	<u>R2 449 657</u>
D. VENDA	
None.	
Department of Education and Training: investigations into irregularities	
265. Mr D S PIENAAR asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:†	
(1) (a) What investigations have been made into alleged irregularities in the Department of Education and Training since 1 July 1987, (b) by whom was each of these investigations made and (c) what, during the period 1 July 1987 up to the latest specified date for which information is available, was the cost to the State of each such investigation;	
(2) whether any outside consultants have been appointed to make further investigations into and to make evaluations regarding certain alleged irregularities that have come to light as a result of the above-mentioned investigations; if so, what are the relevant details?	B577E
The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:	
(1) (a) (i) Investigation by the Advocate-General into the purchasing of an Ivis interactive video system by the Department of Education and Training.	
(ii) Inquiry into the regularity or otherwise of the acquisition, by the Department of Education and Training, of an Ivis interactive video system and of any other spending of state funds, by that Department, which comes to the attention of the Commission of Inquiry and which should	

(2) No.	
279. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Defence:	
Whether any (a) national servicemen, (b) members of the Permanent Force and (c) members of the Citizen Force/Commandos (i) attempted to commit and (ii) committed suicide in 1988; if so, (aa) how many in each case and (bb) what means did each such person employ?	
	B509E
The MINISTER OF DEFENCE	
(i)	
(ii)	
11	Shot
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# Mabuza calls for Bill to be rejected

THEO RAWANA

THE Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill was just another instance of disregard for the rule of law and the jurisdiction of the courts, KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza said.

Calling for the Bill to be rejected, Mabuza said yesterday: "In terms of this Bill, the courts will be powerless to test whether the President has acted *ultra vires* or irregularly in altering boundaries of a self-governing territory."

## Deprive

The Bill, tabled in Parliament last week, denies the courts the right to inquire into or pronounce on the validity of the incorporation of land into a homeland. A government attempt to incorporate Botshabelo into QwaQwa was overturned by a Supreme Court ruling last year.

Mabuza said: "To deprive the Supreme Court of its right to review decisions of the President and to empower him to validate through legislation, proclamations previously declared nul and void by the courts is another violation of the rule of law in SA. This Bill should be rejected."

"At the very least, the power to include or excise land from a self-governing territory should be possible only with the agreement in writing of the Cabinet of the self-governing territory concerned. Such consent should be ratified by means of a referendum with the people affected by such a proposal."



# New Parliamentary polecat

Star 22/4/89

## Powers to draw new lines on homelands maps

JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE Bill giving the State President unlimited powers, either to incorporate entire black communities into the "self-governing territories" or to excise them from these homelands, threatens 2 million people.

This is the opinion of lawyers and politicians opposed to the proposed law.

They believe that the Bill, which retrospectively restores the validity of presidential proclamations which the courts have already found defective, will create insecurity among this huge number of people who relied on the powers of judges to stop arbitrary changes of borders and authority.

The Alteration of the Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill has also pointed to a determination within the National Party, even in the reform era, to bolster the homeland structures of grand apartheid.

This has prompted the US State Department to make it clear to Pretoria that this is unacceptable.

It has urged that the Bill be withdrawn, stating flatly that the United States "rejects the concept of 'homelands' within South Africa and regards compulsory assignment of people to these areas, or any other effort to deprive people of their citizenship, as a violation of their fundamental human rights".

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis has described the Bill as a "technical rather than a policy adjustment".

### Afrikaans press

He would not address the question of whether it is desirable to increase the land area and population of homelands.

All the signs are that the Bill, just a fortnight old, is set to become the latest parliamentary polecat.

It has drawn unequivocal condemnation from the Afrikaans press, from communities which have been victims of homeland incorporation, and from kaNgwane leader Enos Mabuza, who makes it clear that he does not expect to benefit from the proposed law.

The central provision of the Bill is that the State President may — if he "deems it expedient" — issue a proclamation incorporating any black community into a non-independent homeland, or removing a community from such a homeland or "self-governing territory". Also:

● The State President need not have regard to any other law in making his proclamation.

● "No court of law shall be competent to inquire into, or pronounce upon, the validity of any proclamation so issued," says the Bill.

● Any previous proclamation altering the area of jurisdiction of a homeland Legislative Assembly is now valid — even if the courts have already declared it invalid.

The Bill specifically reverses the Supreme Court judgment which declared the proposed incorporation of Botshabelo into QwaQwa to be invalid.

This means that, if it becomes law, the fate of more than 600 000 people in Botshabelo will be sealed.



NEW HOME: Building toilets in a resettlement area of Botshabelo in the Free State.

They will immediately and automatically be made part of QwaQwa.

In addition, kaNgwane's Chief Minister Mabuza is clearly haunted by his experience early this decade when the central Government, against the will of the kaNgwane Legislative Assembly, planned to hand over the entire homeland with its 850 000 people to Swaziland.

This was no idle threat by Pretoria. The Legislative Assembly had actually been disbanded by Pretoria in preparation for the handover when the prospect of losing a law suit caused the South African Government to change its mind.

It had already lost such a case in relation to the Ingwavuma area of kwaZulu.

Mr Mabuza, in his written objections to the Bill, has conceded that it is not "probable" the measure would be used to take an entire homeland from under the feet of a Legislative Assembly once more. But, he insists on a guarantee that it cannot happen again.

The Bill should provide that no alteration of homeland boundaries can occur without the written agreement of the homeland government concerned and without the consent of the affected people, obtained in a referendum, Mr Mabuza submits.

Lawyers and field workers associated with the battered Moutse region — populated by 120 000 — fear the Bill could enable that area to be removed once again from central government jurisdiction.

The Bill does not automatically pre-empt Moutse back

into kwaNdebele by reversing the Appeal Court judgment which declared such incorporation invalid. The memorandum on the Bill notes that the Rumpff Commission on the future of Moutse is still sitting and there is no wish to pre-empt its findings.

Experts regard this proviso as a temporary reprieve for Moutse rather than the ultimate safeguard. There is, however, some uncertainty about how keenly the Government will fight for the survival of this immediately unpopular Bill.

On the one hand, there are analysts believe that the Government is still totally committed to the homelands. The Bill comes in the wake of the Self-Governing Territories Bill which proposes to increase the powers of those homelands are steadfastly refusing to take independence.

### Wooling leaders

It comes at a time when Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis is wooing reluctant leaders of the non-independent homelands to participate in the National Council/Great Indaba forum.

All of this is consonant with the Government's vaguely disclosed "federal" vision of a future South Africa.

This week Mr Heunis reiterated that self-governing territories which "choose to be part of the Republic of South Africa will be recognised as autonomous re-

gional governments.

"They will also be accommodated at the central Government level in the RSA and the method by which this is to be accomplished will be negotiated."

There are also those who believe "federal" plan or not, economic factors bind the Government into broadening the homelands. The cost of servicing communities is far lower in the homelands, they argue. It is cheaper for Pretoria to pay a lump sum to a homeland government and leave it to struggle with the impossible equation of supply and demand for services than to take direct responsibility for schooling, health care, social security and housing.

On the other hand, some are persuaded that the Bill is essentially as the reaction of an authoritarian Government to successful challenges by its opponents.

Minister of Development Aid Dr Gerrit Viljoen states that it is essentially to see that the courts do not reverse proclamations and cause disruption — as they have in the past — to the systems of administration the Government has set in place.

Those who describe the Bill as coming "straight out of the PW tradition of strong-arm executive action" believe it may be never make the passage into law.

They argue that the National Party caucus has shown a clear desire to reassert its control over the Head of State and has realised that it cannot do so while laws allow him to act as a despot remain on the statute book.



MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis has tried to justify his department's attempt to deny courts' right to inquire or pronounce on government moves to alter homeland boundaries by saying their rulings can result in "administrative, political and legal chaos".

Heunis was responding to media inquiries about the alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill. The Bill seeks to deny the courts the right to inquire or pronounce upon proclamations issued by government on the alteration or extension of homeland boundaries. He issued his statement on the same day that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said "our Supreme Court is the guardian of the rights of the

POLITICS

# Heunis explains' court curb

individual and the community.

The Bill seeks to invalidate a Supreme Court judgement last year preventing government from adding Botshabelo, a community of 400 000 near Bloemfontein, to the QwaQwa homeland. The Supreme Court based its decision on the ethnic incompatibility of the peoples of Botshabelo and QwaQwa, recognising differences in political development, lifestyle and culture.

One judge, Mr Justice Findlay, spoke at length in the ruling of the judicial responsibility to safeguard the rights of people who have no official representation.

He said: "I would assume that a far-reaching step such as the incorporation of

Botshabelo would have been thoroughly investigated and planned . . . I would like to think this was so since an important and drastic constitutional step was taken changing the right, status and way of life of approximately 400 000 people who had no say in the matter whatsoever . . . This calls for the exercise by this court of the utmost vigilance and scrutiny since no other effective legitimate avenue may be available to safeguard the rights of those so affected."

Explaining why government felt the new Bill was necessary, Heunis said "The history of various court cases affecting the boundaries of self-governing territories is well-known. When a proclaimed boundary

is changed by way of a court action with retrospective effect, the result can be administrative, political and legal chaos.

"This is especially so if the court action takes place a few years after the boundary has been proclaimed."

Democratic Party spokesman Peter Soai described Heunis's justification of the Bill as cynical. It allowed government to do exactly what the judges had said they should not do in the case of Botshabelo.

"It is a disgraceful disregard for the system of justice. When they don't agree with what the courts say, they take the rights of the court away."

## Govt considering ban

# 'African states get SA petrol'

CAPE TOWN — SA oil companies were exporting petrol to unnamed countries in Africa at a foreign exchange profit, Economic Affairs and Technology Minister Danie Steyn said yesterday.

SA also supplied petrol to the three BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland), the four independent homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) and Namibia, but as they were within the Customs Union these were not technically regarded as exports.

The only difference in prices between SA and these countries was due

Political Staff

to different levels of levies and transport costs, he said.

SA oil companies also exported petrol to other countries subject to the conditions that no financial support by the Equalisation Fund was applicable on these exports, that any of these exports would not detrimentally affect the supply situation in SA, and that "a foreign exchange profit" was realised.

Steyn did not name the African countries outside the Customs Union and said the selling prices in these countries were not recorded on a continuous basis.

# 1 796 vacancies in Cape Town hospitals

CAPE TOWN — There were 1 796 vacancies at the five state-run hospitals in the Cape Town area at the end of last year, National Health and Population Development Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk said yesterday.

He also disclosed the average occupancy at the Red Cross Memorial Hospital for Children over the past two financial years was more than 106%.

Van Niekerk, who was replying to a question by Dr Marius Barnard (PFP, Parktown), said there were 172 medical vacancies at Groote Schuur Hospital at the end of last year, four at Red

Political Staff

Cross, 87 at Tygerberg, two at Woodstock and eight at Somerset.

All told, there were 873 vacancies at Groote Schuur, 67 at Red Cross, 701 at Tygerberg, 32 at Woodstock and 123 at Somerset.

The total staff establishment at these hospitals at the end of last year was 19 959.

This means that almost 9% of the posts were vacant at the end of last year.

panies made it hard to track the route of oil cargoes around the world. — Sapa-Reuter.

A centrally-planned economy with little or no private property was not an environment in which the majority of business could operate successfully.

largest EC "T

## Minister 'wants to act unlawfully'

*1/10/84* *10/1*  
THEO RAWANA  
CONSTITUTIONAL Planning and Development Minister Chris Heunis wanted a free hand to act unlawfully and unhampered by the control of the courts, Lawyers for Human Rights national chairman Jules Browde said yesterday.

Browde was reacting to Heunis's explanation of the Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, which would deny the courts the right to inquire or pronounce upon government proclamations on the alteration or extension of homeland boundaries.

The Bill is an attempt to force the 500 000-strong community of Botshabelo to be incorporated into QwaQwa, in spite of a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

Responding to media inquiries about the Bill, Heunis had said: "When a proclaimed boundary is changed by way of a court action with retrospective effect, the result can be administrative, political and legal chaos."

Browde said: "What the minister is asking for is a free hand to act unlawfully, unhampered by the control of the courts. If anything can lead to chaos, that can."

"Our courts have often said that every legal power must have legal limits; otherwise there is dictatorship. That is what the minister is asking for."

## Swapo appeals aired for guerrilla pull-out

*1/10/84*  
VIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Swapo military commanders' pleas to guerrillas to return to Angola were broadcast for the first time last night over Namibian radio services, and similar helicopter-borne "skysouts" are being amplified over Owambo's bushland.

Under an agreement with Angola, tape-recorded messages from Swapo's leaders are being broadcast across the territory in advance of a three-day military confinement to base offered by SA to induce a full guerrilla withdrawal from Namibia.

SA ordered the base restriction from 6pm tomorrow after Angolan officials said Swapo had complained its fighters in Namibia were reluctant to withdraw under threat of military pursuit.

Government spokesman Gerhard Roux said yesterday the Swapo tapes ordering the immediate pull-out had been handed over on Sunday.

It was not clear if UN or SA military helicopters and ground vehicles would be used to broadcast the appeals.

Officials have declined to estimate the number of Swapo fighters still in the territory, holding out for verification after this week's confinement. They say the military forces will remain in bases and SA will resume its withdrawal if Administrator-General Louis Pienaar is satisfied by UN monitors that all of Swapo's surviving fighters have reassembled behind the 16th parallel in Angola.



# Homelands united on Mandela

Political Correspondent

The leaders of all six self-governing territories are now understood to be united in demanding that Nelson Mandela be released before they will participate in the Government's national statutory forum

This emerged after the chief ministers of Gazankulu, kwaNdebele and QwaQwa met Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis last week.

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa, have already made it clear Mandela's release is a condition for their participation

It emerged from the meeting that the new kwaNdebele leader, Mr M J Mapena, is also insisting on this.

The leaders of kwaZulu, kaNgwane and Lebowa have taken the same stand.

## SA citizens need visas for Germany

All South African passport holders would require a visa to visit the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) from May 9, Lufthansa Airlines announced yesterday.

A visa would take three days to obtain, and would cost R22, the airline said.

Application forms are available from any FRG consulate.

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June 1

# United 6 calls for Nelson's release

Sowetan 25/4/87  
101  
SOWETAN Reporter

THE leaders of all six self-governing territories are now understood to be united in demanding that Mr Nelson Mandela must be released before they will participate in the Government's national statutory forum.

## Fundraise by Tutu's son illegal - claim

MR TREVOR TUTU, a Johannesburg advertising executive and son of the Archbishop of Cape Town, is believed to be acting illegally in his attempts to raise funds for Shareworld.

And it has yesterday been revealed that Mr Tutu has approached Anglo American Corporation for money.

### Donations

The director of fund raising for the Department of National Health and Welfare, Mr Danie de Waal, yesterday said as far as his department was concerned, Mr Tutu, son of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was not registered as a fundraiser.

They had not received an application from Mr Tutu to collect donations

### SOWETAN REPORTER

from the public or companies in order to raise money for Shareworld, which is R45 million in debt.

Should Mr Tutu be collecting on behalf of a company, his contract with them had to be lodged with the department before he took any action, Mr De Waal said. This had also not been done.

"At this moment, as far as we are concerned Mr Tutu is acting illegally," Mr De Waal said.

This emerged after the chief ministers of Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and QwaQwa met Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning last week.

Mr Heunis said in a statement released yesterday that the chief ministers had "re-stated their position on the release of Mr Mandela, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act."

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa, have already made it clear that the release of Mr Mandela is a condition for their participation in central government.

### Emerged

It has now emerged from the latest meeting that new KwaNdebele Chief Minister, Mr M-J Mapena is also insisting on the release of Mr Mandela.

Mr Heunis said the meeting had taken place at the initiative of the three leaders.

They discussed matters of common interest including the economic development of the regions, the report on the evaluation of the regional industrial development programme, constitutional development and "ways and means of enhancing the process of reform."

## Pick 'n Pay in wage agreement

Sowetan 25/4/87  
AGREEMENT on wages and other conditions of

1407  
355  
A minimum wage of R750 per month for the



## Clinging to failure

In the late Seventies the then Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Hennie van der Walt, solemnly announced in parliament that the policy of homeland consolidation could not be achieved. Good thinking. However, undeterred by the courts, the acrimony and international condemnation generated by removals and loss of citizenship provoked by the policy, government is at it again.

The Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, introduced recently, intends giving the State President the supreme right to alter the boundaries of any black area in accordance with homeland policy.

At the centre of the outcry around the Bill is the ouster clause, Section 2(3), which states: "No court of law shall be competent to inquire into or pronounce upon the validity of any proclamation issued under sub section (1)". That subsection gives the State President powers to incorporate and excise black areas.

The Bill clashes violently with government's reformism, and has been widely criticised. It is unlikely that the Labour Party or the Democrats will support it.

Ironically, the Bill comes at a time when the policy as originally enacted has come to the end of the road. Since the heady days of Sixties-style grand apartheid, 3,5m black people have been moved, causing loss of life, the destruction of communities, loss of land, and the wastage of cattle and resources.

Recent court rulings have successfully prevented government from incorporating certain areas under homeland rule. The Bill is motivated by two successful cases in which residents of Moutse and Botshabelo successfully opposed their incorporation into the self-governing areas of KwaNdebele and QwaQwa, respectively.

For now, government will be contemplating hard-hitting comments such as the editorial published by *Beeld* recently. The Afrikaans daily said that if the Bill is passed Botha is likely to reverse an earlier court ruling on Botshabelo and incorporate its 500 000 inhabitants into QwaQwa.

"In a democratic country," *Beeld* added, "all opinion cannot rest in the hands of one person, especially when a question as emotional as land allocation and ownership is concerned." The Botshabelo plan is a strong reminder of the unhappy events of the past when coloureds' direct access to parliament was simply taken away. "SA cannot afford a repeat of such a fiasco," *Beeld* observed. ■

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TUESDAY, 9 MAY 1989

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**The ACTING MINISTER OF MANPOWER:**

Month	Male	Female
January	40 678	15 225
February	59 547	24 177
March	51 731	18 951
April	45 721	15 696
May	45 420	16 173
June	48 421	16 479
July	52 049	16 047
August	54 882	18 451
September	58 109	19 224
October	55 819	16 806
November	54 404	15 879
December	43 235	11 139
<b>Total</b>	<b>610 016</b>	<b>204 247</b>

**Certain person: under arrest**

348. Mr J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was under arrest at any time; if so, (a) for what specified period, (b) under what circumstances, (c) on what basis was his release granted and (d) what is the name of the person concerned?

B715E

**The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.**

Yes

- (a) approximately 2 hours  
 (b) he was detained in the charge office while his legal representative made an urgent application to a magistrate for bail  
 (c) bail of R10 000 was granted.  
 (d) The name furnished by the honourable member

**Self-governing territories: size in hectares**

378 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid

What was the size in hectares of each of the

self-governing territories as at 31 December 1988?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:	
KwaNdebele:	224 632 ha
Gazankulu:	774 793 ha
OwaQwa:	115 823 ha
KaNgwane:	438 221 ha
Lebowa:	2 223 983 ha
KwaZulu:	3 243 703 ha

**Public Service officials seconded to self-governing territories**

379. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

(1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of the secondment of such officials, as at 31 December 1988;

(2) whether all posts in the self-governing territories in respect of which secondment is required were filled as at 31 December 1988; if not, how many remained vacant as at that date;

(3) whether any further secondments are envisaged; if so, how many?

B781E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:**

(1) (a) and (b) The information as requested is contained in the attached schedule.

(c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R83 081 000 for the period 1 April 1988 to 31 December 1988.

(2) No. a recent survey indicated that 1 314 of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 December 1988.

(3) Yes, should the need arise and the Department of Development Aid be requested accordingly, more officials will be seconded within the limitations of funds available.

Howard

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**Posts identified for occupation by seconded staff: 31 December 1988**

Occupational Class	KwaZulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		OwaQwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Total		
	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	
Prosecutor	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	2
Administration Officer	83	59	5	3	2	2	4	2	36	27	30	18	160	111	49
Administration Clerk	20	16	9	6	5	4	2	2	25	21	11	9	72	58	14
Artisan Staff	163	124	34	113	24	18	26	16	49	40	51	30	454	341	113
Pharmacist	49	35	1	1	8	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	64	42	22
Occupational Therapist	6	3	1	1	6	5	2	1	1	0	3	0	19	10	9
Architect	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1
Business Economist	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	0	10	1	9
Taxation Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Drilling Inspector	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Forester	5	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	17	13	4
Forestry Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	0
Forestry Scientist	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	6	5	1
Quantity Surveyor	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	2
Fireman	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Departmental Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Dietician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Director Health Services	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	3
Efficiency Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	2



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Occupational Class	KwaZulu		Lebowa		GaZankulu		QwaQwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Total		
	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	V
Economist (Agriculture)	3	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	11	6	5
Ethnologist	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1
Physiotherapist	27	6	2	2	8	5	1	0	0	0	4	0	42	13	29
Community Development Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Medical Technologist	19	6	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	5	1	26	8	18
Health Inspector	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Housemother/father	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Engineer	24	18	9	7	4	3	2	2	3	1	6	4	48	35	13
Inspector, Apprentices	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Clinical Psychologist	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	2
Agricultural Adviser	21	16	23	14	5	4	1	0	4	4	7	4	61	42	19
Agricultural Officer	12	6	41	19	9	6	5	2	21	6	1	1	89	40	49
Magistrate	31	30	7	6	4	2	5	5	9	5	4	3	60	51	9
Land Surveyor	10	7	3	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	16	11	5
Mortuary Assistant	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Social Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	3	2	1
Medical Officer	44	236	43	34	55	43	12	5	21	5	47	30	662	356	306
Medical Superintendent	33	26	12	6	17	8	2	1	1	1	4	2	69	44	25
Oral Hygienist	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Nature Conservator	5	4	10	5	5	1	1	1	5	4	6	5	33	29	4

THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

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TUESDAY, 9 MAY 1989

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Occupational Class	KwaZulu		Lebowa		GaZankulu		QwaQwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Total		
	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	V
Nature Conservation Scientist	14	10	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	18	13	5
Industrial Technician	53	20	23	16	1	0	10	6	13	5	18	5	118	52	66
Training Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Survey Statistician	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
Personnel Officer	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	6	3	3
Personal Secretary	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	8	7	5	5	18	15	3
Police Functional Staff	25	19	19	15	6	5	8	5	66	46	17	9	141	99	42
Programmer	7	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	2	1	1	12	7	5
Project Superintendent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	4	3	1
Radiographer	16	10	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	6	1	26	13	13
Computer Operator	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Accountant	22	12	4	3	0	0	5	4	16	10	6	4	53	33	20
Legal Adviser	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	7	3	4
Legal Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	6	2	4
Secretary (Head of Department)	9	9	7	6	7	7	6	5	9	7	9	8	47	42	5
Security Officer	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Labour Officer (and Media Officer)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	1	2	2
Specialist	139	88	7	2	15	12	2	2	3	0	0	0	174	104	70
Superintendent Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Occupational Class	KwaZulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		QwaQwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Total		
	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	V
Speech Therapist	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	0	10
Town and Regional Planner	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2
Regional Magistrate	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Dentist	21	20	7	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	4	2	40	34	6
Dental Technician	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Dental Therapist	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Technical Assistant	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	2
Typist/Data Typist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	2	2	6	6	0
Horticulturist	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Veterinarian	7	2	5	5	5	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	20	10	10
Animal Health Officer	7	3	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	2	14	8	6
Traffic Inspector	0	0	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	1	7	6	1
Nursing Staff	14	6	0	0	2	2	12	0	2	1	6	3	36	12	24
Food Service Supervisor	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1
Foreman General	13	4	24	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	23	14
Laundry Superintendent	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
Water Care Superintendent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Works Inspector	0	0	9	8	0	0	5	3	4	4	13	7	31	22	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 390</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>2 819</b>	<b>1 760</b>	<b>1 059</b>
CS Educator	353	244	218	188	228	173	171	126	160	144	173	129	1 299	1 044	255

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Sasol: pipeline/transport costs collected

397. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

(1) Whether (a) pipeline and (b) transport costs are collected in respect of fuel manufactured by Sasol; if so, why; if not, so, (a) who receives the benefit of these levies and (b) why?

B704E

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

(1) Yes (a) and (b)

Petroleum products are transported by pipeline, rail and road and a transport differential is calculated from the coast to areas in the interior. These areas are based on magisterial districts and magisterial districts with the same transport differential are grouped in a prize zone. There are, for example, 23 main price zones and a number of other price zones which cover the total RSA and ECOSA-countries.

The Secunda installations are situated in the interior and fuel from coal is distributed in the interior and sold at the ruling price in the area concerned. The supply area is not static because consumption increases or decreases. Fuel is also supplied to the area from the coast and from Natref. Sasol pays the real transport cost to the point of resale and would, in certain instances therefore, pay less transport cost than what is actually collected in the price. This is a location benefit. The benefit which Sasol may derive is taken into consideration of the level of production in respect of fuel production from coal and is reflected in the protection level at present.

(2) Falls away.

Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs: payment made to Sasol

398. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

(1) Whether the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs make any payments to Sasol over the next six months; if so, (a) what amount; and (b) (i) when and (ii) why in each case?

(2) whether Sasol is permitted to price its petrol as though it were an imported product; if so

B705E

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

(1) (a) No. (b) (i) and (ii) as above.

(2) Yes. Fuel prices are determined according to a formula in terms of which the landed cost of imported final products forms the base. The South African oil companies must therefore, compete price-wise with international refineries which have export capacity. In turn, Sasol must also compete with the South African oil companies and the base price is therefore the same although cost structures differ substantially and a synthetic installation requires much more capital than a crude refinery.

In order to prevent massive duplication of marketing channels, Sasol also sells its fuel to the oil companies at the ruling international price which the oil companies also get for their own production



# See homelands for yourselves Babb

By DALE KNEEN, Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa would have spent between 20 and 50 percent more money on the homelands if they had not been made independent, former ambassador to Canada Mr Glenn Babb told about 80 people at a meeting of the Institute of International Affairs.

Answering questions last night after addressing the meeting on "South Africa and Africa — a new dimension", Mr Babb said the independent homelands were generating up to 75 percent of their income themselves.

Government spending on the 10 homelands went up by more than 28 percent to total R3 588,7-million during the 1989/90 financial year and R2 795,2-million had been allocated to the the four independent states — Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

## GROWTH RATE

"Together with these amounts, all the homelands have achieved a growth rate of between four and 10 percent in the past 10 years."

He challenged critics to "go and see for themselves" the progress that had been made in the homelands.

● MR Babb said the ANC's boasts and promises had not brought about the fall of South Africa and sanctions had not stopped South Africa's economic growth, however small.

This had contributed to South Africa being seen as an essential factor in the "rescuing" of Africa and African states.

"Slowly the realisation has dawned that South Africa is not only the last resort for Africa, but is definitely part of Africa."

Seven reasons why this had happened include "our resilience", a new openness, negotiations on Angola and Namibia, changes in Soviet attitudes to South Africa, the State President's visits into Africa, the process of change in South Africa, and South Africa's insistence that African problems be solved in Africa by Africans.



S/Twas 14/5/84

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By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

FEW people outside bureaucratic corridors may have noted its birth, but there is now an officially designated Economic Community of Southern Africa — and it's six months old.

Along the way, an organisation known as Secosaf (the Secretariat for Multilateral Co-operation in Southern Africa) has been converted to the permanent secretary of SA's version of the EEC, known here as Ecosa.

Ecosa itself supplies what was previously known by a somewhat forced acronym as the SATRYC, states — South Africa and its four independent homelands, Tlopieni, Bophuthatwana, Venda and Ciskei.

### COST

All this activity has raised an old question in a new form: Is there truly a mutually beneficial trading community consisting of SA and its independent and, for that matter, self-governing homelands — or is Ecosa a grandiose appealation for a financial one-way street that is the sole way of keeping an apartheid fiction alive?

The cost of keeping the homelands in business, styled as developmental aid, has been the subject of bitter controversy in recent years. They are, on average, unable to raise quite half of their financial needs from their own resources. Irrespective of development

# SA'S OWN mini-EEC is a foundation on which PIK'S diplomats want to build

taking place in the homelands, the arithmetic of the South African commitment becomes ever more breathtaking. Spending on the 10 independent and self-governing homelands has peaked in the current financial year at R6384-million, about 10 percent of the national budget. This figure represents a 28 per cent increase over last year's amount. There are more costs attached to the homelands: The SA Development Trust which manages spending in areas scheduled for incorporation into homelands, will spend R595-million this year and R655-million will be added for the decentralisation benefits to companies who have located their plants away from industrialised areas and on the peripheries of the homelands.

The Minister of Development Aid Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told Parliament last month that the various development corporations fostered by business growth in the self-

governing homelands had so far invested R558-million there. Last year, he disclosed that SA had spent R1270-million on buying up land in efforts to consolidate the homelands. So far they have been only partly successful, as some homelands remain broken into several satellite pieces. Worse, about five percent of the money — roughly R175-million a year — given to the independent states, was misappropriated, embezzled or wasted in corrupt dealings. This amount is written off to a "learning experience" by the SA Government.

However, in these respects SA's experience with development aid reflects very much what has been happening in the rest of the world's relationship between developed and developing countries. There is a serious international debate on whether the develop-

ment aid given so far — and the manner in which it has been given — is a good thing or a bad thing. Some noted academics have shown that in almost no instance has international development aid filtered down to improve the lot of the bottom 40 percent of people in the recipient nations. The weight of the argument is swinging to the recognition that there has been much lamentable waste.

A strategy being adopted by the World Bank and other international agencies is to earmark funds for specific development projects — and then to monitor the application of the funds and the completion of the projects. A similar pattern has emerged in SA. Three years ago, SA introduced a series of committees, archly called Joint Financial Adjustment Committees, to oversee the use of funds in the homelands. The committees have "financial liaison

officers" as their watchdog operators. The sheer necessity of establishing the committees took precedence over the need to maintain a political stance that fostered an image of independence for these territories. An institution central to the supply of development aid is the Development Bank of Southern Africa. As the agency perhaps most closely involved with the monitoring activities, the bank began its life with a five-year programme of capital contributions from the SA Government. When that programme ended last year, Pretoria agreed to another five-year term — but insisted this time that the DHSA raised 50 percent of its development capital needs from the capital market.

This year, the first of the new five-year programme, has begun with a R375-million grant from the SA Government. But with foreign

sources of loan capital virtually dried up, the DHSA is not going to find it easy making up the other 50 percent of its capital needs. The road to real economic co-operation leads to the SADC — the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference made up of Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi. This is a silent hope nurtured by several forward-looking SA Government planners. It is an ambition that may not be as preposterous as it might appear at first glance.

### SUCCESSSES

Already there is much under the table co-operation between SA and these countries. One of the most vehemently anti-South African among them, Zimbabwe, does about 50 percent of its foreign trade with or through SA. Emboldened by other diplomatic successes in the region, Foreign Minister Piik Botha has started talking publicly about the possibility of a regional conference. Imaginative domestic reform would have to join hands with foreign diplomacy for new economic realities such as this to have a chance — but there are serious people both in SA and beyond its borders who think the seeds of such a new beginning may have been sown.



# Lawyers slate the 'Boundaries' Bill

For 1575 1/2  
By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill is "nothing short of constitutionally subversive", says Lawyers for Human Rights national chairman Mr Jules Browde.

His comment was one of a range of harsh criticisms levelled by lawyers against the Bill, which is to be considered by a parliamentary committee this week.

The Bill gives the State President unfettered powers to incorporate communities into self-governing homelands and expressly provides that the courts may not pronounce on the validity of any proclamation by which the State President seeks to carry out these powers.

Mr Browde explained why his organisation viewed the measure as constitutionally subversive. "It exposes as a lie the Government's professed respect for legality and the rule of law," he said.

"More particularly it violates sacred principles long established by our courts and, indeed, by courts the world over.

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"First, it is the essence of any civilised legal system that all legal power must have legal limits, otherwise there is dictatorship. Secondly, and equally fundamental, is the principle that no person may take the law into their own hands."

Mr Browde observed that various Cabinet Ministers had boasted of the independence and standards of the South African judicial system. Yet, in this Bill, the Government was "seeking a mandate from Parliament to act in defiance of the law, unhindered by the 'inconvenience' of judicial control".

Lawyers for Human Rights called upon the Government to withdraw the Bill in its entirety.

Mr Geoff Budlender, Johannesburg director of the Legal Resources Centre, said that the Bill sought to "legalise previous unlawful conduct" on the part of the State President.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers noted that the Bill accorded the State President powers to incorporate areas into homelands merely "if he deems it expedient".

# We don't recognise bantustans — Botswana

Star 19/5/89

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Botswana's refusal to recognise Bophuthatswana or any other independent homeland in South Africa has been reiterated by a spokesman for the Ministry of External Affairs.

The spokesman was commenting on reports in the South African news media quoting Mr Justice M W Friedmann as saying Bophuthatswana had satisfied all the requirements for international recognition.

Approached for comment by a Botswana newspaper, the *Guardian*, the spokesman said: "We don't recognise any bantustans including Bophuthatswana. Our stand is clear."



# Homeland boundaries Bill diluted

cap times 23/4/89  
101

By MIKE ROBERTSON

THE government has backed off from its attempt to deny the courts the right to pronounce on moves to alter homeland boundaries.

But it is pressing ahead with the rest of the Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, which opposition parties have described as a crude attempt to undermine the courts.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer told Parliament yesterday that after receiving numerous representations, the government was dropping a clause in the Bill which seeks to prevent the courts from pronouncing on proclamations.

The Bill was introduced after court rulings overturning government attempts to incorporate the 600 000-strong township of Botschabelo into QuaQua, and Moutse into KwaNdebele.

Mr Meyer said the government was intent on getting approval for the rest

of the Bill, which seeks to give the State President the power to issue proclamations incorporating areas into homelands after consulting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and homeland cabinets.

Mr Meyer said the court rulings had created legal uncertainty for the affected areas and the people who lived there. In each court case, different criteria had been applied. The government could not proceed with consolidations without defining clear criteria under which they would be carried out.

Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP, Addo) said the Bill was immoral and undermined the independence of the judiciary.

He asked if this was the kind of legislation one could expect from the new leader of the NP. In that case, he said, the best South Africans could hope for would be the humane application of apartheid.

"Is this what is meant by fairness for all? Circumventing the courts and depriving the people of Botschabelo of the right to go to court?" he asked.

# Govt retracts bid to muffle courts on homelands

CAPE TOWN — Government has backed off from its bid to deny the courts the right to pronounce on moves to alter homeland boundaries.

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MIKE ROBERTSON

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Meyer said government was intent on getting approval for the rest of the Bill, which seeks to give the State President the power to issue proclamations incorporating areas into homelands after consulting with the

Minister of Constitutional Development and homeland Cabinets.

While the CP supported the Bill, it provoked furious opposition from parties to the left of government.

Peter Hendrickse (LP, Addo) said it was immoral and undermined the independence of the judiciary.

Peter Gastrow (DP, Durban Central) said that, in attempting to get approval for the Bill, government was placing a total vote of no confidence in the Supreme Court.

The Bill is now set to go to the President's Council.



The NP would advance this standpoint in the negotiation process on the road ahead, because it believed there was room for the broadening of the concept of own affairs.

He said a large variety of functions relating to whites had already been transferred to the white own affairs administration. — Sapa

## Homelands guaranteed R297m in overdrafts

### Political Staff

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has guaranteed overdraft facilities totalling R297 million to the four independent homelands over and above outstanding loans of more than R205 million.

The Democratic Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eg-

lin, said yesterday he was "alarmed" that the government had guaranteed overdraft facilities to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda of no less than R297 million during the 1988/9 financial year.

He pointed out that these overdraft guarantees and outstanding loans were only in respect of the Department of Foreign Affairs,

and not other government departments or agencies.

Details of overdraft facilities and the department's loans to the four homelands was given in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, when he replied to questions from Mr Eglin (DP, Sea Point) and Mr Ray Swart (DP, Be-

Parliament in brief

# Labour walk out of joint sitting

CAPE TOWN  
27/5/89

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## Political Staff

THE Labour Party walked out of a joint sitting all three Houses of Parliament yesterday, saying they would not vote on a bill allowing the government to change the boundaries of homelands when and how it chose.

In terms of the constitution, President P W Botha immediately instructed the House of Representatives to meet within 14 days to decide on the bill.

If they do not do so, they will be presumed to have rejected the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill.

The key issues involved are the incorporation of Moutse and Botshabelo into homelands.

In a statement issued after the walkout the deputy-leader of the party, Mr Miley Richards, said that the LP felt so strongly on the issues that it did not want to have anything to do with the legislation.

"We believe the people of these areas have demonstrated through their court actions their feelings on this matter.

"We believe it is incumbent on the Labour Party to register, in terms of parliamentary procedure, its strongest opposition to the legislation, which seeks to abrogate the sovereignty of Parliament by handing the State President the power to tinker at will with the boundaries of self-governing territories and South Africa.

"The Labour Party wishes it to be clearly understood that it refuses to be party to the adoption of measures which do not take into consideration the democratic rights of people at large.

"It draws attention once again to the immediate need for a totally new constitutional dispensation for South Africa."

Earlier, the DP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said that having abandoned its policy of forced removals, the Government had now turned to moving boundaries to move people into homelands.

He said the Government was planning to incorporate 600 000 people in Botshabelo into Qwa-Qwa without consulting the people concerned.



# SA, TBVC (101) states form community

MALEOSKOP (Eastern Transvaal) — Members of the Economic Community of Southern Africa (Ecosa) said at a conference at Maleoskop at the weekend they would see to it that their territories would not be used as spring-boards for attacks on any of the other states within the Ecosa.

A combined statement by the Ministers of Law and Order of the Ecosa States: South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and released in Pretoria yesterday, said the "historic" conference was attended by the Ministers of Law and Order of the Ecosa States.

It was arranged by the South African Police in conjunction with the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

## PLANNING

"The conference was the first of its kind since the Republics of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei gained independence," the statement said.

"The aim of the conference was to discuss aspects of mutual interest and concern as well as to embark on joint planning in respect of a wide range of topics within the framework of law and order.

"The conference underlined the fact that the Ecosa States are interdependent in respect of a large number of aspects, ranging from crime prevention to the security situation in southern Africa," the statement said.

"The Ecosa States agreed to render comprehensive assistance to each other concerning the prevention and combatting of crime as it is realised that progress and prosperity cannot be obtained in a crime-infested society."

## CO-OPERATION

As far as the security situation was concerned, the Ecosa States were determined to protect the lives and property of their citizens against attacks by revolutionary and radical elements.

"This common cause will be pursued in a climate of mutual co-operation and partnership. Members of the Ecosa will also see to it that their territories will not be used as spring-boards for attacks on any of the other states within the Ecosa."

The statement said the conference was conducted in a spirit of friendliness and good neighbourliness "and served as a new foundation stone to further good relations between the Ecosa States."

It was decided that conferences of this nature would in future be held on a regular basis. The next conference would take place in Cape Town in six months' time. — Sapa.

# Homeland

Star 1/6/89

## poor under

## 'new yoke'

By Winnie Graham

101

The poor of the homelands were being subjected to a new form of colonialism by large corporations who were making large profits renting the land and paying their labour low salaries, said Mr Catherine Schneider, the newly elected president of the National Council of Women.

Mrs Schneider and her husband, Theo, were missionaries near Giyane, Gazankulu, for 40 years, before settling in Johannesburg last year.

She said this week that the emergence of "agri-business" might seem "lovely" in that it provided work for the people in the homelands but, in fact, labourers often worked long hours in return for very little money.

Mrs Schneider has seen changes for the worse in rural communities in the far-northern Transvaal.

She said when she arrived in South Africa in 1949 the rural areas were in far better shape than they were today.

There were fewer roads then, but people grew an enormous variety of crops.

"Resettlement changed all that," she added. "The deterioration in the quality of life in the rural areas is a direct result of over-crowding which started with removals.

"There is hunger there now. Worst of all is the feeling of despair that they can do nothing about their lot."

People often complained blacks "bred too many children" but often the only affection women received came from their babies.

Birth control would only be effective once the quality of life improved, she said.



### **De Klerk to visit 3 homelands**

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk will visit three homelands this week. (101)

Mr de Klerk will visit Gazankulu today when he will meet the Chief Minister at Gyani. On Thursday he will meet the Chief Minister of kaNgwane at Louisville.

Tomorrow, Mr de Klerk will, by invitation, officiate at the official opening of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly at Lebowa-Kgomo.

The visits to Gazankulu and kaNgwane were initiated by Mr de Klerk and are of an "exploratory" nature. Visits to the other homelands are also planned, his office said in a statement. — Sapa. Star 5/6/89



101 wmail 15-22/6/89.



The harsh and barren land scarred with erosion is barely able to sustain its 'homeland' inhabitants

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG; Afrapix

EVERY day about 80 women from the village of Sunduza in Transkei leave their homes to work on repairing dongas that have scoured the land around their settlement.

Their work forms part of a "drought relief programme". Paid for by Pretoria, the scheme has just enough funds to employ 80 people from five of the surrounding villages for a wage of R60 a month.

The programme, which operates in all of South Africa's "homelands", is one of the few direct costs to the government of a policy of rural segregation which has left vast tracts of land in a state of ecological crisis.

Although no-one has ever tried to count the environmental costs of "separate development" in rural areas, the consequences are clear enough to anyone who takes a drive through South African countryside.

Borders between "white" farmland and "homeland" territory are, most often, starkly defined by the abrupt change from lush pastures to tracts of overgrazed and barren land where major features of the landscape are dongas, sheet erosion and endless rows of densely settled villages and dormitory townships.

The "homelands" occupy only 13 percent of South Africa's land and a disproportionate amount of that land is extremely vulnerable. Land shortage ranges from 0,2ha a person in kwaNdebele to an average of four hectares a person in Transkei.

kwaNdebele is almost literally an edge-to-edge rural slum; vast reaches of kwaZulu, kaNgwane and Transkei are made up of similarly congested urban townships; and Bophuthatswana and Lebowa, although densely populated, are the driest and most affected by sheet and wind erosion.

The ecological crisis that grips the land in these territories is of two types. The drier western parts of the country are subject to bush encroachment and desertification as overgrazing removes the fragile grass cover and leaves the soil vulnerable to wind and rain. Large parts of South Africa are now useless to agriculture because of this process, set in motion by forcing large populations to subsist on small pieces of land without providing effective water supply, soil conservation, tree planting and other forms of social infrastructure.

In higher rainfall areas the major problem is severe and rapid soil erosion. kwaZulu, Transkei and Lebowa each have villages located at the foot of the country's eastern escarpment and it is here that the ecological

# The Cruel Earth II

*Rural areas are traditionally sparsely populated, but the homelands are dense rural slums with too many people packed into land too dry and eroded to sustain them*

By DAVID COOPER of the Environment Development Agency

consequences of creating congested labour reservoirs on sensitive land are most starkly visible.

In Sunduza, and other villages in the district, dongas 20m deep cut through the village and its arable lands. In the Sekhukhuneland region of Lebowa, once the breadbasket of the north-eastern Transvaal, villagers have had their homes crushed by boulders tumbling off erosion-scarred mountain slopes.

Yet the soil in many of these regions can be highly stable if managed with care — if grazing areas are ensured of grass cover, and if arable land is protected by water channels and erosion banks.

But for the people of Sunduza, and thousands of families in other "homeland" villages, the erosion is a disaster. For the rest of the country's population the scenario is not healthy either: erosion from the "homelands", added to silt coming off white farmland, is clogging dams like the HF Verwoerd and PK le Roux.

How effective has the government's approach to dealing with the situation been?

Pretoria has long recognised the

problem of erosion in the "homelands". As early as the 1930s, official commissions of enquiry warned of encroaching deserts in "native reserves", as they were then called. From that decade the government tried to introduce schemes to deal with overstocking of cattle and poor land use, which they perceived to be the main cause of the problem.

After the victory of the National Party in 1948, the scheme was implemented on a large scale.

The programme was fiercely opposed because it was imposed by tribal authorities and bureaucratic officials from the top down and because it slapped tight restrictions on the number of cattle and other livestock that could be owned.

In theory, the scheme involved re-planning the physical resources of a rural village. An area of land not suitable for cultivation was set aside for settlement; the best land allocated for arable use; and grazing camps fenced off and used for rotational grazing.

In some areas soil conservation was achieved through the construction of water canals. But most schemes were prime cases of technocratic planning

that ignored the social needs of the community.

In Sunduza, for example, the betterment plan, enforced in 1962, was planned in three days and executed with similar haste. Contour banks were devised and a few constructed — they then became channels for water to scour gulleys into the hillside.

Closer settlement was implemented but the need to set up a woodlot, a crucial element of the plan, went unheeded. As a result, the hillsides around the village are now bare and the vegetation for kilometres around has been stripped for firewood. The sources of streams have been left exposed and are many are now dry — another source of erosion.

In this process of ecological degradation it becomes difficult to separate the cause from effect, effect from solution. Even though betterment is now discredited, even in government circles, agricultural officers continue to berate farmers for leaving eroded land fallow; more sophisticated academics blame it on "tribal land tenure". It is rare to see the blame laid at the door of the government that launched the policy of enforced social planning that underpins the crisis.

Little has been done to replace betterment as a solution to the devastation of the "homelands" caused by erosion. There is little state or private sector investment in social infrastructure; no organised attempt to plant trees; no effective marketing policy to contain the problem of overstocking — and some of the land with the highest farming potential is left in a cycle of deepening erosion.

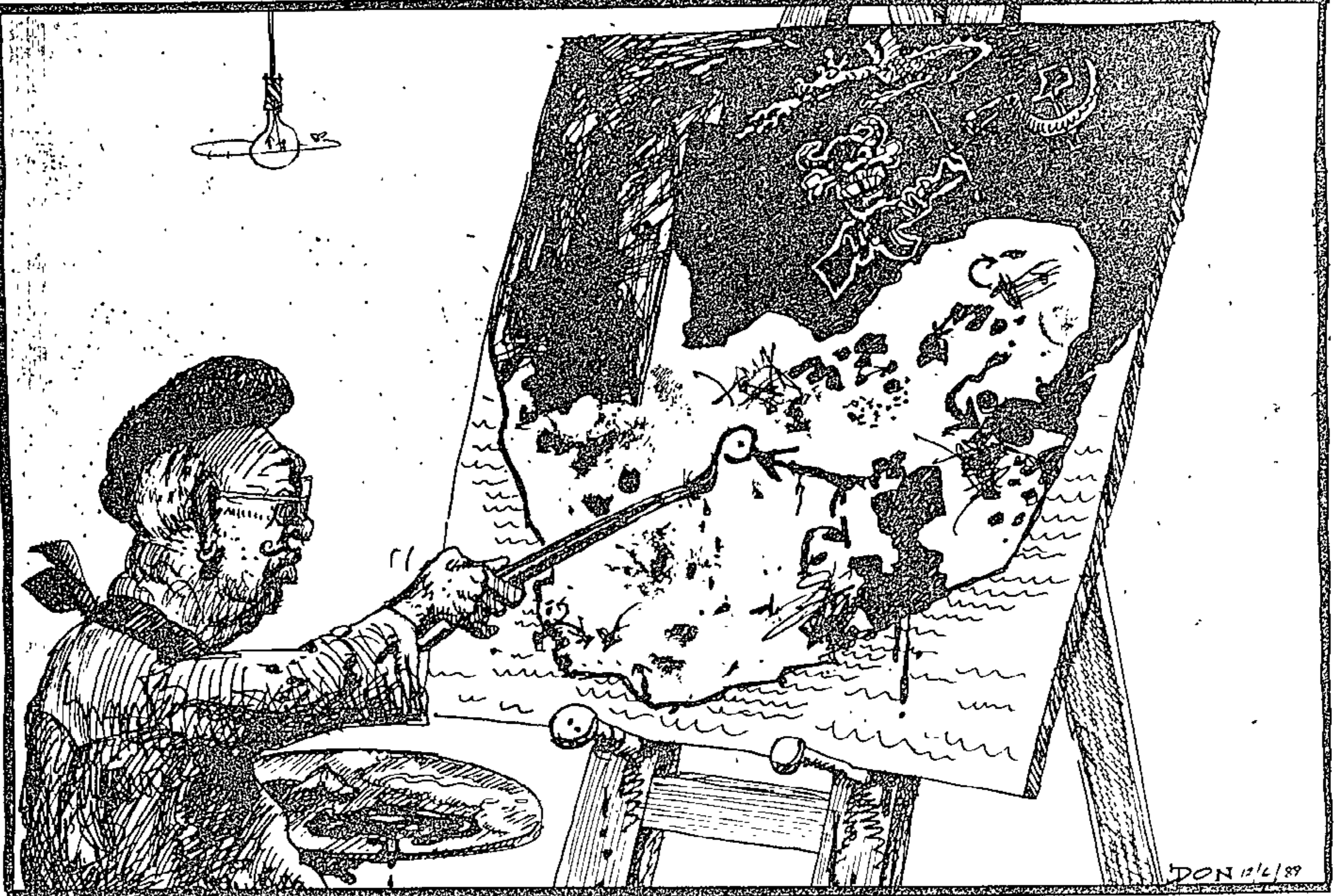
In Sunduza the work being done under the drought rehabilitation scheme is largely wasted. With a little imagination and foresight, the women who fill dongas with soil, that will be washed away in the next rains, could be building small dams for storing water, planting woodlots and orchards or reseeding marshes and veld that have been laid bare.

The "homelands" could produce 13 percent of South Africa's agricultural output. At present they produce less than five percent, mostly on heavily subsidised state-run or smallholder schemes.

Unless policies are introduced to halt the abuse of land, the notion that the "homelands" are simply labour reserves without an arable base will become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

David Cooper is an agriculturist working for the Environment Development Agency.





A CONTROVERSIAL bill which gives the government unlimited power to change non-independent homelands' boundaries has aroused a storm of protest and fears that violent conflict will follow should the bill be passed.

Critics of the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, currently before the President's Council, say the bill replaces forced removals with forced incorporation and further erodes the powers of the judiciary by removing the courts' right to review government decisions.

The bill gives the State President the right to change the boundaries of non-independent homelands by proclamation "if he deems it expedient".

The State President already has the power to change boundaries by proclamation in terms of the National States Constitution Act 21 of 1971.

But the courts have defined this power as limited, with the Supreme Court on two occasions ruling this was not an absolute power to be exercised arbitrarily.

The court said boundaries could only be shifted if this was in line with the purpose of the Act, which is to establish self-governing territories on the basis of the principle of ethnicity.

Based on this definition, the Appellate Division in a unanimous decision set aside the incorporation of Moutse into Kwandebele, while a full bench of the Orange Free State Division set aside the incorporation of Botshabelo into Qwa Qwa.

In the new bill, there are no guidelines to govern the circumstances under which incorporations take place. It is left entirely to the State President's discretion.

This means parliament has no say in the question of incorporation.

The Labour Party walked out of a

# Sidestepping the courts on 'black spots'

*A new bill, currently before the President's Council empowers the State President to change the boundaries of non-independent homelands, while sidestepping the authority of the courts. Critics of the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill say this will lead to "administrative, legal and political chaos". CHIARA CARTER examines the controversy surrounding the bill:*

joint sitting of the three houses of Parliament recently, saying they would not vote on the bill which "seeks to abrogate the sovereignty of parliament by handing the State President the power to tinker at will with the boundaries of self-governing territories".

The bill also sidesteps the authority of the courts

There is no provision for legal review of incorporations, since the bill states that no court of law can enquire into, or pronounce on, the validity of a proclamation.

According to civil rights lawyer Geoff Budlender, this means legal supervision of the State President's decisions is almost impossible, since there is no recourse to the courts, such as that successfully pursued by the communities of Moutse and Botshabelo.

A key aspect of the bill is that it is retro-active. It overrules previous findings of the Supreme Court by validating all previous proclamations, including those the Supreme Court found invalid, with the exception of Moutse.

That the judiciary is left out in the

could be no accident.

The Minister of Constitutional Development said the reason for the bill was to avoid "the administrative, political and legal chaos which can take place when a court changes the proclaimed boundary of a self-governing territory".

The legal fraternity has responded sharply, saying the bill amounts to "an attack on the law as an institution" and is "a cynical attempt to bypass the courts to facilitate forced removals under the guise of boundary relocation".

## Defiance

Lawyers for Human Rights chairperson Jules Browde said: "The government is now seeking a mandate from parliament to act in defiance of the law unhindered by the inconvenience of judicial control. If anything will lead to administrative, political and legal chaos, this will."

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) said the bill exposed the "lie of reform" since the government had "replaced forced removals with forced incorporation".

Nadel also warned that the bill meant increased violence

"Every incorporation has been accompanied by the unleashing of violence by vigilantes or homeland security forces on the residents of the affected areas. The examples of Moutse, Botshabelo, Braklaagte and Leeufontein are well known"

The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) has warned that incorporation often means violence, with homeland authorities acting as an "army of conquest".

The fears that violent conflict would result from forced incorporation are not without grounds

In Moutse, a period of violence and turmoil, in which hundreds of people were allegedly abducted by Mboko do vigilantes, followed the gazetting of the incorporation into Kwandebele in January 1986.

Moutse is specifically excluded from the provisions of the bill, pending the findings of a commission of inquiry into the future of the area.

However, Trac has warned there is nothing in the bill to preclude

Moutse being incorporated into some other homeland after the commission has reported

A joint statement issued by threatened communities earlier this year cited the case of Pecton, where people obtained a court interdict to restrain the Ciskeian police and army from harassing residents, and the case of Braklaagte, where over 50 residents were detained by Bophuthatswana police in April.

Most immediately at risk is Botshabelo near Bloemfontein, which the government wants to incorporate into Qwa Qwa

The 600 000 strong community is deeply opposed to becoming part of Qwa Qwa

In terms of the original proclamation, administrative and executive authority was transferred to the Qwa Qwa legislative assembly but the land remained with the South African Development Trust

Some services also temporarily remained with the South Africans

These included health, politics and education, because residents had previously objected to the low standards of service provided by Qwa Qwa.

Doubts still remain over Qwa Qwa's ability to administer Botshabelo which, experts say, will be larger than Soweto by the end of the century.

"The bottom line remains Qwa Qwa's inability to run and develop an urban township the size of Botshabelo," a Trac spokesperson said

Also under threat are many communities in conflict ridden Natal.

Past attempts to incorporate the Durban townships of Chesterville and Lamontville as well as Hamhathi on the North Coast into Kwazulu met with strong resistance and violence

Freehold black communities which have resisted attempts to move them into resettlement camps on Trust land earmarked for incorporation into Kwazulu, could also face incorporation

The bill also raises the possibility of another Ingwavuma where South Africa tried to give a part of Kwazulu to Swaziland



7. *Local Authorities Capital Development Fund Ordinance, 1978 (Ordinance No. 9 of 1978) (Transvaal):*

The whole, excluding section 9.

8. *Town-planning and Townships Ordinance, 1986 (Ordinance No. 15 of 1986) (Transvaal):*

The whole, except in so far as the Ordinance relates to the Townships Board or a services appeal board.

9. *Division of Land Ordinance, 1986 (Ordinance No. 20 of 1986) (Transvaal):*

The whole, except in so far as the Ordinance relates to the Townships Board or a services appeal board.

**No. R. 98, 1989**

PASSING OF CERTAIN LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF VRYBURG IN THE PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN THE DISTRICTS OF WARBATHS, RUSTENBURG, PRETORIA, BRITS, DELAREYVILLE, MARICO AND LICHTENBURG IN THE PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL AND IN THE DISTRICTS OF EXCELSIOR AND BLOEMFONTEIN IN THE PROVINCE OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOPHUTHATSWANA

Under the powers vested in me by section 1 of the Borders of Particular States Extension Act, 1980 (Act No. 2 of 1980), I hereby determine that the land mentioned in the accompanying Schedule, situated in the District of Vryburg in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, in the Districts of Warmbaths, Rustenburg, Pretoria, Brits, Delareyville, Marico and Lichtenburg in the Province of the Transvaal and in the Districts of Excelsior and Bloemfontein in the Province of the Orange Free State, shall, with effect from 30 June 1989 cease to be part of the Republic of South Africa and shall become part of the Republic of Bophuthatswana.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Wilderness this Twenty-second day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

P. W. BOTHA,  
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,  
Minister of the Cabinet.

**SCHEDULE**

**PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE**

*District of Vryburg*

The area comprising of the following:

(i) The farm Thurso 310.

The farm Frome 317.

The farm Shepton 322.

The farm Rockley 332.

(ii) From the beacon which is situated on the international boundary between the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Bophuthatswana, where the north-western boundary of the farm Doorn Bult 552, Administrative District of Vryburg, intersects the north-western boundary of the farm Railway Strip D355; thence north-eastwards and south-eastwards along the said

7. *Ordonnansie op die Kapitaalontwikkelingsfonds van Plaaslike Besture, 1978 (Ordonnansie No. 9 van 1978):*

Die geheel, uitgesonderd artikel 9.

8. *Ordonnansie op Dorpsbeplanning en Dorpe, 1986 (Ordonnansie No. 15 van 1986) (Transvaal)*

Die geheel, behalwe vir sover die Ordonnansie op die Dorperaad of 'n dienste-appèlraad betrekking het.

9. *Ordonnansie op die Verdeling van Grond, 1986 (Ordonnansie No. 20 van 1986) (Transvaal):*

Die geheel, behalwe vir sover die Ordonnansie op die Dorperaad of 'n dienste-appèlraad betrekking het.

**No. R. 98, 1989**

OORGAAN VAN SEKERE GROND IN DIE DISTRIK VRYBURG IN DIE PROVINSIE DIE KAAP DIE GOEIE HOOP, IN DIE DISTRIKTE WARBAD, RUSTENBURG, PRETORIA, BRITS, DELAREYVILLE, MARICO EN LICHTENBURG IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL EN IN DIE DISTRIKTE EXCELSIOR EN BLOEMFONTEIN IN DIE PROVINSIE DIE ORANJE-VRYSTAAT NA DIE REPUBLIEK VAN BOPHUTHATSWANA

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 1 van die Wet op die Uitbreiding van die Grense van Bepaalde State, 1980 (Wet No. 2 van 1980), bepaal ek hierby dat die grond in bygaande Bylae vermeld, geleë in die distrik Vryburg in die Provinsie die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, in die distrikte Warmbad, Rustenburg, Pretoria, Brits, Delareyville, Marico en Lichtenburg in die provinsie Transvaal en in die distrikte Excelsior en Bloemfontein in die provinsie die Oranje-Vrystaat, met ingang van 30 Junie 1989 ophou om deel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te wees en deel word van die Republiek van Bophuthatswana.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Wilderness, op hede die Twee-entwintigste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,  
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,  
Minister van die Kabinet.

**BYLAE**

**PROVINSIE DIE KAAP DIE GOEIE HOOP**

*Distrik Vryburg*

Die gebied bestaande uit die volgende:

(i) Die plaas Thurso 310.

Die plaas Frome 317.

Die plaas Shepton 322.

Die plaas Rockley 332.

(ii) Van die baken geleë op die internasionale grens tussen die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Republiek van Bophuthatswana, waar die noordwestelike grens van die plaas Doorn Bult 522, administratiewe distrik Vryburg, die noordwestelike grens van die plaas Railway Strip D355 kruis; daarvandaan noordooswaarts en suidooswaarts met genoemde internasionale grens langs tot by



TRADITIONAL chiefs who attempted to oppose apartheid and co-opted into "homelands" structures have either been deposed, banished or sent to "rebellious chiefs camps"

A chief who has experienced "homeland brutality in its full force", first at the hands of the Lebowa government and then the kwaNdebele authorities, is Klaas Mahlangu, the second vice president of Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

Although he insists he spent a number of months in a "rebellious chiefs camp" — effectively a luxury prison — the South African Police deny all knowledge of such camps.

Mahlangu was involved in a dispute with the Lebowa government and together with many Ndebele families, broke away from the territory. The group asked Pretoria if they could form a separate "homeland" — the Southern Ndebele Regional Authority (recognised in 1971) which later became kwaNdebele.

In 1975 Mahlangu opposed the South African government's constitution for kwaNdebele and was ousted by Simon Skosana. After he was seriously wounded during an attack on his home by a group of Skosana's supporters, Mahlangu fled to Nongoma, kwaZulu where he spent seven years in exile.

In 1979 he said he was "arrested"

# Rebellious chiefs unite against 're-education camps' and exile

Traditional leaders who have bucked against apartheid have been subjected to persecution and punishment. Now the wayward chiefs are banding together and inviting other tribal leaders to join them. By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

by the South African and Lebowa police and sent to a "rebellious chiefs camp" about 48km north of Potgietersrus. Mahlangu described the camp as consisting of rondavels surrounded by an electric fence and guarded by the SAP and the Lebowa police.

"There were other people there but it is not possible to know who they were as we weren't allowed to visit each other," he told the Weekly Mail.

The "residents" of the camp were restricted to the rondavel "and if you wanted food you just had to press an intercom, then it was brought to you", said Mahlangu.

Mahlangu stayed in the camp "for some time" When he was released from the camp he was escorted back

to kwaZulu by the South African and Lebowa police

"Since I knew some of the Lebowa police I asked one for the name of the camp and I was told it was a 'rebellious chiefs camp'. For the first time in my life I learnt that there was a place such as a rebellious chiefs camp," he said

In 1984 he went back to kwaNdebele when Chief Cornelius Mahlangu asked him to return

"I contested elections in the Kwagafontein constituency. After winning I went back to the parliament in 1985," Mahlangu said

"I became aware that things had moved from bad to worse. There was this conflict over independence, so I

resigned at the end of 1985."

He was again attacked, this time by Mbokotho, a vigilante group which terrorised people who opposed independence in kwaNdebele

Mahlangu was shot in the chin. After he was discharged from hospital he was detained under the State of Emergency for three months

It was at this point that he became involved in the formation of Contralesa

Mahlangu said he did not know that by breaking away from Lebowa and engineering the formation of another "homeland", he was "creating yet another apartheid structure"

"When I was still growing up, I did not even know about the existence of

the democratic structures," he said "You know, I did not know that participating in 'homeland' administrations was furthering apartheid, but I do not regret my past because I can now look back and say 'I have had enough 'homeland' experience'"

Contralesa vowed, at their first congress held this month, to organise chiefs so they identify with the national democratic struggle and resist co-optation into apartheid structures.

According to the organisation's projects co-ordinator, Samson Ndou, the need for a democratic structure which would return chiefs to their own people instead of being turned into "state agents" arose in 1986 during riots in kwaNdebele where people resisted Pretoria's attempt to grant independence to the "homeland"

After several sub chiefs were forced out of the "homeland", the "mass democratic movement" (MDM) helped found Contralesa which would enable chiefs to jointly fight against victimisation and co-optation into "apartheid structures"

Formed in September 1987 Contralesa comprised mainly chiefs from kwaNdebele, Venda and Gazankulu

Later, said Ndou, the organisation expanded to include members from all regions in South Africa where chiefs still played a leading role in community activities

Ndou said chiefs had been turned into "tax collectors and senior policemen" for the "homelands" commissioners

Recently the paramount chief of the Taung region in Bophuthatswana, Sam Mankurwana, was deposed. According to Ndou, Mankurwana had 15 sub-chiefs under him

"The only crime 'Chief Sam' committed against the Bop government was to consult his people before he could allow them to do anything in his region. If the people said no, he went to Mangope and told him 'my people say no'," Ndou said

Another issue of major concern to Contralesa was the low wages paid to chiefs — despite the traditional leaders being forced by the "homeland" governments to collect large sums of money from the local population

Approached for comment the SAP public relations division in Pretoria said "The so called 'rebellious chiefs camps' is situated in an area so vaguely described that meaningful enquiries are impossible to make. However, the South African Police know of no such place as that described in your message"

"There are also no such people being guarded jointly by the SAP and Lebowa Police. The SA police know of no other such camps in the Republic of South Africa"

## Contralesa man lives in fear

By VUSI GUNENE

AN executive member of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), Siphwe Thusi, fears his life is in danger following an attempt last week to abduct him

Thusi successfully thwarted an attempt by a vigilante group to kidnap him from his home in Soweto's White City Jabavu

In an interview with the Weekly Mail this week, Thusi said he was returning from a meeting after midnight last Monday when he saw two black men at the gate to his home. They were wearing balacavas. Inside the yard he saw a white man

"I flashed the headlights of my car on to the two men waiting at the gate. They seemed confused by this. The white man beckoned to a combi that was parked metres from the gate. I then realised they must be vigilantes."

"I swung my car (around) and sped off. The combi gave chase and for nearly 10 minutes it was a life and death chase on the streets in the area until they lost trace of me after I had decided to switch off my lights"

Thusi said he believes the men would have killed him.

"They took me completely by surprise. I now fear there might be a hit-squad with a hit-list prowling the streets of Soweto"



A funny thing happened on the way to the opera ... Anti-apartheid demonstrators protest against FW de Klerk's visit to Britain last week

Picture INGRID GAVSHON. Photo Co-op

## Newspaper prosecution threatens 'a form of censorship'

NEWSPAPERS beware — "Stoffel Botha may no longer be clamping down on you but police action against newspapers is saying we are here to keep an eye on you"

This is the feeling of acting editor of the New Nation, Gabu Tugwana. He was referring to the frequent visits received by newspaper editors from the South African Police, who threaten prosecution under Emergency regulations and other laws, but in most cases don't follow up the threats

The Natal Witness, the New Nation, the Weekly Mail, South, Vrye Weekblad, the Sowetan and the Star have had visits from the police.

The pattern has been that editors are visited by the police, who say they intend opening a docket. The editors then make statements concerning the

Weekly Mail Reporter

charge and then do not hear from the investigating officer again — until the next visit. Very few prosecutions follow, but one former editor is due to appear in court next month in connection with an article published in May last year.

Dockets, editors say, are usually opened six months to a year after the relevant article is published.

The editor of the Natal daily newspaper the Natal Witness, Richard Steyn, said he had had to deal with 14 such cases in the last two years.

Eight charges had since been withdrawn. Six other dockets, four in terms of the Emergency regulations, one under the Internal Security Act

and one under the Police Act, were still pending

Steyn said. "It's a form of pressure which affects the future content of the newspaper — an effective form of censorship."

The New Nation has been threatened with seven prosecutions, none of which has reached court. Tugwana said only two had been followed up one related to an alleged contempt of court, the other concerned the Official Secrets Act. In both cases the attorney-general declined to prosecute.

An article in the Star in February said the newspaper had been threatened with three prosecutions — under the Prisons Act, the Police Act and the Emergency regulations

Eleven dockets in terms of the me-

dia Emergency regulations have been opened in connection with articles in the Weekly Mail, and although statements have been made, no prosecutions have followed. One charge has been dropped

Editor of Vrye Weekblad Max du Preez last week received a suspended sentence for contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting, indirectly, African National Congress national executive member Joe Slovo

Shortly after the trial ended police informed Du Preez three charges under the Emergency regulations were being investigated against the paper

Transvaal attorney-general Don Brunette said sometimes the police gave warnings concerning certain articles, and did not pursue the matter if they were satisfied that the offence was not being repeated

He added prosecutions did not result either because the state did not believe there was sufficient evidence or felt it was not worth pursuing.

Captain R Bloomberg, of the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria, said: "The police investigate the matter and the dockets are then forwarded to the attorney-general's office. It is left to that office to decide whether to prosecute or not."

Cape Town based South newspaper, which faces six charges, has been summonsed to appear in court

Its former editor, Rashid Sera, is to appear in court on July 17 in connection with an article on school boycotts in the Western Cape.

## State re-opens trial of Weekly Mail picketers

CHARGES against eight people, who protested against the suspension of the Weekly Mail last year, have been reinstated after being withdrawn early in June.

One of the eight, Association of Democratic Journalists' national co-ordinator Libby Lloyd, alleged the case was being re-opened because the accused were suing the state.

They are claiming damages of R12 000 each from the minister of law and order for unlawful arrest and detention under the Emergency regulations.

According to the Transvaal attorney-

Weekly Mail Reporter

ney-general's office, Lloyd and fellow protesters Laura Best, Cornelia Scholtz, Helena Saayman, Minette Carstens, Kerry Harris, Patrick Malewa and Zac Rantsedi, are expected to appear in court on September 18. They face charges of holding an illegal gathering in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Willem van Heerden, of the attorney-general's office, said yesterday that the trial was to be re-opened "because there is a case against the eight".

"The case was just withdrawn for practical reasons," said Van Heerden, "and it has now been re-opened and the matter has already been placed on the court roll."

The charges were dropped on June 1 after the eight had made their fourth appearance in the Pretoria Regional Court.

They were arrested on November 4 last year in Sunnyside, Pretoria, while picketing against the month-long suspension of the paper. They were held under Emergency regulations for four days at Pretoria Central Prison and Sunnyside police station.

email 30/6-6/7/89





Development Bank finances 152 projects

# Loans top R1bn mark

R1bn 31 1981

THE Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) approved loans of more than R1bn in the year to March, its annual report says.

The year also marked DBSA's preparation for the first time to actively raise loans on the local and international capital markets in the current year.

Loans for 152 projects were approved, representing a financial commitment of R1.1bn and bringing the bank's total contribution to projects over its first five years to R3,8bn.

In addition, 561 projects, representing an estimated future commitment of about R3,2bn, were still under consideration at the end of the financial year.

The DBSA supports economic development through loans for projects that advance the development of communities and regions in southern Africa. It also provides advice and support for structural economic reforms, development policy and planning and project research.

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

Chairman Simon Brand said it had become clear that the services the bank rendered did not consist only of financing individual projects.

The DBSA had been able to use projects it supported as vehicles for the introduction of policy changes which promised to contribute towards a more effective use of resources in furthering the development objectives of its borrowers.

## Reforms

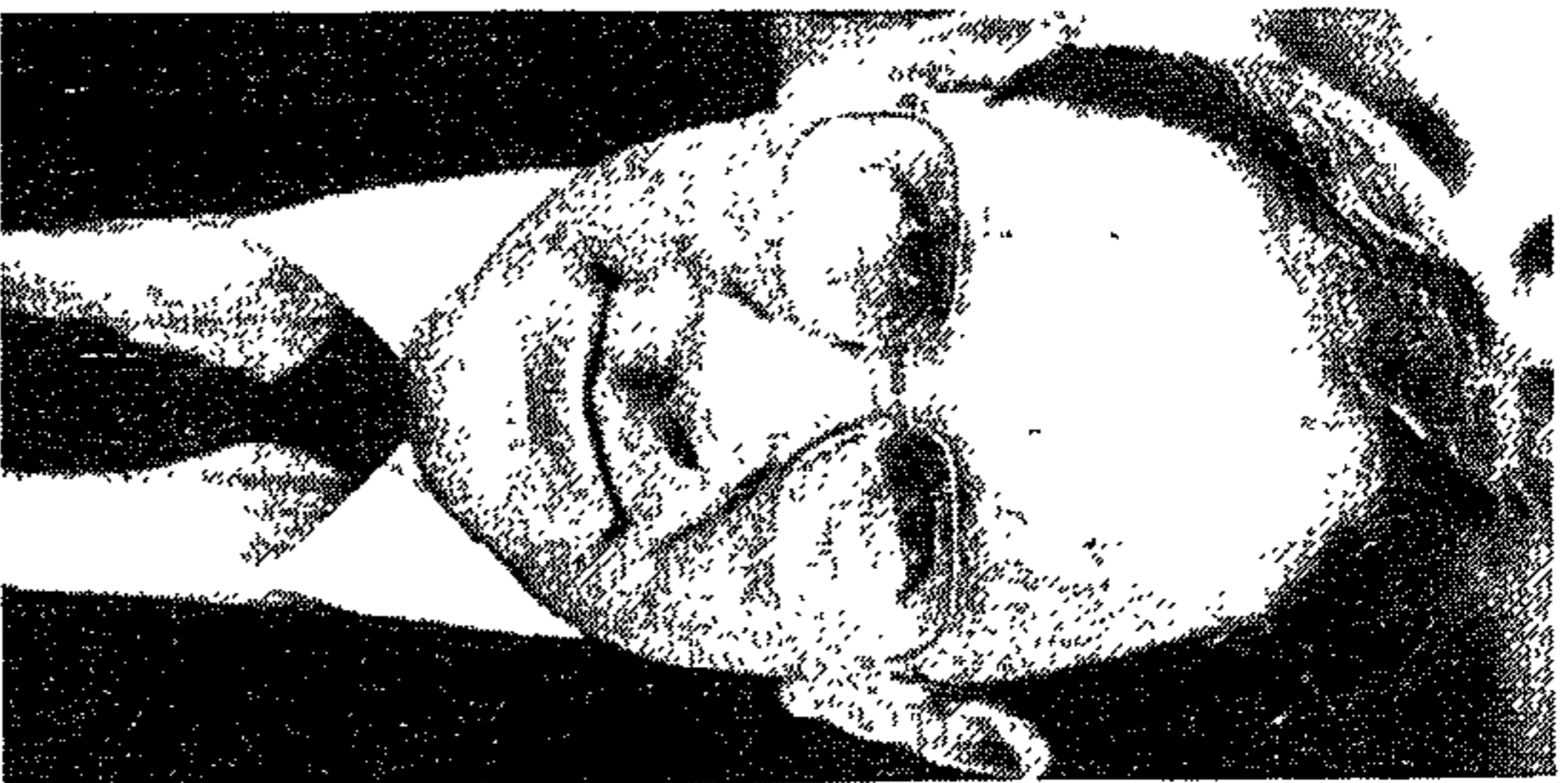
Examples of such policy changes were the acceptance of the principle of user charging for services and its step-by-step introduction by participating governments, and an increased emphasis on support for emerging individual initiative instead of large-scale state-supported enterprises in different economic sectors.

The bank had become increasingly involved in giving advice on and support for structural economic reforms, encompassing aspects such as economic development policies and planning, institutional development and the introduction of effective financial and management systems.

Brand said the bank's role in Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei had been formalised in the Joint Financial Adjustment Programmes introduced for each of them.

Similar advice and support had been provided to the governments of self-governing territories in SA and to emerging local authorities.

"Over the past five years a clear shift in emphasis has taken place in the overall activities of the bank towards these kinds of services, contributing significantly towards a more favourable environment in which the bank can carry out its support for development projects," he said.



● BRAND



# The bank that puts cash behind reform policy

ONCE an institution providing aid to the "homelands", the Development Bank of South Africa has become increasingly involved in the state's reform policy, funding rural and urban projects which have major social implications.

The DBSA's 1988/89 annual report, released last week, provides an insight into the bank's expanding activities.

It is currently funding several projects in urban areas which reflect important shifts in government policy. Central to these is the upgrading of selected townships. And a new trend is the encouragement of private sector initiatives in areas previously dominated by state institutions.

Reflecting the DBSA's changing role, the allocation of its resources has shifted. The proportion of its funds going to urban development has increased from five percent at the end of its first financial year in 1983 to 16 percent after five years, while the share allocated to rural and agricultural development has fallen from

**Once the bank for 'homelands', the Development Bank is increasingly involved in the upgrading of townships in major areas, reports HILARY JOFFE**

17 percent to 11 percent.

It now spends the largest portion of its funds on bulk infrastructure development — 42 percent compared to 29 percent at the end of its first year.

The bank's total contribution to approved projects has risen to R3,8-billion, from R682-million after its first year.

In his chairman's report, Dr Simon Brand says the DBSA exists because of the "unacceptably large differences in the quality of life, access to economic opportunities and control over economic resources between different regions and different sections of the population of Southern Africa". This requires more equitable access to resources and support for a sustainable development process, Brand writes, which will benefit particularly "those



**Dr Simon Brand**

communities that have been bypassed by the past patterns of economic growth".

Interventions should include influencing policy, as well as providing resources.

The DBSA also considers it part of its mission to intervene in ways which "mobilise private resources rather than simply extend the role of the already overburdened public sector", Brand writes.

The DBSA's support for private sector initiatives in urban areas, outlined in the report, includes:

- Privatisation of electricity distribution in kwaNobuhle. The bank is footing R25-million of the total R38,9-million bill to electrify the Uitenhage township. Its investment is in the kwaNobuhle Electricity Supply Company, a joint venture by multinational companies in the area and Eskom, which will provide the electricity, in effect bypassing the local authority.

The report describes the project as "having a major potential impact, highlighting the principles of the privatisation of a trade service with full community support".

- Assistance to the Small Loan Company, formed by the Urban Foundation to provide housing finance to lower-income groups who do not have access to conventional sources of finance. The DBSA is assisting with the pilot study for the project, providing R1,5-million of the total cost of R2,2-million.

- The provision of infrastructure, through private sector participation, for Potsdam in the Ciskei, at a total cost of R15,7-million. DBSA is financing the Masizakhe Utility Com-

pany to the tune of R15-million. The project includes roads, stormwater drainage, water, electrical and sewage reticulation, sewerage disposal and streetlights.

The bank is also heavily involved in the upgrading of townships, particularly in funding bulk infrastructure.

One of the largest of its projects is the Alexandra Urban Renewal Project — supported by the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council, the National Housing Commission, Eskom and DBSA. The bank's loan to the Alexandra City Council is R54-million of the R138-million total cost of the project, which involves upgrading water, sewer, street, stormwater, electricity and ablution facilities.

It is also involved in the upgrading of townships such as Daveyton and Khayelitsha.

The bank allocates resources not only to concrete projects but also to research and policy-making efforts.

In addition, it is engaged in development work outside South Africa's boundaries, providing substantial funds to Lesotho, particularly the Lesotho Highlands project (over R1-billion).

## Sharp divide in growth rates

SHARP differences in economic growth rates in different parts of the country are revealed in the Development Bank of South Africa's annual report, published last week.

Where previously the bank provided breakdowns according to homelands, it now divides South Africa into nine "development regions", which include the "self-governing" and "independent" homelands.

Its figures show an average annual growth rate (measured by gross geographical product, GGP) of 1,7 percent between 1985 and 1989, but a one percent a year decline in per capita GGP.

Three areas of the country registered negative average growth rates in period 1985 to 1989: region B (-0,4 percent a year), which includes the Northern Cape and a part of Bophuthatswana; region C (-0,1 percent), the Orange Free State, Qwaqwa and another Bophuthatswana district; and region J (-0,5 percent), the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana districts.

The region which recorded the highest growth rate — 4,9 percent a

**By HILARY JOFFE**

year, on average — was region G, which includes the Northern Transvaal, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda. The Eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane — region F — grew by an average 3,7 percent, while the Natal, kwaZulu and northern Transkei — region E — grew by 2,1 percent.

The PWV area, including kwaNdebele and a bit of Bophuthatswana, grew by an annual average 1,6 percent.

In capita terms, however, most regions of the country recorded negative growth. This was particularly true of the PWV, where there was 4,4 percent a year population growth, presumably in part due to migration into the area, and in the Western Transvaal. Per capita GGP fell by 1,6 percent and 2,7 percent respectively in these two regions.

A Development Bank representative said its researchers had only started analysing the figures for the development regions and was not in a position to provide an explanation of their differing growth rates.

... cats, bak- ... be charged R3,70 a journey ... mated  
once they use the toll road for more ... be R10  
cession

# 101 The homeland that's rewriting the records

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau



Has the Government sneaked in a new homeland and forgotten to tell us about it? Cynics would say it is possible, given the State's record of "no-speak" when all that is needed is information.

If the State hasn't officially declared a new "state", then the Department of Agriculture and Water Supply obviously thinks there should be one. They have called it Bechuanaland.

Bechuanaland, they insist, is on the banks of the Molopo River ... a usually dry riverbed which is the border between South Africa and Botswana, which was known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate when Britannia ruled supreme.

In those days Bechuanaland was the name for not only today's Botswana, but also a huge stretch of country inside South Africa which was known as "British Bechuanaland".

The geographical descriptions fell out of general usage decades ago, but someone forget to tell public servants, whose job it is to look after the farming community of the vast area bordering on the Molopo River and stretching from Bophuthatswana's borders to Namibia.

The latest edition of the Department of Agriculture and Water Supply's publication, *Agricultural News*, has a double-page feature on research being undertaken in "Bechuanaland".

It features what is being done in the

remote areas of what official, modern maps of South Africa tell us is in fact the Gordonia district of the northern Cape. An area called Bechuanaland doesn't even rate a mention as a sub-district.

The publication even describes agriculture and water supply official Mr Japie Dry (an appropriate name for someone working in that area) as "Assistant Director: Information for Bechuanaland" and who, by some miracle of geographic convulsion, falls under the aegis of the Free State region of the department.

No one's saying if Mr Dry needs a passport as he travels to a country which doesn't officially exist ... except in the dusty archives of history.



(101) Fneil 28/7/89

THE HOMELANDS' DEBT

# The R9bn fix

Slack controls and indifferent auditing are losing billions

In the March Budget this year, more than R9bn was voted to the 10 "national states," formerly the homelands. The amount is not consolidated and details on how the cash is finally spent are woefully lacking.

It can safely be said that there is probably no one and no department in SA to oversee the billions of rands which end up in the homelands. Worse, SA has guaranteed certain debts of these territories — though the exact amounts and details are simply not available. The overall amounts are huge.

Development Bank chief Simon Brand has warned that while there has been a "tremendous improvement in management of funds," there are clear danger signals that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (the TBVC) are experiencing cash flow problems. Money available is simply not matching earlier projections — not least because public service pay increases in the TBVC inevitably follow those set in SA.

Objectives set three years ago by special oversight committees have been undermined by further structural problems: weaknesses in the TBVC tax systems, critical skills shortages and the underdeveloped nature of their economies. Independent or not, the SA taxpayer has every right to demand audited statements accounting for every cent of this money.

There are compelling reasons for explanations. One is that unnecessary stadiums, airports, ministerial buildings and other superficial symbols of independence have heightened suspicion that the money is not being well spent. Moreover, two of the 10 homelands have been the subject of commissions of inquiry. Both (Judge Sextus de Wet in Ciskei and Judge Louis Harms in Transkei-Ciskei-SA) found evidence of corruption, bribery, maladministration — and, not least, mismanagement of money.

Why have audited statements not *already* been laid before the SA legislature? Nobody has a convincing answer. Part of the reason is that the TBVC states are notionally independent — but financially deeply dependent on SA. The other homelands have devolved powers, which also are funded by Pretoria.

In the Budget, the two largest "transfer payments" (for 1989-1990) are given as:  
 □ R2,3 bn for the TBVC; and  
 □ R4,3 bn for Lebowa, KaNgwane, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele — the six self-governing states (the Six).

"Transfer payments," like the R5,8 bn special Defence account, or that for the R275m "secret services" in the Finance vote, are given no explanation in the SA Budget, or anywhere else for that matter. On the face of it, the main transfers to the TBVC and the

Six fall into the same category

However, the legislatures of the TBVC and the Six are bound to present *their* budgets and, at the end of the financial period, the Auditor-General's account. These reports are accessible to the watchdog standing committees of the SA parliament which oversee the votes for monies going to the 10 states. In theory, SA could cut these amounts off; but there is no compulsory accountability to Pretoria.

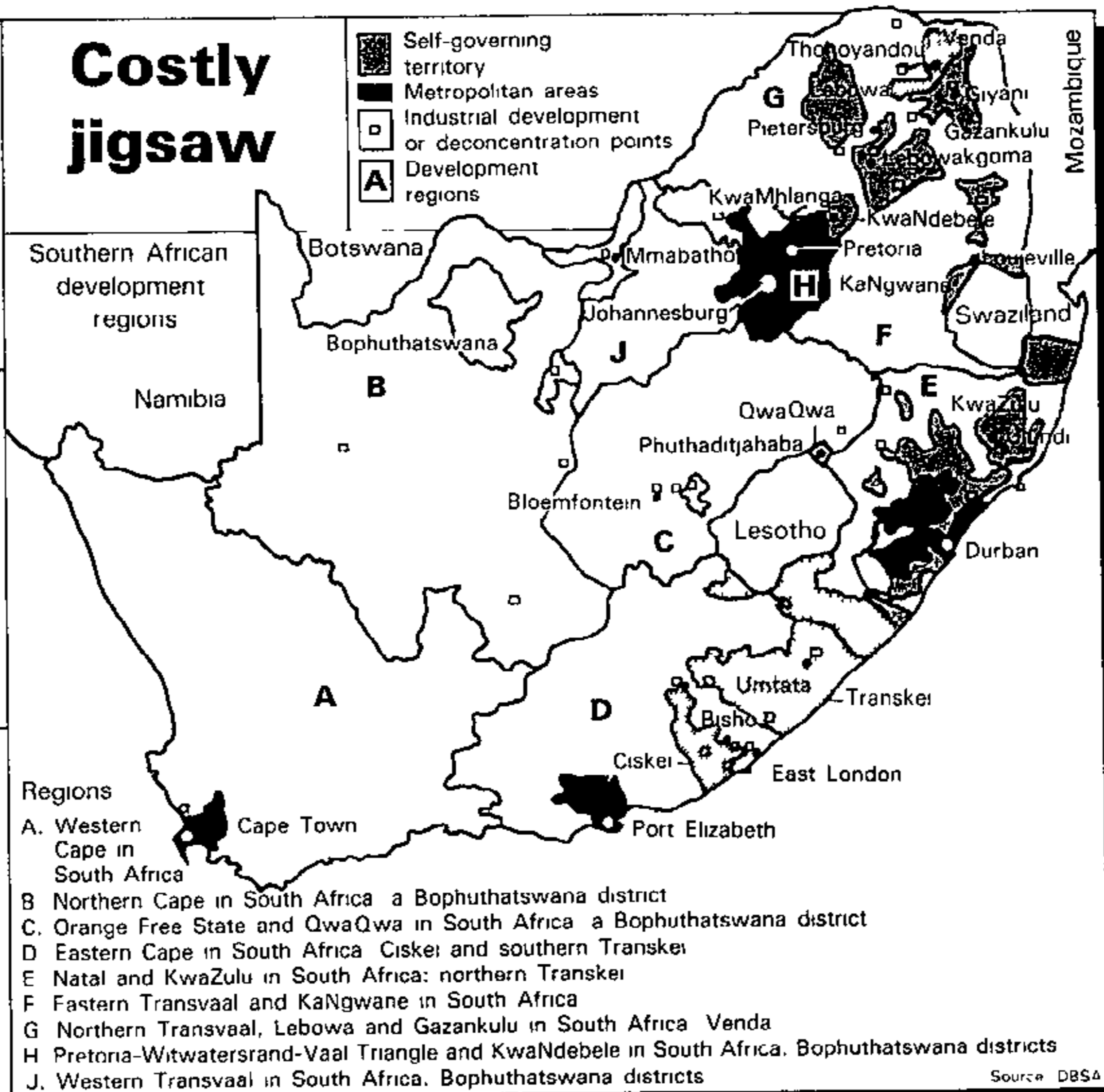
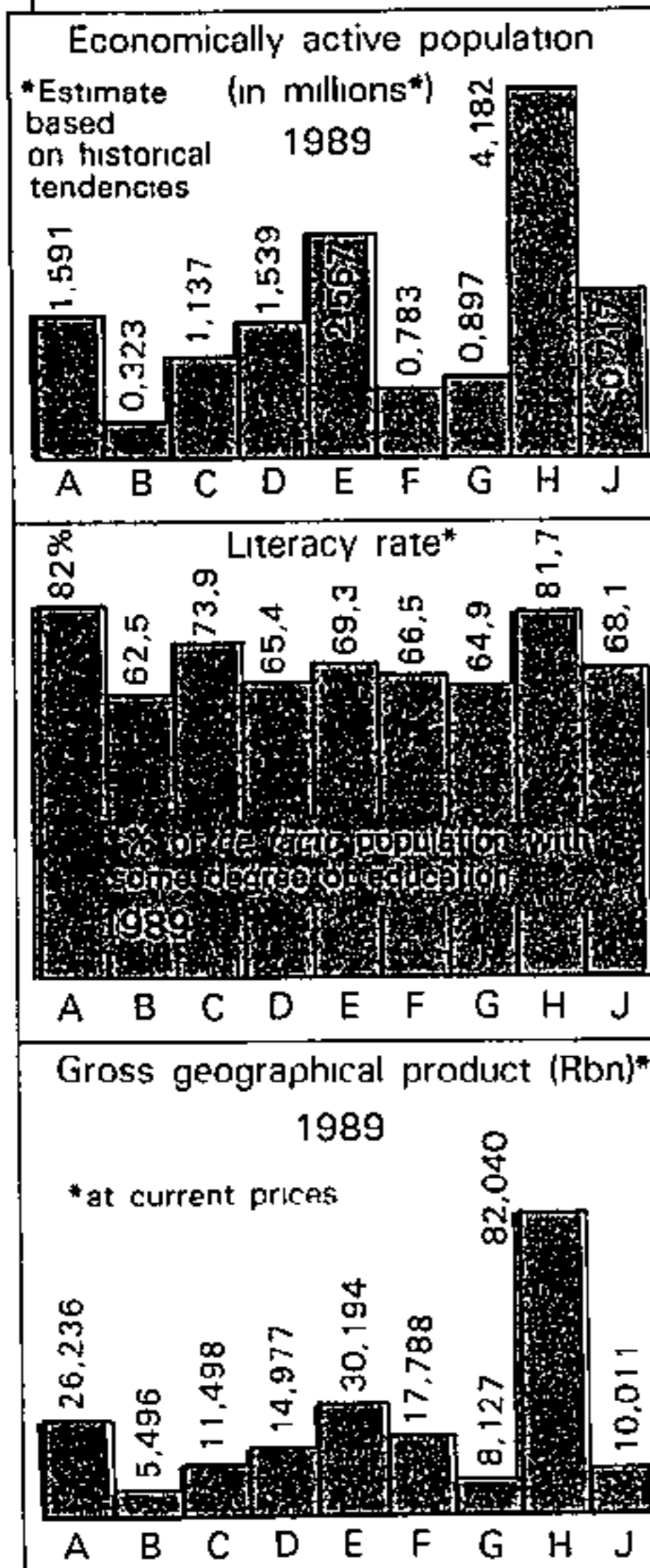
Brand argues: "Much has been learnt from the earlier problems. The reports of auditor-generals have improved considerably. The trend is towards increasing disclosure and information is being brought up to date and released quicker."

But using such accounts, the Africa Institute observed that in 1987-1988 "a minimum R175m" — 5% of SA's grants — was probably misappropriated or embezzled in the Six.

The "political donations" of SA to the homelands can be extracted from the Budget. For 1989-1990, the total — R8 512m (R6 862m), a 24% increase on last year — is not all-inclusive. And to further complicate matters, still more rands find their way to the homelands from other government votes. For example, portions of the R541m allocated to bus subsidies in the transport vote are for commuters to and from the homelands.

Moreover, according to an SA government publication, *Exchequer Personnel*, in 1987, some 165 000 people were "employed in the self-governing territories." These — 60 000 labourers, 65 000 educators, 15 000 nurses and 20 000 "others" — are paid directly from the SA Exchequer. It is not possible to trace their cost through the Budget.

It is argued that the independent homelands are sovereign states — therefore in no way accountable to Parliament. Yet SA directly contributes the highest recorded portion of the budget in each country — funds generated internally in 1986-1987 were: Transkei 24%,





J G Strijdom found itself on the chopping block in April. There are similar stories from hospitals in Natal, the Free State and the Cape.

Dwindling hospital services quickly drive patients out of public health care too. SA's whites have been making that exodus for years — more than 85% are covered by medical schemes.

But now it is blacks — tired of waiting in lines for curt consultations — who are filling the ranks of private schemes most quickly. In 1979, less than 1% subscribed to such schemes; this year that figure exceeds 6%. The schemes are under financial pressure — and the dimensions of the crisis are becoming apparent.

Clinic Holdings executive chairman Barney Hurwitz suggested in March that privatisation has kept health care cost increases below that sector's CPI. Indeed, between 1983 and 1987, those costs rose only 49,7% compared to a health service CPI increase of 96,2%. But other experts point to tremendous increases in the costs of medical schemes — from an average subscription of R17,72 a month in 1977 to R112,34 in 1987.

Even those increases hide the real costs of health care to private patients. Public hospitals provide such services as lab tests and x-rays "free" or for very low rates. At private hospitals patients pay heavily for each separate service. And, unlike public hospitals, private ones are compelled to run expensive pharmacies because they rarely buy drugs in bulk.

Government, of course, encourages the move to private health care. In April, Minister of National Health Willie van Niekerk told members of the Medical Association of SA that "a socialist health system like that in the UK is just not possible in this country." That call echoed Pretoria's 1985 demand that the private sector assume responsibility for non-statutory welfare services. But, unlike welfare recipients, most patients in public hospitals pay for services they receive through taxation. It could be argued that that is what taxation is for... but what taxpayers get is less and less.

Many blacks recover from illness on the floors of township hospitals. White hospitals do not yet have an overcrowding crisis — but many Johannesburg doctors, mindful of extreme conditions at the city's three black hospitals, are refusing to transfer patients out of Johannesburg Hospital on the basis of race.

And it's become a matter of principle. When J G Strijdom became a white Own Affairs

hospital on April 1 — requiring it to impose such a transfer policy — its more than 50 specialists threatened to resign by December.

In fact, Actstop organisers argue, General Affairs hospitals are legally required to admit patients of any population group — and cannot apply transfer policies based on race. "We simply have to tell blacks that they can legally go to the Jo'burg Gen, and these Own Affairs structures will crumble," Coovadia says. "These kinds of structures exist only as long as people accept them."

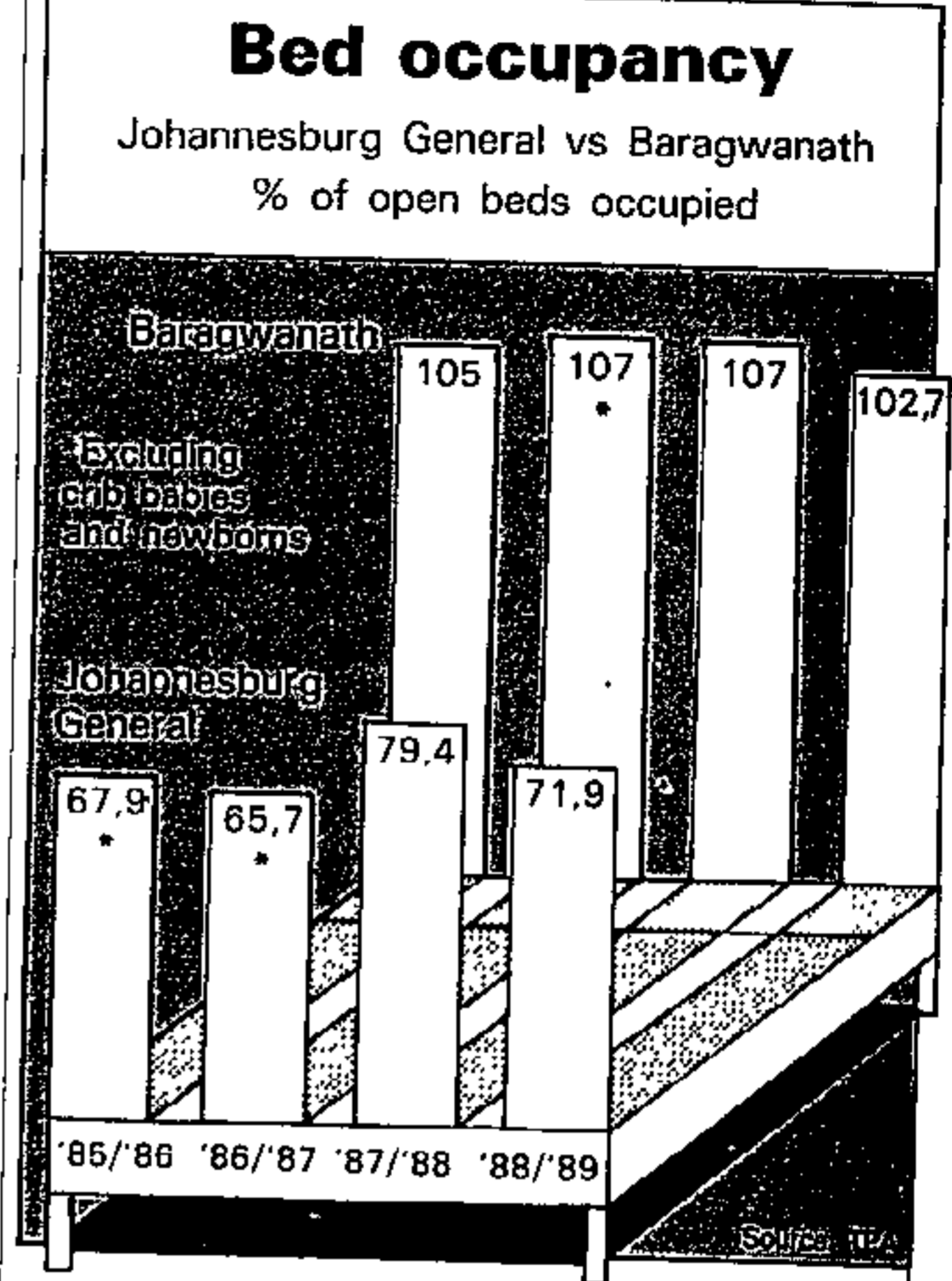
Will the walls of Own Affairs health policy crumble before an army of blacks demanding admission to white hospitals? That day might be closer than it seems. Opposition groups across the country are urging blacks to present themselves *en masse* at white hospitals on August 2. With overcrowding at Baragwanath, Hillbrow and Coronationville worse than ever, administrators will be hard-pressed to transfer these patients to any black hospital.

If this tide continues — as it one day will — white hospitals may find themselves in worse situations than their black counterparts. And simply re-opening specialised units will require repairs or replacement of equipment unused for months, at best. The administrators would then have to find a way to attract specialist doctors and nurses back to public service. Many believe such a mission would be impossible.

More serious than the damage done to the hospitals themselves is the way in which Own Affairs health care has crippled the prospects of SA's future doctors. Caught between overcrowding at some hospitals and empty beds at others, medical students complain they are learning only emergency clinical skills. Niceties like bedside manner and state-of-the-art medical procedures (such as passing laser catheters into coronary arteries) get lost in the shuffle. On a more basic level, the medical schools train doctors to deal best with First-World diseases — heart attacks and high blood pressure. Few doctors will be prepared to meet, say, floods of tuberculosis patients who are likely to soon find their way to hospitals like Addington and the Johannesburg Hospital.

One leading Wits academic believes SA medical students need at least eight years of study to "learn everything they need to know." But, he adds, the costs of such a programme would be "prohibitive."

A promising step towards solving the problems of apartheid health care is evident in the



experience of Cape Town's Groote Schuur. The hospital has integrated all its wards and has enforced rules against letting patients sleep on the floor. While nurses stream out of other hospitals, Groote Schuur reports that 70% of its intensive care nurses have actually returned from the private sector.

But success in integration at one hospital has led to other problems. Groote Schuur is one of only two teaching hospitals serving much of the western Cape.

In addition to handling Cape Town, it must also admit patients from as far away as Khayelitsha, 40 km away. The burden has become almost too much for Groote Schuur's 1 300 beds and is threatening to block the setting up of an intensive care unit there.

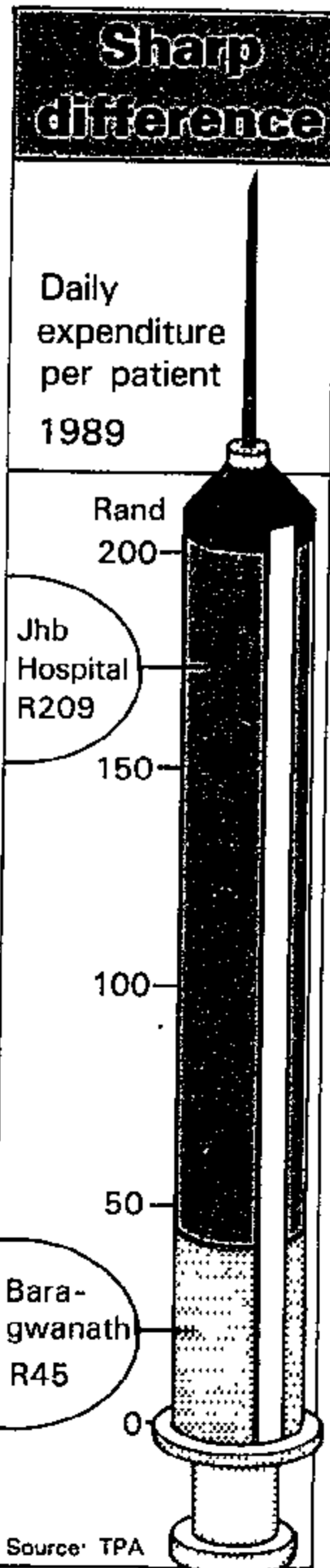
Explains one Groote Schuur doctor: "The problem SA will have to face is one of centralisation. We don't need huge hospitals in city centres. We need a network of smaller hospitals serving a larger area."

That is a suggestion the Wits Centre for the Study of Health Policy has taken to heart in its proposal that labour unions "make their own health care service." With between 5 000 and 10 000 members and dependants living close to one another, a union could stock a health care centre with essential equipment, drugs and staff.

Because doctors in such hospitals would be salaried rather than commissioned, there would be no incentive to treat patients with unnecessarily expensive operations, adding to medical inflation.

Researchers at the centre predict that such consultations would be between 20% and 30% cheaper than at most private clinics. Some unions have already expressed interest in such a plan, they say.

Ultimately, however, only a unification of health services will staunch the bleeding. In that sense, while the crisis facing SA health care is typically complex, the solution is typically obvious.





(101) final 28/7/89.

Bophuthatswana 23%, Venda 12% and Ciskei 10%.

At least the amounts given have been approved by parliament, in terms of devolution agreements and other agreements with the Six. The real problem is the amount of debt which has been accumulated by the TBVC and the Six.

A "crisis" was reached in mid-1986. Outstanding TBVC government debt, including that of State corporations, was R5bn. The combined budget deficits had rocketed from R61m in 1980-1981 to R1,3bn six years later. Bank overdrafts were R910m. Suddenly, commercial banks were no longer prepared to advance further credit to the TBVC.

The agreed reforms can be likened to the structural adjustment programmes introduced by many African countries under pressure from, and under the supervision of, the International Monetary Fund. So it was that the four joint financial adjustment committees (in Ciskei, the joint presidential committee) were established in 1986, with the Development Bank responsible for their professional and secretarial functions.

The main theoretical functions of the committees are austerity, maximising internal revenue growth and capital spending and allocating funds on a "norms and standards" test rather than on an ad hoc basis. Most important, it was agreed that the unhealthy financing of current deficits through bank

credit and loans would be terminated as soon as possible. This was done so that a stage could be reached where loans would be negotiated only for development projects — and then only through approved sources, such as the Development Bank.

While gratifying progress was initially made, some danger signals are apparent. According to Brand: "Discipline has improved, but because (the) TBVC are effectively subject to SA decisions on salary increases, while their own resources plus transfers from SA have not grown to the same extent, deficits are now tending to rise again. This is a structural weakness, with serious implications."

In his latest book, *Squandered Assets*, Andreas Wassenaar says, in a chapter on "hidden" national debt, that it includes "contingent liabilities in respect of loans of other states guaranteed by the SA government. The number and details of such loans are not stated in any government document and can therefore not be quantified." To this he adds "contingent liability in respect of the foreign debt of local authorities and public corporations — R21,1bn."

It is as if Pretoria, having reached agreement on the differing degrees of devolution, in effect said, "here's your money to develop as you please" — and walked away. This left a critical skills shortage that only now is being subjected to expert scrutiny.

Professional accountants, lawyers and liq-

uidators who have worked in the TBVC and the Six, all have their travellers' tales of mismanagement. There are glorious computer systems which have been duplicated, triplicated and worse: the abuse of decentralisation allowances; blatant rip-offs of SA export incentives (a budgeted R1bn for 1989-1990, 42% up on last year); and roller-coaster round-tripping on the commercial rand-financial rand discount.

Transkei is currently awarding large contracts in a major financial adjustment programme. It is, according to a participant, a "drive to institute effective financial control systems and cut wasted expenditure." Good, but Transkei has been "independent" since October 26 1976 — 13 years. The Six have yet to tread that path; hopefully they never will.

There is, as Brand has argued, a case for TBVC-style joint financial committees, or a "similar mechanism," to be set in place for the Six (and black local authorities in SA).

What is needed now are full audited statements of homeland expenditures. And, as important, full disclosure in SA of the debt situation of the TBVC and the Six — including Pretoria's guarantees.

In fact, given the deplorable record of maladministration, a condition of this finance should in future be accountability to the SA Auditor-General, regardless of the independence susceptibilities of the delinquent homelands. ■

('75 and '86) sent a card, as did Safouh Safadi of Syria ('76 and Labor Force and Manpower '79), Shui-Dong Hwang of Taiwan ('81), Ruth Contreras de Rodriguez of Honduras and Syed A. Ahmad of Pakistan ('83). Judy Tan of Singapore ('81) is now Senior Planning officer in the Planning Division of the Economic Development Board. Josie de Leon of the Philippines (Analysis '86), and Aminta Cardoza of Guatemala (Analysis '87) both sent Christmas greetings. Josie has transferred to a new job as Chief of the Technical staff of Philippine Senator Rav Soguisag. Rabbi Royan of Malaysia ('87) wished us a Happy New Year. Mei Kwong Wong of Singapore visited Niagara Falls and did other sightseeing after the '88 seminar. Other '88 participants who sent greetings were Jung-Tsan Wu and Yueh-chin Yeh of Taiwan and Roberto Flores of the Philippines.

Many persons who visited BLS for Special Programs remembered us at the New Year. Cards came from Narumol Dharmaraksa of Thailand, Ruben Espiritu of the Philippines ('56) now retired, H. Necdet Uzuntas of Turkey now in private industry, Ismail Arman of Egypt ('82), and Won-Duck Lee of Korea ('88). Takashi Sakuma of Japan visited Canada in 1988 as a member of the Japanese delegation to the Economic Summit. S. Narayanan of Malaysia ('86) has retired from the Malaysian Employers Federation but wrote about the benefits of the special BLS seminar on Productivity held in Malaysia last year. Christmas greetings were also received from Yang Shuzhuang, Su Guoyin and Meiyi Cao, Special Program participants in 1986 from the People's Republic of China. OSHA Special Program ('87) participant Clever Makaza of Zimbabwe sent holiday cards to the staff and John Winson of South Africa (Special Program '87) also sent greetings.

We enclose three articles which may relate to your work.

Ronald E. Kutscher and Constance E. Sorrentino, "Employment and Unemployment Patterns in the United States and Europe 1973-87"

Penny L. Asbury and Carl Barsky, "Evaluation of mean wage estimates in the Industry Wage Survey Program"

Walter F. Lane and others, "Adjusting the CPI shelter index to compensate for effort of depreciation"

#### NEWS ABOUT US

We will be busy in the weeks ahead getting ready for the 1989 seminar year. Already we have installed a new interpreter system and have received new tables for the seminar classroom. The Labor Market Information seminar begins early, on February 13, followed shortly by the Occupational Safety and Health Statistics and Programs seminar on February 27. A new seminar, Economic Indicators, begins March 13. All these seminars and others for the Spring are described in the enclosed brochure. We look forward to seeing you or your colleagues in these seminars.



8/Day 24/9/87

# Step at a time is how bank looks to the future

THE Development Bank of Southern Africa, which became operational in 1984, is the major agent for multi-lateral co-operation and development in the region spanning South Africa

This includes the six self-governing states of Lebowa, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane and the TBVC countries, (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei)

The SATBVC countries are the original shareholders of the bank, while provision is made for membership of any independent state in South Africa

The bank's borrowers are both governmental and non-governmental development agencies in southern Africa and, after initially concentrating mainly on supporting development in the TBVC countries and self-governing territories, the bank has become increasingly involved in support for development in the less-developed urban areas of SA.

## Involved

The bank is now also involved in neighbouring countries such as Lesotho and Mozambique

Projects in which the bank is involved include urban development in Alexandria, Bisho, Daveyton and Vosloorust, the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, various farm support projects and industrial, human resource and small business development projects in the eight development regions

In the five-year period to June this year, the estimated total investment value of bank-supported projects amounted to R8bn, compared with R2bn in its first year of operation

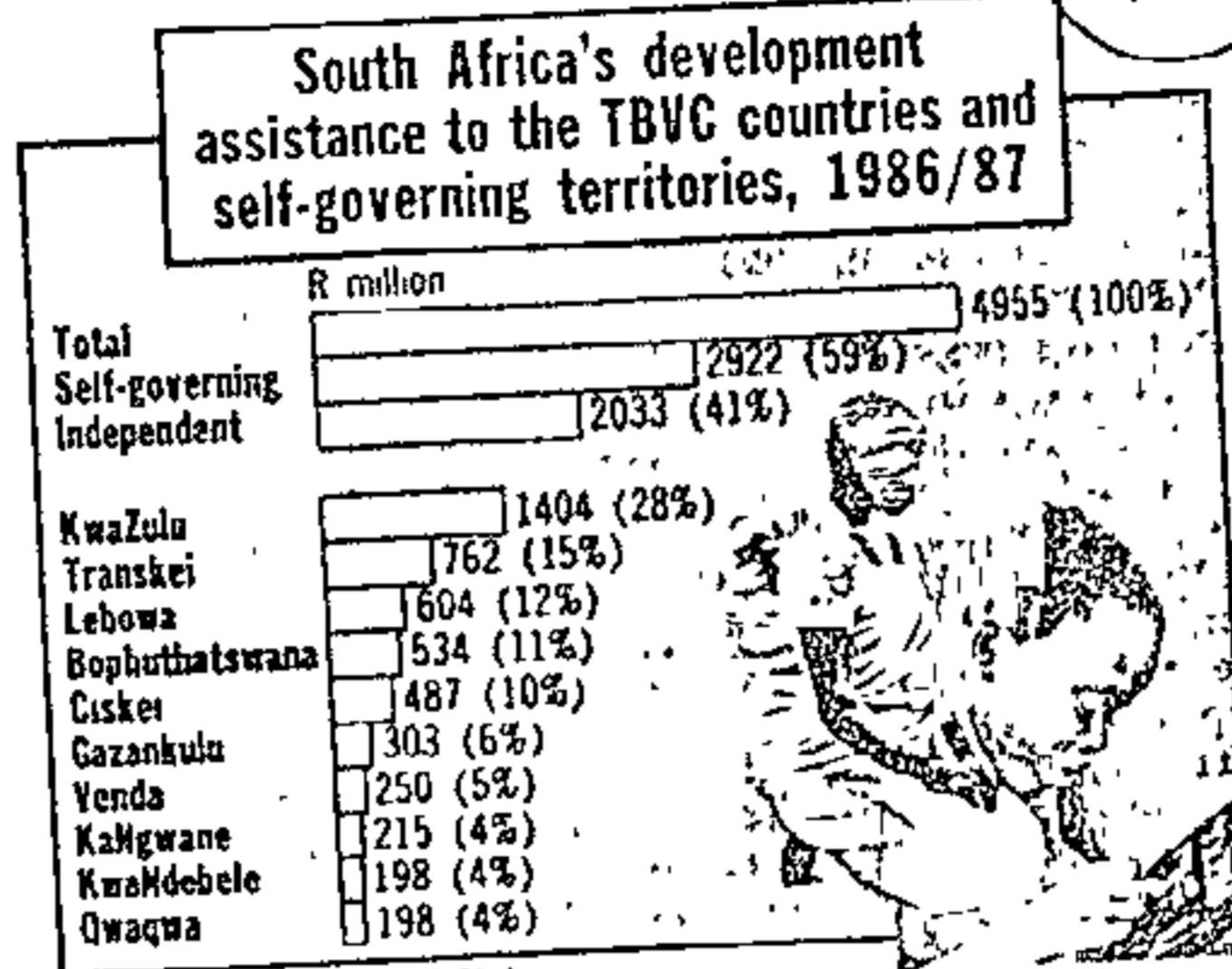
The number of projects covered by this investment is 1 175, compared with just 272 projects in 1984

During the past financial year 152 projects, representing a financial commitment by the bank of R1bn, were approved

The cumulative total financial contribution committed by the bank to projects over the first five years is almost R4bn

Although by virtue of the size of its economy, SA must be the major contributor to the DBSA's Development Fund the bank guards its autonomy as a financial and political decision maker

None of the member country governments have any say in the day-to-day



running of affairs, and its board has a strong private sector representation

In addition, the bank is happy to undertake development aid in conjunction with other world development agencies and is raising about R500m on local and foreign capital markets to supplement its funding resources

Loan servicing by borrowers does form a significant part of the bank's cash flow. The operating surplus for the current financial year of R34m indicated its ability to cover recurrent expenditure from operating income

DBSA chief executive Dr Simon Brand is hopeful of a gradual increase in infrastructural development programmes for the whole of the southern African region but emphasises that this has to be taken a step at a time

He does not underestimate the extent of distrust among lesser developed countries in the region towards South Africa with its economic strength.

## Power play

Fears of political and economic power play are true in any economic grouping of countries. Canada, for example, fears the US. No formal 'common market' can work if this is the case

"The answer is to avoid taking a total view. Instead, we have to take our place with other development agencies on a piecemeal basis on individual projects -- on the Maputo Corridor development, for example. There need be no umbrella organisation

The South African Customs Union involving the BLS countries has been a relatively successful example of co-operation in the region. But the formula could probably not be extended

"Some time in the future, given greater political stability, there could perhaps be a development bank which could serve the entire region -- not necessarily this one

However, as an institution with an important part in the region's future, the DBSA certainly looks beyond the existing status quo

"In general terms, we see agricultural development as an alternative to decentralisation of industry in many regions

## Infrastructure

"Financing infrastructure such as roads, electrification and so on is important to our programme of development but we try not to extend capacity too far ahead of the industrial or other economic development that goes with it

"We don't want to get our borrowers into unprofitable situations, and building infrastructure 20 years in advance can easily create a white elephant

"We prefer to look at projects in phases. In the early stages, a dirt road may do until more users come and the traffic demands the tarred road

"Development in an almost totally undeveloped area has to be realistic. A tap in every home is a wonderful ideal, but sometimes the starting point has to be a tap in every village

"A point worth making is that many small projects may have a wider development impact than a few really big ones.

"There is a tremendous need for development in the DBSA's present area of activity in SA's lesser developed areas, as well as in the self-governing territories. There is no shortage of work to be done here so we should be a little careful before we bill ourselves as the saviours of the rest of Africa"



B/Duy 26/9/87

# Policies fail to tackle SA's serious poverty



DEVELOPMENT and decentralisation policies to stimulate less developed areas in both the Republic and the self-governing and independent states had failed to tackle the problems of "serious poverty", according to a study conducted by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in 1985.

After two decades of development efforts, the gap between metropolitan areas and poverty-stricken less-developed areas is even wider than before with 80% of families living in these "outer peripheries" earning less than the minimum subsistence income. This population is still dependent on income earned in the metropolitan core areas and this dependence increased over the 10 years to 1985.

## Population

There is still a lack of access to basic services such as health, fresh water, education, transport and communication - in most cases to an even greater extent than previously through population growth.

The study notes that "the high incidence of malnutrition and nutritional diseases and the infant mortality rate of 130 per 1 000 births in Transkei, amongst the highest in Africa, all bear further witness to the extent of the poverty that exists in these areas."

Sustained population increases in the rural areas have over-extended agricultural resources with the result that per capita agricultural production has declined.

The most serious development needs in the SADA region are believed to be in Transkei, Ciskei, and in the southern areas of the eastern Cape, followed by northern Natal and Kwa-Zulu, northern Transvaal, Venda and parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu.

According to the study, such "serious imbalances in the form of enormous personal disparities" reflect

not only the pattern of growth in the modern sector, but the effects of socio-political policies adopted by the authorities - particularly migration, settlement and "controls on the locational choices of blacks" which prevent inflow and outflow both of labour and population.

"Economic activities and the population are more widely dispersed than they would have been had economic forces alone dictated the spatial patterns," conclude the authors.

"Despite the resources allocated to the reduction of spatial imbalances over the past 20 years, the general pattern has remained largely unchanged. In fact, the most significant change has been the rise in the share of population living in outer peripheral areas without a commensurate rise in its share of gross geographic product or income."

"It must be concluded that in the past, regional policy - given the extent of poverty, unemployment and under-employment - has made no significant contribution to the development of the SADA in general."

The paper attributes the failure - even of the most recently adopted regional policy and decentralisation incentives - to

- political motives which led to the identification of too many, often badly situated "growth points".

- contradictory effects on regional equity of migration and settlement policies affecting black people, and
- an inadequate conceptual framework.

The 1982 White Paper on industrial development policy, while it is acknowledged as more economically realistic than previous policies, is found still to fall far short of what is required of an effective regional development policy.

New thinking internationally on development of LDC's - less developed countries - demands a new approach.

There has been increasing realisation that policies adopted in the past two dec-

ades encouraged economic growth but did not succeed in bringing about social development.

In newly industrialised countries such as Mexico, Brazil and India, there is still a highly uneven distribution of income and economic activity, with a "trickle-up instead of a trickle-down effect", suggesting that industrial growth can in fact increase polarisation between rich and poor.

The "dependency theory" that the economies of LDCs are dominated and exploited by DCs and that there is a net transfer of resources from LDCs to stronger economies has relevance to both the SADA and the position of SA in the southern African region.

The writers of the DBSA study highlight some trade-offs of decentralisation and job creation. The existence of dualism in the economy means a natural outflow of labour from the least-developed regions, reducing their development potential even further.

On the other hand, while there is some logical economic reason for spatial concentration of economic activity, the dispersal of this may reduce productivity and growth overall.

## Programmes

Promoting the development of the less-developed sector is therefore no simple matter - many programmes will have to be specially designed without readily available personnel and economic returns are likely to be uncertain at best.

The DBSA paper essentially calls for a new development approach, called the NDA. Saying that "it is increasingly clear that development cannot be narrowly focused on economic development alone", the NDA calls for a wider more "people-orientated" approach which puts "first things first" and starts with the satisfaction of basic needs.

The main thrust of development of less-developed

Region Country Territory	Total GDP at current prices			Real growth rate	
	1970 Rm	1980 Rm	1986 Rm	1970-1980 %	1980-1986 %
MALAWI	193	873	2 497	6.2	2.4
ZAMBIA	1 156	2 805	3 791	0.8	-0.1
BOTSWANA	56	600	2 610	14.3	11.9
LESOTHO	48	264	522	7.2	0.9
SWAZILAND	73	465	430	4.4	-
MOZAMBIQUE	1 285	2 849	9 761	-1.0	-9.0
ANGOLA	1 098	3 943	10 966	-5.2	-
ZIMBABWE	1 011	3 903	11 214	0.8	2.6
NAMIBIA	336	1 444	2 929	1.7	-0.6
SOUTH AFRICA	11 532	55 155	120 928	3.3	0.9
Lebowa	39	205	718	4.1	7.4
Gazankulu	9	75	330	11.3	12.2
Qwaqwa	1	27	187	21.3	20.2
KwaZulu	79	443	1 517	7.1	7.6
KwaMdebele	-	17	126	-	21.8
KaNgwane	3	52	159	19.2	4.9
TRANSKEI	87	568	1 683	8.8	5.7
BOPHUTHATSWANA	54	609	1 423	10.4	0.9
VENDA	7	56	339	10.9	18.1
CISKEI	21	130	599	8.2	12.2

areas should be firstly widening the distribution of food shelter, health and protection, secondly the provision of jobs, education, income and national self-esteem, and, thirdly, expanding the range of economic and social choice.

According to the Geneva-based International Labour Office, ILO, achieving the NDA means a different approach for each situation and calls for concrete objectives such as achieving a specific production level of essential goods within a given time period, such as 20 years. The intention is to alter the pattern of growth and to increase the productivity of all people.

Reviewing South African policies in the light of this, it appears that there has been inadequate emphasis on both job creation potential of projects and on the provision of basic needs.

On the agricultural side, the DBSA paper says that too much emphasis has gone on capital-intensive schemes while small scale, less-sophisticated labour-intensive projects faced resistance - in many cases because they are less prestigious and visible.

The types of industries attracted by decentralisation incentives have generated little indirect employment and income creation via the attraction of other economic activity.

This is ascribed to close links with suppliers and markets located elsewhere, the proximity of other urban centres and their limited impact on the size of the local consumer market.

There has been some success. Between 1960 and 1980 about 144 000 non-agricultural employment opportunities were created at an average direct cost per job of R10 000. But estimates are that these met less than 7.8% of the outer-peripheral regions' job-needs over the period.

The modern sector in SA is in fact increasingly unable to generate sufficient employment opportunities for the rapidly growing labour force. Unemployment is rising, as is the cost of job creation.

## Capital

The average amount of fixed capital required per employee rose from R6 700 in 1960 to R14 000 in 1980 at constant 1975 prices, according to a study published in 1982.

The DBSA paper says the failure of the IDPs to develop as alternative growth poles points to the need for an alternative, more comprehensive strategy which takes greater cognizance of economic realities.

A more area-specific approach is called for appropriate to local conditions

while ensuring compatibility between the activities of the more and less-developed sectors (avoiding out-competing local products).

If relocation is to enhance development, special measures are required as this is unlikely to occur automatically. The approach should involve direct measures to alleviate poverty and generally raise the quality of life. It should focus on raising productivity, and it should promote effective local participation.

Further, the study recommends that urbanisation may be a necessity of "people-orientated regional development", that this is presently occurring at a significant rate, and that "serious consideration of how and where best to accommodate these rural outflows is required".

Although the government's current industrial development policy is described as "more economically rational" than that which engineered the old homelands policies now known as multinational development, the authors of the DBSA paper believe that it does not capture the underlying principle of the NDA and cannot effect the required structural change necessary to alleviate unemployment and poverty in the SADA region.

## Taking growth to Newcastle

THE Natal town of Newcastle is now the ninth biggest industrial growth point in the country.

In the past few years, the Decentralisation Board has approved 70 industrial projects worth R500-m and involving the creation of almost 7 000 new jobs.

Schalk Coetzee, MD of Alkhan Industrial Consultants, says the company is relocating 15 new manufacturing projects to Newcastle for plants which will manufacture products such as clothing, clocks and watches, soft toys and bedding, kitchen utensils, gold and silver

B/Duy 26/9/87  
plated giftware and circuitry parts for watches and musical toys (4.2)

Most of these operations are from Taiwan and Hong Kong, although some are relocating from Durban.

"Newcastle is an ideal model of a successful industrial development point. Apart from decentralisation incentives the region offers availability of modern industrial premises, an abundance of semi-skilled labour, good infrastructure and a good geographical location for distribution," he said.



# Development loans will total R1bn

101

B/Dan 5/10/89

THE Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) has approved loans of R1bn for development projects in the southern African region.

Of this R400m had already been distributed, DBSA executive director Simon Brand said yesterday, and the remaining R600m would be handed out during the next couple of years.

Speaking at the signing ceremony for a R34m loan for the Qwaqwa Development Corporation (QDC) in Johannesburg, Brand said that of the R400m, R100m had been handed to the Lesotho government for its extensive road development scheme.

## Justified

Brand said the decision to grant the R34m loan to QDC had not been taken lightly.

He said DBSA shareholders were first consulted to determine whether the "development potential" in the area justified the loan.

"An extended process followed and the bank undertook a thorough appraisal of the area's economic merits.

"It was concluded that the scheme was a worthwhile investment which would benefit Qwaqwa and the region as a whole."

Brand added that the bank was aware that Qwaqwa had already embarked on a process of attending to other dimensions of development.

This had contributed to the bank's decision to grant the loan.

Accepting the loan, QDC GM Louwtjie

DANIEL SIMON

du Toit said the finance would be used for the further development of infrastructure and the erection of factories at Indus-trigwa — Qwaqwa's new 900ha industrial township.

Industrial development is being shifted from Phuthaditjhaba to Indus-trigwa, as development at Phuthaditjhaba was near saturation with 263 factories in full operation.

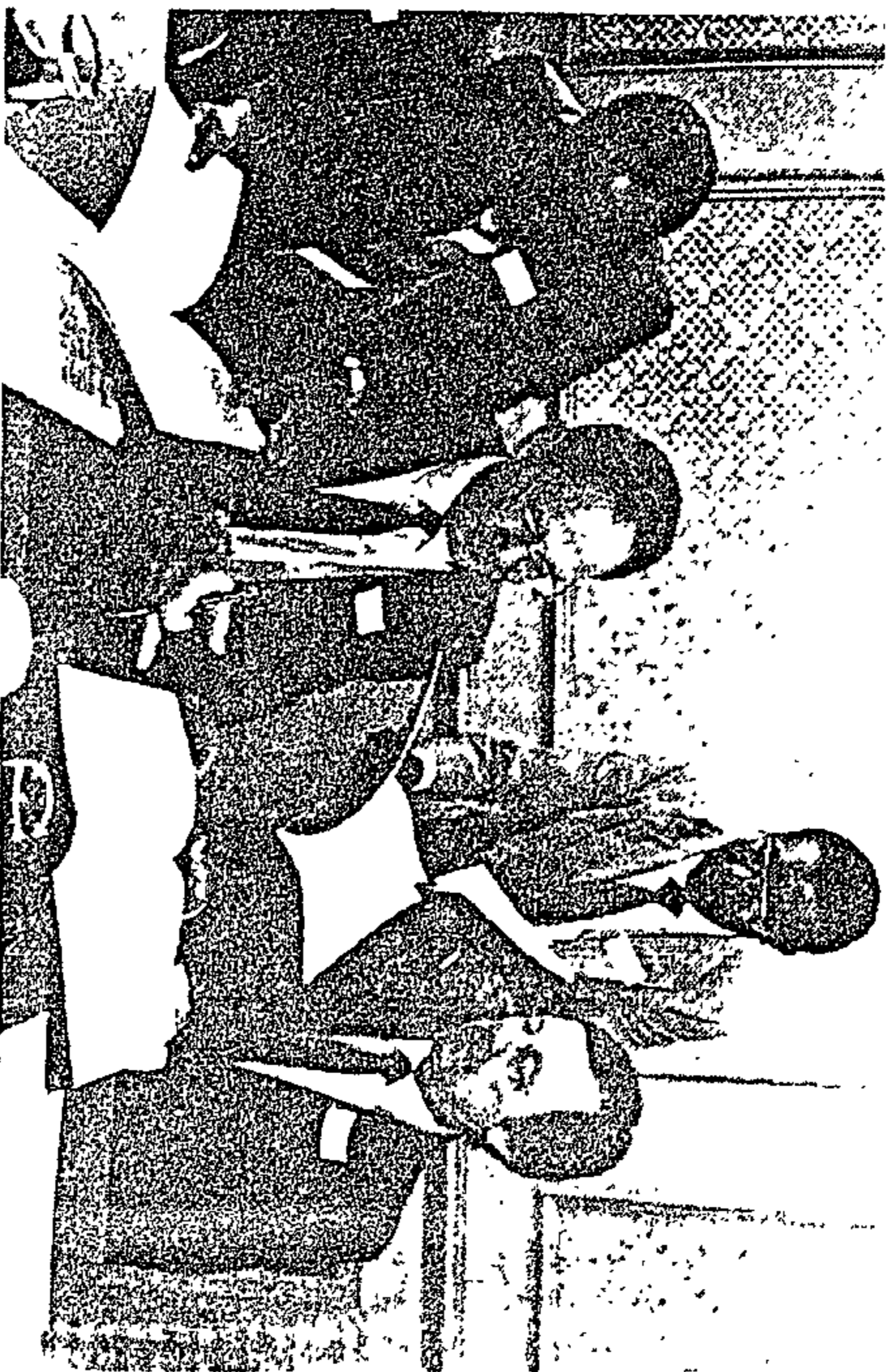
Du Toit said a major attraction for industrialists was that the new industrial township was situated "strategically" on road networks linking it directly to Durban, Bloemfontein and the PWV areas. Rail facilities were also nearby at Harris-mith, 9km away.

He said 19 factories had already been erected at the new site, some with a floor space of 20 000m<sup>2</sup>. Another 17 should be completed during the 1989/90 financial year.

Du Toit added that businessmen in England, Italy, Israel and Taiwan had shown an interest in setting up businesses in the area.

It was disclosed that the loan is to be both short and long term as far as repayments are concerned.

An amount of R3m, which is to be spent on the further development of infrastructure, will be a short-term loan payable over two to three years. The balance of R31m, for the erection of factories, will be payable over a 15-year period.



Simon Brand (left) and Louwtjie du Toit sign up the R34m loan.

Picture: BRUCE HENDLER

## The Brokers Investment Company Limited

(Registration number 84 1097706)  
("BIC")

# SA responds to re-integration

PRETORIA — The question of the reincorporation of areas from self-governing and independent states into SA would have to be resolved on the basis of consensus around a constitutional conference table, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leon Wessels said in Pretoria yesterday.

Reacting in a statement to allegations that the SA government was shirking its responsibility on the East Peulton problem in the Eastern Cape, he said the matter had to be resolved "in a peaceful and legal manner".

He said: "We are dealing with a judicial reality wherein President (Lennox) Sebe (of Ciskei) and his government are key players."

Wessels said he believed the deadlock on the issue had been broken, and he wanted to reiterate government's position as being committed to "real constitutional reform".

The people from East Peulton "clearly" could not stay in the Roman Catholic Church in King William's Town until the constitutional process had been concluded.

He was therefore once again prepared to seek an audience with Sebe on SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane's behalf and to visit the area with him and/or members of the current interim residents' committee "to demonstrate President Sebe's stated undertakings".

Sapa.

15/11/89

6/DAY

(101)

Swano government



# Emergency: ministers seek lifting

15/1/89  
S/DG  
MIKE ROBERTSON

SENIOR government ministers have accepted the state of emergency is an obstacle to getting negotiations started and are pressing for it to be lifted. (227)

While they are reluctant to say so in public, ministers are prepared to concede in private that the ending of the emergency and the release of remaining long-term political prisoners — in particular Nelson Mandela — are essential if government's negotiation effort is to have any chance of success. (101)

Mandela's release is expected either at the end of January or on February 2 when President F W de Klerk opens Parliament.

The lifting of the emergency could come at the same time.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday continued his tour of self-governing territories to gauge opinion on government's plans to hold elections aimed at identifying blacks to serve on its proposed negotiating statutory body for a new constitution.

Viljoen has been suggesting that an election be held to identify leaders of urban blacks while the chief ministers of the six self-governing territories represent people living there.

The proposal ran into trouble on Friday when QwaQwa Chief Minister T K Mopeli called for a single, nationwide election to choose representatives.

Yesterday, however, the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele M J Mabena and his Cabinet accepted that they represent the people of the territory on the negotiating body.

Viljoen said at a Press conference after the meeting that the KwaNdebele Cabinet had chosen not to express an opinion as to how leaders of urban blacks should be identified.

Viljoen said that, given the opposition from some quarters, it might be necessary to include self-governing territories whose leaders favoured a nationwide elections, in any future poll to identify leaders.

He also said that he hoped to arrange talks "at the earliest opportunity" with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This follows an Inkatha central committee decision stating that the time for negotiating a new constitution had arrived.

## Regional committee set up to study legal matters

PRETORIA — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and his counterparts from the six self-governing territories met here yesterday to discuss a uniform approach to legal procedure and magistrate's courts, and the availability of trained staff. (101)

The seven said an informal inter-state committee to consider matters of mutual concern in the administration of justice had been established. *By Day 28/11/89*  
The matters under discussion were referred to the committee for research and the formulation of proposals. — Sapa.



Star 5/12/89

## 42,6 pc of SA whites in PWV area

101 Staff Reporter

Up-to-date estimates set the South African/TBVC population at 36,5 million, of whom 29,6 million live in South Africa and the remainder in the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

According to a report by the Bureau for Market Research, 42,6 percent of the white group live in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area.

Only the magisterial districts of Pretoria, Randburg, Germiston, Cape Town and Simon's Town have white populations that are larger than their black populations.

Most of the coloured population live in the Cape Province (84,6 percent), with the majority (50,8 percent) in the south-western Cape, including 1,6 million around Cape Town.

The Asian population is concentrated in Natal (79,8 percent), with Durban and Maritzburg hosting 66,1 percent.

The black population is concentrated in the non-independent homelands (32,6 percent), the TBVC states (25,4 percent), followed by the Transvaal (22,7 percent), Cape Province (8,2 percent), Free State (7,2 percent) and Natal (4,0 percent).

A census is planned for 1991.

HOMELANDS - GENERAL

1990



# Resign, BCMA tells leaders of the homelands

By KENOSI MODISANE

**LEADERS** of the self-governing and "independent" states should resign and publicly confess their past sins against the people before they can be politically accepted by the people.

In his New Year message, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, criticised homeland leaders for suggesting re-incorporation into South Africa.

"They now seek to endear themselves to the people by suggesting that they return to the rest of Azania," said Mangena.

Mangena said he was optimistic about the future of the country and praised the Mass Democratic Movement and the Conference for a Democratic Future for fighting the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

"We can all be justly proud of the level of unity we have been able to achieve in 1989.

"The gallant working class led the way by successfully holding two worker summits which saw thousands from the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council

of Trade Unions, and other independent unions combining in their fight against the LRA," said Mangena.

Mangena also criticised the "new approach of reform and negotiation" as preached by the newly elected State President, Mr FW de Klerk.

He said the recent release of the seven leaders of the banned African National Congress and Mr Japhta Masemola of the Pan African Congress was meant to impress the outside world, particularly Britain and the United States that there was change in the country.

"Margaret Thatcher and others were quick to start a campaign against the imposition of further economic sanctions.

"Even some African countries are beginning to warm up to De Klerk," said Mangena.

Mangena called for unity among people of different ideologies. He was full of praise for the "comradeship" existing between youths in the townships.

He was, however, concerned about the violence in Natal and called for it to end.

Industry subsidies may be slashed

# Govt rethink on regional incentives

B10a 15/11/90

101

LUCRATIVE incentives offered under government's controversial industrial decentralisation policy could be cut within months in an effort to curb spending, sources said at the weekend.

About R3,3bn has been spent by the Decentralisation Board since 1982, with 3 520 concerns established.

A report commissioned by government and managed by the Development Bank of SA (DBSA), which investigated the regional effects of the policy, is in the hands of SA and TBVC governments. Policy changes, which still have to go to the Cabinet, should be made known during the coming months.

The report favours reducing the number of decentralisation points, scrapping certain financial incentives and extending decentralisation policies beyond industry and into other sectors like agriculture, according to a Financial Mail report.

DBSA chairman and CE Simon Brand said discussions were likely between SA

EDWARD WEST

and the TBVC governments which could result in major changes to the policy.

He said industries dependent on subsidies were not reconcilable with government's shift to market-related freedoms.

However, there was an argument for the creation of jobs and infant industry that in time would prove profitable, he said.

The DBSA would still provide capex to industrial development corporations on the basis of proven demand from industrialists, said Brand.

Critics say the policy artificially props up industries with scarce resources in areas that, if left to market forces, would not have attracted industry in the first place.

SA Chamber of Business economist Bill Lacey said although the chamber was not totally against a regional development

□ To Page 2

## Incentives

B10a 15/11/90

policy. the creation of so many development points in the light of scarce resources was inexplicable.

Decentralisation Board chairman Coenie de Villiers said it was a historical fact that these areas had been underdeveloped in the past.

"Government has a responsibility to provide a chance for better living standards and the creation of job opportunities through the regional industrial programme is a means to achieve this," he said.

De Villiers said though the policy was politically inspired in the past, there was no longer any social or political bias as to where the board could provide assistance,

except the bias towards an economically viable basis for development.

Brand said if there was no regional industrial development policy, government would have to respond on an ad hoc basis to the lobbying of regional interests. The present policy was an efficient means of catering for these interests, he said.

National Productivity Institute director Jacob Graaf said the institute had conducted productivity management surveys for the Decentralisation Board with 2 400 companies in the decentralised growthpoints.

The institute found 68% of the companies to be productive according to industry norms which, theoretically, would mean they would be profitable without government concessions.

□ From Page 1



# Barend will wield big stick at homelands talks

B/Dout 17/11/90

101

PRETORIA — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is expected to talk softly and carry a big stick when he meets the homelands leaders in Pretoria on Friday to talk about their 1990/91 budgets.

The meeting will be attended by Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

It is certain the leaders will be called on to exercise extreme discipline and to restrict their budget demands to bare essentials.

Sources said it was likely Du Plessis, against a background of the government's own cost-cutting programme, would tell the leaders there would be no, or only limited, increases in grants and aid.

In the current financial year the Department of Development Aid budget

GERALD REILLY

allocation was around R5bn, the bulk of it going into administration and development projects in the homelands.

And homelands bureaucracies are still growing, according to the CSS.

At September last year, they employed 197 664, an increase of 11 136 in the preceding 12-month period.

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz stressed the vital need for stringent budgeting by the homelands governments.

Grandiose schemes had to be abandoned and scarce funds spent only on absolutely essential projects and development.

● Comment: Page 4

# 14½-m pupils in SA by year 2000

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The total number of school pupils in South Africa is expected to be 14 509 900 by the turn of the century, according to enrolment forecasts made by the Research Institute for Education Planning (Riep).

Riep was established in 1974 as a research unit in the Department of Comparative Education at the University of the Orange Free State. Since January 1988 it has functioned on a more independent basis as an institute within the Faculty of Education.

In a brochure compiled to give a concise picture of formal school education in Southern Africa, Riep reveals that in 1988 3½ times as many black pupils attended schools in South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei than all the white, coloured and Asian pupils together.

The largest percentage of black pupils attended schools in the self-governing states of South Africa (Gazankulu, kaNgwane, kwaNdebele, kwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa), while those in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei represented slightly more than a fifth of the total number of black pupils.

## REPEATING

Just more than half the total number of black pupils were enrolled in the junior primary phase of Sub A to Std 2.

The percentage of black pupils in Sub A was 16,6 percent of the total enrolment compared to 2,7 percent in Std 10

This was ascribed, in part, to the large number of pupils who repeat a standard, and to pupils who leave and then return to school

While there were fewer white children in the senior secondary phase...

than in the junior secondary standards, pupils were distributed more evenly from Sub A (8,9 percent) to Std 10 (7,7 percent).

The higher percentage in the junior secondary phase could be attributed, among other things, to a lower birth rate since 1977.

Among coloureds the number of pupils in the senior secondary phase still represented a small percentage of enrolment in 1988.

About 13 percent were registered in Sub A and only 2,7 percent in Std 10

There was an equal distribution from Sub A to Std 8 among asian pupils in 1988, but from Std 8 to 10 a considerable decline was observed.

## HIGHEST

The junior primary phase represented 34 percent of total registrations, while only 13,2 percent was in the senior secondary phase.

The average growth rate of black registered pupils per annum from 1983 to 1988 was the highest of all population groups (4,8 percent).

The growth rate for coloureds was 1,8 percent and for Asians 0,6 percent, while white registrations declined in the period by an average of 0,8 percent

The report predicts that 12 336 000 black pupils will attend school in the year 2000, compared to about 7 336 500 in 1989.

The present growth rate for coloureds will be maintained for the foreseeable future but might decline towards the end of the century, although an overall increase of 17,07 percent from 847 600 (1989) to 992 300 (2000) could occur.

There is a projected annual decrease in the numbers of white pupils from 916 900 in 1989 to 874 100 in 1994.

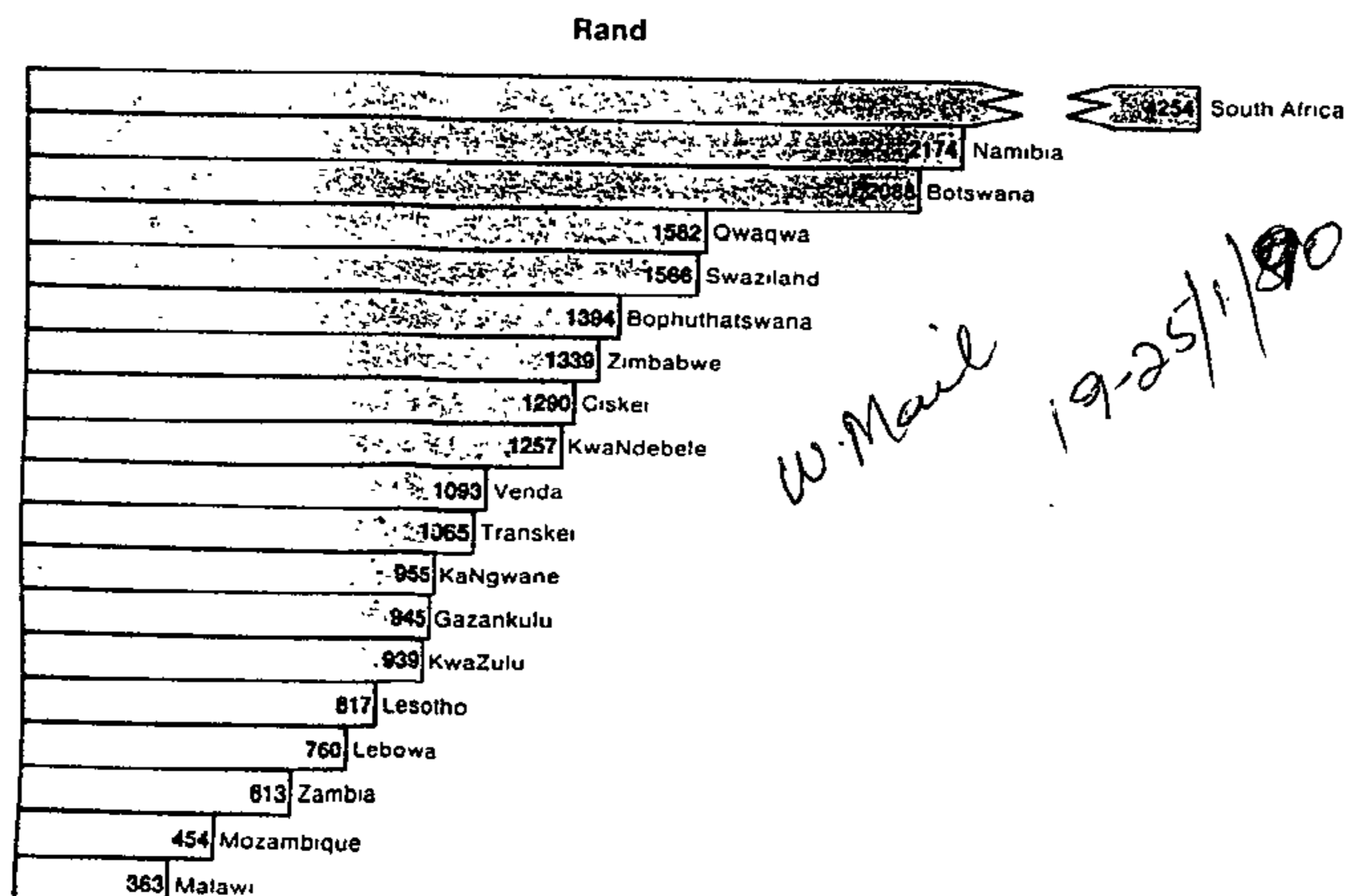
It is forecast that white enrolment will then rise to 909 100 by 1998 and be about 932 200 in 2000.

Asian enrolment is expected to decrease from 233 100 in 1989 to 230 100 in 1992 and then increase annually to be 249 400 in 2000 -- Sapa



# A bank report the homelands won't hurry to okay 101

## INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES : GNP PER CAPITA, 1986



Ranking South Africa against its neighbours: the country is richer but others have grown faster

GRAPH: DBSA

YEARS have passed since the government first talked about dismantling the politically inspired programme of industrial decentralisation but the programme is still with us. Now a report commissioned by the Development Bank recommends the decentralisation incentives policy be scrapped.

The report has been languishing on the desks of "homeland" governments for a year. The executive director of the bank, Dr Simon Brand, says he doesn't know when the "independent" and "self-governing states" will respond but he hopes it will be soon.

The report urges that industry should be allowed to develop in areas where the costs of industrialisation are lower — cities and large towns.

It is not surprising that "homeland" bureaucracies are in no hurry to endorse or comment on the report.

Originally decentralisation policy was administered by the Decentralisation Board and the Bantu Development Corporation set up under Prime Minister HF Verwoerd. In the 1970s the "homeland independence" strategy spewed forth a mass of development corporations located in each "homeland".

In 1982 the government changed course. The new "regional development programme" was meant to structure development in terms of economically defined regions, rather than simply according with apartheid borders. Two years later the Development Bank was set up to replace the politically designed Central Development Corporation to allocate development funding according to a logic of regional development.

But contradictions were built into the new programme. Apartheid structures were built into this ostensibly reformist institution when the "homelands" were made members of the board of the Development Bank. Though bantustan boundaries were supposed to be ignored in the regional development programme, they weren't.

Reinforcing the resistance to change, the Decentralisation Board continues to push for apartheid economic structures. Its stated policy is still to serve "the development of the independent states and the self-governing states".

The still pending report (officially confidential until the vetting procedure is completed) is not that radical. Some of the criticisms it voices were first registered in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Critics, such as economist Trevor Bell, noted that the policy was costly and could not match the expanding employment needs of the country.

The difference is that today it is far more expensive, and the government is desperately trying to cut expenditure. The industrial incentives pro-

**A Development Bank report recommends an end to an old Verwoerdian orthodoxy — the decentralising of industry to build up the homelands.**  
**ALAN HIRSCH reports**

gramme costs the country R700-million each year, but only 170 000 new jobs have been created since 1982. An industrial development policy that hoped to roll back unemployment would have to create about that number of jobs each year.

The other obvious failing of the decentralisation programme was that, years after their establishment, many of the firms remain dependent on infusions of government money. Colin McCarthy, professor of economics at Stellenbosch University and one of the authors of the report, says most firms set up under the scheme never become independently viable.

While the report argues that incentives should not be used to shift industry to areas that cannot sustain industrial growth, it acknowledges that slowing the industrial development of the PWV might be desirable. But industrial development should be encouraged in major regional centres such as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Pietersburg. McCarthy describes the report's positive message as "city oriented policy incentives".

Regional development incentives should aim to balance development between the cities and towns that form the centres of natural economic regions. As Stellenbosch economist Servaas van den Berg comments, the thinking embodied represents a return to the "growth pole" approach widely discussed in the late 1970s. The abolition of influx control makes the focus on cities all the more relevant now.

But how can the Development Bank expect "homeland" corporations whose very rationale is premised on industrial decentralisation to go along with a policy that radically undermines their importance? Brand's response to this question is that the report is only concerned with industrial development; perhaps some of the savings achieved in scrapping the incentives can be passed along to the corporations for the development of agriculture or tourism, he suggests.

It's difficult to shake off the feeling that this is a sweetener to make the medicine more palatable. The problem is that at all levels of government apartheid structures exist and they will resist change, if simply to defend their own existence.

As Van den Berg points out, reforms in regional development policy won't work until there is fundamental political change at all levels of government.

# 1990 budget cuts for TBVC states

*Apr. 15 20/1990*  
*(101)*

PRETORIA. — Monies earmarked for the self-governing states will be reduced in accordance with budget cuts in government departments, ministers from the states were told yesterday.

The six homelands' finance ministers expressed their unanimous disapproval at the move after a meeting in Pretoria, when they were told by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, that budgets for the self-governing states would be scaled down in the 1990/91 financial year.

The territories' finance ministers expressed their concern at the adverse effects the cutbacks would have on development in the homelands.

Education and Training Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, chairman of the meeting, said afterwards that it was "unfortunate" the budgets had to be cut, but the action was in line with the government's commitment to cut state spending and not to overtax the economy.

Civil servants in the self-governing territories received salary hikes averaging 35% during the one-year period that ended in September 1989. During this time more than 11 000 additional appointments were made, increasing the size of their civil services to close on 200 000 officials, according to Central Statistical Service figures released in Pretoria this week. — Sapa



CAPT JIMB 25/1/90

# Verwoerd caused SA 'incalculable damage'

By BARRY STREEK /D/ 30/1/90  
Political Staff

BILLIONS of rand would be required to catch up in the urban areas after the incalculable damage caused by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's delusions that blacks would return to the rural homelands, Mrs Helen Suzman said last night.

Dr Verwoerd had predicted that by 1978 blacks would be streaming back to the homelands but this was "hopelessly inaccurate".

Mrs Suzman, the former Democratic Party MP for Houghton, who gave the third of five lectures on highlights of her political career at UCT's Summer School, said the situation today was that blacks in the urban areas alone outnumber whites.

It had been estimated that blacks would outnumber whites by three to one in the urban areas by the year 2020.

"The whole concept of blacks returning to the rural homelands was really just a mirage or figment of Dr

Verwoerd's wild imagination, but the damage that resulted is incalculable, in terms of break-up of family life, the inferior education, the relationships between the police and blacks, and the shortage of housing.

"It will require billions of rands to catch up in such a way that one can say the population in the urban areas is reasonably well housed."

The Urban Foundation had estimated that seven million people were living in informal settlements, a polite term for the squatter camps that had proliferated around the perimeters of every metropolitan area in South Africa.

If the state had deliberately set out to create an unstable society, it could not have done better by implementing the pass-law system, Mrs Suzman said.

South Africa created jailbirds out of ordinary people, no high schools were built in the urban areas, and the migrant labour system had a devastating effect on the population explosion.

Sowetan 29/11/90

## Help De Klerk - Mopeli urges

THE present homeland system should immediately be overhauled with a view to scrapping it and developing the existing structures into non-racial regional governments within a greater South Africa.

This was said by Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of the semi-autonomous territory of QwaQwa, at a rally yesterday.

Mopeli applauded the intention of some homelands to "make a come-back into the South African fold" and said President F W de Klerk had "laid the necessary groundwork to facilitate reform and can no longer turn back at the Rubicon".

"It has become imperative for us to help him cross it," Mopeli asserted.

(SAPA) (101)  
"We are very anxious to help De Klerk negotiate a new constitution with all leaders. Mandela is today, I fear, the most over-rated black leader in South Africa," he said.

But, he added, QwaQwa would continue to press for the ageing ANC leader's release. - Sapa.



# 'Homeland' pay may top R3bn

PRETORIA — The salary and wage bill for bureaucrats in the self-governing territories is expected to reach almost R3bn in the 1990/91 financial year.

Central Statistical Services (CSS) say that in the third quarter last year total staff payouts in the six territories amounted to R620m — R187m more than the year-earlier period. *BIDCOM 30/11/90*

This gives an annualised figure of R2.5bn for 1989/90, and the numbers of employees are still increasing.

The number of personnel in the six bureaucracies totalled 197 664 in September last year — an increase of 11 136 on the period to end September 1988

It is assumed these public servants will

(10) GERALD REILLY

receive the same increase granted to South African government workers from April, CSS says

Finance ministers of the six states were warned last week by Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe that their budgets would be severely trimmed this year.

Last year's allocations for the territories exceeded R3.5bn, and it is expected the amount in the new financial year will not only include an inflation leveller, but could be cut even further.

In the six states there are 50 ministers, including six chief ministers.



Hundreds of marchers took to the streets in Garankuwa and Mabopane near Pretoria yesterday to protest against the homeland system.



# National states APN 412/90 (101) could rejoin SA

THE re-incorporation of the independent national states into South Africa is one of many possibilities for the future of the territories. (101)

There had recently been some debate about whether or not the TBVC countries should be re-incorporated into South Africa but it was only one of many possibilities, said De Klerk.

These countries are constitutionally independent and any return to South Africa would have to be dealt with not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in the South African Parliament.

# Most homelands ready to talk, but ANC rejects ethnic leaders

By Mdu Lembede

Most of the leaders of self-governing and independent homelands say they are looking forward to taking their places at the negotiation table for South African constitutional talks, but they are likely to face stiff opposition from the African National Congress.

In interviews this week the majority of the leaders said they were keen to be involved in the negotiation process.

Only the Bophuthatswana president, Mr Lucas Mangope, totally rejected the idea of being part of the negotiations, favouring instead a loose federation with neighbouring Botswana.

However, the ANC has made it clear that leaders of ethnic-based groups will not be welcomed in any circumstances.

Mr Tom Sebina, the ANC spokesman in Lusaka, said his organisation would sit down only with leaders or delegations representing differing political viewpoints, not different ethnic groups.

"We don't recognise the bantustans as separate entities from a united and democratic South Africa."

However, Ciskei's president for life Chief Lennox Sebe said: "We are not going to abdicate. We will be at the negotiating table, but only as a sovereign state. We are not going to re-

nounce our cherished independence."

Mr Mangope said there was no question of Bophuthatswana being re-incorporated into South Africa, no matter what changes took place.

"We did not opt for independence 13 years ago to go back when the situation that forced us out had improved."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi kwaZulu leader said: "To talk in terms of ethnicity is to use the language of racism and I will not be party to this in any manner whatsoever."

## Role

"South Africa is one country with one people. All South Africans must decide their future. Whether we become a free enterprise multiparty democracy or a one-party socialist state is to be decided by negotiation and by the people in free and fair elections."

He said Inkatha had a role to play in the negotiation process, and intended to put forward its views, aims and objectives for scrutiny and debate.

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa said most of the people in the homelands did not even participate in the elections because of their support for the ANC and PAC, which staunchly rejected the bantustan policy.

"If the South African Government is going to allow the homeland leaders to come to the negotiating table, it must keep all this in mind, as most of them are guilty of having eliminated opposition."

"Pretoria must decide. If it is serious about dismantling apartheid, then it should abolish its cornerstone, the bantustans."

This week he announced a committee that would organise a referendum for Transkeians to decide whether to abandon or retain independence.

KaNgwane Chief Minister Dr Enos Mabuza said: "Our standpoint is clear: we are opposed to the homeland policy. I believe they should be dismantled as I see no future for them in a post-apartheid society. President de Klerk says he believes in one nation, and this cannot be reconciled with ethnic homelands."

KwaNdebele Chief Minister Mr M J Mabena said although he believed all leaders should come together representing South Africans as one nation, there was nothing that could be done at this late stage to correct the situation. He said he would be at the negotiation table representing Ndebele interests.



## Govt land scheme reaches final stage

CAPE TOWN.— Government's programme of land consolidation for the black homelands has reached its final stages and includes an additional quota of one million hectares. *BIPM 20/2/90*

Co-operation and Development Commission chairman Jurie Mentz said in Cape Town yesterday the final consolidation would be that of KaNgwane, which he hoped would be finalised by the end of the year.

Mentz said in line with 1936 legislation, about 7,25-million hectares were earmarked for consolidation but a further one million hectares had already been approved by government.

He said once the final stages of the consolidation had been reached, the commis-

sion would then look into identifying land for black urban settlement.

He said the consolidation programme was in line with the vision for a new SA, in that additional land for black settlement in both the self-governing territories and the TBVC countries was identified and consolidated where it was most needed.

□ Government has reversed a decision to incorporate land at Hanover, Chalumna and Silverdale into Ciskei, a week after community representatives urged MPs to scrap the Bill which provided for the move.

DP nominated MP Andre de Wet yesterday welcomed the news, saying it was "very heartening to see there has been swift government reaction to the appeal from so many people". — Sapa.

## Question over gambling laws

Blomberg 2/24/90  
PIERRE DU PREEZ

THE re-incorporation of independent homelands into SA could force government to change current gambling legislation, says Max Polak and Freemantle analyst Chris Gilmour. (101)

In the light of current political changes, he does not feel the possibility is "too far-fetched", though he does not expect it to happen in the next few years.

Controls are the norm overseas and gambling would probably be restricted to certain areas if rights were allowed.

Gilmour is optimistic that major companies, including hotel chains, would not be adversely affected.



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## Question over gambling laws

10/10/2010  
PIERRE DU PREEZ

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INCORPORATION F/M 23/2/90

## Under resistance

Black communities in the eastern Cape, Transvaal and Free State threatened with unilateral incorporation into homelands have sent a 44 000-signature petition to President F W de Klerk asking him to ensure government does not go ahead with its plans.

They hope that De Klerk's positively perceived reform initiative and the prospect of adverse international publicity will convince government to scrap incorporations now in the pipeline. (101) (SFB)

The communities concerned are East Peleton, Thornhill, Hanover, Silverdale and Needs Camp in the eastern Cape; Braklaagte, Leeuwfontein, Hartebeesfontein, Tshikota in the Transvaal; and Botshabelo in the Free State.

The petitioners say they have not been

continue p54

F/M 23/2/90

consulted about the planned incorporations into various homelands and face a future of "poverty, exploitation, harrassment, misappropriation and other hardships" if they become part of the homelands.

They have also called on government to scrap its incorporation policy; to re-incorporate into SA communities that have already been unilaterally included in homelands; for compensation to be paid for losses incurred in incorporations or threatened incorporations; for security forces to be withdrawn from Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte; and for the withdrawal of the Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Bill, which provides further mechanisms for incorporation. (101) (SFB)

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North and spokesman on homelands Peter Soal says it is important for De Klerk to give hope to the threatened communities. "They need to be given hope that they will retain their citizenship and be part of the new SA and that their plea not to be incorporated into the self-governing areas will be heard by Mr De Klerk."

In response to a letter stating their case late last year, De Klerk told lawyers acting for some of the communities that he is aware of the "sensitivity" of incorporation. "Consequently, I have requested the minister responsible to thoroughly investigate every incorporation still under consideration and to report to me."

□ At a rally last Sunday, some 20 000 Hammanskraal residents reportedly decided to cut all ties with Bophuthatswana and seek to return to SA jurisdiction. ■



# Lebowa calls on SA to dismantle homelands

U/ren 25/2/90

101

By HAPPY ZONDI

THE LEBOWA government has called on South Africa to dismantle the homeland system.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg this week, chief minister MN Ramodike called on South African President FW de Klerk to create a climate conducive for negotiations "to build a new South Africa".

At the same time, a drafted declaration addressing the question of "negotiations" has been issued to all homeland leaders.

The declaration was the result

of a recent meeting between Lebowa delegates and South African Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

They discussed issues including negotiations, the budget, education and drought.

Said Ramodike: "We welcome the efforts of the ANC, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to open doors for a negotiated political settlement in South Africa.

"Homeland citizens are entitled to freedom of movement and association throughout South Africa.

"We thus welcome the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations. We also declare that people in Lebowa have the right to join organisations and trade unions of their choice.

"A programme of action will soon be launched. It will serve as a consultative forum for the co-ordination of responses to various efforts on settling the South African question."

**QUESTIONS**

† Indicates translated version.

*For oral reply:*

*General Affairs:*

*State President:*

**Certain group: petition**  
 \*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the State President:

Whether he has received a petition from a certain group, the name of which has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when did he receive the petition, (b) what is the purpose thereof, (c) how many signatures does it contain, (d) what was his response thereto and (e) what is the name of the group concerned?  
 B223E

**The STATE PRESIDENT:**

Yes.

(a) 12 February 1990.

(b) According to a related memorandum as well as the petition itself, it is demanded in the main that the incorporation of certain areas into independent states and self-governing territories be stopped, and that the areas already so incorporated be re-incorporated into the Republic in the case of the independent states and in the case of the self-governing territories, be placed under the control of the central government.

(c) According to the said memorandum the petition contains some 43 000 signatures. A number of persons whose names are contained in the petition have clearly not signed in their own handwriting.

(d) I have forwarded the matter to the ministers concerned for their attention.

(e) Stop Incorporation Campaign.

**(1) CASUALTIES BY DEGREE AND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF URBAN AND RURAL ROADS. (ALL VEHICLES)**

Magisterial district	Total	Fatal	Seriously Injured	Slightly Injured
1984				
JOHANNESBURG	13 032	661	3 879	8 492
PIETERSBURG	579	52	184	343

*continue p  
pp 173/174*

1984

Magisterial district	Total	Fatal	Seriously Injured	Slightly Injured
POTGIETERSBURG	408	51	128	229
PRETORIA	4 845	243	970	3 514
RANDBURG	2 001	132	462	1 427
WARMBATHS	261	48	73	140
WATERBERG	240	28	58	154
WONDERBOOM	2 893	130	474	996

1985

Magisterial district	Total	Fatal	Seriously Injured	Slightly Injured
JOHANNESBURG	12 269	764	3 612	7 893
PIETERSBURG	620	51	176	393
POTGIETERSBURG	4 48	47	132	269
PRETORIA	4 440	253	755	3 432
RANDBURG	1 948	127	511	1 310
WARMBATHS	288	32	71	185
WATERBERG	315	40	81	194
WONDERBOOM	1 356	116	391	849

1986

Magisterial district	Total	Fatal	Seriously Injured	Slightly Injured
JOHANNESBURG	13 120	682	4 073	8 365
PIETERSBURG	769	82	193	494
POTGIETERSBURG	559	66	214	319
PRETORIA	5 482	253	975	4 254
RANDBURG	2 091	183	487	1 421
WARMBATHS	305	46	77	182
WATERBERG	311	35	74	202
WONDERBOOM	1 403	137	413	853

1987

Magisterial district	Total	Fatal	Seriously Injured	Slightly Injured
JOHANNESBURG	14 501	718	4 232	9 551
PIETERSBURG	894	114	247	533
POTGIETERSBURG	645	61	237	347
PRETORIA	5 725	276	1 022	4 427
RANDBURG	2 236	131	473	1 632
WARMBATHS	305	46	85	174

*Hansard*

*101*

*101*

*Hansard*

*Hansard 27/2/90*

*B98E*

*(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House)*

*(a) and (b).*

The information is not available in the format as requested by the honourable member. The following statistics were, however, obtained —



# Big losses for bus companies

ENORMOUS cost allocations and competition from mini-bus taxis resulted in three government-controlled bus companies which operate in the homelands losing R15,5m during the 1988/9 financial year, the SA Development Trust Corporation (STK) reported yesterday.

The STK's own share of the losses went up from R5,1m to about R9,5m, the corporation's MD F P Weyer said in the annual report tabled in Parliament.

However, he said, QwaQwa Bus Service and Gazankulu Transport had achieved encouraging results.

He said actions to rectify the situation had been instituted and government had been approached for financial support.

The Ciskei Transport Company's

Political Staff

operating losses went up from R3,89m in 1986 to R7,28m in 1989, with passenger numbers dropping from 54,5-million to 33,7-million.

The QwaQwa Bus Service's operating loss rose from R577 000 in 1986 to R3 836 000 in 1989 with an increase in passengers of about two million.

However, Gazankulu Transport operating losses dropped from R850 000 to R221 000 with three million more passengers.

□ Sapa reports that Transport Minister George Bartlett yesterday released figures showing that 3 781 permits to operate mini-bus taxis had been issued in the 1985/6 financial year, while last year the number rose tenfold to 32 460 permits.

(101) 5101 28/2/90

## Shooting, arson, 'poison water'

# Protest, violence in homelands on the increase

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Dirk Nel and Helen Grange

Several homeland governments are facing deepening crises in the wake of increasing demands by democratic organisations.

Violence has flared in several self-governing and independent national states — including Gazankulu, Venda and Bophuthatswana. Dozens of people have died or been hurt.

Homeland leaders blame violence, boycotts and strikes on Mass Democratic Movement structures such as youth and community organisations.

In Gazankulu, six people have died during the past two days in the Malemulele and Jimmy Jones districts.

### Intimidation

A statement issued by the Gazankulu government said 16 people had died since Monday last week, 65 huts and two vehicles had been destroyed by fire, and one house had been gutted.

At a meeting between the Gazankulu Cabinet and 80 government officials, it was concluded that intimidation had been the main reason for the widespread stayaway by civil servants, employees and factory workers.

Many people have returned to work at Giyani, NkowaNkowa and Malemulele but stayaways were reported at Mhala and Lisbon Estates, an agricultural project near Skukuza.

The Newington Youth Congress has demanded wage increases and staff transport for workers at the estate.

The Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, said yesterday that he was anxious to have SA Defence Force units withdrawn, but the present situation did not allow for such a step.

He accused the MDM of waging a deliberate campaign to embarrass and discredit his government, to mobilise the youth and intimidate the "moderate" population.

But organisations in the homelands

claim security forces are brutally clamping down on legitimate protest.

This week residents of Temba in Bophuthatswana staged a massive stayaway backed by a school boycott. Two people were shot dead and 123 arrested after a crowd of 20 000 refused to obey police orders to disperse in Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana.

Yesterday an uneasy calm reigned in Bophuthatswana. An official of the National Union of Mineworkers in Rustenburg, who asked not to be identified, told Sapa more than 200 people, including children, had been arrested in swoops since Saturday.

In Gazankulu, there were severe work and school disturbances. The Giyani Youth Congress has demanded the release of detained students, the readmission of failed matriculants and the abolition of corporal punishment.

In Venda, police have joined the clamour for higher pay, as the homeland remains in the grip of a deepening crisis that has disrupted schools, court proceedings and water supplies.

Police in the territory on Monday presented a petition to their department demanding a salary increase of between 80 and 90 percent and improvement in conditions of employment among other demands.

### Magistrates join in

Thousands of teachers are boycotting classes to back demands for better salaries. Civil servants, including magistrates, have also joined the protest.

Pastor MP Phosiwa of the Lutheran Church at Sibasa said rumour was rife that water provided in trucks by the army had allegedly been laced with poison. Residents of Sibasa were fetching water from Ngovhela, 10 km away.

The superintendent at the hospital, Mrs L Naude, said "numerous" people had arrived at the hospital with abdominal pains but she denied that the water was poisoned.

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## HOW LONG CAN SOUTH AFRICA'S HOMELANDS SURVIVE?

# Caught out between Verwoerd and the ANC

THE homelands are falling apart, unable to contain the accelerating rate of political change since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

Political analysts believe that President F W de Klerk tried to divide the ANC by splitting the movement into two opposing camps of hardliners opposed to negotiations and moderates willing to talk.

But the De Klerk government apparently did not foresee the divisions such a move would create in the homelands, where rising expectations for reincorporation in South Africa and long-running resentment against poverty has led to strikes, demonstrations and political violence.

Homeland governments now find themselves trapped between the Verwoerdian ideology which sustained them and the rapid proliferation of

support for the ANC and allied organisations, even in some of their remotest areas.

The refusal — or, at least, inability — of homeland leaders to recognise the arrival of a new political era was illustrated by Venda's education minister, when he said he was perplexed by his country's jubilation over the release of Nelson Mandela, as Mandela was not a Venda.

Question marks now abound over the homelands. How long can they last? Will President De Klerk send the SADF to prop up the system, and if so, for how long can it afford to do so? How long will homeland leaders remain loyal to Pretoria?

Already the leaders of Transkei, KwaNgqane, and Lebowa — Bantu Holomisa, Enos Mabuza and Nelson Ramadikwe — have shown their sympathy for the ANC and have

## HOMELANDS IN TURMOIL

Special report by  
**THANDEKA GOUBULE,  
THUMIDA MAISTRY, VUSI  
GUNENE and PHILIPPA  
GARSON**

made it known they will not oppose demands for reincorporation.

Significantly, these three "anti-apartheid" homelands have been spared the unrest now raging in those homelands where leaders have refused even to acknowledge demands for reincorporation.

But the position of KwaZulu remains an exception, with Chief Buthe's government still on friendly terms with the South African government despite never having officially accepted homeland status.

KwaZulu's government can rely on

significant support from its ethnic organisations — ie Inkatha — and is thus spared the degree of rebellion now facing Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda.

Civil administration in these "apartheid homelands" is deteriorating so fast that the prospect of a collapse in political leadership is becoming more real with each day's newspaper headlines.

But the ANC itself is also unprepared for the changes now sweeping through the maze of homeland politics and has yet to formulate a coherent strategy for dealing with them.

The movement has yet to go beyond its blanket rejection of the homeland system and draw up a practical approach to their status in a post-apartheid South Africa.

By legitimising the ANC, the South African government has created a po-

litical vacuum in which the leadership role it created for the homeland governments has all but disappeared.

The ANC's ability to step into this vacuum will be determined by the alternatives it can offer to the intricate homeland political structures, usually based on ethnicity and tribalism.

The fiscal crisis in these areas has made it impossible to meet some of their people's most basic demands, such as the need for clean water, electricity and education facilities.

The homeland governments have also failed to achieve economic self-sufficiency and have retained their traditional political structures despite the marginalisation of the chiefs' role through the rise of organisations such as the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), which is sympathetic to the ANC.

# Sham and shame of homeland politics

101

**I** AM not only appalled by the spread of violence throughout the farcical balkanisation of the country into homelands, I am furious at the whole mess.

I am known to be somewhat retiring in my politics, some have said almost reactionary in my moderation. I have however earned my spurs. I think I have suffered as much as any other man.

I may not have paid my dues as other political stalwarts have, but I know intimately the devastation caused to my people by apartheid. So that I sometimes feel most unhappy, I have anxious moments of doubt about being positive.

## Talk

I find it most difficult to talk about forgiving and forgetting when the sins of apartheid are manifesting themselves with such drama in black life. I cannot blame blacks for feeling bitter, revengeful and wishing to continue the fight, the struggle.

The system of homelands was the result of a political expedience which I strangely came across during my varsity days at Wits University.

There were political thinkers in the engineering department (traditionally a very conservative group) at campus who drew up the plan (I



**ON  
THE  
LINE**  
**Aggrey  
Klaaste**

actually saw the blueprint) and they must have sold it to the National Party.

It came like the bell of salvation to these racists who could not admit even to themselves the unfairness of denying blacks political representation in the country of their birth.

They then decided it would be politically expedient to create these small, ramshackle, odious, unviable portions of land and call them our homes. The betrayal of the fatherland started with the Matanzima brothers, George and Kaizer. What they did cannot be forgiven.

## Stripped

They signed on the dotted line a regulation that stripped millions of blacks their South African citizenship. They then sat on the gravy train in their so-called state, getting fatter, richer and more obnoxious by the day. They instituted some of the

worst security measures copied from their bosses in South Africa.

They wasted not only the little money that the Transkei had. They squandered millions of rands belonging to South African citizens, black and white. It was painful, disgraceful.

## Ramshackle

The Ciskei picked up the cue and one after the other the various so-called homeland chiefs came into the picture. Inevitably they developed a ramshackle, often authoritarian system of patronage (the so-called warlords in Natal, for one) which has led to the tearing apart of the social fabric in the homelands.

Venda and Gazankulu saw the same sorry, messy story of corruption and plain theft. Even best of them, Bophuthatswana has a number of skeletons rattling in its cupboards just dying to come out.

As the demographics

in this country are rather interesting, there is no total separation between the rural and urban black populations.

What happens in urban townships quickly filters and is used or abused in rural areas. This was shown with some drama in the unrest cycle of the 80s when it seemed unrest, violence and political activity was hitting some of the most unheard of rural areas in the country.

Some people wrongly assume that the major political organisations like the ANC were responsible in spreading this action.

Naturally the ideas of the struggle under whatever political organisation on centre stage filtered into the rural areas and the homelands.

## Tragic

I am hoping to write a bit more about the tragic comedy of the homelands.

The violence in Natal, the witch-hunting in Venda, the chaos in Gazankulu can be laid to a large extent at the door of the homelands policies.

The socio-economic destruction caused by this policy is quite shattering and we will work hard and long to put it right.

I think it is my responsibility to try, to the best of my ability, to write more about the political abortion, the sham and the shame of homeland politics.

Watch this space.



# The walls come tumbling down on the homelands

Star 6/3/90 101

As the foundations of apartheid crumble, huge cracks have appeared in its superstructure, the 10 tribal states or "black homelands", four of which are adorned with the paraphernalia of sovereignty.

The overthrow of Mr Lennox Sebe, the self-declared President-for-Life of Ciskei, in Sunday's bloodless coup is but the latest sign that the collapse of these states is imminent.

Ciskei, established as a nominally independent state in December 1981, is destined to be re-incorporated into South Africa. Speaking within hours of the coup, new leader Brigadier Oupa Josh Gqozo, told a cheering crowd his ultimate aim was the reintegration of Ciskei into South Africa.

The Ciskei coup is the second within two years to bring a military leader to power in South Africa's quartet of nominally independent states. In 1987 Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei toppled two Transkei Prime Ministers in rapid succession: Chief George Matanzima and Miss Stella Sigcau.

As important, General Holomisa — like Brigadier Gqozo — is not committed to Transkei's putative independence. He has proposed that the issue of whether Transkei should be re-incorporated into South Africa should be decided by the territory's people in a referendum.

## Unbanned

General Holomisa took another step on the road to the re-emergence of a re-united South Africa when he unbanned the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress in Transkei, anticipating a similar move in South Africa by President de Klerk.

The ANC and the rival PAC are strongly committed to an undivided South Africa, having for decades opposed the "balkanisation" of South Africa through the establishment of separate states for the 10 "black nations".

Bophuthatswana, which together

**PATRICK LAURENCE** examines the pressures on the "independent" homelands to favour reincorporation in South Africa and an alignment with the African National Congress.

with Transkei, Ciskei and Venda makes up the quartet of nominally independent states, was the scene of a coup attempt in February 1988. The coup bid failed. South African troops intervened to free President Lucas Mangope and reinstate him as president.

The coup leader, Mr Rocky Malebane, was not motivated at the time by a desire to abort Bophuthatswana's ostensible independence, obtained amid pomp and ceremony in December 1977. The coup, however, pointed to underlying weaknesses in Bophuthatswana.

The attempted coup was the work of a small section of Bophuthatswana's Defence Force. President Mangope, however, had to be rescued from captivity by South African security forces. The bulk of his own soldiers and policemen stood by idly, refusing to intervene against the rebels.

Since then, Mr Malebane, who fled, narrowly eluding South African security forces, when it became obvious Pretoria would stand by Chief Mangope, is said to have thrown in his lot with the ANC.

Events in Bophuthatswana in the past few weeks have seen the rekindling of opposition to President Mangope and, as important, to the very notion of an independent Bophuthatswana.

There have been protest marches and calls for reincorporation in the densely populated Moretele district, north-west of Pretoria, and in Hlabane near Rustenburg. They took place against a background of fierce and sometimes bloody resistance to the earlier incorporation of enclaves of South African territory into Bophuthatswana.

President Mangope, however, has



Sebe ... moved too late and too secretly on reincorporation with South Africa.

adopted a defiant stand. Rejecting demands for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa, he avers: "(Bophuthatswana) will be an independent state 100 years from now ... There is no question of Bophuthatswana being reincorporated into South Africa".

Venda, the fourth of South Africa's supposedly independent states, has also experienced protest marches and demands for its return to South Africa. More ominously for Venda's President Frank Ravele, there have been a series of strikes in the civil service. The strikers have included policemen.

As the tide of opposition to the bantustans swells, some leaders have aligned themselves with the ANC.

Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane, was the first to do so when he headed a delegation of his Inyandza movement at talks with the ANC in Lusaka three years ago.

There are indications that Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa and perhaps Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli of Qwaqwa will follow the trail blazed by Mr Mabuza.

The political reorientation of these men means they will participate in the dismantling of these states with their allies in the ANC.

Ex-President Sebe tried to save his political skin by proposing the reintegration of Ciskei into South Africa as a federal unit with the same status as, say, a state in the United States.

His motivation, judging from a confidential 10-page document submitted to South Africa, was to negotiate a deal with the South African Government to salvage some of Ciskei's independence.

He did not want to wait for the emergence of a government in which the ANC would form, at the least, an important component. His fear was that an ANC-orientated administration would not be interested in helping Ciskei save a degree of autonomy.

Mr Sebe, however, moved too late and too secretly.

The ANC, and particularly newly freed deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, has tried to make it easier for bantustan leaders to cross. It has positively encouraged them to do so.

Mr Mandela has not adopted a harsh condemnatory attitude towards them as collaborators. At the same time, however, he has not hesitated to speak to opposition leaders in the bantustans and to encourage them to join the quest for a re-united South Africa.

While still a prisoner, he even sent an emissary to Mr Sebe, urging him to align himself with the ANC. His emissary was Miss Stella Sigcau, the ousted Transkei prime minister.

The formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has provided a home for chiefs and headmen in the emerging bloc of ANC forces.

Bantustan leaders who ignore these overtures and opportunities risk being swept aside ignominiously and dumped into the historical rubbish bin.



THE military coup in Ciskei this week is only part of the turmoil that has been brewing in South Africa's homelands since the military takeover of Transkei in January 1988.

This year focus again shifted to the homelands as the situation became restive inside the "independent" states. The "self-governing" states are now also on the boil.

Brigadier Josh Gcozo, who steered the bloodless coup in Ciskei on Sunday, has dropped a bombshell - Ciskei must "return" to South Africa.

The reincorporation movement started by his Transkeian counterpart, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is gaining momentum, bringing into sharp focus the National Party's *bantustan* policy.

Holomisa has now called for a referendum to test public opinion on reincorporation.

Transkei became the first "independent" homeland under the leadership of Chief Kaiser Matanzima in 1976. He was overthrown from the presidency in the coup.

### 'No return'

In Bophuthatswana, where in February 1988 the South African Government swiftly stopped a civilian coup attempt led by Mr Rocky Malebana-Metsing, pro-reincorporation feelings are running high.

Last Thursday two people were killed and 17 injured during clashes with police in Tlhabane near Rustenburg, when people demonstrated in support of their demand to be reincorporated into South Africa.

The protests were also fuelled by Chief Lucas Mangope's statement this month that the territory will not return to South Africa in 100 years.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has said the Government is not contemplating intervening in Ciskei, despite requests.

However, the Government did restore Mangope to power after receiving calls for help. Is this because Bophuthatswana is the "model" of South Africa's "independent" states?

Or, was it because the coup was led by a civilian and perceived then by Mr P W Botha's administration as being or-

# Ousted people seize the initiative

## Homelands are simmering

By THEMBA MOLEFE

chestrated by radical and communists?

Mr F W de Klerk's Government, obviously plunged into an abyss, has yet to react to the latest attack on the policy it inherited from its designer, Hendrik Verwoerd.

The reincorporation movement also puts into check De Klerk's recent safaris to the homelands along with Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning) and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (Minister of Development Aid), to discuss the future of the "satellite" states.

In the meantime the restlessness grows. Gazankulu and QwaQwa are on the boil. Citizens are calling for the resignation of the homeland leaders and the dismantling of the system.

The Government has but hinted on its plans except to say the decision - about whether homelands will return to South Africa under one constitution - depends on negotiations.

The time is running out, it seems.

Last December De Klerk said a new South Africa was about to burst forth with freedom and justice for all. He had just been elected State President.

### Outdated

That was about the time Holomisa stated that his government was prepared to test public opinion on the acceptability of independence.

Transkeian State President Ndamase told Venda leader Frank Ravele it was futile to hang on to outdated institutions to protect one's interests. Venda then started talking reincorporation to South Africa.

In November 1989 Viljoen said the question of whether independent homelands would be drawn back into South Africa was not on the agenda as the homelands would have to decide the issue themselves.

Now it seems the people, impatient for change, have taken the initiative.

FOCUS



Brigadier Oupa Gcoza ... led the Ciskeian coup



President Lennox Sebe ... toppled



General Bantu Holomisa ... first made the call for reincorporation

Sowetan 6/3/90

101



# Alliances are goal of new ball game in black politics



Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa has already indicated that he is an ally of the MDM.



Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope has had death threats after refusing to rejoin SA.



Professor Hudson Ntswanisi faces increasing pressure as restlessness emerges in Gazankulu.



Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, has already held several meetings with the MDM.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is due to meet Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss "common matters".

Black politics has shifted from sloganeering to policy development and mobilisation. The release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and South African Communist Party has brought about a whole new ball game.

The euphoria over Mr Mandela's freedom will continue for the next few weeks following his visit to Lusaka to confer with the ANC leadership-in-exile.

In the meantime, alliance building has become a major aspect of both extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics.

The Government has been engaged in discussions with various homeland leaders, and other "moderate black leaders". This move has been interpreted as the Government trying to forge a type of Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — hoping to draw enough support to neutralise the impact of the ANC and PAC.

The extent of its success is difficult to assess, but there is every indication that the Government would insist on a position for them at the negotiating table.

On the black front, organisations have been active in trying to win support in the homelands. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has had success in Transkei, where Major-General Bantu Holomisa has

**JOE LATAKGOMO** looks at changes of emphasis in black politics now that political organisations have been unbanned and a free Mr Nelson Mandela gets into his political stride.

emerged as a likely ally. However, there has also been a strong PAC presence there, and recently, members of the Military Council conferred with the PAC in Harare.

Up north, both the MDM and the Black Consciousness groups have been active. The Venda homeland is divided, and calls for its return to South Africa have been the major focus for protests and stayaways.

It is significant that this year, for the first time, a protest rally backed by the MDM was held in Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane. In both areas, Chief Lucas Mangope does not have the same tight grip that he has over other areas in the homeland.

Last week, Mr Mangope said he had received death threats over his refusal to return to South Africa, but vowed that Bophuthatswana would exist "100 years from now".

This seems to have set the scene for further confrontation with residents in politically conscious areas like Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa. At the same time, developments in Gazankulu indicate a restlessness that must cause concern for Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntswanisi.

Major-General Holomisa also announced that a committee of senior Transkei defence force officers

would enter into negotiations with the ANC and the PAC in March.

He also called for a more equitable distribution of wealth — interpreted as an echo of the socialist stand of the PAC and the nationalisation policies of the ANC.

It was also significant that Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, paid Mr Mandela a visit — as did leader of the coloured Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

The fact that the MDM has had discussions with Mr Ramodike indicates he is more likely to throw his weight behind the MDM.

Recently, the PAC leader, Mr Jeff Masemola, was in Natal where he is believed to have reactivated PAC structures, while Mr Mandela was due to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Initial reports suggested the meeting was only to discuss the Natal violence, but Chief Buthelezi stressed it was more than that: he saw it as a meeting between old friends, where common matters would be discussed.

At a meeting between Mr Mandela and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of South Africa, the BC group proposed setting up a consultative network of various organisations.

In recent months, there have been suggestions that the BCM was more likely to enter into an alliance with the ANC, and the organisation's participation in the Conference for a Democratic Future indicated that at least co-operation between the BCM and the MDM was possible.

But the BCM has to take cognisance of its constituency, and it seems the bulk of supporters may feel more comfortable with an alliance with the PAC, rather than the ANC.

So far, the major issue has been the question of nationalisation. Mr Mandela restated ANC policy, and sent shockwaves through the Johannesburg Stock Exchange when he spoke of nationalisation of particularly the mines and "monopoly industries". Although conciliatory statements were subsequently made, markets remain jittery.

The PAC has said capitalism was not designed to deal with the imbalances that apartheid has created, and pointed out that the Afrikaner turned to socialism to address the "poor white" problem in their quest for equality with the English. It was through state operations like the South African Railways that employment was provided for unskilled Afrikaners. They argue, therefore, that if socialism worked for the Afrikaner, why will it not work for blacks?

## JSE nervous over unrest

BIDA 8/17/01

101 MERVYN HARRIS

SHARES of companies heavily involved in the TBVC states came under pressure in late trading on Diagonal Street yesterday.

As news that the cycle of violence had spread from Ciskei to Bophuthatswana filtered through to the market, shares of casino and leisure group Sun Bop slipped 50c to close at R20.

The shares, which made one of the largest gains on the market last year and hit a high of R28 three weeks ago, were last quoted at a seller's price of R20 and a buyers price of R16.

Yabeng, the investment trust whose major interest is a holding in Sun Bop, eased 5c to 370c with sellers offering the shares at that price and buyers prepared to pay 330c.

Highly rated textile group Da Gama, which firmed to a high of R11,50 last Friday, continued to retreat on concern over the violence and destruction in Ciskei, where the group has a factory.

The shares fell back a further 20c to R10,50. The market was nervously watching developments amid fears that shares of other companies involved in the homelands could also come under pressure.



... since the coup, to close yesterday at R10,30. *B/Den 8/3/90*  
 Da Gama financial director Nic Pietersma discounted rumours yesterday that one of the group's factories had been burned down. He said all were at full production and running 24 hours a day.  
 □ Our East London Correspondent reports that Nafcoc has welcomed the Ciskei coup but condemned the destruction of property.  
 □ Trade unions will be allowed to operate in Ciskei soon, reports Sapa.

**PRETORIA** — Allocations in next week's Budget for the TBVC countries and the six homelands should stretch beyond R8bn, sources said yesterday.  
 In the current Budget, provision was made for allocations to the TBVC countries of R2,9bn and for the homelands of R4,287bn.  
 Gazankulu got R537m, KaNgwane R292,5m, KwaNdebele R240,243m, KwaZulu R1,859bn, Lebowa R1,110bn and QwaQwa R230m, resulting in a total of

**GERALD REILLY**  
 nearly R4,3bn.  
 Grants from the Development Aid Department are not included in these figures.  
 DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz does not expect the allocations in Wednesday's Budget to be raised in real terms. He said the allocations could be increased by less than the 15% inflation rate.  
 There was no doubt the need

could be more than R8bn for funds in education, health services and housing was as desperate in the homelands as in SA, he said.  
 Central Statistical Services said that in the year to end-September homeland civil servants increased by 11 136 to nearly 200 000.  
 The total spent on salaries and wages in the six territories in the third quarter of last year increased by R186 200, compared with July to September 1988.

## Exclusion policy, accommodation spark Wits class boycott

**STUDENTS** at Wits University — the vast majority black — yesterday began a three-day class boycott in protest at the university's exclusion policy, and erected tents on the library lawn to highlight accommodation problems.  
 The boycott is being sponsored by the Wits Black Students Society (BSS) and the Student Representative Council (SRC).  
 BSS executive committee member Zola Mojavu said he and other BSS members presented Wits Vice-Chancellor Robert Charlton with a petition yesterday morning demanding a moratorium on the exclusion policy, the establishment of a commission of inquiry concerning

**DANIEL FELDMAN**  
 exclusions of failed students, and immediate accommodation for all students.  
 He estimated that 1 500 students attended the rally yesterday morning, but neither he nor university authorities were able to say how many people were boycotting classes.  
 Mojavu called on students to defy residence regulations and squat on a mass scale in residence halls. He said that the 20 tents would remain up until the housing crisis was solved.

**SRC** president Anton Roskam said that 800 students were on the accommodation waiting list.  
 Roskam estimated that 400 students had been excluded since the beginning of the academic year. However, he noted all but about 50 had already found alternatives to Wits.  
 Charlton responded to the demands in a statement saying class boycotts exacerbated the problem and "it is not possible to agree to a moratorium on all exclusions".  
 However, he "welcomed the proposal for an investigation of the causes of poor academic performance of the university".

# Homelands fall apart

South 8/3 - 14/3/90

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From MONO BADELA  
LIKE a "mini-eastern Europe", uprisings this week swept through several homeland states — making the bantustan system collapse like a house of cards.

Days after rioting devastated large parts of the Ciskei following a military coup, the "independent"

homeland of Bophuthatswana went up in flames.

Unrest swept through the Garankuwa township west of Pretoria on Wednesday, leaving at least eight dead and 500 injured.

After troops opened fire on the crowd, defiant protesters fought pitched street battles with security forces, burning barricades,

and gutting cars and other vehicles.

Security forces in trucks, casspirs and helicopters scoured the area, firing teargas and live ammunition at protestors.

In nearby Venda, the situation was reported to be increasingly tense with an atmosphere of "insurrection" in the streets.

In Gazankili, next to Venda, government services were paralyzed this week by a stay-away of civil servants.

The strike is taking place against a backdrop of increasing violence in which an unknown number of people have died.

Widespread violence has taken place in the Orange Free State in recent weeks

after people in the township of Botshabelo resisted incorporation into the tiny homeland of Qwa Qwa.

In the homelands of Lebowa and KaNwgane in the northern Transvaal, the leadership has moved close to the ANC, and there is relative quiet.

● See page 2



# TBVC states' reincorporation good for business

PRETORIA — National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) president S M Motsuenyane says the reincorporation of the TBVC states into SA would mean greater opportunities for businessmen of all population groups.

Motsuenyane said yesterday this could result in the creation of a climate in which business would operate more successfully without the usual constraints that presently exist in TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) states.

He said from the economic point of view, those states had never been independent because there was one economic system in the whole area.

He said a united SA should remain a

key objective of all peace-loving leaders.

He said government needed to do everything in its power to hasten the process of black participation in the economy to a meaningful degree.

Blacks were on the outer fringes of business and the main objective of the future was to bring them in the main stream. *bidan 913190*

Motsuenyane said business should not be identified with a particular race group, but must be seen as an activity in which all people could participate fully and freely.

Asked whether the business community should align itself with political organisations, he said it would be difficult for businessmen to divorce themselves completely from politics as politics af-

fect business community activities.

□ Organisations operating underground in Venda should be legalised, the Venda Chamber of Commerce and Industries decided yesterday.

Radio Thohoyandou reported the chamber would recommend to the Venda government the organisations be legalised "to enable them to vent their ideas since this underground operation has already caused the economy of the country a considerable harm".

The chamber further resolved the government should investigate the possibilities of adopting the same general sales tax as applied in SA which would exempt foodstuffs from being taxed.

Venda's government should also participate in the future negotiated SA, the businessmen decided. — Sapa.

# 'Change in SA' sparked unrest

81529 913190

THE present homeland unrest was a consequence of the creation of the system without popular support, a prominent political analyst, the UDF and the ANC have claimed.

SA Institute of International Affairs director John Barratt said yesterday discipline needed to be restored to the "bantustan" areas, preferably by the joint efforts of the UDF-ANC alliance and government, with as little force as possible.

Barratt believed the trigger to the present disturbances was the change in government's approach to political issues and, in particular, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of ANC leaders.

## Positive

101

However, he believed that was only a small part of the story and the situation went back to the creation of the unpopular system. Calls now for reincorporation also played a role.

Barratt said there were some very positive aspects to the present situation, one of which meant that the issue of homelands would be a less difficult negotiating problem. Already, he said, Ciskei, Transkei, Lebowa and KaNgwane had displayed support for the ANC, while government had shown a willingness to discuss reincorporation.

The inherent dangers in the present situation was that it could cause a delay in the lifting of the state of emergency

CHARLENE SMITH

and white fear, particularly, extreme right-wing fears, could increase.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the homeland system was finally collapsing, and violence was an unfortunate outcome of people denied free political activity.

He said grievances that had existed for a long time, and that had no vent through open political structures, had finally burst.

The bantustan system had been discredited and people were rebelling against forced integration and citizenship of these areas, as well as forced membership of the ruling organisations, as in Bophuthatswana.

However, said Morobe, if the present situation in the homelands was used as a reason not to lift the state of emergency, "it would show the extent of confusion in the way the state relates to bantustans".

The situation in Katlehong was slightly different, he said.

"We warned of the effects of deregulation, and these are the consequences. There is rampant exploitation and a total disregard for norms of decency."

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said in Lusaka that the ANC was attempting to find the causes underpinning the wave of disturbances in the homelands.

The ANC still had not ascertained these.



# Vlok vows to clamp down on violence

B/day 9/3/90

101

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night vowed to use his wide-ranging emergency powers to stamp out the latest outbreak of violence sweeping through SA and the homelands.

And yesterday President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha met the leaders of Venda and Gazankulu to discuss the situation.

Police and the SADF have already intervened in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Gazankulu, and are standing by to act in Venda.

While major unrest in past weeks occurred in the homelands, there were more than 1 000 incidents of violence in SA itself last month.

Speaking in Aliwal North at the Retired Policemen's Guild congress, Vlok said government was not prepared to compromise on law and order. It would use the emergency even if it meant inflicting discomfort, misery and pain on some people.

Lawlessness and anarchy were unacceptable to the majority of South Africans. They were entitled to protection of life and property, and government would not avoid its duty in this regard, he said.

On the whole, government spokesmen have been reluctant to implicate any particular organisation in the violence.

While some have referred to a growing involvement by the PAC or the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) in fomenting violence, particularly in the Eastern Cape, Deputy Education and Training Minister Piet Marais said his department had detected no signs that the PAM was behind education stayaways.

Prevalent thinking in the security establishment appears to be that there is a general degree of lawlessness among radi-

cal black youths who reject any move by older leadership figures like ANC vice president Nelson Mandela to engage even in talks about talks.

Government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a media Press conference yesterday morning that the unrest appeared to be part of a plan by those who did not want to begin negotiations. Viljoen said "some people" were pretending they wanted to negotiate but were not ready to do so.

De Klerk has stopped short of accusing either the ANC or PAC of being behind the new wave of violence.

Botha said he believed the unrest in Bophuthatswana would not have happened had the Ciskei coup not taken place.

While there appeared to be a determined effort to undermine homeland governments, he could not say there were elements with political goals behind the violence.

He had received reports from the Ciskei saying UDF members had been active in trying to restore order.

On disruption of education, Marais said Mandela's call for pupils to return to class appeared to have had limited impact, and there seemed to be no co-ordinated plan behind unrest at schools.

Sapa reports that Botha met Venda President Frank Ravele and senior Venda cabinet ministers yesterday and said government would not stand by and allow chaos to reign in Venda.

It was aware that criminal elements were "using the shield of the right to pro-

□ To Page 2

## Vlok on unrest

These elements had no authority to loot shops or intimidate or kill law-abiding citizens who had made a success of their lives, and if there was such an authority from any organisation, including the ANC, then the SA public must know about it, Botha said.

His office said economic co-operation and matters of a bilateral nature were discussed.

Meanwhile, De Klerk met Gazankulu Chief Minister Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi to discuss the unrest and the homeland's future as three more deaths were reported.

A government spokesman said Ntsanwisi asked for increased SA military support for the local security forces.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday he believed most residents of Bophuthatswana still supported his government. Most of the participants in Wednesday's riots had been brought in from SA and they had been responsible for most of the violence, he said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the Bophuthatswana town of Garankuwa, under a state of emergency, was tense yesterday with no evidence of the SADF or SAP in the area. Streets, the scenes of pitched battles between residents and police on Wednesday, were almost deserted and covered with debris and barricades.

101 From Page 1

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman said the situation was "under control, although there are some sporadic incidents of violence. But we are patrolling to ensure order is maintained."

In Mabopane, schools, shops and most factories were closed and no buses and taxis were operating.

In QwaQwa, members of the Legislative Assembly yesterday gave Chief Minister T K Mopeli a vote of confidence in his leadership.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that the UDF has been involved in peace missions recently to six major flashpoint areas, attempting to mediate an end to violent conflict.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday the areas were Bophuthatswana, Kaitleng, Ciskei, Uitenhage, Natal and Venda.

In Ciskei, UDF marshalls arrested looters and today a UDF team is to travel to Gazankulu in an effort to quell the violence there.



W/M/101 9/13 - 1573/90

The decision of MDM leaders to share platforms with homeland leaders can be traced back to the CDF conference last year.

Reports by **THANDEKA GOBULE**

lieved that the government is likely to try and dampen the impact of the MDM and the ANC by pursuing an equivalent of Namibia's DTA-option, creating alliances in the centre of the political spectrum.

The ANC/MDM response appears to bring closer to themselves those homeland leaders on the fringes of the MDM, such as Enos Mabuza, the liberal leader of kaNgwane, and try and create their own alliances.

In those homelands where old-style hardline homeland leaders still reign, such as Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda, the strategy appears to be to step up mass pressure to weaken their position.

Emerging from the CDF was the strategy of rendering some homelands "ungovernable". Acts of bureaucratic sabotage have crippled Venda and Gazankulu in the last few weeks, while people in Ciskei have been burning their homeland party membership cards.

The CDF also resolved to hold referenda in all homelands to test popular feelings on the return to the republic and the creation of one unitary South Africa. The conference decided to call mass meetings in all the homelands between January and March to mobilise people behind the call of the MDM for one unitary South Africa.

It appears that the MDM had accurately read the mood and tapped into popular demands for reincorporation.

However, its time schedule for such moves has been overtaken by events and "popular referenda", signed with blood and fire, that have taken place in the homelands.

President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech at the opening of parliament and the release of Nelson Mandela were catalysts that opened up a new political chemistry and led to the overtaking of the CDF schedule.

The MDM is likely to continue to enter into talks with willing homeland leaders.

THE Mass Democratic Movement's firmly-held tradition of non-participation in government-created structures has never seemed more blurred as the homelands erupt in chaos.

Previously, the MDM and its supporters would not back any homeland government. It was inconceivable that any campaign by the MDM to rid South Africa of homelands would ever coincide with the interests of homeland leaders.

But this week in the Ciskei, Major General Oupa Gqozo rose to power and joined the call for reincorporation into South Africa against a backdrop of African National Congress and South African Communist Party flags.

Major General Bantu Holomisa, who led a Transkei coup last year, has also thrown his weight behind the call for reincorporation and has set up mechanisms for a referendum to test Transkeians' opinions on the issue.

He has surrounded himself with MDM supporters as political advisers and has indicated that at a future negotiating table he is likely to seek an alliance with the ANC.

Homeland legislative assemblies are filling up with MDM-supporting chiefs, many of them recent converts, as the MDM-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa sweeps through the countryside wooing traditional chiefs.

The Conference for a Democratic Future, held in Johannesburg last year to map out a strategy of political action for the Mass Democratic Movement and its allies, may be the key to understanding the homeland uprisings.

The CDF outlined a new MDM strategy of pulling the support base from underneath homeland leaders — rather than simply boycotting them — while wooing those who have mass support.

How far is the MDM prepared to go? Will it, in homelands such as the Transkei and Ciskei, involve itself in government structures geared towards returning these territories to South Africa?

It is likely that they will remain outside these structures and use mass pressure on the ground to push for the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

In leftwing circles it is widely be-



Ciskei residents help themselves to looted groceries

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter





# It suits Pretoria to sweep out homeland

## tyrants 101

The replacement of homeland tyrants with more liberal leaders suits Pretoria's purpose

W/Mant 9/3-15/3/90

THE South African government has an interest in getting rid of the more burdensome homeland leaders, political analysts observing the collapsing homelands said this week.

Leaders caught up in dynamics of their homelands and intrigue of their legislative assemblies have been sleeping through a revolution, analysts say. And it may suit the government to remove leaders who refused to move with the trend set by President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech.

When De Klerk visited individual homelands recently to inform them they were living in times of change, leaders like the Ciskei's Lennox Sebe did not seem to listen. Sebe was so indifferent to the rumblings in his homeland that he left for Taiwan.

Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi expressed surprise at the uprisings in his country, saying he did not understand why it was plagued with violence when "the cause of black liberation had never looked better".

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Mark Phillips said it suited the government to sacrifice some of its more Verwoedean and corrupt homeland leaders. The government may prefer homeland leaders with popular support — if these came to power the territories would be more stable.

CPS researcher and MDM activist Khehla Shubane noted De Klerk was trying to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations and could not afford to send the army into the homelands to stop rebellions. Troops were sent only to stop looting.

De Klerk has said homeland leaders have a role to play in negotiations and appears to be allowing the replacement of the old-style leadership. He may be hoping for more popular and useful allies at the negotiating table.

Two years ago the government supported Lucas Mangope, chief minister of Bophuthatswana, in the face of a coup in his homeland. But this week the government announced it would not intervene in the Ciskei and it seems set to recognise the new government.

Asked why the government had not come to Sebe's rescue, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told the *Weekly Mail*: the situation in the Ciskei was radically different to that in

Bophuthatswana two years ago — and in the Transkei at the time of the coup there.

Mangope had been unseated by a small faction inside the military establishment. A number of cabinet members and their families took refuge in the South African embassy and asked the South African government to intervene in order to free the president and restore the government.

Botha said recognition of the new military government in the Ciskei depended on factors such as the efficiency of the government; its acceptability to the population and to the security forces.

Responding to questions on the future of the homelands, Botha said there "is no way parts of South Africa can be left without an administration. There are people in the homelands who are entitled to schools, churches, hospitals, roads, police and development — irrespective of the eventual constitutional order agreed upon".

"The South African government's attitude is that re-integration is an option. At present it is simply not possible to spell out what the future South Africa will be like," said Botha.

## FOCUS ON THE VIOLENCE THAT ERUPTED IN RURAL AREAS AFTER THE DE KLERK SPEECH ...

SINCE President FW de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC last month, 158 people have died in political violence, mostly in the homelands.

This figure, compiled from press and police unrest reports, shows how homeland leaders have become emperors on shaky thrones as their people raise the green, gold and black flags of a new South African order.

Uprisings inspired by the unbanning of the African National Congress continued unabated this week, with several hundred people killed, injured or under arrest.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela's appeals for calm have had little effect on the violence, with homes, factories, vehicles and offices burnt in a wave of politically motivated vengeance for years of apartheid rule.

Among the incidents this week are:

- A teacher killed in the Bushbuckridge area of Gazankulu as a general strike crippled the homeland. This brought the death toll in this homeland to 25.

- A stayaway affecting hotels, shops, factories, government offices and colleges, called by the Ginyane Youth Congress, entered its third week.

- In Bophuthatswana at least eight people were shot dead as police opened fire on people at a mass rally where demands were made for the resignation of the homeland government and reincorporation with South Africa.

- Natal police have reported that 11

The abrupt end to years of political repression has sparked violence throughout the country

people had died and many more were injured in "unrest-related incidents" in the province.

- In Venda, four people accused of using witchcraft for political purposes were killed on Monday, bringing the death toll to more than 20.

- In Lebowa on Monday Gasehlang school principal Chocket Mashile was killed and an assistant teacher seriously injured during an attack at the school by rioters.

## Since FW's speech, 158 'political' deaths

- Thirty-nine people were killed in South Africa townships also caught up in the anarchy and bloodshed sweeping the homelands. The worst hit townships are Khutsong and Katlehong near Johannesburg, Felekesi near Amantimoti, Crossroads near Cape Town and townships surrounding Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

The mayor of Pietermaritzburg has complained that military and police reinforcements have been sent to the Ciskei to quell political upheavals in the homeland, leaving Natal with a serious shortage of security personnel.

The scale and extent of the unrest has seen both Mass Democratic Movement organisations and the gov-

ernment make urgent efforts to restore calm.

Analysts say that among the reasons for the widespread violence is the years of state repression, crushing the structures through which disciplined political expression could have taken place.

John Aitchison, head of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, has called upon the ANC to establish internal branches to contain and channel political expression.

Chronic unemployment in the homelands has also been cited as one of the causes of the violence.

MDM leaders have responded to the unrest by calling for the formation in the homelands of structures such as street and village committees to organise the youth.



# Apartheid falls

Star 10/3/90 (101)

Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Venda . . . events leave no doubt the

PATRICK LAURENCE

**T**RANSKEI'S Matanzima brothers have fallen, Ciskei's Lennox Sebe has been toppled, Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope is teetering on wobbly legs and Venda's Frank Ravele is skulking in Thohoyandou.

The events of the past few days have demonstrated beyond doubt that the grandiose edifice of apartheid is tumbling as the foundation on which it rests begins to disintegrate.

The supreme testament of Hendrik Verwoerd, the undoubted high priest of apartheid, and his disciples, Daan de Wet Nel and MC Botha, was not petty apartheid, it was the arc of partially self-governing and "independent" tribal states or bantustans which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s.

They were integral to the drive to rid South Africa of black citizens. By proclaiming black people to be citizens of one or another of the 10 tribal states, and by coaxing, cajoling and coercing bantustan leaders into accepting "independence", apartheid ideologues envisaged a South Africa, in which — in Connie Mulder's words — "there will be not one black man with South African citizenship".

As far back as 1986 President Botha declared that apartheid was an outmoded concept. But he and his lieutenants insisted that the four nominal independent states were established irrevocably.

They were wrong.

## Death penalty

In 1987 Major-General Bantu Holomisa overthrew two Transkei Prime Ministers, Chief George Matanzima and Ms Stella Sigcau.

As members of the Transkei government under Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the deposed premiers had voted for the Transkei Public Security Act; the Act made it an offence, punishable by death, to advocate the reintegration of Transkei into South Africa.

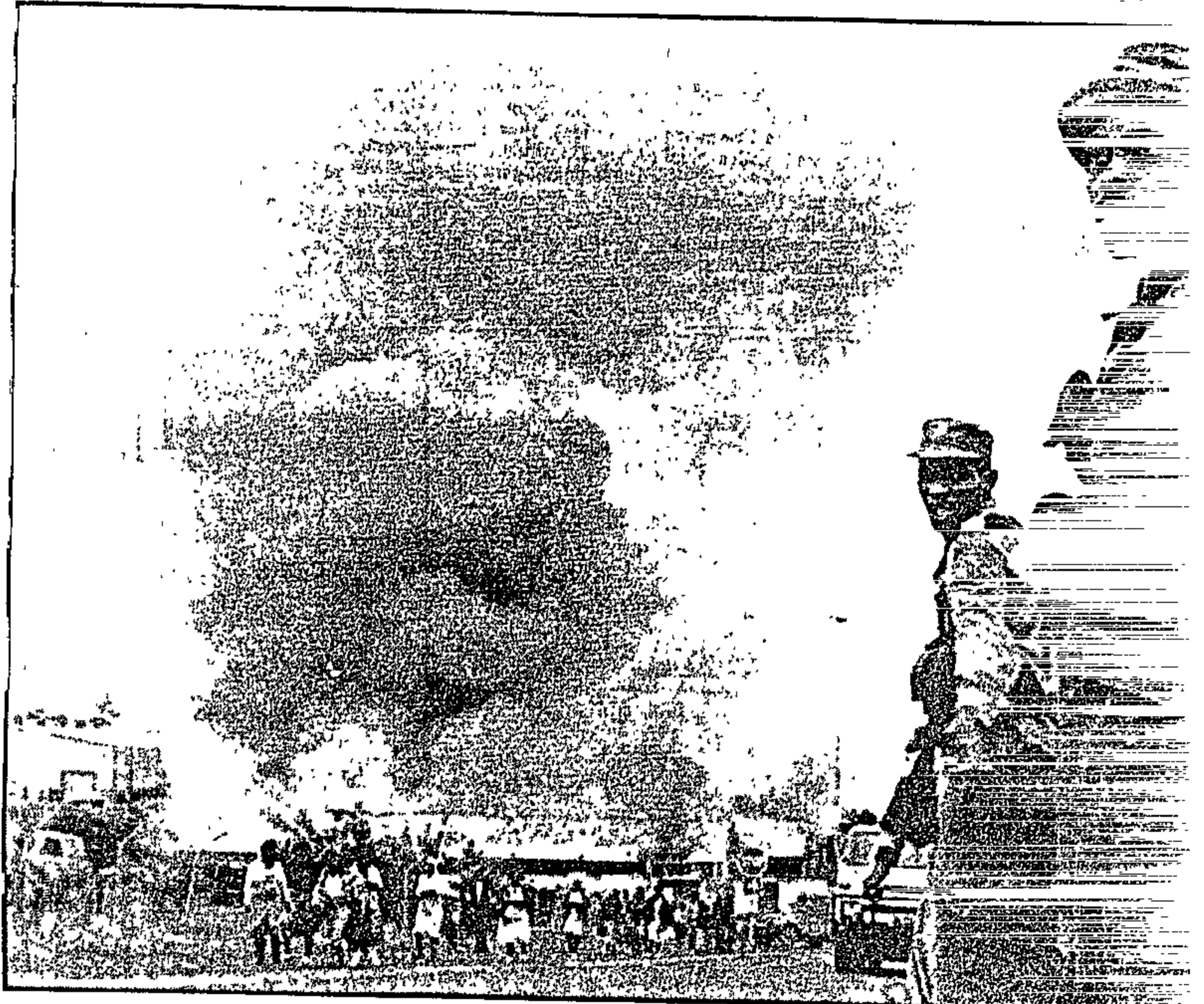
General Holomisa, who assumed power as the chairman of Transkei's military council, took two further steps. He unbanned the ANC and PAC and announced that the question of whether Transkei should be reincorporated into South Africa would be submitted to a referendum.

The growing power of the ANC and, to a lesser extent, the PAC, and the rising tide of popular opinion in favour of a reunited and non-racial South Africa, leave little doubt that voters will opt for reunification.

Only last Sunday soldiers of Ciskei's Defence Force, led by Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo, overthrew Mr Sebe, bringing his life presidency to a premature end. Within hours, Brigadier Gqozo, speaking beneath the flags of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, declared that his ultimate aim was the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

Then on Wednesday, thousands of people in Ga-Rankuwa in Bophuthatswana marched on the local magistrate's office to present a petition, demanding the resignation of President Lucas Mangope and the dissolution of the tribal state.

The march ended bloodily when Bophuthatswana police, for the second time in four years, opened fire with



**UP IN SMOKE:** Along with the factories the idea of an independent Ciskei was put to the torch this week. Brigadier Gqozo declared that his ultimate aim was the reincorporation of Ciskei into South

live ammunition, killing at least seven people and wounding scores

Later South African troops stood by to help bolster the shaky regime, if necessary, demonstrating once again Chief Mangope's dependence on Pretoria for survival. The presence of South African security forces recalled their intervention to save Chief Man-

**Instead of standing out as islands of ethnic harmony — to use a Verwoerdian metaphor — the homelands have become quagmires, absorbing scarce SA resources of manpower and money.**

gope after he was captured by rebellious Bophuthatswana soldiers in the attempted coup of February 1988.

On that occasion Mr P W Botha's slip of the tongue underlined his role as the puppeteer and President Mangope's as puppet. "We are tonight back in control," Mr Botha said.

Venda's President Ravele must

know the score. The release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, on February 11 sparked huge celebrations in Venda by students and demands for the immediate reincorporation into South Africa.

One more episode of great importance to events in the bantustans must be recorded. In 1986 kwaNdebele's rulers opted for independence; in the same year they were forced by popular resistance to reverse their decision.

In 1987 Chief Minister Majozi Mahlangu tried, with the assistance of his tough-minded police chief Brigadier Hertzog Lerm, to reinstate the pro-independence decision, by the end of 1988 Mr Mahlangu had been defeated and Brigadier Lerm forced to vacate his post.

Mr Mahlangu has since been charged with murder. The charge arises from his role as a leader of the dreaded Mbokodo vigilantes during their operations against anti-independence comrades.

In retrospect events in kwaNdebele marked a turning of the tide, the beginning of the end of the bantustan system.

Taking a broad view of the bantustans, one central conclusion emerges originally designed to buttress white hegemony, they have become weak links in what was meant to be a line of defence.

Situated in a crescent shape on the outer rim of South Africa, they were envisaged as ethnic fortresses against the advance of supra-ethnic black na-

tionalism. They formed an inner perimeter of garrison states to replace the outer perimeter that disintegrated as Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesian fell to nationalist forces.

It was not coincidental that each of these quasi-states formed their own armies and police forces, led, initially at any rate, by South African-trained soldiers and policemen. They were hostile to the ANC and the PAC. Their security forces often conducted joint search-and-find operations against nationalist guerrillas with South African counter-insurgency units.

Gradually, however, these states began a security liability rather than an asset. South African troops had to move in to buttress shaky regimes. There are troops in, or on the borders of, several bantustans now, including Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu and kwaZulu.

Instead of standing out as islands of ethnic harmony — to use a Verwoerdian metaphor — they have become political quagmires, absorbing scarce South African resources of manpower and money.

In retrospect it is clear that instability in the bantustans generally — and not merely in the quartet of nominally independent territories — stems, in last analysis, from a single cause, lack of legitimacy.

Their rulers are widely perceived to be marionettes, they took power in their mini-states, with the approval

of the ANC and Chief power crushing against the women, at the

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# heid tallis apart

Star 10/3/90 (101)

swana, Venda . . . events leave no doubt the homeland system is crumbling



The image of the bantustans leaders as opportunists and willing pawns in the apartheid game may be one-sided and thus unfair. But it is engraved in the hearts and mind of many black people, especially the youth. It deprives them of legitimacy.

In the case of the four putatively independent states their lack of legitimacy was aggravated by events leading to independence; pre-independence elections (or in Ciskei's case a referendum) were held under emergency laws which enabled the ruling party to incarcerate their opponents or ban opposition movements.

In Venda the opposition won three quarters of the elected seats in the 1979 pre-independence election. The then Chief Minister, Patrick Mphahlele, was undeterred; he detained 12 successful opposition candidates and, with the help of nominated chiefs, pushed ahead to "independence". He was duly installed as President, later giving himself tenure for life.

Bantustans lack legitimacy as institutions and that often "drives their incumbents to ugly methods of survival" (Johann Graaff in "The Political Economy of South Africa") and, it may be added, unscrupulous methods of self-enrichment.

One thinks of ex-Chief Minister Mahlangu who, besides facing charges of murder and attempted murder, surreptitiously paid an admission of guilt fine for assault while he was in office. One thinks, too, of the hapless Chief Matanzima serving a jail sentence for bribery and corruption.

## Plight symbolised

Late last month Gazankulu's Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, issued a statement which symbolises his plight and that of some of his fellow Chief Ministers.

"I have always supported the cause of freedom and throughout my life dedicated myself to the cause of black liberation by peaceful means. In doing so I have never been submissive but have clearly demanded equal . . . political rights for all the people of this country."

The ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not dismiss the sentiments in Professor Ntsanwisi's statement.

"Some (bantustan leaders) are quite innocent," he says. "They are men who have served the community in one way or another. Nothing would please us more than that they should join us."

The key words are. . . "they should join us".

While the masses are pressing from below for the bantustan leaders to change sides and join the ANC, Mr Mandela is beckoning them in his quiet, urbane way.

Some have done so already or are seriously weighing their options.

A critical meeting lies ahead between Mr Mandela and the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and his Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (who, like Professor Ntsanwisi, has long refused to trade the South African citizenship of his followers for "independence").

One way or another, however, the bantustan system is doomed. The question is whether the men associated with it can survive its destruction.

with the factories the idea of an independent Ciskei was put to the torch this week. Within hours of the coup Brigadier Gqozo declared that his ultimate aim was the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

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know the score. The release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, on February 11 sparked huge celebrations in Venda by students and demands for the immediate reincorporation into South Africa.

One more episode of great importance to events in the bantustans must be recorded. In 1986 kwaNdebele's rulers opted for independence; in the same year they were forced by popular resistance to reverse their decision.

In 1987 Chief Minister Majozi Mahlangu tried, with the assistance of his tough-minded police chief Brigadier Hertzog Lerm, to reinstate the pro-independence decision, by the end of 1988 Mr Mahlangu had been defeated and Brigadier Lerm forced to vacate his post.

Mr Mahlangu has since been charged with murder. The charge arises from his role as a leader of the dreaded Mbokodo vigilantes during their operations against anti-independence comrades.

In retrospect events in kwaNdebele marked a turning of the tide, the beginning of the end of the bantustan system.

Taking a broad view of the bantustans, one central conclusion emerges. Originally designed to buttress white hegemony, they have become weak links in what was meant to be a line of defence.

Situated in a crescent shape on the outer rim of South Africa, they were envisaged as ethnic fortresses against the advance of supra-ethnic black na-

tionalism. They formed an inner perimeter of garrison states to replace the outer perimeter that disintegrated as Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesian fell to nationalist forces.

It was not coincidental that each of these quasi-states formed their own armies and police forces, led, initially at any rate, by South African-trained soldiers and policemen. They were hostile to the ANC and the PAC. Their security forces often conducted joint search-and-find operations against nationalist guerillas with South African counter-insurgency units.

Gradually, however, these states began a security liability rather than an asset. South African troops had to move in to buttress shaky regimes. There are troops in, or on the borders of, several bantustans now, including Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu and kwaZulu.

Instead of standing out as islands of ethnic harmony — to use a Verwoerdian metaphor — they have become political quagmires, absorbing scarce South African resources of manpower and money.

In retrospect it is clear that instability in the bantustans generally — and not merely in the quartet of nominally independent territories — stems, in last analysis, from a single cause: lack of legitimacy.

Their rulers are widely perceived to be marionettes; they took power in their mini-states, with the approval

of the dominant whites, when the ANC and the PAC were banned.

Chief Mangope, whose rise to power started in the wake of the crushing of the 1958 revolt in Zeerust against the Bantu Authorities Act and the extension of passes to black women, used the language of a peon at the start of his climb up the ladder.

**The growing power of the ANC and, to a lesser extent, the PAC, and the rising tide of popular opinion in favour of a re-united and non-racial South Africa leave little doubt that voters will opt for re-unification.**

Speaking at the installation of a Bantu Authority in Luhurutshe in August 1959, Chief Mangope appeared, according to one authoritative source, to grovel before the then Minister of Bantu Administration "Lead us and we shall try to crawl," he implored (Lodge, "Black Politics in SA Since 1945", page 278)

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Cape Times 10/3/90 (101) ~~101~~

# Homelands now 'calm but tense'

**JOHANNESBURG.** — "Calm but tense" were the words most used to describe the atmosphere in South Africa's simmering independent homelands yesterday following a week of bloodshed, immense destruction and mob violence.

The wave of discontent, which hit Ciskei and Bophuthatswana and boiled over into mass orgies of destruction in which shops, factories and government installations were looted and burnt, had abated in the face of security force clampdowns.

The apparent reasons for the discontent remained, however, with only Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe being toppled by a military coup on Sunday.

Calls for political reforms in Bophuthatswana, Venda and Gazankulu and demands for the immediate resignations of presidents Lucas Mangope and Frank Ravele and Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi, respectively, were not answered.

Although South African security forces were seen only in Ciskei, following a request for support from the new military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the SA government promised to send its troops into the other homelands in the event of outbreaks of civil unrest.

Bophuthatswana security forces were yesterday engaged in mopping-up operations in Garankuwa, the township worst hit by Wednesday's rampage.

Soldiers in Garankuwa were reported to be forcing people from taxi buses to assist in the clean-up.

Although there had been few or no reports of serious outbreaks of unrest in either Venda or Gazankulu, the governments of both black states expressed gratitude at South Africa's preparedness to send its troops in the event of trouble. — Sapa

# Homeland turmoil a boost for ANC

101

THE violence sweeping SA's black client states, and its political consequences, will change the line-up of forces when negotiations for a new South African deal begin.

Political upheaval has now engulfed all of the so-called TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — which, until recently, were considered the show-cases of apartheid.

The turmoil there, starting with Transkei's coup in 1987, has two important common characteristics

By **LESTER VENTER**  
Political Correspondent

The first is that there appears to be overwhelming popular rejection of the states' independence, considered by many a sham since the first of them, Transkei, came into being 13 years ago.

The second common thread is that the states — either through the medium of new governments or in response to large public pro-

tests — are distancing themselves from the SA Government and are lining up closer to the African National Congress.

This means President F W de Klerk's Government will probably be facing the independent states across the negotiating table, rather than having them on his side.

The Government has been placing considerable store by the impact established groups of "moderate" blacks will make at negotiations, as a counter to the expected

more radical stance of the ANC.

The expressed desire of the new heads of state of Transkei and Ciskei for re-incorporation, and that of massive public protests in Bophuthatswana and Venda, will also dramatically broaden the ambit of negotiations.

In turn, this will move the concepts of federalism and confederalism higher up the negotiating agenda.

In addition to the four independent states, there are six self-governing homelands.

They have autonomous governments, but have stopped short of becoming formally independent from SA.

At least one of these leaders, Mr Enos Mabuza of Kangwane, has made no secret of his inclinations towards the ANC.

The most significant among the self-governing leaders, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, has long since positioned himself to keep his options open on both the Government and ANC sides.

SA Times 11/3/90



**W**HAT a week it was. Full of drama, ecstasy, passion and pain.

How else could one describe the wave of unrest that swept the country this week and continues to do so unabated?

Yes, emotions and tension are still running high, and some people including our leaders and authorities are refusing to admit that the situation is out of hand.

If we could, for a moment, try and put these emotions aside and address the real issues in a sober manner, we could at least come up with some solutions.

The South African situation today could be compared to the recent events in the Eastern bloc and the communist-inspired countries. Decades of suppression and dictatorial rule by regimes who put their interests above those of their subjects comes to a point.

In our case, the government went ahead and introduced the homeland governments despite strong opposition to these pseudo-independent states.

Since Hendrik Verwoerd, the high priest of grand apartheid who came out with the idea of a "lily-white" South Africa, we have seen nothing but high-scale repression, detentions without trial, deportation of those opposed to the system and war-ton killings.

**MY WAY**

With Khulu Sibiyana

C | Press  
11/3/90

# Emotions still running high



Black people would be temporary sojourners in the cities; our role was to provide labour only and then go back to our so-called homelands.

There will be no need for that now with the scrapping of apartheid laws. Does Mangope and those who still want to cling to this myth not realise this? It beats me.

If we talk of a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa are we not talking of a long-cherished dream of all the peoples of this country?

The anarchy and mayhem does not only embarrass the government of the day - who have been accused by the official opposition party, the CP, of being responsible for the violence by their reform policies - the ANC is also embarrassed.

I see it as nothing but madness and it has to stop.

Some people say the poverty of blacks has forced them to fight over taxi passengers. Nonsense. And the sooner we move away from self-pity and the unsubstantiated political analyses that led to the killings the better for us all.

There should be no excuses or cover up about these internecine and senseless killings.

The road ahead will not be smooth and we should not make it worse by unnecessary killings. Let us hope sense prevails.

and the little property there was, was destroyed.

Skhosana died before he could see his dream come true. But greed and power-mongering never stopped Majozi Mahlangu from going ahead with independence, despite strong resistance from the masses.

Mahlangu went a step further by forming a thug organisation called Imbokodo which went on a rampage, killing people indiscriminately. Mahlangu is presently facing a murder charge.

The homelands, we know, were brought about specifically to form a buffer zone for South Africa. Any incursion into South Africa had to start first with these so-called self-governing states.

There will be no need for this now with the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC. They were also designed to keep South Africa white.

people marched through the streets demanding his resignation and the reincorporation of Bop into South Africa, reminded me of the last days of Ian Smith in Rhodesia.

Mangope said his "country" would not be reincorporated into South Africa in the next 100 years. Did Smith not say almost the same thing when he said majority rule in Rhodesia would happen over his dead body? Well, its been almost 10 years - and he is alive and there's majority black rule in that country.

What happened to Kwa-Ndebele when the then Chief Minister, Simon Skhosana tried, to go against the will of the people by opting for independence in that poverty-stricken and arid land? There was strong resistance, many people lost their lives

The puppets who opted to serve in these discredited institutions simply because they wanted to enrich themselves and their families - as in the case of the Matanzima brothers in the Transkei and the Lennox Sebes - have finally been exposed for what they really are.

They ruled with an iron fist worse than their masters.

No system can survive long if it imposes its will upon the people. And one would have expected Bop President Lucas Mangope to have taken lessons from Transkei, Ciskei and recently in his own backyard. It's not long since he survived a coup - thanks to the South African government who came to his rescue.

They say history is the best teacher, but some people never learn.

His remarks this week, after more than 100 000 Bop





At least 25 people dead.

A WAVE of violence has swept across the country leaving a trail of death, destruction and tragedy in two weeks of deepening turmoil.

Now the government is clamping down on trouble-makers, leaving an uneasy calm hanging over most of the affected areas.

According to unconfirmed reports, more than 135 people have died throughout the country since last Friday.

■ In Khutsong, 25 people are believed to have been killed since violence broke out last weekend;

■ In the Ciskei, 20 people died and more than 300 were injured in the aftermath of the coup;

■ In GaRankuwa, at least seven people died and almost 500 were injured;

■ In Katlehong, 25 people died and about 200 were injured; and

■ In Gazankulu and Venda, at least 60 people died in incidents of witchhunts, labour and political turmoil.

By Friday afternoon the latest unrest report stated that police had detained dozens of blacks in a crack-down on violence sweeping the country.

Those being detained were "trouble-makers, not black political activists" said a spokesman. The arrests were confined to South Africa's four provinces and not the 10 homelands.

Meanwhile, ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela is to cut short his visit to Sweden this week. He is understood to be anxious to return following Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's statement that he plans to crack down on violence.

Violence first erupted in the Western Transvaal's Khutsong township outside Carletonville, followed by the Ciskei's coup which resulted in a R10,5 million destruction of industrial complexes and other properties.

In Khutsong, angry residents and members of the local civic association claim they are in a "war zone".

Unrest also swept through almost the entire Ciskei last week, following the bloodless coup.

All that remained of scores of supermarkets, bottlestores, factories, hotels and government buildings were burnt-out shells.

Twenty people were reported to have died and more than 300 injured.

This week South African security forces moved into Ciskei to put an end to the looting and burning which followed Sunday's coup.

The violence spread to GaRankuwa, west of Pretoria and Katlehong in the East Rand.

In GaRankuwa seven people died and more than 450 were treated for bullet wounds when thousands of residents marched to the local magistrate's court demanding the immediate resignation of President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and reincorporation into South Africa.

The simmering tension in Bophuthatswana flared up on Wednesday, when more than 50 000 people gathered at a centre in the nearby Mabopane township before winding their

#### ■ To Page 5

■ From Page 1 ~~101~~ way down to Odi Magistrate's Court.

As the group gathered to present a petition against President Mangope, trouble broke out when Bophuthatswana security forces arrived.

Within minutes violence erupted as defiant residents fought pitched battles, put up burning barricades, gutted cars and set fire to government buildings and businesses.

Bophuthatswana security forces have arrested 59 people on charges of arson and looting, the Bopana news agency reported yesterday.

The agency also said a cache of professionally-made petrol bombs was discovered in the backyard of a house in Pho-

keng and two people were arrested.

In Katlehong a group of taxi operators armed with guns, pangas, and knobkerries rampaged through the streets attacking pupils and teachers of at least three different schools, apparently in revenge for the alleged petrol bombing of six mini-bus taxis.

Later, youths set fire to two taxis and damaged 16 other vehicles before being dispersed by police.

About 700 families, including hundreds of children, marched to Katlehong police station to seek refuge from the unrest.

At least 20 lives have been lost in the township and scores of people have been injured or left homeless in a wave of arson and terror.

There was also widespread unrest in Venda and Gazankulu, where residents demonstrated because they wished the homelands to be reincorporated into South Africa.

Witchhunts, labour and political turmoil brought the tiny Gazankulu and Venda homelands in the far Northern Transvaal to a grinding halt.

During this period more than 60 people were stoned or burnt to death in the wake of the political unrest in the areas.

This week, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha warned that the South African government would not stand by and allow chaos to reign in the Venda homeland.



# End this violence

CP Reporter

CP Press

11/3/90

(101)

THE violence raging in Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu, Venda and Katshehlong this week - claiming at least 40 lives - has been condemned from all quarters.

## ANC VIEW

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu scoffed at suggestions that his organisation was behind the turmoil, as it worked for peace.

In a statement to *City Press* he said the stream of allegations was contradictory and unsubstantiated.

"This sort of 'war talk' is totally irresponsible and does nothing to contribute to the resolution of conflict. It is a reversion to the old approach of looking for scapegoats and hidden instigators to explain people's resistance to apartheid."

Sisulu said the ANC had always called for peace, discipline and order - and the primary reasons for conflict had always been poverty and violence caused by apartheid.

However, the ANC welcomed the popular rejection of homelands tyrannies, as the people had never been consulted on the system.

Sisulu challenged Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to hold an independence referendum.

He said the ANC, with the UDF and Cosatu, had during the past few weeks sent peace missions to several areas.

"In Uitenhage our initiatives ended the violence.

"In the Ciskei an MDM delegation working with the ANC met the new administration and developed mechanisms which have led to stability in that area"

He and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela had addressed peace rallies in Natal

Mandela had called for an end to the violence and urged people, irrespective of political affiliation, to work together for peace.

Discussions had been held with Katshehlong factions and the ANC had sent peace missions to Katshehlong, Gazankulu and Venda to try to deal with the situation.

Sisulu said a crackdown on political activists and leadership would worsen the situation.

"We therefore call on our people to conduct our mass struggles with maximum discipline and restraint. Our task remains to remove apartheid and replace it with democratic structures. We must act against the perpetrators of mindless violence and looting by criminal elements.

He called on government to "stop making irresponsible statements and creating unnecessary confrontation" and to move to create a climate for permanent resolution of the conflict.

## AZAPO VIEW

Azapo project co-ordinator, Muntu Myeza condemned the bloodbaths in Katshehlong, Bekkersdal, Carletonville and Natal, saying: "Many black people have lost

lives. It is enough.

"Remember 1976. Every home was our home. Every child our child. We became husbands to the widows and parents to the orphans. Black people built a wall of solidarity. Those who fell in the struggle did so like heroes. The fighting within our ranks is smearing that edifice of unity."

The "puppet" states of Lebowa, Venda, Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei had to accept that it was time to reconcile themselves with the rest of "Azania".

## POLICE VIEW

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the police would show no mercy to those who wanted to destroy South Africa's chance for peace.

Addressing the League of Ex-policemen this week, he said the SAP would use emergency regulations to stop violence.

"It is going to cause some people discomfort, misery and even pain, but the government and the police cannot be blamed for that.

"Lawlessness and anarchy is unacceptable to the majority of South Africans. They demand protection.

"The time for negotiation and talking has arrived. We will do all in our power to make it succeed. Radicals, activists, and perpetrators of violence who wish to destroy the opportunity for peace must expect no mercy from us."

B/day 12/3/90

101

## ANC rhetoric fans violence, says Viljoen

CHARLENE SMITH

CONTINUING rhetoric about violence and the armed struggle by the ANC was a contributing factor to present violence, Constitutional Affairs and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said on Friday.

Viljoen, who also issued a terse "no comment" when asked if any homeland leaders had approached government about reincorporation into SA, said he believed there were quite a few interests behind the present violence in the homelands and other areas.

He refused to name these interests. Viljoen said those who claimed vio-

lence existed in the areas because there was no free political activity and people lacked places to air their grievances were "unreasonable, particularly as the government has taken giant steps forward to normalise the political process. It makes the use of violence unjustified."

There were continuing discussions in government about the homeland situation, and homeland leaders were being consulted, Viljoen said.



# Little by little, the homelands are falling

101

Sobotom 12/3/90

## In one eventful week, a pillar of apartheid bows under pressure

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

FOCUS

THE bantustan policy, a pillar of pristine apartheid dreamed up by Verwoerd, exercised by Vorster, supported by Botha and entertained by De Klerk, last week stood on the verge of destruction.

Observers believe it is only a matter of time before its thread will unravel and weave itself back into the fabric of a united South Africa.

South Africans rose last Monday morning to the news that a coup in Ciskei - apparently similar to the one in Transkei in 1987 - had the previous day removed Mr Lennox Sebe, arch-despot and life president of that bantustan, from his throne.

Addressing a partisan crowd the new leader, Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo, said his ultimate aim was re-incorporation into South Africa.

Gqozo and Transkei's Major Bantu Holomisa have done what years ago seemed impossible: they have set their territories on a route back into the greater South Africa, the one everyone has been talking about with hope and anticipation.

Holomisa last year dropped a bombshell when he talked of unbanning the ANC and PAC. He declared, too, that the question of whether Transkei would be re-incorporated into South Africa

would be decided by a referendum.

This effectively meant the South African Government's line that the four nominally independent states (Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) would remain independent, was reversed. By Tuesday it was two down and two to go.

On Wednesday the dominoes fell. In the Bophuthatswana satellite of Garankuwa, thousands of people marched on the local magistrate with a petition demanding the resignation of that territory's leader, Chief Lucas Mangope, and the abolition of that state.

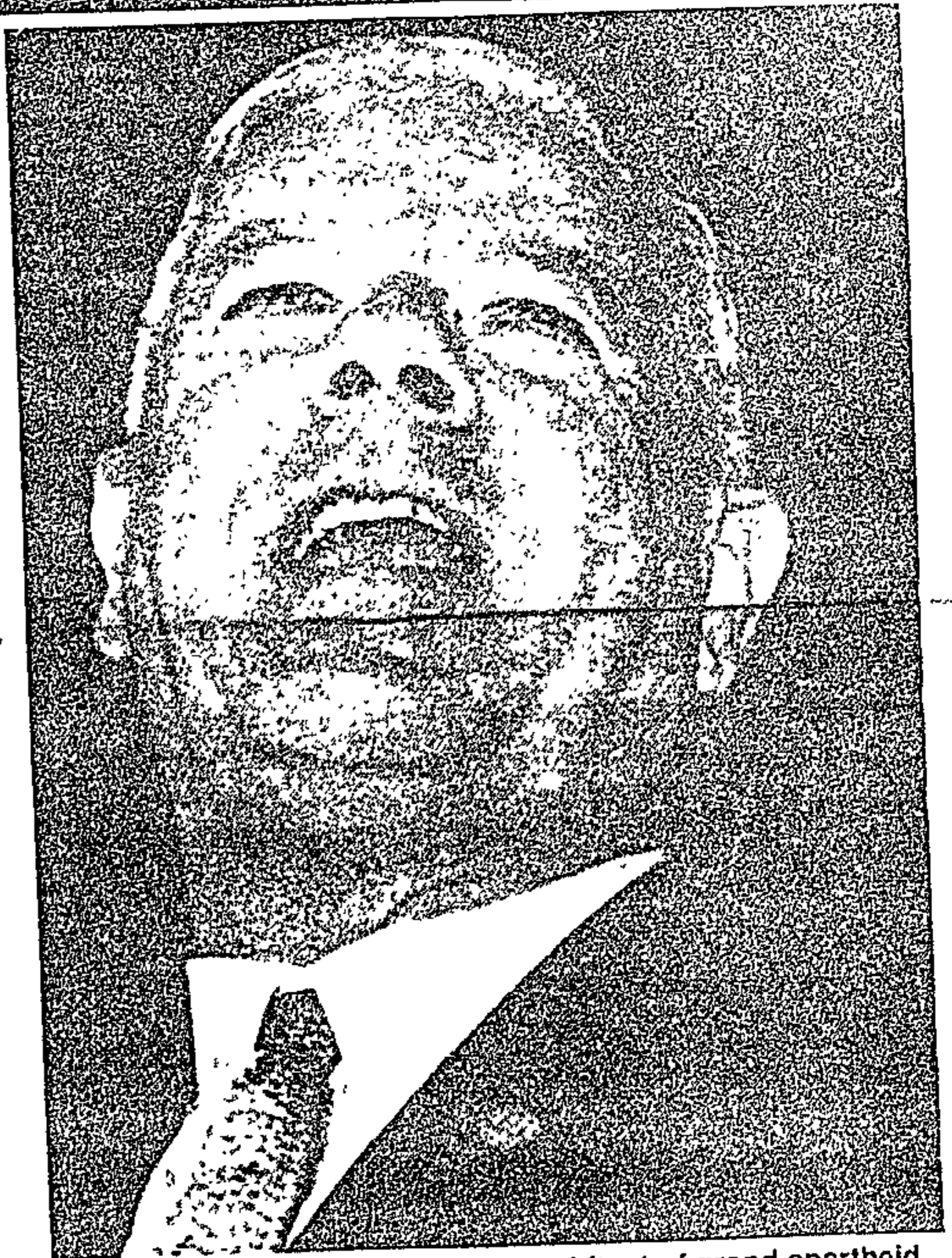
### Trade missions

Police opened fire and killed between seven and 11 people, injuring scores. Two years ago, almost to the day, South Africa sent its troops into Bophuthatswana to thwart an attempted coup by mutinous soldiers.

Last week SADF troops stood by as an insurance.

To some degree, the score was slightly adjusted to three down and one to go.

It is a matter of fact though that the people of Bophuthatswana



Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, architect of grand apartheid and the homeland policy.

want to be re-incorporated. There is a belief, however, that this bantustan will be the last to fall, firstly because it is the only one of the four with an international border.

Secondly, because it is the only one with some sort of viable economic base - mining and tourism (Sun City, Morula Sun and so on) and thirdly, this is the only homeland with foreign trade missions that are not in South Africa.

Israel and Taiwan have Bop trade missions, while Britain has shown an interest in the territory.

And then there is Venda. On February 11, the day that Nelson Mandela was released, huge celebrations by students in Venda accompanied a unanimous cry for re-incorporation into South Africa.

This public resistance to independence came more than 10 years after the first (Transkei) accepted its independence, Kwa-Ndebele's rulers were in 1986 forced by popular demand to cancel their nascent independence.

The Catholic Institute for International Relations, in its book on the changing face of policing in South Africa entitled *Now Every-*

*one is Afraid* and published in August 1988, writes: "For those living in the independent bantustans this hatred of independence has not lessened with time. In many places it has increased as life becomes harder and repression worsens."

### Incorporation

"More and more communities around South Africa are beginning to demand that their areas in the homelands are returned to South African jurisdiction. This is a long-term struggle. Clearly it is one that will be fought with increasing ferocity during the coming years."

Indeed. Last week the sudden freedom and reality of possible re-incorporation caused widespread excitement which resulted in looting and destruction of everything that represented the old regime. It was unfortunate that innocent businesses got in the way, but when the people of Ciskei took to the streets it was because they wanted to be part of a united South Africa. They have the scars and a leader to take them back where they feel they belong.



*Handwritten scribbles and signatures*

from 30 April to 4 May. Once again the White workers are going to sacrifice traditional White holidays to give the Blacks in South Africa an opportunity to have a holiday. [Interjections.]

How is the hon the Minister going to prevent that, and how is he going to protect this minority of Whites? He cannot do so, because he fears the Black trade unions. If he picks up the telephone and it is a Black trade union, he says they must not speak. He has heard it is a Black trade union, and he will comply with their demands. The hon the Minister does so without even listening to what they want. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE Order!

\*Mr P J PAULUS: I want to make it clear that at present the Blacks are demanding Soweto Day. When the Manpower Vote is discussed, we must not be surprised if this hon Minister says the Government has decided to make 16 June Soweto Day, because the SA Communist Party and the ANC are going to claim that day, and once again the minority of Whites in South Africa are going to be left in the lurch by the NP. There is no point in the hon the Minister's telling us we want to capitalise on the question. We want to protect the White workers in White South Africa, and we shall do so as far and for as long as possible. The Government will not stand in our way.

The White workers are turning against the NP to an increasing extent, because they know they can no longer rely on the NP for protection. [Interjections.] That is why the hon the Minister for Virginia received a majority of only 47 votes. That is proof that the workers are turning against them.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE Order! There is no Minister for Virginia in the House. [Interjections.]

\*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER. Mr Chairman, the hon member said we did not protect minorities. If 14 of the 15 White trade unions say I May is acceptable to them, must I permit the standpoint of the remaining one to prevail? How does he justify his story about minorities then?

The fact is that in order to gain points for the CP, the hon member is reducing the White mine-workers to a political group of people who have to experience a threat in everything. He is doing the White trade unions a great disservice by

presenting that argument. I shall say that to the White trade unions, because they have a function to fulfil. They can play a leading role, also in the new South Africa, as a result of their expertise and reliability. The White trade unions can play an enormous role on that basis, and I shall continue to say that.

Naturally productivity is an important consideration. After all, we cannot afford to have another workers' day. We acknowledge that there must be a workers' day, but as the hon member said, almost R400 million is lost every day that workers do not go to work. No country's economy can afford that. Nor can the country subject its workers to that. The National Productivity Institute was also consulted in respect of the matter, and gave it their full support.

By declaring 1 May as Workers' Day, we have done all the workers of South Africa a good turn. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded

Independent Black states

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

Whether the Government is prepared to consider taking steps which would make it possible for the four independent Black states once again to become part of the Republic of South Africa?  
13/3/90 DB504E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Mr Chairman, it is not up to the South African Government to take steps to make possible the re-incorporation of the TBVC states in the Republic of South Africa. Those states became independent in terms of legislation of this Parliament, and that independence was preceded by lengthy discussions, negotiations and in most cases by referendums or elections which were held in those countries before it was decided that they should become independent.

It is therefore not up to this Government to take the initiative. It is up to the relevant countries. This Government has made it clear, through the hon the State President, that their return to the sovereignty of the Republic of South Africa is an option. It is an option, not because this Government has made this decision or needs to make this decision. It is an option which they have as independent states in any case, namely the

*Handwritten scribbles and signatures*

option to strive for any political objective they want to strive for, provided it is borne in mind that one cannot unilaterally by means of legislation in this country bring about their re-incorporation in the Republic of South Africa.

Similarly, it will again require a decision from this Parliament. It will require a thorough study of the various implications. It will require consideration of the type of structure those countries are going to submit to their voters, because they cannot ask their voters, even in a referendum, to become part of the Republic again if they do not tell their voters on what basis they will do so. [Interjections.]

Will it be on the basis of a confederal relationship, a federal relationship, a regional government or a provincial government? What are the implications in respect of agreements which they entered into after they became independent? What are the implications of loans they may have negotiated with foreign banks, governments or other financial institutions in this country?

This Government cannot be expected simply to take over debts incurred and contractual obligations entered into by independent countries. Hon members can therefore see that there are quite a number of complex questions arising from this issue. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I have noted the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs' cautious reply to this question. I am not arguing about the details and how one should get there.

The South African Government was for many years not neutral on this issue. For many, many years after Dr Verwoerd came to Parliament, they actively pursued the idea of Bantustans. They promoted that concept. What is more, the choice that was given to Black South Africans at that time was not a neutral choice. It was Hobson's choice. Their choice was either to go independent and have citizenship in relatively poor Black territories or else to stay in apartheid South Africa with no vote and no constitutional redress in this country.

I do not believe that a neutral approach is good enough. We believe the time has come for the Government to try to bring down the curtain on the Verwoerdian era of apartheid. [Interjections.] It has done enough damage to South Africa internally and externally, more than any other policy ever pursued in South Africa. We have

*Handwritten scribbles and signatures*

asked and expect this of the Government in view of the expectations raised *inter alia* by the hon the State President's speech, and by the Government's constant reference to an undivided South Africa, which to Black people has a very specific meaning, and in view of *inter alia* the instability which is being created because of the economic and political uncertainty of the future of those TBVC countries.

We believe that this Government must admit that the Bantustan experiment in South Africa's history was costly and disastrous. While the Government may not be able to force or to coerce, it must adopt a very specific attitude and say that it is leaving the nightmare of partition to the CP. It must say it stands for a truly reconstructed and united South Africa to which all the components that were part of South Africa can come back home.

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE Including Botswana? [Interjections.]

Mr C W EGLIN: The Government should adopt a positive attitude towards this. This does not mean that it invades or that it coerces, but it means that it must stop being neutral on this matter. The Government must say that its policy is to work together with those other states for a new united South Africa.

\*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister did not answer the hon member's question. The hon member's question was actually to what extent the prescriptions and the instructions of the ANC, which were probably issued from the Victor Verster Prison, to the effect that the independent states in South Africa must be destroyed to pave the way for the holistic Azania of the NP/ANC, have been complied with. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister can sit there grinning sheepishly. That is what is happening. [Interjections.] They have destroyed the work of Matanzima and Hendrik Verwoerd. [Interjections.]

\*Dr F J VAN HEERDEN: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: I do not think it is parliamentary to refer to a sheepish expression.

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have one on your own face. Sit down! [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE Order! The hon member for Soutpansberg may proceed.



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\*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the work of a Verwoerd and a Kaiser Maranzina is being systematically dismantled by this Government, and nothing must remain. [Interjections.] This Government will not allow Lennox Sebe to return to the Ciskei because the Government is afraid that he will continue with his policy.

My reply is that the dismantling of the two northern independent states is not going well. Matters are not proceeding smoothly. President Mangope and the leaders of Bophuthatswana announced this morning over the news that they were not going to yield to the pressure of the Nats and their Xhosa-ANC pals; they would remain steadfast and independent.

The destruction of Venda is proceeding according to plan. The ANC and the PAC are exploiting the superstitions of those people in a very clever way. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Mr Chairman, I tried to listen to the hon member who has just spoken, but I could not find anything to which I could reply in an intellectual way. [Interjections.] I shall therefore return to the hon member who asked the question.

I do not quite understand the hon member. On the one hand he said he appreciated the fact that we should not use coercion. Then what does neutrality mean? Could he explain that to us? One is either not neutral, in which case one coerces.

Mr C W EGLIN: [Inaudible.]

The MINISTER: That is exactly what the Government says. We are not coercing. Why should we?

I do not agree with the hon member's rendering of the history of these states. I do not agree that these states were forced into accepting independence. They had a free choice. [Interjections.] I do not agree that we coerced them at the time, because by saying so the hon member is implying that this Parliament did so. I think that is an unacceptable charge to make against Parliament. I believe that some of these states did very well as far as their administration was concerned for quite a number of years before the present wave of unrest was unleashed.

I think there are indeed organisations who would like to undo what these states opted to do. However, that is not the question which the hon

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member put to me. I ask him to stick to his question. He asked what steps we planned to take and my answer to him is none, because we are not called upon to take any steps.

Mr A E DE WET: Mr Chairman, it is common knowledge that the people of the Transkei and the Ciskei want to be re-incorporated into the Republic. [Interjections.] The frustration and needs of the people of the Ciskei have led to an outburst and have left a trail of destruction. All the people in the South African Border Corridor and in the Ciskei and the Transkei have lived and are living through traumatic times.

The economies of the three areas are deeply interlinked and the whole area is calling out for help. They need help desperately to restore confidence in the area; the confidence which is essential for any industrial or commercial growth which, in turn, is essential for any hope of employment for the thousands and thousands of destitute unemployed people.

The question of the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic is of great importance for the area. Any doubt or uncertainty creates speculation which is not conducive to confidence. The issue needs to be addressed now. It is vital that the South African Government make a statement of its intent as soon as possible to remove any doubt. Any plans to reconstruct or plans for future development of the area will in many cases be delayed until there is clarity on the situation. Any delay will lead to more and more unemployment and poverty.

I appeal to the Government firstly to listen to the call for help from the people of East London, Border, the Transkei and the Ciskei and secondly to remove the element of speculation by making a statement of its intent with regard to the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I find the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs fascinating. He suggests that the only way of persuading people or of expressing a point of view is coercion. [Interjections.]

If it did not coerce the Blacks to go into the independent states—the hon the Minister would assert that the Blacks were not coerced—the Government persuaded them. The NP said this was their positive policy, and this was the positive policy of the NP at that time. Dr

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Verwoerd declared that it was their intention to create these independent states. All we are saying is "Bury that concept! Leave that independent state concept to the CP because that is where it belongs!" We ask in the interests of a new South Africa that this Government should say that it has had another look, and that it has a positive attitude towards reunification. There should not be coercion, but a positive attitude towards reunification.

I do not think that the Government should be under any illusion as to the impact which that Verwoerdian philosophy made on society. If Mandela was in jail for 27 years it was *inter alia* because of that policy. If the ANC was banned, it was due to that policy. If the liberation movements went underground, it was due to that policy.

The DP says that the trend towards unification is going to be inevitable. What we want is for this Government to take a positive directional lead, and not to allow the lead to be taken by the people on the streets. We ask this Government to give a lead in the interests of this society.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I have made the position of the Government very clear. Reincorporation is an option open to those states. There are many complicated matters about which the previous speaker preferred not to speak. Let me just mention one aspect to him. In the Ciskei laws were introduced which give tax-holidays to companies. Is that hon member who has just spoken prepared to go and say that he will change that law overnight and make it impossible for those companies to operate? If he is not, what is he up to in this House today? Is he just making cheap propaganda as usual? I am not impressed by these arguments. [Interjections.] The Government's position is quite clear. We realise that these four states are in a difficult situation because they have not achieved international recognition. The Government recognises that they are in a difficult economic situation.

The only thing the Government has said is that we should look at it quietly and calmly. Reunification is an option, but we are not going to force anyone back into South Africa. This is clear and I think anybody can understand it. It is for them to decide what they want to do and then to start negotiations with us because of the complicated issues involved, but which are, as usual, just

glibly glossed over by the DP living in their illusory world. [Interjections.] Debate concluded.

#### QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply.

General Affairs.

State President.

Visit to President Kenneth Kaunda

\*1. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs visited President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia during August 1989, if so, when;

(2) whether this visit took place with the approval of the previous State President;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? Hans Saad 1312190 B418E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, for the State President):

(1) Yes. On 28 August 1989.

(2) and (3) The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I were questioned directly, on the SABC-TV programme "Network" on 15 August 1989 regarding the circumstances surrounding arrangements for this visit. We both gave full answers to the questions, including one of the same tenor as that asked by the hon member. I would like to refer the hon member to reports dealing with our answers which appeared in the printed media on 16 August 1989. The SABC could also be asked to provide the hon member with a verbatim text of our answers.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I have nothing to add to our answers.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, as mention is made in these reports of tape recordings of the conversations that hon Ministers had with the previous State President, I would like to enquire from the



The MINISTER OF EDUCATION (Continued):

School	Number of teachers					Total
	(a) Degree	(b) 3-year Diploma	(c)* Std 10 + Certificate	(d)* Lower than Std 10 + Certificate	(e)* Lower than Std 10	
Fununtundo Prim	1	2	13	5	—	19
Mzumhlophe Prim	—	2	16	5	—	23
Daniels Prim	—	4	10	6	—	20
Emzomncane Prim	—	1	10	9	—	20
Mviswano Prim	—	1	10	6	—	17
Emsengeni Prim	—	—	9	17	—	26
Isaac Bool Prim	—	—	9	—	—	9
Myezo Prim	1	5	13	—	—	19
Elumanyanweni Prim	—	3	10	5	—	18
Garrett Prim	—	3	15	7	—	25
Nkuthalo Prim	—	5	20	1	—	26
Zamukuhanya Prim	—	—	14	3	—	17
Mngophiso Prim	—	—	9	5	—	14
Itembelhle Compr	—	3	9	2	—	14
Nomtundo Prim	13	27	10	—	—	50
Nomtundo Prim	—	—	1	—	—	1
Ben Sinuka Prim	—	—	1	—	—	1
Kwa-Ford Prim	—	1	2	9	—	12
Stephen Maxungungula Prim	—	1	12	3	—	16
Phillip Nikiwe Prim	3	2	11	2	—	18
Masangwana Prim	—	2	15	1	—	18
Arthur Nyobo Prim	—	5	12	3	—	20
Jarvis Gqamlanga Prim	—	2	6	8	—	16
Johnson Marwanga Pub	1	—	—	3	—	4
Samuel Nongogo Prim	—	6	7	7	—	20
Ernest Skosana Prim	—	2	8	3	—	13
Kama Prim	—	2	4	3	—	9
Cowan Sek	—	—	16	1	—	17
Emafini	11	5	24	—	—	40
Newell Sek	1	9	14	—	—	26
Molefe Prim	12	8	19	2	—	39
David Vuku Prim	—	5	8	5	—	18
Lamani Prim	—	—	16	—	—	16
New Brighton Prim	—	5	3	—	—	8
Pendla Prim	—	3	12	3	—	18
Pendla Prim	—	2	1	2	—	6

\* Since a very small number of South African pupils are issued with the matriculation certificate, it was assumed that the question referred to the senior or standard 10 certificate.

PE/Ibhayi area: teachers of specialist subjects

130. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Education: *Hansard* 14/3/90  
 How many suitably qualified teachers of (a) Accountancy, (b) Physical Science, (c) Biology, (d) Mathematics, (e) Computer Science, (f) Music and (g) other specified specialist subjects are there at each school falling under the control of his Department in the Port Elizabeth/Ibhayi area?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- Hansard* 14/3/90
- (a) 17
  - (b) 36
  - (c) 50
  - (d) 50
  - (e) 3
  - (f) 0
  - (g) The information is not readily available.

Department: Stationery

133. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

- (1) Whether any stationery is provided by his Department for the use of (a) primary and (b) secondary school pupils; if not, why not; if so, what stationery is provided to each (i) primary and (ii) secondary school pupil each year;
- (2) whether paper is provided by his Department for the printing of internal examination papers at (a) primary and (b) secondary schools; if not, why not; if so, how much paper is provided in respect of each (i) primary and (ii) secondary school pupil?

*Hansard* 14/3/90 B298E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (1) (a) and (b): Yes.
- (i) and (ii): Lists of stationery parcels per pupil per standard have been forwarded to the Member.
- (2) (a) and (b): Yes.
- (i) and (ii): Fixed quantities are not supplied. Departmental area offices order paper for the need of schools under their control and each principal requisitions from his area office according to need.

Western Cape matriculation examination: results

134. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education: *Hansard* 14/3/90  
 How many pupils at schools in the Western Cape falling under the control of the Department of Education and Training (a) wrote; (b)

obtained (i) A, (ii) B, (iii) C, (iv) D and (v) E symbols in, and (c) failed, their 1989 Standard 10 examinations in respect of (i) Mathematics (Higher Grade), (ii) Mathematics (Standard Grade), (iii) Physical Science (Higher Grade) and (iv) Physical Science (Standard Grade)?  
*Hansard* 14/3/90 B299E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (i) Mathematics HG
  - (a) Wrote: 80
  - (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 2, (iv) D: 3, and (v) E: 8
  - (c) Failed: 67
- (ii) Mathematics SG
  - (a) Wrote: 359
  - (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 2, (iv) D: 3, (v) E: 5, and (vi) F: 24
  - (c) Failed: 325
- (iii) Physical Science HG
  - (a) Wrote: 195
  - (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 0, (iv) D: 5, and (v) E: 11
  - (c) Failed: 179
- (iv) Physical Science SG
  - (a) Wrote: 196
  - (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 0, (iv) D: 1, (v) E: 1, and (vi) F: 12
  - (c) Failed: 182

TBVC countries: citizens deported from RSA

135. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *Hansard* 14/3/90  
 (a) How many citizens of (i) Ciskei, (ii) Transkei, (iii) Venda and (iv) Bophuthatwana were deported from the Republic in 1989 and (b) in terms of what statutory provisions were they deported in each case?  
*Hansard* 14/3/90 B300E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (a) (i) 21
- (ii) 116
- (iii) 5
- (iv) 2



(b) In terms of section 43 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972) *(101)* ~~101~~

LBS countries/Zimbabwe/Mozambique: workers *Handwritten* repatriated *14/3/90*  
 136. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) How many Black (a) workers and (b) persons from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique, respectively, were repatriated in 1989;  
 (2) how many Black (a) workers and (b) persons from each of the above countries had been granted exemption from repatriation on the ground of long service as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

*B301E*

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:  
 (1) Statistics on the basis as required by the honourable member are not available. However, the total number of persons (irrespective population group) removed

to the countries in question in 1989 is as follows:

Zimbabwe	5 817
Lesotho	4 728
Swaziland	1 269
Botswana	843
Mozambique	38 758

(2) During the period 1 January 1988 up to 26 February 1990, the following exemptions in terms of section 7 bis (1) of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937) were granted in respect of workers and persons from the following countries:

Zimbabwe	(a) 329	(b)* 16
Lesotho	158	110
Swaziland	15	35
Botswana	38	23
Mozambique	199	30

Separate statistics of exemptions granted to persons on the ground of long service alone, are not available.

\* Excluding workers, but including the wives and children of workers.

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QUESTIONS

+Indicates translated version

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Departmental employees

59 Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister for

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION:

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
(a)				
Labourers	1 050	35 237	2 065	132 821
Educators	68 657	37 743	12 655	54 692
Nursing Services	25 881	15 082	5 992	26 315
Other	84 533	13 469	3 722	41 286
	121 980	18 119	7 077	22 318
(b)	302 101	119 650	31 511	277 432

74 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) What amounts were paid in subsidies in the 1988-89 financial year in respect of films in (a) Afrikaans, (b) English and (c) the Black languages;  
 (2) in respect of how many films in each language were these subsidies paid?

*B184E*

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) R5 653 688  
 (b) R2 161 549  
 (c) R5 200 223

- (2) Afrikaans 13  
 English 13  
 Black languages 122

Infant mortality

87. Mr J J ELLIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *Handwritten 15/3/90*

Administration and Economic Co-ordination.

- (a) How many (i) Whites, (ii) Coloureds, (iii) Indians and (iv) Blacks were employed in the following broad occupational categories in Departments, viz Labourers, Educators, Nursing, Services and Other Personnel and (b) what total number of persons in each race group was employed in Departments as at 30 September 1989?

*Handwritten 15/3/90* *B155E*

What was the infant mortality rate for (a) Blacks, (b) Coloureds, (c) Whites and (d) Indians in the Republic in 1989?  
*Handwritten 15/3/90* *B202E*

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

As many late registrations of births and deaths in respect of 1989 are still being received, the 1989 data have not yet been processed. However, the relevant information in respect of 1988 is as follows:

- (a) 62\*  
 (b) 57,5  
 (c) 13,2  
 (d) 17,4 (estimate)

\* Latest estimate of the Human Sciences Research Council in respect of 1988.

NOTE

Infant mortality rate means the number of infant deaths (ie deaths of children under the age of one year) per one thousand live births.



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from 30 April to 4 May. Once again the White workers are going to sacrifice traditional White holidays to give the Blacks in South Africa an opportunity to have a holiday. [Interjections.]

How is the hon the Minister going to prevent that, and how is he going to protect this minority of Whites? He cannot do so, because he fears the Black trade unions. If he picks up the telephone and it is a Black trade union, he says they must not speak. He has heard it is a Black trade union, and he will comply with their demands. The hon the Minister does so without even listening to what they want. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

\*Mr P J PAULUS: I want to make it clear that at present the Blacks are demanding Soweto Day. When the Manpower Vote is discussed, we must not be surprised if this hon Minister says the Government has decided to make 16 June Soweto Day, because the SA Communist Party and the ANC are going to claim that day, and once again the minority of Whites in South Africa are going to be left in the lurch by the NP. There is no point in the hon the Minister's telling us we want to capitalise on the question. We want to protect the White workers in White South Africa, and we shall do so as far and for as long as possible. The Government will not stand in our way.

The White workers are turning against the NP to an increasing extent, because they know they can no longer rely on the NP for protection. [Interjections.] That is why the hon the Minister for Virginia received a majority of only 47 votes. That is proof that the workers are turning against them.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! There is no Minister for Virginia in the House. [Interjections.]

\*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, the hon member said we did not protect minorities. If 14 of the 15 White trade unions say 1 May is acceptable to them, must I permit the standpoint of the remaining one to prevail? How does he justify his story about minorities then?

The fact is that in order to gain points for the CP, the hon member is reducing the White mine-workers to a political group of people who have to experience a threat in everything. He is doing the White trade unions a great disservice by

presenting that argument. I shall say that to the White trade unions, because they have a function to fulfil. They can play a leading role, also in the new South Africa, as a result of their expertise and reliability. The White trade unions can play an enormous role on that basis, and I shall continue to say that.

Naturally productivity is an important consideration. After all, we cannot afford to have another workers' day. We acknowledge that there must be a workers' day, but as the hon member said, almost R400 million is lost every day that workers do not go to work. No country's economy can afford that. Nor can the country subject its workers to that. The National Productivity Institute was also consulted in respect of the matter, and gave it their full support.

By declaring 1 May as Workers' Day, we have done all the workers of South Africa a good turn [Time expired.]

Debate concluded

Independent Black states

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

Whether the Government is prepared to consider taking steps which would make it possible for the four independent Black states once again to become part of the Republic of South Africa? 13/3/90 B504E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, it is not up to the South African Government to take steps to make possible the re-incorporation of the TBVC states in the Republic of South Africa. Those states became independent in terms of legislation of this Parliament, and that independence was preceded by lengthy discussions, negotiations and in most cases by referendums or elections which were held in those countries before it was decided that they should become independent.

It is therefore not up to this Government to take the initiative. It is up to the relevant countries. This Government has made it clear, through the hon the State President, that their return to the sovereignty of the Republic of South Africa is an option. It is an option, not because this Government has made this decision or needs to make this decision. It is an option which they have as independent states in any case, namely the

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option to strive for any political objective they want to strive for, provided it is borne in mind that one cannot unilaterally by means of legislation in this country bring about their re-incorporation in the Republic of South Africa.

Similarly, it will again require a decision from this Parliament. It will require a thorough study of the various implications. It will require consideration of the type of structure those countries are going to submit to their voters, because they cannot ask their voters, even in a referendum, to become part of the Republic again if they do not tell their voters on what basis they will do so. [Interjections.]

Will it be on the basis of a confederal relationship, a federal relationship, a regional government or a provincial government? What are the implications in respect of agreements which they entered into after they became independent? What are the implications of loans they may have negotiated with foreign banks, governments or other financial institutions in this country?

This Government cannot be expected simply to take over debts incurred and contractual obligations entered into by independent countries. Hon members can therefore see that there are quite a number of complex questions arising from this issue. [Time expired.]

\*Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I have noted the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs' cautious reply to this question. I am not arguing about the details and how one should get there.

The South African Government was for many years not neutral on this issue. For many, many years after Dr Verwoerd came to Parliament, they actively pursued the idea of Bantustans. They promoted that concept. What is more, the choice that was given to Black South Africans at that time was not a neutral choice. It was Hobson's choice. Their choice was either to go independent and have citizenship in relatively poor Black territories or else to stay in apartheid South Africa with no vote and no constitutional redress in this country.

I do not believe that a neutral approach is good enough. We believe the time has come for the Government to try to bring down the curtain on the Verwoerdian era of apartheid. [Interjections.] It has done enough damage to South Africa internally and externally, more than any other policy ever pursued in South Africa. We have

asked and expect this of the Government in view of the expectations raised *inter alia* by the hon the State President's speech, and by the Government's constant reference to an undivided South Africa, which to Black people has a very specific meaning, and in view of *inter alia* the instability which is being created because of the economic and political uncertainty of the future of those TBVC countries.

We believe that this Government must admit that the Bantustan experiment in South Africa's history was costly and disastrous. While the Government may not be able to force or to coerce, it must adopt a very specific attitude and say that it is leaving the nightmare of partition to the CP. It must say it stands for a truly reconstructed and united South Africa to which all the components that were part of South Africa can come back home.

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE. Including Botswana? [Interjections.]

\*Mr C W EGLIN: The Government should adopt a positive attitude towards this. This does not mean that it invades or that it coerces, but it means that it must stop being neutral on this matter. The Government must say that its policy is to work together with those other states for a new united South Africa.

\*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister did not answer the hon member's question. The hon member's question was actually to what extent the prescriptions and the instructions of the ANC, which were probably issued from the Victor Verster Prison, to the effect that the independent states in South Africa must be destroyed to pave the way for the holistic Azania of the NP/ANC, have been complicated with. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister can sit there grinning sheepishly. That is what is happening. [Interjections.] They have destroyed the work of Matanzima and Hendrik Verwoerd. . . [Interjections.]

\*Dr F J VAN HEERDEN: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: I do not think it is parliamentary to refer to a sheepish expression.

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have one on your own face. Sit down. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Soutpansberg may proceed.



\*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the work of a Verwoerd and a Kaiser Matanzima is being systematically dismantled by this Government, and nothing must remain. [Interjections.] This Government will not allow Lennox Sebe to return to the Ciskei because the Government is afraid that he will continue with his policy.

My reply is that the dismantling of the two northern independent states is not going well. Matters are not proceeding smoothly. President Mangope and the leaders of Bophuthatswana announced this morning over the news that they were not going to yield to the pressure of the Nats and their Xhosa-ANC pals; they would remain steadfast and independent.

The destruction of Venda is proceeding accordingly to plan. The ANC and the PAC are exploiting the superstitions of those people in a very clever way. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Mr Chairman, I tried to listen to the hon member who has just spoken, but I could not find anything to which I could reply in an intellectual way. [Interjections.] I shall therefore return to the hon member who asked the question.

†I do not quite understand the hon member. On the one hand he said he appreciated the fact that we should not use coercion. Then what does neutrality mean? Could he explain that to us? One is either not neutral, in which case one coerces.

Mr C W EGLIN. [Inaudible.]

The MINISTER: That is exactly what the Government says. We are not coercing. Why should we? I do not agree with the hon member's rendering of the history of these states. I do not agree that these states were forced into accepting independence. They had a free choice. [Interjections.] I do not agree that we coerced them at the time, because by saying so the hon member is implying that this Parliament did so. I think that is an unacceptable charge to make against Parliament. I believe that some of these states did very well as far as their administration was concerned for quite a number of years before the present wave of unrest was unleashed.

I think there are indeed organisations who would like to undo what these states opted to do. However, that is not the question which the hon

member put to me. I ask him to stick to his question. He asked what steps we planned to take and my answer to him is none, because we are not called upon to take any steps.

Mr A E DE WET: Mr Chairman, it is common knowledge that the people of the Transkei and the Ciskei want to be re-incorporated into the Republic. [Interjections.] The frustration and needs of the people of the Ciskei have led to an outburst and have left a trail of destruction. All the people in the South African Border Corridor and in the Ciskei and the Transkei have lived and are living through traumatic times.

The economies of the three areas are deeply interlinked and the whole area is calling out for help. They need help desperately to restore confidence in the area; the confidence which is essential for any industrial or commercial growth which, in turn, is essential for any hope of employment for the thousands and thousands of destitute unemployed people.

The question of the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic is of great importance for the area. Any doubt or uncertainty creates speculation which is not conducive to confidence. The issue needs to be addressed now. It is vital that the South African Government make a statement of its intent as soon as possible to remove any doubt. Any plans to reconstruct or plans for future development of the area will in many cases be delayed until there is clarity on the situation. Any delay will lead to more and more unemployment and poverty.

I appeal to the Government firstly to listen to the call for help from the people of East London, Border, the Transkei and the Ciskei and secondly to remove the element of speculation by making a statement of its intent with regard to the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I find the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs fascinating. He suggests that the only way of persuading people or of expressing a point of view is coercion. [Interjections.]

If it did not coerce the Blacks to go into the independent states—the hon the Minister would assert that the Blacks were not coerced—the Government persuaded them. The NP said this was their positive policy, and this was the positive policy of the NP at that time. Dr

Verwoerd declared that it was their intention to create these independent states. All we are saying is: "Bury that concept! Leave that independent state concept to the CP because that is where it belongs!" We ask in the interests of a new South Africa that this Government should say that it has had another look, and that it has a positive attitude towards reunification. There should not be coercion, but a positive attitude towards reunification.

I do not think that the Government should be under any illusion as to the impact which that Verwoerdian philosophy made on society. If Mandela was in jail for 27 years it was *merit* because of that policy. If the ANC was banned, it was due to that policy. If the liberation movements went underground, it was due to that policy.

The DP says that the trend towards unification is going to be inevitable. What we want is for this Government to take a positive directional lead, and not to allow the lead to be taken by the people on the streets. We ask this Government to give a lead in the interests of this society.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I have made the position of the Government very clear. Reincorporation is an option open to those states. There are many complicated matters about which the previous speaker preferred not to speak. Let me just mention one aspect to him. In the Ciskei laws were introduced which gave tax-holidays to companies. Is that hon member who has just spoken prepared to go and say that he will change that law overnight and make it impossible for those companies to operate? If he is not, what is he up to in this House today? Is he just making cheap propaganda as usual? I am not impressed by these arguments. [Interjections.] The Government's position is quite clear. We realise that these four states are in a difficult situation because they have not achieved international recognition. The Government recognises that they are in a difficult economic situation.

The only thing the Government has said is that we should look at it quietly and calmly. Reunification is an option, but we are not going to force anyone back into South Africa. This is clear and I think anybody can understand it. It is for them to decide what they want to do and then to start negotiations with us because of the complicated issues involved, but which are, as usual, just

glibly glossed over by the DP living in their illusory world. [Interjections.] Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

-Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Visit to President Kenneth Kaunda

\*1. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs visited President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia during August 1989, if so, when,

(2) whether this visit took place with the approval of the previous State President,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? Henasa 13/3/90 B418E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(1) Yes. On 28 August 1989

(2) and (3) The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I were questioned directly, on the SABC-TV programme "Network" on 15 August 1989 regarding the circumstances surrounding arrangements for this visit. We both gave full answers to the questions, including one of the same tenor as that asked by the hon member. I would like to refer the hon member to reports dealing with our answers which appeared in the printed media on 16 August 1989. The SABC could also be asked to provide the hon member with a verbatim text of our answers.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I have nothing to add to our answers.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, as mention is made in these reports of tape recordings of the conversations that hon Ministers had with the previous State President, I would like to enquire from the

## Ball in TBVC regions' court, says Pik

# Reunification 'up to states'

It was up to Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei (the TBVC states) to take the initiative and start negotiations with the Government on reincorporating into South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate introduced by Mr Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point), he said the Government had made it clear that reincorporation was an option open to them.

It realised that they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then

start negotiating with the South African Government.

Mr Eglin said the Government should, in the interests of a new South Africa, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the Democratic Party was asking the Government to play a leading role.

Mr Botha said reincorporation could not take place unilaterally — the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the South African Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those states may

have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Mr Eglin said he was not arguing about the details — but it had to be borne in mind that for years the SA Government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's choice.

"We believe the time has come for the Government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

The "disaster of partition" should be left to the Conservative Party, and the Government should state its policy and work for a new South Africa.

Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said Mr Botha had not answered Mr Eglin's question as

to whether the Government was prepared to take steps to make it possible for the TBVC states to rejoin South Africa.

Mr Botha said he did not agree that the states had been forced to accept independence.

Mr Andre de Wet (DP, Nominated) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be reincorporated.

This was essential for there to be any hope of employment being created for the unemployed. "It is vital that the South African Government take its interests as soon as possible," Mr de Wet said. — Sapa.



# Reunification with SA is an open option Botha

D/Day 14/3/90

101

CAPE TOWN — The initiative for any re-incorporation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei (the TBVC states) into SA lay with those territories and it was for them to start negotiating on the issue with the SA government, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate introduced by Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point), he said the government had made it clear that re-incorporation was an option open to them. It realised that they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then start negotiating with the SA government.

Eglin said the government should, in the interests of a new SA, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

## Legislation

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the DP was asking government to give a lead in the interests of SA.

Botha said re-incorporation could not take place unilaterally — the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the SA Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those states might have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Eglin said he was not arguing about the details, but it had to be borne in mind that for years the SA government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's

choice.

"We believe the time has come for the government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said Botha had not answered Eglin's question as to whether the government was prepared to take steps to enable TBVC states to be re-incorporated into SA.

Botha said he did not agree that the states had been forced to accept independence.

Andre de Wet (DP nominated) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be re-incorporated.

"The whole area is calling out for help." □ Sapa reports from Gaborone that Botswana's External Affairs Minister Gaoitsewe Chiepe said yesterday that any talk of a "bantustan" amalgamating with Botswana was totally misplaced and unacceptable.

It said that Chiepe, speaking in Parliament, stated Botswana had always been opposed to the fragmentation of SA, which was manifested by the bantustans strewn all over the territory.

"Therefore," she said, "any talk of any bantustan amalgamating with Botswana is totally misplaced and unacceptable."

Chiepe said Botswana subscribed fully to the OAU's declaration on the absolute need to recognise and observe colonial boundaries.

Recent media reports have quoted Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope as having said his homeland would not be interested in re-incorporation with SA. Instead he would consider amalgamating with Botswana, as both housed one nation, divided by an imaginary border. — Sapa.

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The MINISTER OF EDUCATION (Continued):

School	(a) Degree	Number of teachers				Total
		(b) 3-year Diploma	(c)* Std 10 + Certificate	(d)* Lower than Std 10 + Certificate	(e)* Lower than Std 10	
Fumifundo Prim		1	13	5		19
Mzimhlophe Prim		2	16	5		23
Daniels Prim		4	10	6		20
Emzomncane Prim		1	10	9		20
Mvisiswano Prim		1	10	6		17
Emsengeni Prim		5	9	17	1	27
Isaac Boozi Prim	1	3	13	5		19
Myezo Prim		3	10	7		18
Elumanyanweni Prim		3	15	7		25
Garrett Prim		5	20	1		26
Nkuthalo Prim			14	3		17
Zamukukhanya Prim			9	5		14
Minqophiso Prim		3	9	2		14
Itembelihle Compr	13	27	10			50
Nomfundo Prim			1			1
Ben Sinuka Prim		1	2	9	1	13
Kwa-Ford Prim		1	12	3		16
Stephen Maxungun-gula Prim	3	2	11	2		18
Phillip Nikiwe Prim		2	15	1		18
Masangwana Prim		5	12	3		20
Arthur Nyobo Prim		2	6	8		16
Jarvis Gqamlana Prim	1			3	2	6
Johnson Marwanqa Pub		6	7	7		20
Samuel Nongogo Prim		2	8	3		13
Ernest Skosana Prim		2	4	3		9
Kama Prim			16	1		17
Cowan Sek	11	5	24			40
Emafini	1	9	14	2		26
Newell Sek	12	8	19			39
Molefe Prim		5	8	5		18
David Vuku Prim			16			16
Lamani Prim		5	3	3	2	13
New Brightom Prim		3	12	3		18
Pendla Prim		2	1	2	1	6

\* Since a very small number of South African pupils are issued with the matriculation certificate, it was assumed that the question referred to the senior or standard 10 certificate.

PE/Ibhayi area: teachers of specialist subjects

130. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Education: *Hansard 14/3/90*  
 How many suitably qualified teachers of (a) Accountancy, (b) Physical Science, (c) Biology, (d) Mathematics, (e) Computer Science, (f) Music and (g) other specified specialist subjects are there at each school falling under the control of his Department in the Port Elizabeth/Ibhayi area?  
 B295E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- Hansard 14/3/90*
- (a) 17
  - (b) 36
  - (c) 50
  - (d) 50
  - (e) 3
  - (f) 0
  - (g) The information is not readily available.

Department: Stationery

133. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

- (1) Whether any stationery is provided by his Department for the use of (a) primary and (b) secondary school pupils; if not, why not; if so, what stationery is provided to each (i) primary and (ii) secondary-school pupil each year;
- (2) whether paper is provided by his Department for the printing of internal examination papers at (a) primary and (b) secondary schools; if not, why not; if so, how much paper is provided in respect of each (i) primary and (ii) secondary school pupil?

*Hansard 14/3/90*  
 B298E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (1) (a) and (b): Yes.
- (i) and (ii): Lists of stationery parcels per pupil per standard have been forwarded to the Member.
- (2) (a) and (b): Yes.
- (i) and (ii): Fixed quantities are not supplied. Departmental area offices order paper for the need of schools under their control and each principal requisitions from his area office according to need.

obtained (i) A, (ii) B, (iii) C, (iv) D and (v) E symbols in, and (c) failed, their 1989 Standard 10 examinations in respect of (i) Mathematics (Higher Grade), (ii) Mathematics (Standard Grade), (iii) Physical Science (Higher Grade) and (iv) Physical Science (Standard Grade)?  
*Hansard 14/3/90*  
 B299E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (i) Mathematics HG
- (a) Wrote: 80
- (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 2, (iv) D: 3, and (v) E: 8
- (c) Failed: 67
- (ii) Mathematics SG
- (a) Wrote: 359
- (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 2, (iv) D: 3, (v) E: 5, and (vi) F: 24
- (c) Failed: 325
- (iii) Physical Science HG
- (a) Wrote: 195
- (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 0, (iv) D: 5, and (v) E: 11
- (c) Failed: 179
- (iv) Physical Science SG
- (a) Wrote: 196
- (b) Obtained: (i) A: 0, (ii) B: 0, (iii) C: 0, (iv) D: 1, (v) E: 1, and (vi) F: 12
- (c) Failed: 182

TBVC countries: citizens deported from RSA

135. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *101*  
 (a) How many citizens of (i) Ciskei, (ii) Transkei, (iii) Venda and (iv) Bophuthatswana were deported from the Republic in 1989 and (b) in terms of what statutory provisions were they deported in each case?  
*Hansard 14/3/90*  
 B300E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (a) (i) 21
- (ii) 116
- (iii) 5
- (iv) 2



(b) In terms of section 43 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972) (101) ~~101~~

LBS countries/Zimbabwe/Mozambique: workers repatriated 1413/90

136. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) How many Black (a) workers and (b) persons from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique, respectively, were repatriated in 1989;
- (2) how many Black (a) workers and (b) persons from each of the above countries had been granted exemption from repatriation on the ground of long service as at the latest specified date for which figures are available? ~~101~~ B301E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Statistics on the basis as required by the honourable member are not available. However, the total number of persons (irrespective population group) removed

to the countries in question in 1989 is as follows:

Zimbabwe	5 817
Lesotho	4 728
Swaziland	1 269
Botswana	843
Mozambique	38 758

- (2) During the period 1 January 1988 up to 26 February 1990, the following exemptions in terms of section 7 bis (1) of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937) were granted in respect of workers and persons from the following countries:

	(a)	(b)*
Zimbabwe	329	16
Lesotho	158	110
Swaziland	15	35
Botswana	38	23
Mozambique	199	30

Separate statistics of exemptions granted to persons on the ground of long service alone, are not available.

- \* Excluding workers, but including the wives and children of workers.

### HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Administration and Economic Co-ordination:

(a) How many (i) Whites, (ii) Coloureds, (iii) Indians and (iv) Blacks were employed in the following broad occupational categories in Departments, viz Labourers, Educators, Nursing, Services and Other Personnel and (b) what total number of persons in each race group was employed in Departments as at 30 September 1989? ~~15/3/90~~ B155E

### QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Departmental employees

59. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister for

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION:

(a)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
Labourers	1 050	35 237	2 065	132 821
Educators	68 657	37 743	12 655	54 692
Nursing	25 881	15 082	5 992	26 315
Services	84 533	13 469	3 722	41 286
Other	121 980	18 119	7 077	22 318
(b)	302 101	119 650	31 511	277 432

### Films: subsidies

74. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) What amounts were paid in subsidies in the 1988-89 financial year in respect of films in (a) Afrikaans, (b) English and (c) the Black languages;
- (2) in respect of how many films in each language were these subsidies paid? B184E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) R5 653 688
- (b) R2 161 549
- (c) R5 200 223

- (2) Afrikaans 13
- English 13
- Black languages 122

Infant mortality ~~15/3/90~~

87. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: ~~15/3/90~~

What was the infant mortality rate for (a) Blacks, (b) Coloureds, (c) Whites and (d) Indians in the Republic in 1989? ~~15/3/90~~ B202E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

As many late registrations of births and deaths in respect of 1989 are still being received, the 1989 data have not yet been processed. However, the relevant information in respect of 1988 is as follows:

- (a) 62\*
- (b) 57.5
- (c) 13.2
- (d) 17.4 (estimate)

- \* Latest estimate of the Human Sciences Research Council in respect of 1988

### NOTE

Infant mortality rate means the number of infant deaths (ie deaths of children under the age of one year) per one thousand live births.

B/Dam 15/3/90

(101)

# Three of the four TBVC lands opt for referendum

**THREE** of the four independent homelands have now taken decisions to hold referendums to decide whether or not to opt for reincorporation into SA.

Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland which has not taken the step, has, however, not closed the door on such a move.

KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza has called for the homeland system to be dismantled and a peaceful transitional period to lead into a "democratic non-racial government".

Bophuthatswana Foreign Minister Solomon Radebe said yesterday his country had rejected the SA of the past, which was why it took independence. "The transitional SA is in a state of flux and not yet in place, no one knows what will happen, and the post-apartheid SA is yet to come. We don't know which one we should join."

Radebe said if observer status was offered "Bophuthatswana would be prepared to play a role as an observer state".

He could not say whether or not its

**CHARLENE SMITH**

opposition to reincorporation would be re-evaluated.

Venda, which has been racked by violence recently, yesterday announced it would hold a referendum on the issue of reincorporation, while Ciskei announced at the time of its coup last week it would hold such a referendum.

Yesterday, Transkei Military Council and the Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa appointed a special five-man cabinet committee to formulate the mechanics of a referendum on reincorporation.

The cabinet committee will work in close collaboration with Transkei government law advisers to formulate an action programme and draft legislation by March 31.

The draft legislation will be made publicly available for comment, Holomisa told Business Day, and after that a date for the referendum would be set. He said Transkei was concerned that planning should be careful and all issues taken into account.

Further criticising the homeland system, Mabuza said he believed much of the present violence was because certain homeland-based political organisations were "intolerant of other political organisations". He said that had not been the case in his self-governing territory.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the violence in Natal, as an example, which has continued for three years, is because of Inkatha's refusal to allow other organisations to exist, and has used forced membership." Mabuza said he believed that if Inkatha stopped using these tactics the violence would cease.

Business Day was unable to obtain comment from Inkatha late yesterday. Radebe said he believed the present violence in the homelands had been caused by euphoria following President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech unbanning a number of organisations, including the ANC.

He said they were aware of "intimidation and coercion and pressures inflicted by activist groups".



# Reservoirs of discontent may overflow into SA

15/3/90 (101)  
**GRAHAM LINSOTT** discusses the collapse of the independent homelands dream, and perceptions of the danger they posed to South Africa.

In the Sixties and early Seventies, the old United Party used to warn darkly of the perils of the Government's bantustan programme, that it would set up inside South Africa bridgeheads for black nationalism and communism (and the terms were virtually synonymous to many of those old *bloedsappe*).

They were about a quarter right, and in a way they probably did not anticipate. The homelands did not become satellites of the Warsaw Pact or Ghana, but they did become dangerous concentrations of discontent and disaffection.

This carried into the urban areas as well because, until comparatively recently, urban blacks were haunted by the prospect of being "repatriated" to some homeland of which they had only heard.

Bantustans had a bad vibe.

In many cases the homeland leaderships to which the South African Government bequeathed independence were anything but the popular choice and not exactly of the highest calibre.

It never was satisfactorily demonstrated that the inhabitants of

the homelands wanted independence anyway.

The homelands have been ticking time bombs. Ciskei went off last week. In Boputhatswana and Venda the fuse seems to be spluttering. Transkei is defused by the fact that the leadership has clearly distanced itself from the concept of sovereign independence.

The homelands have become centres of disaffection and lawlessness. The venality and corruption of some of the regimes installed by Pretoria has been such as to discredit the very institution of government.

So anarchy rules for a day or two, people's livelihoods are burnt down, the liquor stores are looted and the day of liberation seems at hand.

But then the hangover.

Far from becoming communist launching pads into South Africa, the homelands have become reservoirs of restlessness and lawlessness. Such phenomena are never contained behind borders. Unrest has a terrible propensity to spill over.

Yes, those *bloedsappe* were about a quarter right.

# Homelands in flux

## 1011 15/3/90 Cape Times Polls to decide on resuming SA status

### Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Three of the four independent homelands have taken decisions to hold referendums to decide whether or not to opt for reincorporation into South Africa.

Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland which has not taken such a step, has, however, not closed the door on such a move.

Ka-Ngwane's Chief Minister, Mr Enos Mabuza, has called for the homeland system to be dismantled and a peaceful transitional period to lead into a "democratic non-racial government".

Bophuthatswana's Foreign Minister, Mr Solomon Radebe, said yesterday that they had rejected the SA of the past, which was why they took independence.

"The transitional SA is in a state of flux and not yet in place, no one knows what will happen, and the post-apartheid SA is yet to come. We don't know which one we should join."

Venda, which has been racked by violence in recent times, yesterday announced that it would hold a referendum on the issue of reincorporation, while Ciskei announced at the time of its coup last week that it would hold such a referendum.

Yesterday, the Transkei Military Council and the Council of Ministers appointed a special five-man cabinet committee to formulate the mechanics of a referendum on reincorporation.

Draft legislation will be made publicly available for comment, General Bantu Hlomisa said, and after that a date for the referendum would be set.

Mr Mabuza said he believed much of the present violence was because certain homeland political organisations were "intolerant of other political organisations".

"There is no doubt in my mind that the violence in Natal, as an example, which has continued for three years, is because

of Inkatha's refusal to allow other organisations to exist."

Mr Radebe said he believed the present violence in the homelands had been caused by euphoria following State President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech.

He said they were aware of "intimidation and coercion and pressures inflicted by activist groups".

● The Ciskei Military Council detained more than 15 high-ranking government officials and executives of parastatals in the past few days "to investigate allegations of corruption".

The MD of the Ciskei People's Development Bank, Mr Thami Sondiyazi, was detained by three security policemen on Monday at his office in Bisho, members of his staff said.

Mr Sondiyazi accompanied deposed president Lennox Sebe to Hong Kong.

Other sources said at least 15 senior officials, including two Ciskei Radio journalists, had been detained "on suspicion of corruption".



SASRIA FM 16/3/90

## Who picks up the bill?

Recent unrest in Ciskei and other areas has thrown the system of political riot insurance into the balance. Uncertainty about what is covered by SA Special Risks Association (Sasria) has created myriad problems.

Sasria, through which clients must place all initial riot cover, has been controversial since its inception in 1979. Complications arising from the confused political situation in the regions create a host of problems.

If damage to property in Ciskei proves to have been caused by military action some businesses could find themselves uncovered. Sasria caters for damage caused only by riots and unrest and excludes damage related to or caused by military action.

Sasria MD Rodney Schneeberger left for Ciskei on Sunday to assess the damage. He met Brig Oupa Gqozo on Tuesday to discuss the situation and then called an urgent Sasria board meeting on his return.

No claims were made on Sasria after the coup in Transkei — nor the attempted coup in Bophuthatswana — so these cannot be used as precedents.

When the FM went to press, Schneeberger could not yet say to what extent

damage to property was related to a "military rising." But it is believed the damage will not be considered the result of military action.

Another controversy concerns loss from looting of business premises. Schneeberger says these will not be covered by Sasria if they were pure theft; only if riot-inspired.

Even if Sasria will pay claims in the riot-torn area, cover is limited. In Ciskei and Venda those insured are covered to a limit of R5m each. In Bophuthatswana and Transkei the limit is R10m. Low limits reflect high-risk areas and low premiums. Limits include standing charges — payment of wages while a business is not operating — but not profits lost through interruption of business.

In these circumstances many businessmen may not find it worth restarting.

Estimates so far of total damage amount to about R150m. Ciskei Insurance Brokers GM Tony Gray, who claims to handle the bulk of insurance business there, estimates his clients incurred losses from damage to buildings and buses at R35,5m — so far. If contents of buildings are added losses could rise by another R42m. The other losses will come from a number of smaller brokers.

Gray's clients include Ciskei People's Development Bank, which owns many industrial premises and took the brunt of the losses. Gray says damage to these has been estimated about R17m. Small businesses which have taken loans with the bank are claiming damages of about R4,5m. These are expected to rise further.

Another client, Ciskei Transport Corp, which lost 47 buses, is believed to have incurred losses of about R7,2m. Sun International's R10m Mdantsane Entertainment Centre was burnt to the ground.

A long-established problem is that Sasria cover is for a single insured. So the Development Bank, for example, will be liable for any losses over and above R5m by the various businesses falling under its umbrella.

The bank does not have additional cover with overseas insurers or reinsurers, only a self-insurance fund, thought to be not substantial. Others such as Sun International have taken additional cover overseas.

Mibsa (previously Minets) director Rod Pearson points out: "Overseas cover may be only in excess of Sasria limits and, therefore, may not always take the place of Sasria cover when the R5m-R10m limit is absorbed." A further problem is that the limit applies to the entire insurance year. Sasria has the power to reinstate cover but Pearson says it refused to offer reinstatement of cover relating to recent Ciskei damage.

PFV Group Broking Services MD Don

Gallimore says unrest-related claims should be picked up either by Sasria or Lloyd's. That which will certainly be taken by Lloyd's is outside risk — for example, should an Eskom power station be damaged leading to loss of business — and net profits.

Businesses in Katlehong and other areas in SA are better provided for. Sasria covers insureds in SA for claims up to R200m. This was recently raised from R100m. ■

FOREIGN TRADE FM 16/3/90

## Devious routes

Exactly who bought SA's R57,9bn exports and sold its R44,5bn imports in 1989 is not known. As a result of international sanctions, trade is frequently routed through countries where SA's policies are less controversial, to avoid identifying the source or destination of goods and commodities.

But official figures from our trading partners show the major industrialised countries still play a vital role.

West Germany remained top trading partner in 1989, with imports and exports marginally down from 1988 to just below US\$5bn. Based on annualised estimates to September, second largest was probably Japan, at about \$3,9bn (1988: \$3,8bn).

Trade with the US, which headed the list until 1986, was about \$3,3bn, up on 1988's \$3,1bn. Also worth about \$3,3bn was Italy, 33% up on 1988's \$2,5bn and whose trade has shown the most rapid growth. Trade with the UK was valued at \$3,2bn, about the same as the previous year.

The Republic of China (Taiwan) does not make figures available. But IMF statistics show a climb between 1982-1988 from \$400m to \$1,2bn "Exports," says SA Chamber of Business trade secretary Bess Robertson, "were mainly base metals and

## ESKOM LOAN BREAK

FM 16/3/90

The FM learns that Eskom — in an effort to refinance bonds falling due — has raised DM100m on the West German market, which translates into about R150m. Recent political events in SA assisted the operation. And Eskom and other borrowers' maintenance of contact with overseas markets has paid off.

This is a good indication that other public-sector concerns could refinance part of maturing bonds and notes on the Continent. Says UAL economist Dennis Dykes: "D-mark bearer bond commitments are somewhat of a test case as to what might happen with others falling due this year. They are estimated around US\$1bn in total. If this has worked, much of the bearer bond debt will probably be financed in this way."

This is the first European money known to have been raised since the first quarter of last year, when there were two renewals of Swiss funds. In January 1989, Union Bank of Switzerland acted as paying agent for the renewal of a R100m medium-term credit note. In December 1988, Swiss Volksbank led a consortium of Swiss banks in a R88m private placing of government bonds.

FM 16/3/90

## FINRAND SLIDES

A drop in the finrand from above US25c on Monday, to a close of 23,75c on Tuesday, is thought to result from large gilts or equity sell-offs in New York.

This means, since Mandela's release under five weeks ago, the discount between the finrand and commercial rand has shot from 19,8% to 38%. Stop-losses caused overseas finrand investors, who, when Mandela was released, had taken positions in the finrand, to sell.

THE HOMELANDS

F/M 16/3/90

101

# A clamour of voices

■ Reintegrating the homelands could see their demands for funding increase

Ever since the Transkei became independent in 1976 — to be followed by Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — the status of the homelands has been the subject of intense controversy. Now that reincorporation of the TBVC is very much on the political agenda, the complexities of the system of ethnic enclaves devised by Hendrik Verwoerd are yet another worrying factor in SA's already explosive racial and economic mix.

Under F W de Klerk, the Nationalists have jettisoned old-style separate development, of which the homelands were the backbone. They failed to stem the tide to the cities; the trappings of independence are being rejected by those they were meant to benefit. From Bisho in the Ciskei to Thohoyandou in Venda, from Umtata in the Transkei to Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana — recent events are testimony to an upsurge of popular revolt against ruling elites.

Transkei and Ciskei's military leaders want to rejoin SA provided apartheid is scrapped. While Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope totally rules out any such suggestion, opposition to him is in reality only

checked by the SA Defence Force. In Venda — at the best of times a hotbed of arcane political intrigue and ritual murder — President Frank Ravele, who recently turned down SA's offers of assistance to maintain law and order, is attempting reforms to head off growing opposition. But he may be the next to fall, following the Matanzimas and Sebes.

As far as the self-governing or non-independent homelands are concerned, reincorporation could be "automatic," reckons Ka-Ngwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, adding that he believes "the most logical thing would be the peaceful transfer to a democratic constitution." He sees the transition as involving a period of phasing out the various legislative structures and a streamlining — on a regional, nonracial basis — of existing administrative structures such as health and education.

According to Mabuza, the homelands have reached the "point of no return" politically — "and homeland leaders will have to facilitate the transition" to ensure that it is peaceful.

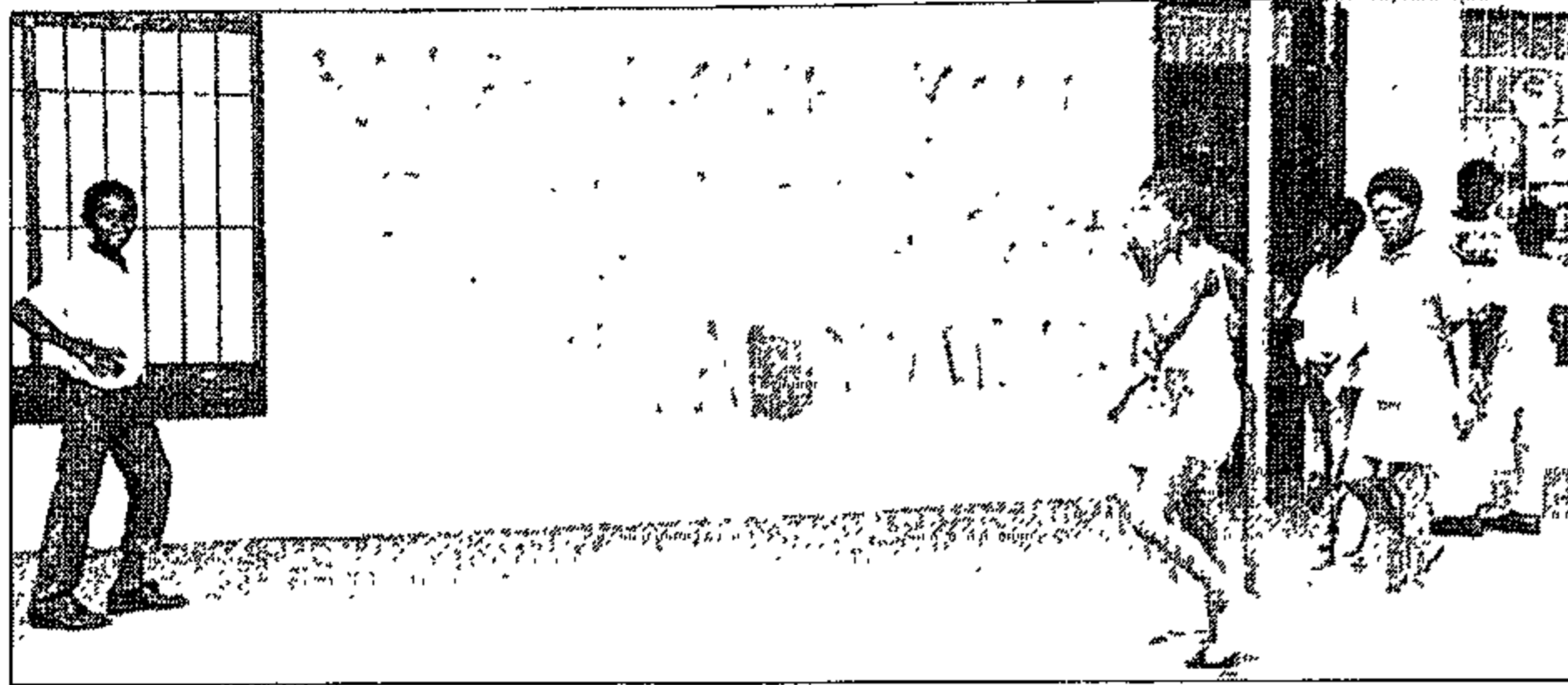
There's little doubt that the release of

Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC — and with that the perceived prospect of a black government in SA — has a lot to do with unleashing the clamour for reincorporation. A government spokesman points out: "There is a perception by people (in the homelands) that things are going to be better across the border."

Mabuza (who is on excellent terms with the ANC) says that, in addition to the release and the unbannings, there is also the phenomenon of legal protest marches in SA. Given a general climate of repression in the homelands, the thrust for freedom in SA was bound to spill over into the enclaves. Ka-Ngwane is alone in its relative immunity to unrest. In Gazankulu, Hudson Ntsanwisi had to go into hiding two weeks ago; in Venda this week, a crowd of 10 000 marched on the capital and was bloodily dispersed.

But each homeland is different. KwaZulu has the Buthelezi factor. Mangosuthu Buthelezi has always been opposed to a spurious independence, preferring to be part of a united and democratic SA, or (as a second prize) some kind of federation. But Zulu nationalism will always be a factor in the





Sign of the times in Bophuthatswana ... plea for union

region's political life.

How easy would reincorporation of the four independent homelands be? Assuming that the TBVC states do indicate, through referenda, that they want to return, this would then very largely depend on the willingness of the SA government to co-operate. De Klerk stated on February 2. "In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with SA, and specifically about whether they should be reincorporated into our country. Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities."

The timing of the return could well depend on the wider reform agenda set by Pretoria. If reform stalls, the concerns of the homelands would be marginalised. Transkei's Bantu Holomisa - who has left to his countrymen the decision on whether to return - has repeatedly said he would not like to lead the Transkei back to an "apartheid SA." In the other Xhosa bantustan, neighbouring Ciskei, the new military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo (see *People*), gave notice directly after assuming power in the March 4 coup of his intention to see the territory reincorporated into SA. He shared a platform with local UDF-ANC figures and against a backdrop of ANC and SA Communist Party flags.

Even if conditions were right, there could be no short-cut to reincorporation. The TBVC states were created by Acts of parliament - and would require enabling legislation from both SA and the independent homelands before they could legally become part of SA again.

Fanie Cloete, former chief director of constitutional planning with Chris Heunis and now a visiting research associate at Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies, says that, under present legislation, SA has no legal powers over the TBVC states. "To extend parliamentary and political sovereignty over them, there will have to be a formal Act of parliament again, like there was when they were granted independence," he states. And this would have to be preceded by talks, the signing of treaties, draft legislation and so on.

Even if there is agreement on both sides, it could take at least six months to get the

necessary legislation through parliament and corresponding legislation passed by the homeland legislative authority, he believes.

In constitutional terms, three things could happen:

- A reincorporated homeland could have no government of its own, only a regional authority to oversee local services falling under the State's central structures;
- The ruling authority could retain a measure of independence, like the present non-independent homelands; or
- There could be something like the old provincial council system, with a controlling body taking decisions on regional matters but still ultimately following the lead set by whoever is running the country.

And what of Pretoria? Does it want the homelands back? John Dugard, director of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies, says that while the legal process and necessary Acts of parliament could take a long time, he does not see "SA being obstructive at this stage."

Kobus Jordaan, another former constitutional planner with Heunis and now Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, agrees, saying he is convinced the homelands will be reincorporated because they are going to have to be part of SA's new constitutional future.

Cloete's belief is that government doesn't want the homelands back at this stage, unless they can be fitted into a confederal structure. He says: "My interpretation of the willingness of government to take them back is not too optimistic. And as long as SA holds the purse strings, they can probably keep them out for a long time."

For taxpayers, a major issue will be the financial implications. Last year, the four independent homelands drained away R6,2bn - excluding the indirect costs of development loans which total nearly R2bn (see

table).

A lot depends on the future make-up of controlling authorities. If large-scale rationalisation takes place and duplication of services is removed, commonsense says the homelands would cost SA taxpayers less. "It's hard to say, but a lot of money should be saved on propping up top-heavy structures," Jordaan observes. "Obviously development will have to continue taking place and services upgraded. Money is going to have to continue being pumped in - but I wouldn't think it is going to cost more."

Cloete notes that it is impossible to say what the future cost of reincorporated homelands might be. "If funding becomes part of the bargaining process, the homelands could cost more. For example, something like Transkei's army could become an issue. Should SA continue to finance it, should it be disbanded, or should it become part of the SADF? All these questions would have to be worked out beforehand."

Holomisa's view is that a returned Transkei would cost SA more - if only because government would then be obliged to improve what he terms the Third World infrastructure of his country. "Our schools and hospitals are terrible and there is a big backlog in our civil service pay structure and fringe benefits. We need to do things like provide fresh water for the rural areas, which is going to cost millions. If we came back, SA could no longer say to us: 'You are independent, find your own money.' We would not have to rely on handouts anymore."

He says that, according to a document he presented to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis last year, Transkei would need R4bn to make up the backlog in essential services. That compares with the R1,7bn received from SA in the last financial year. "The money saved by rationalisation would be a drop in the ocean, compared to what we need to develop the country."

That's honest. However, politics is about the allocation of resources - and quite evidently, the voices of the homelands are going to be diverse, insistent and demanding. ■

## Financing the homelands

Estimated sources of homeland revenue: 1988/89

	From central government* (Pretoria) Rm	From loans Rm	From internal revenue* Rm
Bophuthatswana	403	148	188
Ciskei	910	-	191
Gazankulu	408	47	153
KaNgwane	215	30	49
KwaNdebele	208	45	41
KwaZulu	1 463	118	387
LeBowa	860	66	221
QwaQwa	160	26	120
Transkei	660	-	936
Venda	282	71	194
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5 568</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>3 479</b>

\*Includes various transfer payments from central government

Source: Race Relations Survey



# Apartheid chickens come home to roost

Star 7/3/90 (101)

I wish I could say that I shed no tear for those homeland leaders who are now under so much pressure to relinquish their positions of power and access to riches beyond their wildest dreams. My Christian conscience, however, says I should actually sympathise with them.

Not because I know that they were victims of the biggest con job ever done on blacks, but because I believe that they were naive to believe that the gravy train could ride on for ever.

Many are the stories told of how people were conned into accepting the homeland status and the quasi independence that led to millions of blacks being stripped of their citizenship rights.

## Archipelago

From the time Matanzima was elevated to the paramount chieftainship to suit South Africa's game plan, to the creation of another "nation" of Xhosas a few miles west, to the scattered bits of land — an archipelago in the sea that was regarded as white South Africa — that became Bophuthatswana, and finally the creation of Venda by taking people to a game reserve and plying them with liquor and giving them free suits so that they would vote the right way. All these were done by South Africa.

Write  
On!

JOE  
LATAKGOMO



And now, the Africans of the land are saying *no mas*. They have had enough of terror and authoritarian rule; of buying "guest houses" for the "people" in some foreign land; of building fancy airports while thousands just across the road from the airport were starving, homeless and jobless; of buying "rain making machines"; of tarring roads which led to their new-found girl friends' homes — and stripping them when the girlfriends ditch them.

As a result of these indulgences by the government the merry-making went on. Sure, there were early signals, but all of these homeland leaders ignored them.

And now people demand their rights as citizens of a larger South Africa, and the situation has become ugly.

Nobody can, or should condone the killings and burnings and lootings in those homelands. Indeed, these actions are tragic, and totally self-defeating.

The days of the homelands are running out.



# UDF calls for gradual change

By SANDILE MEMELA

UNITED Democratic Front publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota has called for selected leaders in ANC-aligned homelands, like KaNgwane, to be allowed to run their areas while the struggle continues for democratically elected leaders.

This, he said, would avoid chaos that could destroy the infrastructure needed to build the foundations of a new South Africa.

"There is no doubt that the structures that exist in homelands will be needed to build a new society that will enhance the interests of the people," he said.

"As a result, the UDF holds the view that the dismantling of the homelands has to be a guided process and we cannot allow the situation in the homelands to deteriorate into anarchy and chaos."

"That definitely does not serve the aims of the struggle but brings into existence a lot of problems that will need to be addressed by the new government in the period of reconstruction," said Lekota.

"He said no blueprint existed, but there were a number of people in com-

## HOMELANDS IN TURMOIL

"We should guard against calls for the dissolution of homelands as this could create space for the government to install its own stooges."

"The result of that could be a serious setback for some of the areas that the people have already captured in the advance to the new society," said Lekota.

He stressed, however, that the liberation movement had always been opposed to the homeland system "which has been plunged them into chaos, such as that prevailing in Venda, Gazankulu and Bophuthatswana."

"But their dissolution

## Existing structures will be needed to build new society for the people

Mabuza warned against the rampant destruction of property in the homelands.

"We realise how worn our people's patience is with so-called leaders whose main concern has been to further their self-interest at the expense of their constituency."

"A scorched earth policy will rebound on them and detrimentally affect the perpetrators."

"Freedom entails responsibility and it is no excuse to run amok and cut a swathe of destruction through the fabric of society."

"Where do the angry people think the money will come from to replace what they have destroyed?" asked Mabuza.

He also warned against the absence of swift and orderly action towards a constitutionally based transition government which, he said, posed the risk of perpetuating instability and created conditions for the establishment of an authoritarian State.

"We have a choice

the government to give a lead in the interests of South Africa.

Botha said reincorporation could not take place unilaterally - the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the South African Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those States may have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Eglin said he was not arguing about the details - but it had to be borne in mind that for years the South African government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's choice.

"We believe the time has come for the government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

The "disaster of partition" should be left to the Conservative Party, and the government should state its policy and work for a new South Africa.

Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said Botha had not answered Eglin's question as to whether the government was prepared

initiative for any reincorporation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei (the TBVC states) into South Africa lay with those territories and it was for them to start negotiating on the issue with the South African government, Sapa reports.

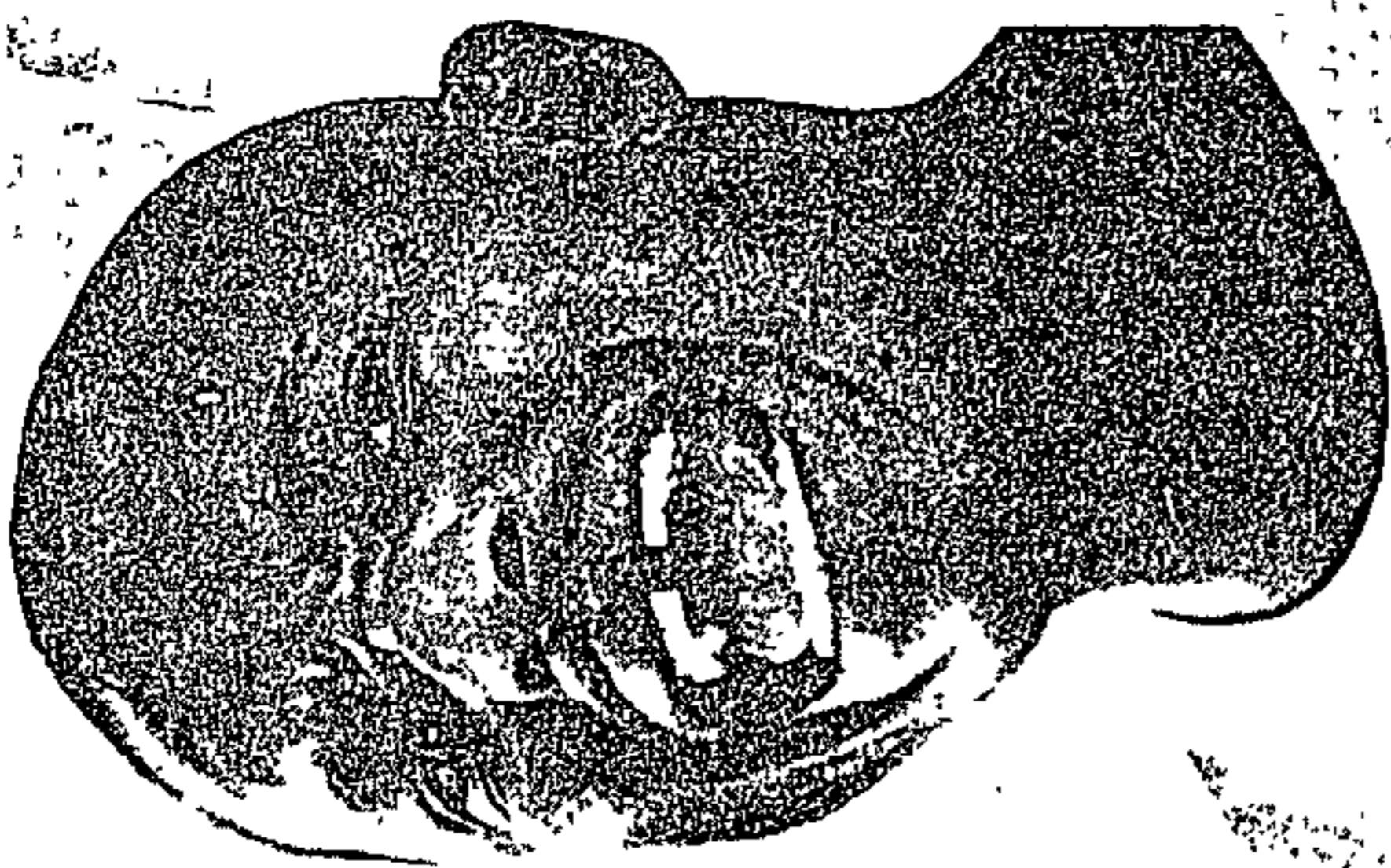
Speaking in a parliamentary interpolation debate introduced by Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point), he said the government had made it clear that reincorporation was an option open to them.

It realised they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then start negotiating with the South African government.

Eglin said the government should, in the interests of a new South Africa, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the Democratic Party was asking



UDF publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota "We cannot allow anarchy and chaos."

reincorporated "The whole area is calling out for help."

This was essential for there to be any hope of employment being created for the unemployed.

"It is vital that the South African government states its interests as soon as possible," said De Wet.



KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza.

## Masses march to get him out,



time when homeland economies comes at a  
time when homeland leaders have been warned  
Pretoria will trim its expenditure this year.

*CMT Times 19/3/90 (10)*  
**People 'reject homelands'**

JOHANNESBURG. — The recent spate of unrest in South Africa illustrated an emphatic rejection of apartheid, Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday.

Mr Mandela said the violence was very unfortunate, "but it indicates the rejection by the masses of the people of the bantustan policy.

"If it came to the test where the views of the people were consulted, there would be an emphatic rejection."

Mr Mandela was speaking after his return from a whirlwind tour during which he met the leaders of four African countries as well as ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is in a Swedish hospital. — Sapa

● **Small crowd at Mandela concert — Page 5**



# Violence costs millions for homelands

QWL  
Tink's  
19/3/90  
101

JOHANNESBURG. — In a week when the Ciskei People's Development Bank announced that recent riots in the homeland had caused over R60m damage to factory property and contents, the economic toll of unrest in SA's other homelands is emerging.

The extent of damage to industry in the fortnight of unrest in Bophutatswana could not be gauged last week as industries and the Bophutatswana Development Corporation and Department of Information would not comment as the state of emergency continued in the independent homeland.

But from KwaZulu, the self-governing homeland which has sustained the most prolonged violence, Inkatha Institute executive director Mr Gavin Woods said the violence between warring factions of Inkatha and the UDF had had severe repercussions on the formal and informal economic sectors, particularly for backyard businesses.

But the most profound effect was the disruption of labour.

In the KwaZulu area of Hammersdale the Hebox factory, SA's largest manufacturer of denim, has lost millions through absenteeism.

Group PR director Mr Ron Phillips said absenteeism at the factory, which has a complement of 1 540 staff, was running at 100% in November and December.

Mr Phillips said Tongaat and other textile producers in the area, SA Nylons and PAN textiles, while conducting negotiations with community leaders, were seriously considering withdrawing operations.

Mr Woods said the cycle of violence in KwaZulu had become self-perpetuating as youth unemployment runs at 72%.

A similar story unfolds in SA's other homelands, albeit on a smaller scale.

The damage to homeland economies comes at a time when homeland leaders have been warned Pretoria will trim its expenditure this year.

QWL Tink's 19/3/90 101

## Prisons Service: staff shortages

163. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether the Prisons Service is experiencing staff shortages; if so, what (a) is the extent of the shortages and (b) is being done to remedy the situation?

*Answered 19/3/90*

B382E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) and (b) Yes. Personnel shortages are experienced in the following vocational groups:

- Disciplinary Personnel.
- Work Study Officials.
- Computerised Information System Personnel.
- Agricultural Technicians.
- Artisans.
- Financial Personnel (Accounts Clerks),
- Logistics Personnel (Material Support Clerks).
- Musicians.
- Nurses.
- Social Workers.
- Psychologists.
- Typists.

Due to the general under-supply in the labour market, some of these vacancies simply cannot be filled.

The existing fixed establishment as on 1 February 1990, does however not reflect the shortage of 5 716 posts which in consideration of financial realities are attended to on a planned and continuous basis, by the provision of funds on the South African Prisons Service budget.

## Robben Island: prisoners

164. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice: *Answered 19/3/90*

How many prisoners were being held at the (a) maximum security and (b) medium security prison on Robben Island as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B383E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

On 2 March 1990, the figures were as follows—

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(a) 344  
(b) 303

## Department of Posts and Telecommunications: staff housing subsidies

167. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises: *Answered 19/3/90*

What total amount was allocated by the Department of Posts and Telecommunications in respect of the 1986-87, 1987-88, 1988-89 and 1989-90 financial years, respectively, for the payment of staff housing subsidies on a (a) compulsory and (b) voluntary basis?

B386E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(a) and (b)

1986/87: R 79 378 850.12;  
1987/88: R 84 319 829.38,  
1988/89: R101 805 544.09; and  
1989/90: an estimated R142 000 000. The financial figures will only become available after the closing of the financial year on 31 March 1990.

## Notes

(i) Separate figures in respect of compulsory and voluntary additional payments are not readily available as the Department's computerized system does not, unfortunately, distinguish between the two amounts. The time and cost involved in consulting every housing subsidy file, of which there are ± 26 700, to obtain the required information cannot be justified.

(ii) The higher than normal increase in subsidies in the 1989/90 financial year can be attributed to the additional subsidy payable in respect of loans of R50 000 and higher for the period June 1989 to March 1990 as well as the fact that building society interest rates were adjusted upwards twice during the relevant financial year.

## Self-governing territories: size

172. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: *Answered 19/3/90*

101

What was the size in hectares of each of the self-governing territories as at 31 December 1989? *Answered 19/3/90*

B391E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

KwaNdebele	224 632 hectares
Gazankulu	774 793 hectares
Owagwa	105 133 hectares
KaNgwane	438 221 hectares
Lebowa	2 244 078 hectares
KwaZulu	3 243 703 hectares

Self-governing territories/independent Black states: consolidation cost

173. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid:

What was the cost of purchasing land for the purpose of consolidation in respect of each (a) self-governing territory and (b) independent Black state as at 31 December 1989?

B392E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

Separate statistics are not available. The total accumulative cost, however, amounted to R1 321 555 549 on 31/12/1989.

Mr Nelson Mandela: cost of imprisonment at Victor Verster

176. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Justice: *Answered 19/3/90*

(1) (a) For how long was Mr Nelson Mandela detained in a house at the Victor Verster Prison and (b) (i) what facilities were at his disposal during this period and (ii) what (aa) was the daily cost involved in these facilities and (bb) is the daily cost in respect of an ordinary prisoner,

(2) whether Mr Mandela (a) received and (b) entertained any guests during this period; if so, what was the cost involved, in each case;

(3) whether (a) Mrs Winnie Mandela and (b) any other persons visited Mr Mandela at public expense during this period; if so, (i) which other persons and (ii) what was the cost to the State in each specified case? *Answered 19/3/90*

B412E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) (a) From 7 December 1988 until 11 February 1990.

(b) (i) In a comfortably equipped and properly secured home on the Victor Verster Prison grounds. The furniture and other equipment of the house are still being applied and utilised efficiently at other points for departmental purposes.

(ii) (aa) and (bb) Not readily available. The per capita cost per prisoner per day differs from institution to institution due to a variety of variables per place.

(2) (a) and (b)

Mr Mandela received visits continuously during this period. The cost relating to the entertainment of these visitors were borne by Mr Mandela himself. Unfortunately no specific amount can be given as this matter is of a personal nature.

(3) (a) and (b) (i) and (ii)  
Mrs Winnie Mandela and other private visitors visited Mr Mandela at own expense.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Move to have Homeland Act scrapped

A PLAN for the dismantling of all homelands, drawn up by Lebowa, is to be presented to the homeland's legislative assembly tomorrow, Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike, announced yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference amidst a work stayaway by civil servants that have left the main offices in Lebowakgomo virtually deserted, Ramodike said the plan entailed enlisting all homelands to make a joint approach to Pretoria for the repeal of Homeland Act 21 of 1971.

Ramodike said a consultative conference was envisaged which would involve all homelands -

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

including the TBVC states.

He said he did not agree with demands for the immediate dismantling of homelands. He supported the call by the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Peter Terror Lekota, for their gradual phasing out.

The immediate dismantling of the homeland is one of the demand by organisations and this has led to the work stayaway.

Ramodike said his cabinet had not decided what to do with the civil

servants who are currently on stayaway, calling for educational demands to be met.

Responding to a question on how the stayaway, called by the UDF-affiliated Lebowakgomo Civic Association, would affect his relations with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his planned trip to Lusaka to meet with ANC leaders, Ramodike said this was up to the ANC.

"When I met Mr Nelson Mandela it was by invitation. There was no intention on my part to use that meeting to enhance my status.

"Mr Mandela told me to come back to the Northern Transvaal and try to normalise the situation. We agreed to meet again. I remain open to meeting with all groups, not only the ANC," he said.

Ramodike said it was imperative that although the ANC was seen as the most loved organisation by black people in the country today, it was "important that the ANC recognises other political groups, beliefs and affiliations within the country and be prepared to involve them in negotiations".

Turning to the shortage of books, Ramodike said it was wrong to link the issue with the purchase of ministerial cars.

He said a white official responsible for buying vehicles for Lebowa government would appear before the De Meyer Commission soon over gross irregularities.

He said education department had been mismanaged at head office, resulting in orders for books being submitted to suppliers only late last month.

This should have been submitted between July and October last year. He said however books had already started arriving and were being delivered to various schools by policemen and soldiers.

On calls for the dismantling of his youth organisation, Ramodike said such a decision could only be taken at a conference of the United Youth Organisation of South African (UYOSA).

No date for such a conference had so far been set, he said. UYOSA members were however free to join other organisation, he said.

B/Day 24/3/90

## Homeland leaders in run-up to talks

101

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — The first formal talks on a new constitution are to start on April 5 when President F W de Klerk meets non-independent homeland leaders to discuss the structuring of negotiations.

De Klerk announced yesterday that the six homeland leaders and the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in Parliament would join him in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters.

The talks are to take place just six days before the first meeting between government and the ANC.

De Klerk said several leaders working within existing structures had requested government to get negotiations off the ground or at least to initiate exploratory talks.

"This has resulted in me inviting the chief ministers of the self-governing territories and the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils of Parliament and their advisers to join me in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters.

"The process of negotiation is a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate. The discussions next Thursday acknowledge the position of these leaders in this process."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said recently that deciding exactly who should sit at the negotiating table would be a difficult process. But De Klerk has now reiterated his determination that those who have participated in government structures should not be left in the cold. They were assured of a place at the negotiating table.

Those attending the meeting will be Ministers' Council chairmen Kobie Coetsee (House of Assembly), Allan Hendrickse (House of Representatives) and J N Reddy (House of Delegates).

The chief ministers of KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, Lebowa and KaNgwane will be representing the non-independent homelands.

to give hon for



# Apartheid chickens are busy laying lots of eggs

2/Press 25/3/90 (101)

I SEE that the homeland chickens have come home to roost. Many find they have been blown up by their own bomb.

First victim was that old schoolmaster and conservative, President-for-life of the Ciskei, Lennox Sebe, who has done a Houdini following a successful coup in his homeland.

Knowing as I do that in some parts of the Cape truth is a luxury, it does not surprise me that no one can remember exactly where old Sebe has vanished to.

But I know for a fact that the apartheid chickens have come home to lay their eggs from Zwelitsha to Mmabatho, as we will soon hear.

First, old Sebe tried very hard to hide behind a suspect constitution to protect his pals and rela-

tives from the due process of law.

Then the wheel turned full circle and he had to flee from the long arm of the law. Then, in rapid succession, while Bophuthatswana's Chief Lukas Mangope was telling the folk out in Mmabatho that he was theirs for keeps, they were demanding his head.

So he, too, has gone on an unscheduled holiday across unknown borders. Meanwhile, one of his sycophants, obviously left holding the fort - one Mothibe - was adamant that unless there was a law against it Bop would never go back to being part of South Africa.

Well and good until you remember that many of the homelands keep their begging bowls pointed in the direction of Pretoria whenever hunger - a

perennial occurrence - Swiss bank threatens.

Soldiers in these territories have long hankered to change their khaki uniforms for the civic gown, which gives them unmonitored access to State maphepha; to move from the parade ground to the political platform - in short, to exchange their rifles for bank-guaranteed cheques.

So it is rather ironic that your Gen Holomisa, among others, is one of those who has expressed utter shock at the fact that their country has been living on borrowed or stolen maphepha for almost a decade, while guys like George Matanzima might well be living the life of Riley in Wellington Prison in the sure knowledge that they have a rand or two stashed away in some inscrutable

Swiss bank.

Now the laws of libel being what they are, and being an old hand at the game, I shall not reveal who told me this about a certain homeland. It seems the Minister of Transport there has hardly passed a driving test, while the Minister of Justice has a string of previous criminal convictions.

Meanwhile, up in the north, my old drinking buddy from our Turfloop days, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi of the Shangaans - who seemed happier as an academician as far as I am concerned - has a few problems over guys who have been slung into police cells without anybody bothering to give reasons.

Let's change the subject a bit. I see that the SAP band has made a



**MUSIN'**

With Obed Musi

record of popular songs, one of which is *Shosholoz*, known as the prison anthem.

Now judging from the things I've seen cops doing lately, like toyi-toying in the streets and viva-ing all over the place, it does not surprise me that guys like that stormy petrel, ex-Lt Gregory Rockman, and others have been given marching orders for doing what they had been preventing over the years - like striking and marching.

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Wiehahn Commission on labour relations in the Transkei has called for the scrapping of all existing labour laws; the proclamation of new legislation, and the legalisation of trade unions.

It also recommends that essential services be defined by the government and protected against labour unrest.

Professor Nic Wiehahn's one-man commission found that the government should retain the right to categorise certain services as "essential". And employees in those services should be precluded from striking and employers from locking workers out.

Disputes in essential services should go to compulsory arbitration as soon as possible.

Human rights

Prof Wiehahn recommended that employers and trade unions should plan a flexible national strategy for economic development and employment creation in the country.

The report says that freedom of association and organisation is a fundamental human right which must be implemented in Transkei's

# Scrap T'kei labour laws — Wiehahn

CNT 747 26/3/80

101

Political Staff

THE development corporations in the six non-independent homelands spent R392 million in 18 months but only attracted investment of R421.7m.

In only one of the homelands — KwaNdebele — was more invested by South Africa and foreign companies than by the development corporations.

These details have been revealed in the replies given by the Minister of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, to questions tabled in Parliament by the Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal.

In the period between April 1988 and September 1989, South African companies invested R376.3m and foreign companies R45.4m in the six homelands.

But in KaNgwane, where the local development corporation spent R15.7m over the 18-month period, not a single South African company invested in the homeland and foreign companies invested a mere R3.8m.

In KwaZulu, where the local development corporation spent a whopping R237.3m over the same period, R103.3m was invested by companies, R20.8m of which was by foreign companies.

Dr Van der Merwe also said there were 3 440 manufacturing concerns and 109 286 people were employed in the six homelands, where the development corporations had invested R713.4 million — an average of R6 528 a job.

labour legislation. In the report Prof Wiehahn found that discrimination in employment should become a criminal offence.

Having just tabled his 400-page report on Transkei, Prof Wiehahn has been appointed by Ciskei's military government to investigate labour laws in that country. Ciskei military ruler Brigadier O J Gqozo said his government considered the project extremely urgent.

Trade unions operating in the country at present are doing so illegally and that all persons, including women, young people and the disabled, should be treated equally.

Other findings were:

• The rural economy should be developed by way of educational training and a financial programme.

• A small business sector should be encouraged and, if necessary, various existing laws scrapped to make that possible.

• The government must do everything to instil confidence and trust and dispel notions of political instability. This would attract international finance and development.

• The dormant National Manpower Commission should be revived to implement the commission's recommendations.

• The Labour Act of 1977 must be repealed and its objectives incorporated in occupational safety legislation.

• Trade unions must be registered, officials must be fully accountable to members, and proper accounts be kept.

• Victimisation of employees by employers or vice-versa should be treated as a criminal offence.

*Handwritten notes:*  
26/3/80  
Grace Kelly  
11/10/80  
C. M. ...



# FW wants to know 101

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will hold talks with political leaders already participating in Government structures next week to discuss his meeting with the African National Congress.

He has invited the chief ministers of KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, the chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils of Parliament to Tuynhuys next Thursday.

De Klerk said he asked them to "join me in exploratory talks on the structur-

ing of the process of negotiations and related matters".

"The process of negotiation is a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate. The discussions acknowledge the position of these leaders in this process," he said.

These talks are taking place amidst general discussions in parliamentary circles that at sometime in the near future a major re-alignment of parties participating in government structures would take place.

De Klerk and members of his Cabinet are to meet the ANC on April 11.

Sowetan 29/3/90

# Bank seeks 'acceptance'

Off 7/11/70  
Political Staff

THE semi-official Development Bank, which has channelled millions of aid into black community projects, has made contact with extra-parliamentary groups to win at least tacit endorsement for its programmes.

It has also admitted that recent dramatic political developments had raised questions about the institutional structures with which the bank had interacted.

In the latest issue of its newsletter *Headway*, the bank said one of its main objectives was to establish independently the community acceptance of and support for projects and programmes under consideration.

It said this included not taking sides "in the political tug-of-war or to curry

favour with particular groupings", but to ensure "the tacit endorsement of as wide as possible a cross-section of the communities involved was assured for bank-supported projects and programmes".

"The integrity of the bank's approach to development matters is increasingly recognised across the wide Southern African political spectrum.

"The bank's mission — working towards improvement in the quality of life of all people in the region through a more equitable distribution of opportunities and resources — and its focus on the poorer people and communities in Southern Africa as its real clients will not only remain valid in the changing circumstances but are likely to increase in relevance."



LETTERS to Sowetan have been pouring in from people living in the homelands.

Most of them are ordinary people who are complaining that they were not consulted on independence or were bulldozed into accepting it.

One reader, Matshwene Ephraim Matlapeng, who lives in Bophuthatswana, says in a letter addressed to ANC

# Away with homelands!

BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

leader, Nelson Mandela: "Please Mandela save us from this pathetic situation. "We are sick and tired of the oppressive laws of (President Lucas) Ma-

ngope. "He is as authoritative as the apartheid government.

"He forced the people of Braklaagte and Leeufontein to accept incorporation Bophuthatswana. "Can you call that

democracy? Never!"

And Madapeng's remarks were mild compared with some others.

Phistos Modise Tsekobong from the homeland's Madikwe district is almost lyrical in his lament. "Let's forget about Bophuthatswana," he says.

Tsekobong complains of rife unemployment, a poor education system, an inadequate water supply, insufficient electricity ... "except in Mmabatho, the hometown of the president". "I appeal to the government of Bophuthatswana to resign," he says.

# Fed up with Mangope

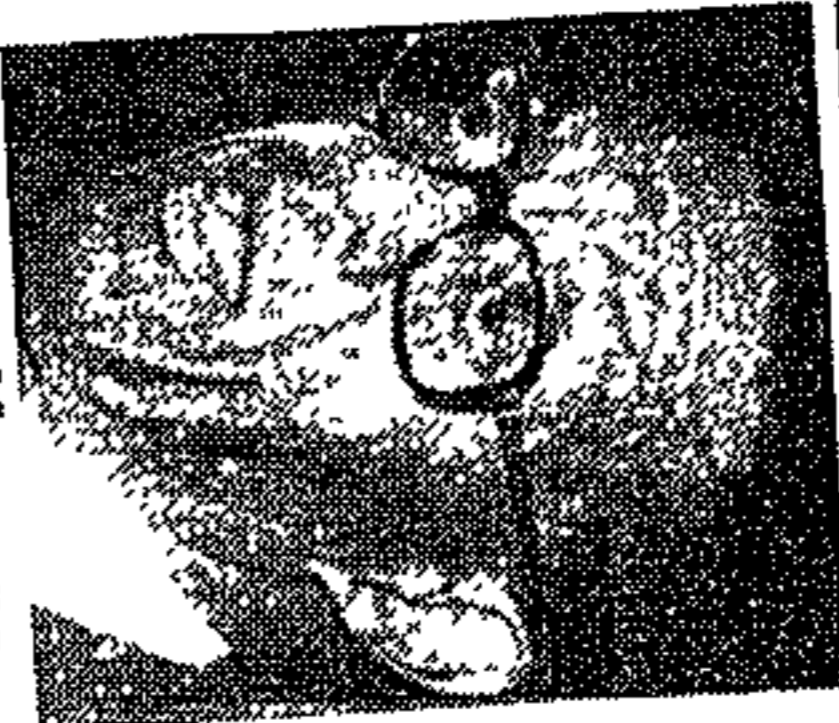
But Bophuthatswana's government recently said reincorporation was out of the question.

Johnson Mogosi from Tlhabane describes Mangope as a despot. Mogosi believes Mangope is the only person who does not want reincorporation. "I want the world to know that it is Mangope and not the government who wants to stay separate," he says.

"I call on the cabinet ministers, civil servants, defence and police force to join us in the struggle against Mangope..." A reader from Gankulu says his homeland's leader, Hudson Ntsanwisi in not concerned about the lives of the people of the district. "Ntsanwisi is a cruel man and ought to be the first to be expelled from a non-racial South Africa," this reader says.

A reader from Mamelodi Gardens finds it difficult to sympathise with homeland leaders. "When they opted for independence, they figured it would be an easy ride to wealth and fame. They did not expect they did not expect the ANC and PAC to be unbanned, Thembu Nguwane says.

"They hoped to benefit from the homeland system forever. "They never thought the real leaders would be released from prison and their own authenticity would be questioned by those they regarded as their docile and mute subjects," Nguwane says. He reminds the homeland leaders that



Lucas Mangope

they too, were once subjected to tyranny: "It is about time these people learned that nobody is equipped to fool people forever."

One reader even praises State President FW De Klerk for setting the country on the road to a better South Africa. Why can't Mangope and the others follow this precedent, this reader suggests?

An Odi resident sent in a letter with a bold headline saying "Help us De Klerk!"

If one can gauge a little of homeland opinion from these letters, the system appears to be crumbling. Either way, it appears the people of the homelands are voting with hearts and their feet not by the ballot.



# On the road to black

## De Klerk loses out as local and homeland leaders look t

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE challenge facing South Africa's white Government is to capture the support of a "substantial number" of black people, Edward Feit observes in his analysis of black resistance in South Africa.

Feit's observation, made nearly a quarter of a century ago in his study of the African National Congress, is still pertinent today; President de Klerk needs black allies at the negotiating table, in the political arena, and, if necessary, on the battlefield.

Mr De Klerk's problem is that his black auxiliaries are deserting in droves, either to seek the peaceful anonymity of neutrality or — worse still from Mr De Klerk's perspective — to join the burgeoning political legions of the ANC or the rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

Taking a broad view it is clear that the Government's attempt to win black auxiliaries has taken two broad forms.

- It established tribal governments in the black "homelands", assuming that in Hendrik Verwoerd's words — "tribal authority is the natural ally of government".

- It created fledgling or, more cynically,

quasi municipal councils in the black townships, in the belief or hope that "responsible" or "moderate" leaders would serve in the them.

The past six weeks have seen the spectacular changes in the "homeland" system. Instead of buttressing Mr De Klerk against Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC, "homeland leaders" appear to be joining the ANC.

Four of the six leaders who were meant to hold pre-negotiation talks with Mr De Klerk last week cancelled their appointments at the eleventh hour. It transpired that all four had met Mr Mandela the day before.

Mr Mandela, who is spearheading a "unity drive" to form a broad anti-apartheid front, denied that he or the ANC had intimidated them. They endorsed his denial.

Mr Mandela may, however, have used his considerable authority to persuade them, in their own interests and those of the black community, to link arms in a concerted drive to a non-racial South Africa.

If the "homeland system" is crashing noisily to the ground —

army coups in the nominally independent "homelands" Ciskei and Venda have ensured that the collapse has not occurred discreetly — a similar, if less tumultuous process, is occurring in black local government.

In the Transvaal there are more than 100 vacant seats in black town councils, caused primarily by the resignation of town councillors or, as in Leandra recently, of the whole town council.

The vacant seats constitute more than a seventh of the total number of black town council seats in the Transvaal or, to quote the exact figure, 103 out of 692.

In no less than 10 township councils there are not enough councillors left to form a quorum and the Transvaal Provincial Administration has either appointed — or is in the process of appointing — administrators to run these townships.

In these townships, all pretence that local government is in the hands of the popularly elected councillors has been abandoned.

Mr Olaus van Zyl, Transvaal's MEC for local government, denies that black local government is in "crisis" or even that it is "crumbling". The Transvaal Provincial Administration or TPA prefers to focus on

the "positive" side the 72 township councils which are still functioning normally.

A TPA spokesman notes hopefully that only six township councillors have resigned in April so far. Against that, however, 61 councillors resigned in March, suggesting that the discomfort of councillors is increasing in the face of popular demands for them to resign.

The failure of the TPA to organise by-elections — or, where whole town councils have quit, new elections — speaks volumes; it suggests strongly that the TPA fears that the elections will be boycotted.

Mr Mark Swilling, of the Centre for Policy Studies, minces no words the appointment of administrators confirms the popular perception of township councils as "extensions of the illegitimate white regime".

The disintegration of black local authorities is likely to accelerate in the months ahead, if — as seems likely — the cry for black councillors to resign grows louder.

Black town councils are built on sand rather than rock, they



**SPEARHEADING UNITY DRIVE:** Mr Nelson Mandela met four homeland leaders the day before pre-negotiation talks with Mr De Klerk — all four cancelled their appointments at the eleventh hour. The ANC leader may be using his considerable authority to persuade black leaders, it is in their own interests and those of the black community, to link arms with him.

are not equipped to stand against the storms brewing in the townships. They have never won popular acceptance and, to a large extent remain institutions imposed on black communities by white overlords. The 1988 local government elections in black townships illustrate the point.

They were held under special provisions designed to fulfil a dual purpose, to make it unlawful to urge voters to boycott the elections and, conversely, to encourage voters to go to the polls.

It was an offence under emergency regulations to organise a boycott. Against that a special law was passed to enable any voter to cast his or her vote before polling day.

The stakes were high. The Government was desperately anxious for a credible turnout. Under its plan for a constitutional "indaba" at the time, township councillors would form an electoral college to elect nine members to the proposed national forum.

In a bid to bolster the percentage poll, the Government spent nearly R5-million on a propaganda campaign exhorting township residents to vote.

The official percentage poll was just over 25 percent. Dr David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, however, calculated that only 14 percent of registered voters went to the polls and 11 percent of those who were eligible.

In 126 wards elections were not held because no candidates

were nominated. Tested wards may the discrepancy in the official figure and Dr Welsh's pattern.

As the South African Commission of Race Relations reported in 1983, about 80 percent of black voters eligible to vote do so. The 1988 elections show a greater turnout.

In Soweto the 1988 was just over 50 percent compared to just over 40 percent in 1983, indicating that township elections have not achieved greater participation in the intervening years.

Looking at the 1988 elections in greater detail provides further evidence of the council's unacceptably low level of development.

Changes of township function have not brought greater credibility, in the past 15 years.

It has been known as the Urban Bantu Council, the Soweto Community Council and the Soweto Town Council, each change in name marking a growth in the power of the council.

During the 1977-78 township revolt, the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC) collapsed after black students visited the councillors and demanded their resignation. Student contempt for the council was reflected in the name of the Useless Boys Club.

In 1978, the council attempted to revive the local government by appointing new allies to help establish a Soweto Council under the new Community Councils Act.

The results were disastrous. In the first poll, in February 1978, there were only 11 of the 30 seats. Contests were returned. In the second poll, the turnout was 19 percent. Nineteen wards were not held.

By-elections were held between April and May 1978. The turnout was 11 percent. Most failed to attract votes.

One of the candidates was Mr David Welsh, a former member of the UBC. He was later elected to the council.

He was later elected to the council.



See 11/4/90

(101)

# road to black unity

## out as local and homeland leaders look to the ANC

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The official percentage poll was just over 25 percent. Dr David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, however, calculated that only 14 percent of registered voters went to the polls and 11 percent of those who were eligible.

In 126 wards elections were not held because no candidates

were nominated. These uncontested wards may account for the discrepancy between the official figure and Dr Welsh's. The broad pattern, however, is clear.

As the South African Institute of Race Relations put it: "In previous township elections, in 1983, about 80 percent of Africans eligible to vote declined to do so. The 1988 elections did not show a greater turnout."

In Soweto the official poll in 1988 was just over 11 percent, compared to just under 11 percent in 1983, indicating indisputably that township councils had not achieved greater acceptability in the intervening five years.

Looking at polling in Soweto in greater chronological depth, provides further evidence of the council's unacceptability and shows that it is not merely a recent development.

Changes of nomenclature and function have not helped it gain greater credibility, during the past 15 years it has been known as the Urban Bantu Council, the Soweto Community Council and the Soweto Town Council, each change in name marking a growth in the power of the council.

During the 1977-78 township revolt, the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC) collapsed after black students visited the councillors and demanded their resignation.

Student contempt for the councillors was reflected in their description of the Soweto UBC as the Useless Boys Club.

In 1978, the authorities determined to revive the system of local government and to win new allies to help in the governance of South Africa, tried to establish a Soweto Community Council under the new Community Councils Act. The results were disastrous from the Government's point of view.

In the first poll, held in February 1978, there were only enough qualified candidates for 11 of the 30 seats. Nine candidates were returned unopposed. Contests were held in the two wards the poll was 5,6 percent. Nineteen wards were vacant.

By-elections were held in between April and June of that year in the 19 vacant seats. The poll was low again, barely topping 6 percent. Most candidates failed to attract more than 100 votes.

One of the successful candidates was Mr David Thebehah, a former member of the discredited UBC. He received 97 votes. He was later elected chairman

of the Soweto Council.

Later, after Mr Thebehah was defeated in the 1983 Soweto Council election he resurfaced, in January 1988 he was appointed by the TPA as administrator of Diepmeadow in Greater Soweto after the council there was dissolved.

Since 1983, when the Soweto Council was elected under the new Black Local Authorities Act, the council has been faced with recurring crises and has several times teetered on the brink of collapse.

The most severe of these was the rent boycott, organised in protest against the state of emergency and in support of demands for the dissolution of the council. Unable to raise sufficient revenue to meet its needs even under optimum conditions, the rent boycott accelerated the council's descent into debt. Last year independent researchers at Planact put the accumulative

debt at more than R700-million.

Attempts to break the rent boycott by evicting tenants only compounded the crisis. It led to bloodshed without breaking the boycott and increased the unpopularity of the councillors. During 1986 most of them had to leave Soweto to live in a compound protected by razor wire and armed guards.

It is under even greater pressure today as the campaign for a non-racial South Africa gathers momentum.

One cornerstone of the envisaged new South Africa is the concept of non-racial municipalities and, as a sine qua non, the scrapping of segregated town councils.

The findings of a commission of inquiry into the Soweto Council, commissioned by the council itself, have not helped.

They are encapsulated in a City Press headline: "Cops called in as allegations of bribery and corruption rattle South Africa's biggest township."

Mr Mandela, now referred to reverentially by the Soweto Council, as the "Father of Soweto," has had confidential discussions with the Council.

Judging from his conversations with "homeland" leaders, they presage dramatic developments.

One way or another it does not require great powers of prescience to predict that the collapse of the Soweto Council as a prop of white hegemony is imminent.

**'If the homeland system is crashing noisily to the ground, then a similar thing is happening in local black government, as all pretence that local government is in the hands of popularly elected councillors is abandoned.'**

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## SADF: money spent in Namibia

293. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Defence: *Hansetta 24/4/90*

Whether the South African Defence Force spent any money on (a) goods and (b) services procured in South West Africa/Namibia during the past five years; if not, why not; if so, in respect of each such year, (i) how much and (ii) for what (aa) goods and (bb) services? *B747E*

## The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) and (b) Yes. A separate record of goods and services procured in South West Africa/Namibia during the past five years was not kept. To reply to this question fully would cost approximately RM 0,5 to obtain the information from the general computer data base. The major procurement contracts with suppliers in South West Africa/Namibia were for fresh meat and for road transport and these amounted to approximately RM 13,5 and RM 9,5 per annum respectively.

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

## Pollsmoor Prison: five persons held

313. Mr D J DALLING asked the the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether five persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, are or were held in Pollsmoor Prison; if so, (a) what are their (i) names and (ii) respective ages, (b)(i) why and (ii) on whose instructions are or were they held at Pollsmoor, (c) for how long have they been or were they held there and (d) in which section of the prison are or were they held; *Hansetta 24/4/90*

(2) what is the age of the youngest person currently held in Pollsmoor? *B793E*

## The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes.

(a) (i) The same as furnished by the Honourable Member.

(ii) Respectively 12, 11, 9, 10 and 8 years.

(b) (i) Pending their hearing on charges of theft and housebreaking and theft.

(ii) The Magistrate: Simons Town has indicated in terms of Section 29 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959) that their detention in a prison is essential and that no suitable place of safety mentioned in Section 28 of the Child Care Act, 1983 (Act No 74 of 1983) is available for their detention. *Hansetta 24/4/90*

(c) Between 8 and 18 days.

(d) The Juvenile Section of the Awaiting Trial Section.

(2) Information as at 10 April 1990: 12 years. Section 29 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959) stipulates *inter alia* that a person under the age of eighteen years who is accused of having committed an offence shall before his conviction, not be detained in a prison unless his detention is necessary and no suitable place of detention mentioned in the Child Care Act, 1983 (Act No 74 of 1983) is available for his detention.

In terms of Section 21 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959) any prison or any part of a prison can be used for the detention, treatment and training of juveniles.

A juvenile who is detained in terms of Section 29 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959) shall not be permitted to associate with a person over the age of twenty-one years who is in custody, provided that he may be permitted to associate with such a person in custody who has been charged jointly with him, if the head of the prison is of the opinion that such association will not be detrimental to him. Juveniles are also separated with regard to age groups where facilities permit.

Discussions take place regularly between the South African Prisons Service, the local magistrates, prosecutors and the South African Police with a view to keep awaiting-trial juveniles out of prison.

## Own Affairs:

Self-governing territories: use of educational facilities *(101)*

73. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 35 on 1 March 1988, any further (a) requests have been received and/or (b) meetings have been held in connection with permission for self-governing territories to make use of unutilised space in (i) schools and (ii) teacher-training colleges falling under his Department; if so, (aa) from which self-governing territories were requests received, (bb) with which such territories were meetings held, (cc) when was each such request received and meeting held and (dd) which schools or colleges were involved in each case? *B620E*

## The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) (i) Yes,

(ii) no, not to my knowledge,

(aa) KwaZulu Government,

(bb) none,

(cc) March 1990,

(dd) A request has been received in respect of the buildings used for the Mount Edgemore Indian High School. In terms of a proviso in the deed of transfer the site and buildings now revert back to the donor in view of the fact that it is no longer solely utilised for Indian education;

(b) no.

*24/4/90* Pupils enrolled *Hansetta*

78. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

What total number of pupils enrolled in 1990 in (a) primary and (b) secondary schools in each specified region of each education department falling under the control of his Department? *B625E*

(a) 114 335

(b) 105 463

\*\*

\*Cape

Natal

Orange Free State

Region 27

33

53

62

63

64

65

66

80

844

551

4 386

6 899

5 886

10 910

10 808

2 824

47

44 446

38 304

37 775

18 429

25 038

54 653

39 962

33 141

28 409

29 406

23 545

12 451

19 061

38 809

25 642

20 575

\* The Cape is not divided into regions

\*\* Not yet available.

## Teacher/pupil ratio

79. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

What teacher/pupil ratio was applicable in (a) primary and (b) secondary schools in (i) each of the provincial education departments and (ii) his Department as at the latest specified date for which figures are available? *B626E*

*Hansetta 24/4/90*

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) (b)

1: 18,6 1: 14,9

1: 21,9 1: 14,4

1: 21,0 1: 16,3

1: 22,9 1: 17,1

1: 21,4 1: 16,1

(i) Cape

Natal

Orange Free State

Transvaal

(ii)

On the first Tuesday of March 1989 for public ordinary schools.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



THE government's chances of drawing homeland leaders onto its side of the negotiating table are fading fast.

The ANC's success in wooing groups traditionally allied with the government was most dramatically demonstrated in the recent pullout by homeland leaders from a meeting with President FW de Klerk.

After personal telephone calls from ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela, four leaders of the non-independent homelands at the last minute pulled out of talks with the government scheduled for early April.

**Allies**

The government has been assiduously looking for allies to take to the negotiating table.

In De Klerk's dramatic February 2 speech announcing the unbanning of the ANC and other groups, he made a special point of promising homeland leaders and the tricameral parties that their place at the table would be guaranteed.

Last week, in a speech during his debate in Parliament, he said there was

# Bantustans in from the cold

**Fear of ending up on the wrong side of the negotiations table has brought crashing down South Africa's so-called constellation of independent and non-independent states.**

**FRANZ KRUGER examines the ructions in the Bantustans in recent months:**

no question of narrowing the process of negotiations to two or three parties.

"Every leader who seeks peace and who has a



Kwazulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi

proven power base -- be it large or small -- has to be given an opportunity to participate," De Klerk said.

But the government's

search for allies has been less than successful. It has been clear for some years that it would not be able to construct a credible ally with a national base among

urban black communities.

The black local authorities have never been able to build support for themselves. At the same time, the tricameral parties are fast losing what little support they had.

**Crucial**

The homelands were to be a crucial part of the alliance, and there have been a series of meetings with both the independent and non-independent homeland leaders to discuss constitutional options.

But the homelands have been changing rapidly. Transkei's Bantu Homelands has long made it clear he sees the territory's future in a united South Africa.

In March, growing resentment in the rural and urban areas of the Ciskei swept President Lennox Sebe's regime from power and installed the military council of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Gqozo immediately moved close to the broad democratic movement,

sharing platforms with local UDF leaders and giving massive financial and logistic support to the welcome home rally organised for Mandela in Bisho.

**Clean**

Since then, there has been a coup in Venda, although the complexion of the new government of Colonel Gabriel Ramushwane is not nearly as clear as those in the Transkei and Ciskei.

There were indications that he seized power with the knowledge of Pretoria, and there was speculation in the MDM that the coup was designed to prevent a complete collapse of the homeland.

Left almost alone has been Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, who bravely promised that his homeland would be still be around in 100 years' time.

Among the non independent homelands, it is only Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's KwaZulu that feels strong enough to swim against the stream of popular sentiment.

Buthelezi was left as almost the only participant in the April talks, and he has made it clear he is willing to go into negotiations with the government regardless of what anyone else says.

**Isolated**

However, he is appearing increasingly isolated in this stance, and it is clear the government realises the only participant in talks that really matters is the ANC.

Even if Buthelezi is prepared to talk without them, the government may no longer be willing to do so.

Nevertheless, he remains an important player, with massive support from Western powers.

His campaign to draw off Pretoria's allies, the

ANC has made it clear this does not guarantee even sympathetic homeland administrations an equal place in any ANC led negotiating alliance.

**Intensified**

There have been calls for the struggle in the homelands to be intensified. The movement argues that it is important to maintain pressure on the leaders, to ensure they continue to act in the interests of popular organisations.

Whether this will include immediate reincorporation is not yet clear. It remains a long-term goal, but there are advantages for organisations in maintaining these structures for the moment.

There are clear advantages in the relative autonomy from Pretoria, and in the fact that the homeland administrations will allow popular mobilisation.

This does not mean they are likely to become liberated zones, as this would entail the popular groups taking over outright control.

UDF leader Mohammed Valli said recently: "While we have reached an advanced stage in the struggle, we must still decide whether it is in our interests to call on the homeland leaders to resign at this moment."

**Elite**

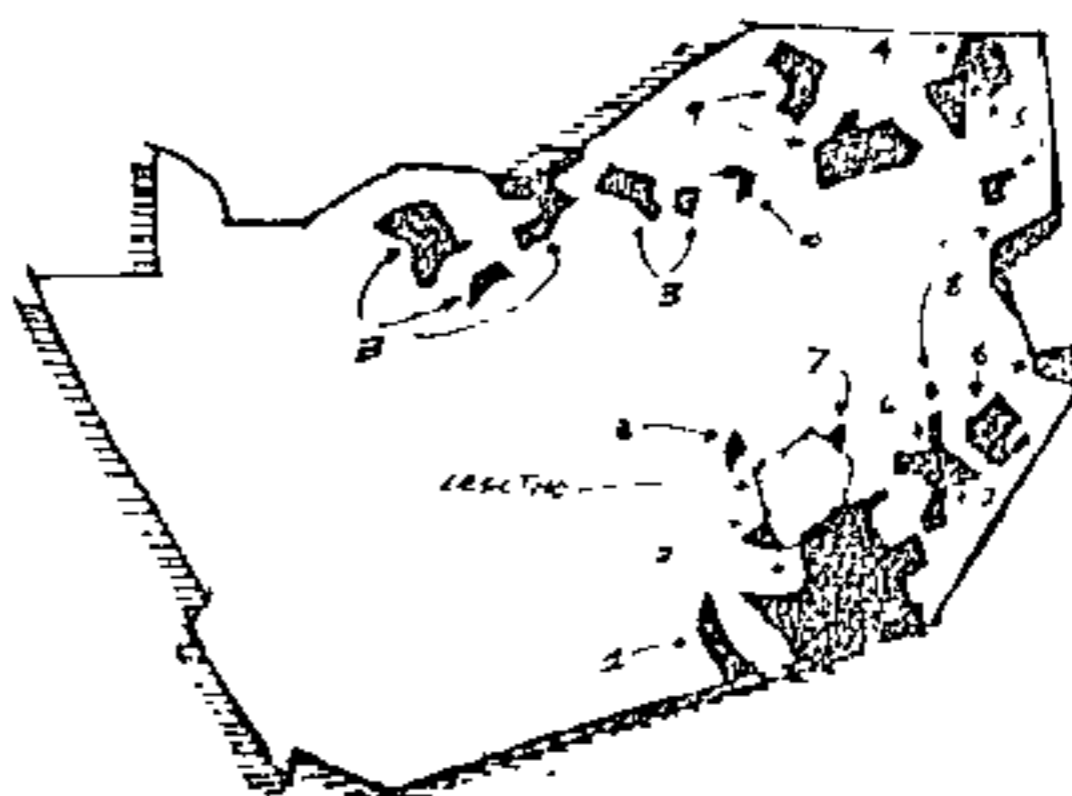
In the end, the new generation of progressive homeland leaders have emerged out of a local elite, who have an interest in the survival of local bureaucracies.

This may not be much of a problem in an area such as Transkei, which has had some kind of separate identity and administration since the last century. The ANC, too, has recognised this and deals with Transkei as one of its regions.

But the Ciskei and most other homelands, have no such geographic and historical logic. In the long run, the bureaucratic structures built in these areas will have to be dismantled.

This will be no small task and it is not at all clear where the homeland leaders will stand once this issue moves onto the immediate agenda.

**Constellation of Independent and self-governing states**



- Independent**
- 1 Ciskei
- 2 Transkei
- 3 Bophuthatswana
- 4 Venda
- Self-governing**
- 5 Gazankulu
- 6 Kwazulu
- 7 Qwaqwa
- 8 KaNgwane
- 9 L'Boya
- 10. KwaNdebele



5/5/90 (101)

# TBVC countries now owe SA R240-million

THE Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) "countries" have experienced severe financial difficulties since independence and at present owe the South African Government over R200 million.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mrs Elsa Dry, said amounts owing to South Africa by the TBVC territories in terms of the loan fund for the promotion of economic co-operation amounted to R239 899 310.

Transkei owes R101 959 080, Bophuthatswana R40 576 764, Venda R55 020 417 and Ciskei R42 343 049.

Mr M R Madula, head of Venda's Finance Department, said: "Seven years after independence, the Venda government experienced financial problems and we negotiated overdraft facilities, of up to R 117 000 000, with the First National Bank."

## Senbank advising

He said 46 percent of Venda's budget was financed from South African budgetary aid and 32 percent from its own sources. Mr Madula added that his government had appointed a financial institution, Senbank, as consultant to investigate and prescribe ways to manage the State debt.

Bophuthatswana Minister of Finance Mr Lesley Young said that for the past three years his government had not had to rely on borrowing to finance its expenditures. However, Mr Young admitted they had had some financial difficulties.

Financial problems experienced since independence included the assumption of responsibility for social pensions, excessive overcrowding in schools and an inadequate supply of experienced teachers.

"Hospitals and clinics were inadequate in quantity and quality to deal with illness arising from poor nourishment as well as from inadequate sanitation," he said.

Mr Young believed that Bophutha-

## JOVIAL RANTAO

tswana would achieve total financial independence within the next half-decade. Bophuthatswana might borrow from the Development Bank of Southern Africa for projects but "we never borrow from anyone for day-to-day expenditure".

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed his government had inherited a situation that has been an on-going process for over a decade as the homeland had been run on an overdraft facility since 1976.

"We have inherited a government at a time when the already untenable financial situation of the country was aggravated by the startling revelations of the Commissions of Inquiry.

He added that his government was still haunted by the ghost of financial maladministration of the previous civilian government led by Mr Kaiser Matanzima.

Ciskean authorities were unavailable for comment.

Mrs Dry would not say that the homelands had overspent because "overspending refers to unauthorised expenditure".

Mrs Dry said that due to a combination of factors the TBVC states started building up budgetary deficits over the past few years.

"It must, however, be kept in mind that SA's contribution to the development of these states had, in real terms, dropped off after independence.

"It became evident that multi-year adjustments were required to restore the balance between revenue and expenditure," Mrs Dry said.

In March, Pretoria announced it was contemplating steps to ensure that the homeland governments exercise financial restraint.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said the overspending occurred despite expert advice available over a long period.



# 5 give backing to ANC

101

Sowetan 8/5/90

● From Page 1

"However, I still need to consult with the people who elected me on how to be represented in the ANC," Ramodike said.

Kwandebele leader Mr James Mahlangu said he had a mandate that the homeland should identify with the ANC.

"It is a step in the right direction and the feeling of our people is that talks with the ANC are a call for unity", he said.

Professor Hudson Nisanwisi of Gazankulu said he supported the ANC's negotiations with the Government as being towards a new and peaceful South Africa.

"The Berlin Wall has fallen and so will the Apartheid Wall fall for a new South Africa."

QwaQwa chief minister, Dr Kenneth Mopeli, said he supported the ANC's struggle for one non-racial and democratic country.

The fifth leader at the talks was Mr Enos Mabuza, of Kangwane.

Earlier a group of religious leaders, including Christian, Muslim and Jewish clergymen, said they were hopeful for a peaceful South Africa. This was after they met the ANC for a briefing on last week's preliminary talks with the Government.

# 5 leaders in pact with ANC

Sowetan

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Lebowa and KwaNdebele homelands have thrown their lot behind the ANC with their leaders saying they have been mandated by "the people" to form alliances with the organisation.

Five homeland representatives, excluding KwaZulu and the "independent states" met separate delegations led by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal chairman Mr Walter Sisulu at the organisation's Johannesburg offices yesterday.

Addressing the Press

at the end of the talks on negotiations. Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said "I am not prepared to go into any negotiations with the Government as a bantustan leader."

Spotting an ANC bulge, Ramodike said it was important to intensify the struggle and not negotiate without the ANC.

He said the majority of Lebowa people supported the ANC.

# Homelands have 57 government departments

CAPE TOWN — The six non-independent homelands had 57 separate government departments, the Department of Development Aid said yesterday.

With each of these departments headed by a director-general and with its own administrative structures, a bureaucratic maze had been created in those areas which contained 30% of SA's population outside the TBVC states.

*B. Day 9/5/90*  
**BARRY STREEK**

The governments of the homelands — Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa — each had an average of more than eight departments.

The six homelands received R4 230,4m in government aid during the 1989/90 financial year, the department said in its annual report

tabled in Parliament. (101)

However, only 2% of SA's GDP was generated by the non-independent homelands.

□ Sapa reports more than 700 job creation projects had been undertaken during the 1988/89 financial year for which 3,1-million man-days had been used, the annual report said.

R9m had been voted for the job creation programme in the 1989/90 financial year.



Malans Transport  
Wheeler Plum-  
lec  
Genrec MEI  
Bowmast

(b) (i) See (1)(a)(i) and (ii) and (1)(b)(i) and (ii) above.  
(ii) The lowest tenders were accepted.

(3) KTC  
Brown's Farm  
(a) Ikapa Town Council CPA  
(b) Ikapa Town Council CPA and West-Cape RSC

The Administrative and maintenance costs are financed by the Ikapa Town council. *Hansard 10/5/90*

(iii) The Langa Home accommodates 51 persons and the Nyanga Home 24 persons.

(iv) None.

**Public Service officials in self-governing territories** *(101)*

218. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: *Hansard 12/12/89*

(1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at 31 December 1989;

(2) whether all posts in the self-governing territories in respect of which secondment is required were filled as at 31 December 1989; if not, how many remained vacant as at that date;

(3) whether any further secondments are envisaged; if so, how many?

B543E

**The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:**

(1) (a) and (b) The information as requested is contained in the attached schedule.

(c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R96 869 000 for the period 1 April 1989 to 31 December 1989.

(2) No A recent survey indicated that 1 809 of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 December 1989.

(3) Yes. Numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements, the availability of funds and the availability of manpower

**Cape Peninsula: old-age homes for Blacks**

195. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

Whether there are any old-age homes for Black persons in the Cape Peninsula; if not, (a) why not and (b) what steps are envisaged by his Department in this regard; if so, (i) what are the names of these old-age homes, (ii) who financed them, (iii) how many persons can be accommodated in each and (iv) how many such homes were built by the Government in the past three years?

B475E

**The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:**

Yes.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(i) The Langa and Nyanga Homes for the Aged

(ii) The staff of the homes are on the staff establishment of, and paid by the Cape Provincial Administration.

**POSTE GEIDENTIFISEER VIR BEKLEDING DEUR TOEGEWSE AMPTENARE: 31 DESEMBER 1989  
POSTS IDENTIFIED FOR OCCUPATION BY SECONDED STAFF: 31 DECEMBER 1989**

Beroepsklas Occupational Class	KwaZulu Gevul Identifiseer Identified		Lehova Gevul Identifiseer Identified		Gazankulu Gevul Identifiseer Identified		Qwaqwa Gevul Identifiseer Identified		KwaNdebele Gevul Identifiseer Identified		KaNgwane Gevul Identifiseer Identified		Totaal/Total Gevul Identifiseer Identified		Va- kant Va- cant
	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	6	3	
Amplaer Prosecutor	79	56	3	1	0	0	1	1	36	20	15	15	152	93	59
Administrasie- beampte Administration Officer	18	15	8	5	2	1	2	2	17	10	9	9	58	42	16
Administrasie- beampte Administration Officer	197	88	163	116	19	14	25	10	49	30	21	21	499	279	220
Arbete- terapeut Occupational Therapist	49	34	1	1	10	4	0	0	3	1	3	3	66	41	25
Arbete- terapeut Occupational Therapist	8	5	1	1	6	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	19	8	11
Arbete- terapeut Occupational Therapist	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2
Argitek Architect	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	9	2	7
Bedryfs- ekonomiese Business Economist	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Belasting- beampte Taxation Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Boor- inspekteur Drilling Inspector	5	3	9	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	17	11	6
Bosbouer Forester	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	0
Bosbou- voorman Forestry Foreman	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	5	0
Bosbou- wetenskap- like Forestry Scientist	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3
Bourekennar Quantity Surveyor	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Brandweer- man Fireman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Departementele Inspekteur Departmental Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Departementele Inspekteur Departmental Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Direktories- lede Director Health Services	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	3

Beroepsklas Occupational Class	KwaZulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		Owaqwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Totaal/Total		Va- kant Va- cant
	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	
Doelreënd- heidsbeampie Efficiency Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0
Ekonomiese (Landbou) Economist (Agriculture)	3	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	11	5	6
Etnoloog Ethnologist	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1
Fisioterapeut Physio- therapist	26	3	2	1	8	3	0	0	0	0	4	0	40	7	33
Gemeenskaps- wêreldkundige Community Development Officer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Geneeskun- de Tegnoloog Medical Technologist	19	6	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	5	1	26	8	18
Huisouders- wêreldkundige House- mother/father Engineer	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Inspektie- ur Vakleer- linge Inspector Apprentices	24	10	8	5	5	2	2	0	3	0	5	3	47	20	27
Kliniese Sielkundige Clinical Psychologist	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	3
Landbou- adviseur Agricultural Adviser	20	14	24	14	4	1	1	0	4	2	7	2	60	33	27
Landbou- adviseur Agricultural Adviser	13	8	41	11	8	5	5	1	21	6	2	2	90	33	57
Landbou- adviseur Agricultural Adviser	31	28	8	7	3	2	5	5	8	7	4	4	59	53	6
Landmeter Land Surveyor	9	3	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	15	5	10
Lyskuis- assistent Mortuary Assistant	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Maatskaplike werker Social Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	3	2	1
Mediese Beampie Medical Officer	514	232	46	22	56	20	3	0	21	7	38	21	673	302	376

Beroepsklas Occupational Class	KwaZulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		Owaqwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Totaal/Total		Va- kant Va- cant
	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	Ge- ident- fiseer Ident- fied	Filled	
Mediese Superintendent Medical Superintendent	27	17	12	5	11	5	2	0	1	1	4	3	57	31	26
Mondhigiënis Oral Hygienist	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
Natuur- bewaarder Nature Conservator	7	4	10	6	6	3	1	0	6	4	4	3	34	20	14
Natuur- bewarings- wetenskap- like Nature Conservation Scientist	15	8	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	19	11	8
Nywer- heidstechnikus Industrial Technician	91	25	22	9	3	0	10	2	12	3	17	6	155	45	110
Opname Statistikus Survey Statistician	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
Personel- beampie Personnel Officer	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	6	4	2
Personnele Sekretaresse Personal Secretary	3	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	7	7	5	5	17	17	0
Polisie Funk- sionele Per- soneel Police, Func- tional Staff Program- meerder Programmer	25	12	19	16	6	4	20	6	70	30	17	8	157	76	81
Projeksuper- intendant Project Superinten- dent	6	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	2	1	0	12	5	7
Radiograaf Radiographer	50	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	54	15	39
Rekenaar- operateur Computer Operator	45	8	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	6	2	54	11	43
Rekenaar- meester Accountant	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Reks- meester Accountant	24	10	9	2	1	0	5	4	17	6	5	4	61	26	35
Reksadviseur Legal Adviser	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	9	2	7
Reksbeampie Legal Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	5	1	4
Sekretaris (Departement- hoof)	9	9	7	6	7	7	6	5	8	7	8	7	45	41	4





**TPA: funds for upgrading of Venterspos**

353. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

- (1) Whether the Transvaal Provincial Administration has requested funds for the upgrading of Venterspos; if so, (a) when and (b) what amount has been requested;
- (2) whether funds have been allocated for this purpose; if not, why not, if so, (a) by whom or what body, (b) when and (c) what amount has been allocated?

14/5/90  
B860E

**The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:**

- (1) Yes
  - (a) 5 February 1990
  - (b) R7 867 875
- (2) No funds have yet been allocated.
  - (a), (b) and (c) are consequently not applicable.

**Uitenhage: protest march**

361. Mr W A BOTHA asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether the chief magistrate of Uitenhage granted permission for the protest march of October 1989 in Uitenhage; if so, (a) on whose recommendation was such permission granted, (b) what was the recommendation of the town council of Uitenhage in this regard, (c) for what time during the day was the march allowed, (d) how many persons are estimated to have taken part in the march, (e) what units of the security forces were used for the protection of the inhabitants of Uitenhage and (f) (i) what is the total estimated cost of this march to the State and (ii) what expenses have been taken into account in this regard;
- (2) whether the march went off peacefully; if not, what are the relevant details;
- (3) whether the march took place within the time allowed;
- (4) whether any persons have been prosecuted as a result of this march; if so, what are the relevant details?

B888E

**The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:**

- (1) Yes, for a protest march on 11 October 1989.

(a) The magistrate considered all relevant facts and circumstances, including a recommendation by the South African Police who were not opposed to the march taking place along the route and during the period determined by the magistrate. The magistrate personally went to great lengths to defuse a tense situation in the interest of the safety of the public. He held several discussions with the applicants and persuaded them to change the route of the protest march away from the main street and to shorten the duration of the protest march.

- (b) The town council of Uitenhage refused permission for the protest march.
- (c) 10:00 - 12:30.
- (d) According to the estimate of the South African Police about 16 000.
- (e) 569 members of the South African Police.
- (f) 60 members of the South African Defence Force.

(32 Traffic Officers also assisted.)

- (i) It is not possible to make an estimate of the cost.
- (ii) Falls away.

- (2) Yes.

(3) No The time allowed was exceeded by approximately one hour.

- (4) No.

**Mr Sybrand Louis van Schoor: inquests**

367 Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether his Department has taken any action against Mr Sybrand Louis van Schoor as a result of the findings of the inquests referred to in his reply to Question No 9 on 27 February 1990; if so, what action; if not, why not?

B895E

**The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:**

No, the records of the inquests and documents pertaining to the deaths in which Mr Van Schoor allegedly features are still being studied by the Attorney-General, Grahamstown.

**Castillo de Bellver: monitoring**

375. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

- (1) Whether his Department is monitoring the wreck of the Spanish oil tanker *Castillo de Bellver* off the west coast of South Africa; if not, (a) why not and (b) when did the tanker sink; if so,
- (2) whether there is any danger of the tanker leaking oil; if so,
- (3) whether his Department has taken any action to prevent oil being so leaked or to minimise the danger of this happening; if not, why not; if so, what action?

14/5/90  
B903E  
The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes, the situation is being monitored by the "Kuswag" aerial reconnaissance during routine flights and all fishing vessels operating in the vicinity of the wreck have been requested to report any sign of spillage.

(a) Falls away.

(b) August 1983.

- (2) The possibility exists.
- (3) No, the Department of Transport is presently responsible for the wreck and the oil contained within and you are referred to their answer to your identical question for oral reply on Tuesday 8 May 1990.

The Department of Environment Affairs only becomes involved after the oil is spilled into the ocean. The Department's pollution division is ready to deal with any situation in this regard as is prescribed by the existing contingency plan.

**TBYC countries: SA officials seconded**

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

Whether any South African officials had been seconded to the Government Service of (a) Bophuthatswana, (b) Ciskei, (c) Transkei and (d) Venda as at the latest specified date for which information is available; if so, how many in each case?

B916E

**The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:**

Yes, on 27 April 1990 there were:

(a) 269

(b) 490

(c) 78

(d) 246.



## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign † indicates subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

## General Affairs.

**Self-governing territories: intimidation**  
1. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Development Aid:\*

- Whether any cases of intimidation occurred in the self-governing territories recently: † so,  
(a) what is the nature and extent thereof and  
(b) what steps does he intend taking to combat it?

B1024E:INT

\*The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID: Mr Speaker, yes, I am aware of cases of intimidation in the self-governing territories. I must emphasise, however, that intimidation is not restricted to the self-governing territories. It is not restricted to the Black population of South Africa and that it is certainly not restricted to South Africa. Intimidation is a universal phenomenon. It is very difficult to determine the nature and the extent of intimidation specifically because one cannot rely on cases of intimidation always being reported according to a specific pattern.

Intimidation is a very subtle phenomenon, because it curbs the individual's freedom to act in terms of his own desires. In addition it is subtle because it is difficult to prove beyond any reasonable doubt, specifically because the victims are too scared to testify. If one wants to combat intimidation, one must know what one is dealing with.

I want to define intimidation as follows: Intimidation is to persuade someone to do or not to do something, against his will or in opposition to his interests, forms and values, by means of an illegal but credible threat of physical attack. Two points are of importance. In the first place, if the intimidator cannot carry out his threat, it becomes an empty and implausible threat. Part of the solution is contained in that.

and only KwaZulu has not yet given in. [Interjections.]

Two Americans, after spending 14 days among the people in all sectors of South Africa, said: "The Blacks are terrified of the ANC." "Terrified" was the word they used! [Interjections.]

If there are people for whom my heart bleeds, it is those Black leaders who accepted the NP's plans for government structures and co-operated with the South African Government in the interests of Southern Africa as a whole. [Interjections.] Just listen to what one of them said! This hon Minister will probably come back and say that he did not mind being intimidated. I shall camouflage to some extent what one of them said. He said:

The main cause of everything is the unbanning of the ANC, other political organisations and their leaders by the State President. We cannot withstand actions of violence that are brought about by the ANC. I said to Gerrit Viljoen that our hands need to be strengthened.

I feel sorry for this man if that is the man to whom he said "strengthen my hands": [Interjections.] He went on to say:

I see Dr Buthelezi losing more and more support. We cannot solve the political problems in this country with Mr De Klerk and his party. The youth call Mr De Klerk "comrade De Klerk".

[Interjections.] This Government has betrayed the people to whom I have been referring. It is too feeble to protect those people. The Government itself capitulated to the ANC. [Interjections.] The NP Government has no, but no credibility or prestige among the responsible conservative leadership element of the Black peoples; only among those who refer to themselves and the hon the State President as "comrades". The NP has prostituted the honour and the prestige of the Whites, especially the Afrikaners, in this country, and it will never regain its credibility. [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL. Mr Speaker, the interpellation we are dealing with today is unusual in that it is directed at the hon the Minister of Development Aid. I would have thought it should have been directed to the hon the Minister of Law and Order because I would think it is the function of the police to ensure that intimidation does not

take place [Interjections.] On the one hand, I can understand the concern of the hon member for Soutpansberg that there might be instances of intimidation taking place. On the other hand one must, however, understand that the political process in South Africa has been so restricted for a considerable period of time that a period of normalisation is necessary to allow parties and movements the opportunity to mobilise their supporters. [Interjections.]

Many organisations would want to mobilise. At this very time the CP is mobilising their members. They are to have a gathering in Pretoria within the next few weeks. [Interjections.] They are encouraging people to go to that gathering. They are mobilising their supporters. [Interjections.] They are gathering signatures and reports are that they are also gathering them from schoolchildren. That is the way they are also hoping to mobilise their support. [Interjections.]

The right wing is mobilising its support. We saw on TV the other night that the AWB, with whom the hon the Minister met the other day, had a great gathering somewhere out in the veld in the Western Transvaal and they are sorting out their commandos in order to mobilise their support. [Interjections.]

The other groups are gathering arms in order to mobilise their support. [Interjections.] There have been reports of the theft of weapons during the course of the past few days and we have not yet heard from the hon the Minister of Law and Order whether he has caught those people. [Interjections.]

The NP is mobilising its support by television appearances and by amending certain pieces of legislation in this House. [Interjections.]

We in the DP are mobilising our support in that we are holding meetings. [Interjections.] We are having membership drives and we are . . . [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID: Mr Speaker, I just want to explain to the hon member why I am handling this interpellation. It is because the question was specifically limited to the incidence of intimidation in the self-governing territories which fall under my jurisdiction in so far as they do not handle things by themselves. In this case they have the full authority to handle this type of matter themselves and therefore the



hon the Minister of Law and Order does not directly have anything to do with it.

\*The speech of the hon member for Soutpansberg assumed the form of a tirade. One thing that one should, of course, take into consideration when one wants to persuade someone to do something that he specifically does not like, is that one tends to ascribe that to intimidation, because one's own standpoint is so good and reasonable that if anyone differs with it, it goes without saying that this must be the result of some or other form of intimidation.

\*Mr D S PIENAAR: You are simply protecting the ANC.

\*The MINISTER. It is true that there is a great deal of intimidation. I shall not deny that. The entire purpose of normalising the political process is specifically to remove violence from the process. Before the prohibition on the ANC was lifted, there was intimidation too. It was a big problem.

With regard to that leader to whom the hon member referred, I want to point out to him that each of the leaders of the self-governing territories emphatically and repeatedly requested the release of Mr Mandela and the lifting of the prohibition on the ANC. We complied with their request in that regard. If they are unhappy about the consequences now, in a certain sense they have themselves to blame.

\*Mr J C BOTHA: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister talks about intimidation as if it is a peace-loving act. [Interjections.] If I were to come to him with a can of petrol and a tyre, he would join the CP. [Interjections.] That is how simple it is. Nationalism is the greatest danger in South Africa today. Nationalism is in the way of the new South Africa. Nationalism must be destroyed—ethnic nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism. Mr Mandela knows that. That is specifically where he is heading, and he not only wants to involve the economy.

\*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The interpellation deals with intimidation in the self-governing territories, and hon members should confine themselves to this subject.

\*Mr J C BOTHA: Mr Speaker, Mr Mandela's intimidation extends to the self-governing territories. I want to come to that.

road to a peaceful South Africa, because to eliminate intimidation is to make great progress. [Interjections.]

\*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister has just resumed his seat. He must name me one case in which the NP Government has criticised the ANC since 2 February with regard to intimidation in the self-governing states or anywhere else in South Africa. [Interjections.] I want to tell him that I call to mind an image—I am not comparing anyone to anything else—the image of a young dog which goes and lies on its back with limp paws, and hits at the ground with its tail when a stronger, bigger dog approaches it. [Interjections.] That is the image created in one's mind by the Government in respect of its strength as regards the ANC. [Interjections.]

Intimidation is a terrible thing among the Blacks of South Africa, because they are absolutely defenceless. They do not have weapons. Someone said, not to me, but to the man who conducted the interview with him, that apart from the KwaZulu people, they do not have weapons and they cannot defend themselves. [Time expired.]  
Debate concluded.

#### Namibian Government: extradition

2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the South African Government has received a request from the Namibian Government to extradite certain persons; if so, when was this request received;

(2) whether the South African Government has compared with this request: if not, why not?

B1050E.INT

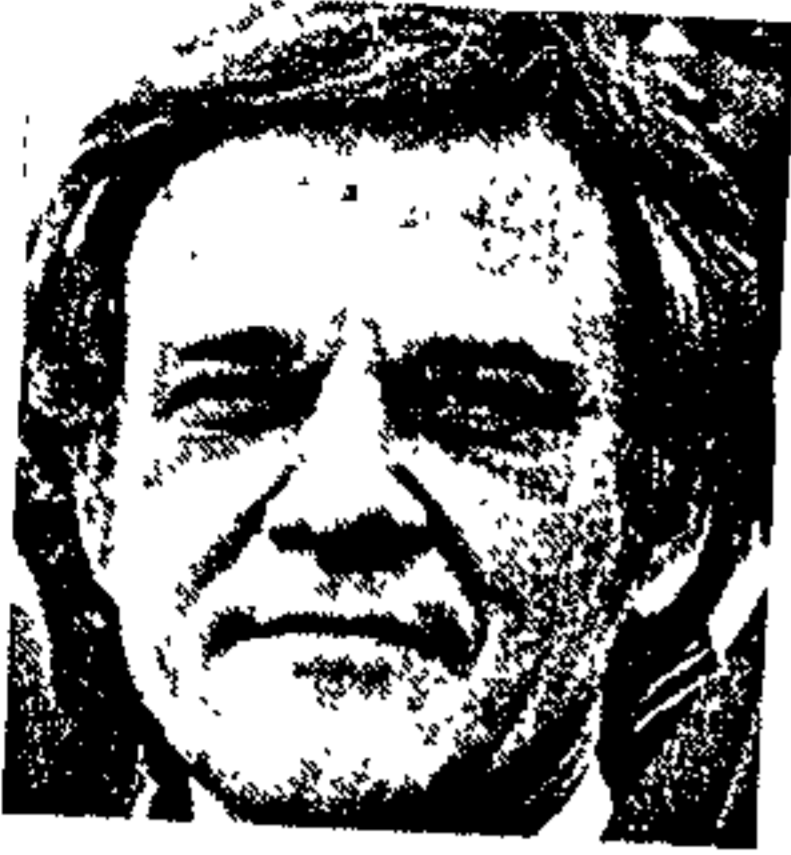
The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, as from 12 November 1979 the administration of justice in Namibia was largely autonomous at the particular judiciary and the attorney-general. On 13 September 1989, one Don Acheson was arrested in Namibia in connection with the murder of Anton Lubowski. On 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent. As from this date the South African laws were no longer applicable to Namibia.

The question is in what way could South Africa lawfully assist Namibia with the prosecution in any given case after 21 March 1990. Prior to the independence of Namibia South Africa took the initiative in normalising the inter-state administration of justice with Namibia. A draft extradition agreement was submitted to Namibia as early as 12 January 1990. The matter of an extradition treaty was further on the agenda for discussion by a South African delegation with Namibian authorities on 8 March 1990, but on that date those authorities preferred not to pursue the matter to its logical conclusion. Also on the agenda was the procurement of evidence under the Foreign Courts Evidence Act of 1962. South Africa's willingness to co-operate may moreover be gathered from the fact that the documents pertaining to the Extradition Act or extradition treaty and the Foreign Courts Evidence Act of 1962 were already in the hands of the attorney-general on the date of independence. Hansard 15/5/90

Nothing further was heard from the Namibian authorities until 22 April 1990, when the extradition of certain persons was sought from the hon the State President in a letter dated 21 April. I received from the Attorney-General of Windhoek. In the absence of such a treaty having been concluded prior to that date, we were very clear in our response to the request for extradition in pointing out the applicability of our Extradition Act, and section 17 of the Criminal Procedure Act which provides for evidence on commissions. As a matter of fact, the communication was very much in the nature of guiding the authorities there in regard to what to do to obtain either the necessary evidence or extradition. Up to this moment the Foreign Courts Evidence Act in general has only been applied on a reciprocal basis as will appear from Schedules 1 and 2 to the Act which, *inter alia*, include Malawi and Swaziland.

The initial abovementioned request for the hon the State President to order the surrender of the persons Burger and Maree . . . [Time expired] Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the consequence of this sorry saga is that the murder of Mr Anton Lubowski will probably never lead to the prosecution of his killers. A grave injustice has been done and the kindest comment that I can make about the hon the Minister and his Government's response to this matter is that they have been less than enthusiastic in their handling





Mr Van der Merwe

# Govt drops homeland plan

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## Political Staff

THE government has finally acknowledged formally that independence is no longer an option for the remaining six non-independent homelands.

It also confirmed that land earmarked for incorporation into the self-governing homelands would not be incorporated if the legal inhabitants of the land opposed the move.

By Education and Development Aid Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe's own admission, the future of the homelands, and the question of whether or not they

should be reincorporated into South Africa, has become a matter of "intense discussion".

But, according to sources in his office, he is unlikely to say anything more on the question of reincorporation in his budget debate which continues in Parliament today because it is a "policy matter for higher review".

Opening the debate on his department's budget vote yesterday, Mr Van der Merwe said the government accepted that independence was no longer considered an option for the homelands.

"In the present circumstances it is,

therefore, also no longer the aim of the central government. The overriding aim now is the participation of all South Africans in the central political process."

He said the government also accepted that the constitutional future of the self-governing states was a matter to be negotiated.

Up to now, only four of the homelands — Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei — have opted for independence. Since Ciskei's independence in 1981, none of the remaining six — Qwa Qwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa and Gazankulu — has opted to change its regional government status.

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# Govt ditches independence for homelands

B1044 16/5/90

CAPE TOWN — Government has formally abandoned its policy of grand apartheid by acknowledging that independence is no longer considered an option for the remaining six non-independent homelands.

It has also confirmed that land earmarked for incorporation into the self-governing homelands will not be incorporated if the legal inhabitants of the land oppose the move.

Opening the debate on his department's budget vote yesterday, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said government accepted that independence was no longer considered a worthwhile option by the homelands.

"In the present circumstances it is, therefore, also no longer the aim of the central government. The overriding aim now is the participation of all South Africans in the central political process."

Van der Merwe said government accepted that the constitutional future of the self-governing states should be negotiated.

To date, only four homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — have opted for independence.

Since Ciskei became independent in 1981, none of the remaining six — QwaQwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa and Gazankulu — has opted to change its regional government status.

DP development aid spokesman Peter Soal said in debate yesterday that while the administrations of the four indepen-

LESLEY LAMBERT

dent homelands had collapsed and there had been coups in three of the four, there had also been a great deal of unrest in certain of the non-independent homelands, where five of the six had thrown their lot in with the ANC.

By Van der Merwe's own admission, the future of the homelands — and their reincorporation into SA or not — had become a matter for "intense discussion".

But according to sources in his office, the Minister is unlikely to say anything further on the question of reincorporation in his budget debate in Parliament today because it is a "policy matter for higher review".

Van der Merwe said yesterday there would have to be an in-depth review of the functions and powers of the self-governing territories. Existing rights, legislation and sub-structures would have to be considered and it was possible functions already transferred to the homelands should be returned to central government, he said.

Confirmation that incorporation into the homelands of earmarked land would not go ahead without the approval of legal residents of the land followed a recent administrative government directive, Van der Merwe said.

The issue was recently tested in court when the inhabitants of Botshabelo in the Free State won an application to prevent the area from being incorporated into QwaQwa.



HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

land in terms of the Customs Union Agreement in the 1989-90 financial year;

(2) what was the balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa? B1021E

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs

Customs Union Agreement

435. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) What amounts were paid over to (a) each of the independent Black states and (b) (i) Botswana, (ii) Lesotho and (iii) Swazi-

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) (a) Transkei R548 915 000
- Bophuthatswana R623 354 000
- Venda R 90 390 000
- Ciskei R221 776 000
- (b) (i) Botswana R467 548 000
- (ii) Lesotho R263 643 000
- (iii) Swaziland R186 831 000

(2) The balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa amounted to R4 877 811 114.

# Decentralised footwear firms shine

DECENTRALISED areas manufactured 29,5% of the total footwear production in southern Africa last year.

Footwear Manufacturers' Federation (FMF) executive director Dennis Linde said yesterday the organisation's estimates revealed that the 1989 aggregate output of the 13 states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa totalled 26-million pairs, compared to 62-million pairs in SA.

Linde said the trend was continuing although no comparable figures were available for 1988.

He said the fast growth was due to incentives not available in SA, abundance of labour and weak union influence.

Footwear journal Shoes and Views writers Geoff Hirsch and Karen

ACHMED KARIEM

McGugan said in its latest issue the "enormous growth" was despite being handicapped by a lack of trained labour and long distances from suppliers. 6 10 2215190

They said cumulative joint investment in Kwazulu had tripled in the past 5 years and now exceeded R1bn.

Kwazulu had 21 footwear industries which employed 2 500 people amongst the 280 factories in its four growth points — Isithebe (near Stanger), Ezakhane (Ladysmith), Madadeni (Newcastle) and Ulundi.

"Footwear and related products account for about 8% of employment, while overall employment, mainly of blacks, has doubled in the past four years."

Transkei had three industrial areas

— Butterworth, Umtata and Ezibeleni — hosting 183 industries, including three footwear manufacturers, one tannery and one leather glove factory. (101)

Lesotho had four footwear factories, a tannery and three firms in related fields making products like sheepskin jackets, slippers, leather bags and sandals. It has direct export facilities.

QwaQwa had seven footwear manufacturers, four leather-related industries and one tannery, whereas Bophuthatswana had two footwear manufacturers, one tannery and four related industries.

Government spending on the self-governing states and four independent homelands will increase by 17% to R7,83bn during the 1990/91 financial year.



# Abolishing homelands would 'save millions' (10)

THE abandonment of the homelands policy would result in substantial savings in support and administrative costs in the six self-governing territories amounting to tens of millions of rands a year, according to the authorities.

Duplication of health, education and other services which raised the South African taxpayer's burden significantly would be eliminated.

The high costs of maintaining legislative assemblies in the six states and the huge amounts spent on pay and perks for assembly members could be pared down to a fraction of current costs.

In this year's budget, over R5bn has been allocated to the six homelands.

Gazankulu is to get R617,8m; KaNgwane

GERALD REILLY

R338,9m; KwaNdebele R268,8m; KwaZulu R2,218bn; Lebowa R1,23bn and; Qwa Qwa R288m.

It was pointed out that development funds would still have to be allocated to the territories no matter what system was incorporated in the new constitution, but they would not have to be on the current lavish scale.

DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwartz agreed that ending the costly homelands policy would make big savings possible, but much would depend on the nature and structure of the local or regional governments replacing the existing system.

Until this was known it would be impossible to quantify savings.

## SA pays homelands R1,5-bn

South Africa paid over almost R1,5 billion to the TBVC states during the 1989/90 financial year in terms of the Customs Union Agreement, the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament on Monday. (101)

*Stor 22/5/90*  
In a written reply to a question from Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville), he said the individual amounts were: Transkei R548,92 million; Bophuthatswana R623,35 million; Venda R90,39 million; and Ciskei R221,78 million.

The amounts paid over to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were R467,55 million, R263,64 million and R186,83 million respectively.

The balance accruing to South Africa was R4,878 billion. — Sapa.



W/M and 11/6-7/6/90

## Homeland

### armies accept they will rejoin a future SADF

THE armies of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have completely accepted that they will be integrated in a future defence force in South Africa, and are preparing for this.

The Transkei army sent five senior officers to meet Umkhonto weSizwe in Lusaka at the weekend, while Ciskei and Venda sent two.

One of the more controversial delegates present was Venda head of state Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana. He was accompanied by SADF Military Intelligence officer Lieutenant Gideon Meiring.

The tall, austere looking Ramushwana, 48, is chairman of the Council of National Unity in Venda and Chief of the Venda Defence Force.

The former security policeman, who is fluent in 19 African languages as well as English and Afrikaans, was frequently invited by the ANC delegation to sit at the head table with the likes of Chris Hani and Major General Wally Black.

In an interview with the *Weekly Mail* he said he had accepted the invitation because he believed all the military forces in the country needed to come together.

He said he believed the ANC had an important role to play in the country, and his meeting with it followed a series of discussions with the Mass Democratic Movement.

"I am willing to talk to all parties, and the ANC is one of the key parties. I am therefore very happy to be meeting with them".

He acknowledged that his defence force still formed part of the SADF Far North command.

Ramushwana said his immediate priority was the problems which his predecessors had left him.

"Clearly there are major problems which require sorting out, such as corruption and ritual murders, for example. I believe we are making very good progress."

The future of the Venda army lay "as part of a united South African army," he said, adding that he hoped to remain a senior officer when a negotiated solution was reached.

Afterwards he described the conference as a "big success" and said he hoped for a follow-up meeting.

He said the conclusions of the event would be "very encouraging" to the Venda Defence Force because "they also want to know what will happen to them in future".

116-71640  
Homeland

armies accept  
they will rejoin  
a future SADF

(101)  
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101

NEWS

# ANC reacts: FW's relief move still

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC said yesterday that President de Klerk's government, despite its decision to partially lift the state of emergency and release some prisoners, had still not done enough to normalise the political situation in South Africa and create a climate conducive to negotiations.

At an press conference attended by local and foreign journalists in the ANC's Johannesburg head office to respond to President de Klerk's speech in Parliament, the ANC said its preconditions for negotiations included the entire lifting of the state of emergency, release of all political prisoners — which the organisation estimates at 3 000 — the return of all exiles,

and a host of other issues spelt out in its document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration.

President de Klerk, who now wanted to shift the blame to the ANC for dragging its feet in its preparation for negotiations, had not met all the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration, and he could not therefore expect the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

"The question of the armed struggle, as clearly stated in the Harare Declaration, is a matter for negotiation. The suspension of hostilities and a possible ceasefire, which we are ready

for, must come from both sides," ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said.

Similarly, the ANC would continue calling for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa until such time that "the question of a constituent assembly has been addressed".

### Brandish arms

Said Mr Sisulu: "We must also add here that the issue of violence has not been handled sufficiently by the Government, and the rightwing is still able to brandish arms publicly and make threats to defend itself."

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said it was significant that Mr de Klerk had chosen yesterday to lift the state of emergency, while ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was touring abroad and campaigning for more sanctions against South Africa.

"Clearly," said Mr Kathrada, "Mr de Klerk did not meet with the success that he claims to have got abroad, and he is now trying to water down the effects of Mr Mandela's trip. Mr Mandela is touring the most important capitals of the West as a state guest, and this must be

causing some anxiety in Cape Town and Pretoria."

Commenting on the retention of the state of emergency in Natal, Mr Sisulu said the ANC was not asking for half-measures, but wanted the atmosphere cleared for real negotiations to begin. As long as other security legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, remained, the situation on the ground would not change much.

United Democratic Front assistant general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa, who chaired the press conference, told journalists that the violence

# not enough

worried the ANC, the organisation felt the CP threat would continue to exist only for as long as the electorate was made up of whites.

Mr Kathrada said the ANC did not feel in any way responsible for the National Party's poor performance in Umlazi, because it had reciprocated President de Klerk's goodwill to convince the white voters that the direction the party was moving in was for the good of the entire country.

"Mr de Klerk has not been elected by us, and we have no obligation to him. We cannot give credit to him for continuing to perpetrate apartheid. However, we are not churlish enough not to acknowledge the changes he has introduced," said Mr Kathrada.

gosuthu Buthelezi was removed from his portfolio as the homeland's Minister of Police, and the homeland was dismantled.

Commenting on the major inroad made by the Conservative Party in the Umlazi parliamentary by-election, Mr Kathrada said it was unfortunate that white South Africa appeared still unprepared "to face the reality of politics in South Africa".

The time when whites made all the decisions was over, and the liberation movement was now at the centre stage of politics.

While the swing to the CP also

in war-torn Natal had escalated "precisely during the period of the state of emergency".

The emergency, he said, was not originally aimed at "what the Government called perpetrators of violence", but at activists like himself.

### Dismantle homeland

The emergency had never achieved its purpose, but had instead added more blood on South African soil.

Mr Moosa said the violence in Natal would end only when the KwaZulu police were removed from the townships, Chief Man-



MARITZBURG — The land issue, which is at the centre of reform in South Africa, has yet to be tackled by President de Klerk's government.

In Natal this week, six rural communities still under threat of removal challenged the government to grant a reprieve and return the land they once owned.

"We are very proud of the land ... It holds the tombs of our forefathers. We demand the restoration of our title deeds," said Mr Anthony Mnyoni of Matiwane's Kop, a small black freehold area about 25 km north of Ladysmith.

Surrounded by white farms, Matiwane is one of a large number of black rural communities in Natal that have been under threat of forced removal for the past 30 years.

### Compensation

Taking heed of President de Klerk's reformist statements, Mr Mnyoni and representatives from five other communities under threat of removal, yesterday delivered a memorandum to the Government, asking for an official reprieve.

The memorandum also called for written withdrawal of land expropriation notices and restoration of title deeds and mineral rights to their owners or appropriate compensation where this cannot be done.

The communities' campaign for their land to be restored and developed is supported by the Association for Rural Advancement, civil rights lawyers, the Black Sash and church leaders.

The history of the six communities dates back to the early 19th and 20th centuries when numbers of black Christian syndicates bought up farms under freehold tenure.

They represented a flourish-

## The Govt still has to tackle the land issue in rural areas

After decades of colonial rule and apartheid development, land has been carved and re-carved and entire communities forcibly relocated in accordance with separate development. Most areas scheduled for black occupation have been left underdeveloped.

ing peasantry, using modern agricultural technology to produce for the market. However, through a programme of underdevelopment by successive colonial governments, post-union segregation and the apartheid governments, the communities have been deprived of credit, extension services, clean water, roads, schools and other social services.

In official government terminology, they became known as "black spots", black freehold land that was acquired before the 1913 Land Act and which fell within areas designated as white.

The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts scheduled areas for black settlement, a mere 13 percent of South Africa, and ended black purchase of land outside the homelands.

When the National Party came to power in 1948, it began removing these freehold areas to give effect to its racial segregation of land. By 1982 it was estimated that 103 freehold areas representing 105 000 people had been forcibly relocated.

After increasing resistance from the communities and national and international pressure, the Government announced a suspension of its policy of forced removals, leaving

an estimated 183 areas in Natal (about 160 000 people) uncertain of Government plans for their future and whether they would still be moved.

Among these were the communities of Matiwane's Kop, Steincoalspruit, Stoffelton, Stepmore, Rosboom and Cornfields, representatives of which are now demanding that the government "put its money where its mouth is".

They state that since 1985, the Government has adopted more subtle strategies in trying to force people off land scheduled for white development.

### Attrition

"As a means to underdevelop the area, public transport has ceased to operate and shops have closed. Expropriation notices have been served on us and promises of other land have been made," said Mr Mwazi Zuma, a spokesman for Rosboom, a former freehold community situated south of Ladysmith on the Durban to Johannesburg main road.

Afra fieldworker Richard Clacey said this week the forced removals of the past had not stopped, but had merely become "forced voluntary removals". Communities have had to face a debilitating war of attrition by the government, he added.

He welcomed President de Klerk's moves to dismantle apartheid and the recent Government statements that the forced incorporation of communities into self-governing territories and the development of independent homelands would no longer be pursued as policy.

— Sapa.



12/6/90 <sup>12/6/90</sup> (3) (a) and (b) No (1) and (ii) Fall away

Certain persons: order for release by Minister

301 Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he has ordered the release of (a) Mr Abraham "Stang" van Zyl and (b) Col Joe Verster; if so, (i) why, and (ii) when, in each case, <sup>12/6/90</sup>
- (2) whether he similarly ordered the release of Mr Butana Almond Nofomela, if not, why not, <sup>12/6/90</sup>
- (3) whether he intends ordering the rearrest of Mr van Zyl and Col Verster at any stage, if not, why not, if so, (a) when, and (b) for what offences, in each case;
- (4) whether he intends issuing any other instructions regarding Mr van Zyl and Col Verster to those members of the South African Police currently investigating the murders of Mr Anton Lubowski and Mr David Webster; if so, what are the relevant details? B778E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b) Yes.
  - (i) In order to allow them to give evidence before the Harms Commission.
  - (ii) 8 March 1990.
- (2) No, because Nofomela is a sentenced prisoner and his release does not fall under my jurisdiction.

- (3) A decision in this regard can only be taken after the investigation by the Harms Commission has been completed and if the Police investigation reveals facts which will justify such a step
  - (a) and (b) Fall away.

- (4) No The investigation into the murder of Dr Webster is continuing and the docket will on completion, be submitted to the Attorney-General, for his decision. The murder of Mr Lubowski is being investigated by the Namibian Police

343. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order: <sup>12/6/90</sup>

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

How many persons were arrested by the security forces in 1989 for allegedly attending gatherings prohibited in terms of (a) section 46 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, and (b) the emergency regulations? <sup>12/6/90</sup> B833E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) 2 171 persons.
- (b) 303 persons.

Fire-arms arrests <sup>12/6/90</sup>

344. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order: <sup>12/6/90</sup>

- (a) How many persons were arrested in each province of the Republic in 1989 for (i) illegal possession of fire-arms and (ii) being in possession of stolen fire-arms and (b) how many of the lawful owners of such fire-arms were traced in each category? B834E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	(a)	(i)	(ii)
Cape Province	298	283	77
Orange Free State	88	74	38
Natal	1 103	625	206
Transvaal	703	545	256
			268

Patrol vehicles of SAP at Oberholzer/  
Westonaria

352 Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on the patrol vehicles which are at the disposal of the South African Police at Oberholzer and Westonaria; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many such vehicles at (i) Oberholzer and (ii) Westonaria are available and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished.
- (2) on what basis are vehicles allocated to police stations? B859-62E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes
  - (a) (i) 29
  - (ii) 14
- (b) 30 May 1990

- (2) On the basis of organisational and method investigations, the Division Efficiency Services of the South African Police determine the ideal number of vehicles that should be allocated to a station.

Police forces in homelands

383. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order: <sup>12/6/90</sup>

- (1) Whether, in terms of section 21 of the National States Constitution Act, No 21 of 1971, he has permitted the (a) establishment, (b) control, (c) organisation and (d) administration of a police force in (i) Gazankulu, (ii) Lebowa, (iii) KaNgwane, (iv) KwaNdebele, (v) Qwaqwa and (vi) KwaZulu; if so, subject to what conditions in each case: <sup>12/6/90</sup>
- (2) whether the (a) control, (b) organisation and (c) administration of any personnel of the police force transferred to the government of each of the self-governing territories referred to above is subject to any conditions determined by him; if so, which such conditions has he determined? B911E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2) No.

Fuel levies

390. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) What amounts were collected by the State in fuel levies during (a) 1980, (b) 1985 and (c) 1989.
- (2) what portion of these amounts was spent by the State on roads in the Republic? B932E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) All the relevant information is not readily available to the Department of Transport. That which can be made available is the portion of the fuel levy which was collected for purposes of the National Road Fund. The amounts are also unfortunately not available in the form of calendar years but in financial years. The amounts for 1980/81 and 1985/86 are R140 863 186,04 and R404 782 830,00, respectively. Since 1 April 1988 funds for

- (2) road building purposes are voted by Parliament and the amount for 1989 can therefore not be made available.
- (2) The full amounts were spent on national road projects.

Abuse of Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act: persons detained

407. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order: <sup>12/6/90</sup>

- (1) Whether any persons were detained in 1989 for interrogation in terms of section 13 of the Abuse of Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act, No 41 of 1971; if so, (a) how many and (b) for what period was each detained; <sup>12/6/90</sup>
- (2) whether any of these persons were subsequently (a) charged with and (b) convicted of peddling drugs; if so, how many in each case;
- (3) whether any of the persons arrested in 1988 are still in detention for interrogation, if so, (a) how many and (b) for what period has each been so detained? B954E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes
  - (a) 26 persons
  - (b) 1 for 1 day
  - 1 for 2 days
  - 1 for 4 days
  - 1 for 5 days
  - 2 for 6 days
  - 1 for 9 days
  - 1 for 10 days
  - 2 for 13 days
  - 2 for 14 days
  - 2 for 15 days
  - 1 for 18 days
  - 1 for 19 days
  - 1 for 20 days
  - 1 for 21 days
  - 1 for 28 days
  - 2 for 33 days
  - 1 for 42 days
  - 1 for 52 days
  - 3 for 56 days
- (2) Yes

# Violence in SA raised at ANC meeting

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

THE African National Congress (ANC) yesterday held a meeting with leaders of the self-governing homelands at its Johannesburg head office.

At the meeting, held at the request of the homeland leaders, "a range of issues, including the future of the homelands and the on-going violence in the country" were discussed, according to a statement released by the ANC after the meeting.

All the self-governing homelands but Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu were represented by their leaders at the meeting which was chaired by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

## Women return

Meanwhile, the ANC will stage a rally in Soweto tomorrow to welcome home 13 members of its women's section who returned to the country a week ago.

The rally, to be held at Jabulani Amphitheatre from 10 am, will be addressed by ANC national executive committee members Ruth Mompoti and Gertrude Shope and ANC returnee Maviyi Manzini, as well as the co-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Albertina Sisulu.

Musicians Thembi Mtshali, Tsidi Leloka and Bayete will perform at the rally.



# Cash shock for homeland

SI Times 17/6/90 (101)

## Government panel wants cuts in R1bn subsidy flop

By DIRK TIEMANN

**SWEEPING** changes to decentralisation incentives which have cost the taxpayer R1-billion will come as a blow to industrialists in the TBVC states and homelands.

The changes will follow a major investigation by a top-level panel into the current Regional Industrial Development Programme (RIDP).

The Government-commissioned report released this week recommends that the current development policy, which artificially stimulated industry in the TBVC areas, be abandoned.

It said development in these areas has been at the expense of the other development regions identified by the panel.

The panel was headed by Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Transkei.

The homeland development regions will now face greater competition from the metropolitan regions of the Cape Peninsula, Durban-Pinetown, East London and Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage, as the emphasis shifts to the

development of an integrated southern African economy.

Professor Nkuhlu said the investigation into RIDP was launched after the programme failed to generate self-sustaining development despite its R1-billion incentive costs.

The programme was formulated in 1982 and endorsed

by SA, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

"The RIDP incorrectly assumed that the TBVC states were the only regions requiring assistance. Furthermore, the distorted Government import substitution policies favoured the establishment of industries on the Reef."

The report said the import policies must be rectified. "Regional and sectoral development must be determined by the comparative advantage of each region."

Professor Nkuhlu said: "Incentives should not be the drawcard for industrialists. They should move to a region because of its economic advantages."

"The current policy has encouraged many unviable industries to settle in the remote regions where incentives ensured their survival."

### Artificial

This has created artificial growth points without benefit to the local population. Only 1% of Transkeian household income can be attributed to wage labour in the decentralised industries.

Professor Nkuhlu said: "Most firms who settled in the homeland import the raw materials they need from outside the region and then export their product to the PWV and other markets."

"The industries have failed to link up with the economies in the regions where they have established themselves."

The report advocates the slow phasing out of concessions over two years and the introduction of profit-based incentives for viable companies.

Professor Nkuhlu said permanent incentives, such as electricity and transport, also create distortions. A problem existed with short-term incentives, such as wages, which were maintained at a fixed level for a period of seven years instead of being reduced annually.

He said: "This incentive actually conceals a company's unprofitability. If our recommendations are accepted, some fast buck industrialists will be in for a shock."

"Profit-based incentives should replace all incentives which discourage self-sustaining industries. Industries which are not competitive without incentives have no right to exist."

# industries



# FW in new bid for moderate alliance

Star 18/6/90 (101)

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent  
Cape Town

Talks between President de Klerk and homeland, Indian and coloured leaders began at Tuynhuys shortly after 9 am today. The meeting, not announced until late last night, is an apparent bid to draw the leaders into a broad, moderate alliance against the African National Congress.

The urgency of the meeting is underscored by indications that all of the leaders of the self-governing homelands — except KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are close to throwing their weight behind the ANC.

The talks follow an aborted meeting with the self-governing territories a few months ago.

Only KwaZulu attended, because ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela persuaded the others not to — much to Mr de Klerk's chagrin.

It is understood the arrangements for today's meeting were kept secret to prevent the ANC getting at the leaders again. Mr Mandela's absence on an overseas tour may also have something to do with the timing.

Mr de Klerk announced last night that, apart from the leaders of the self-governing territories, he would also meet the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils, and the four provincial administrators.

He would say only that they intended discussing "matters of common concern" and that the meeting was a continuation of his regular meetings with South African leaders.

## Free enterprise

Parliamentary sources said Mr de Klerk would probably try to persuade the leaders to unite around a charter of basic democratic and free enterprise values.

The signatories to this charter would enter negotiations as a bloc.

This would also put pressure on the ANC and other socialist-oriented organisations to endorse these values.

The Government has already begun discussions about the charter with other parties inside Parliament.

Although the charter is still in draft form, it is likely to endorse values such as a multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary, a free press, free enterprise, no discrimination and devolution of power.

Government sources last night dismissed any suggestion that the Government might insist that signing the charter was a condition for participation in negotiations. But they said the charter of values was likely to be supported by most Western governments and this would put pressure on the ANC to endorse it.

Parliamentary sources said they believed today's discussions might also deal with draft legislation the Government is apparently drawing up that would give Mr de Klerk power to take over the administration of self-governing territories if their own administrations collapsed.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said today the organisation would "closely monitor" the outcome of the Tuynhuys meeting.



Tactical retreat ... English soccer fans flee before a baton-charge by Italian policemen. The clash took place during the England-Netherlands game. © Picture: Associated Press

## Soccer clashes: 'Ban must stay'

CAGLIARI — The clash between English fans and Italian police has reinforced the British government's contention that English soccer clubs should be banned indefinitely from European tournaments, a newspaper reported yesterday.

British Sports Minister, Colin Moynihan, told the Corriere dello Sport newspaper that the ban on English clubs competing in European tournaments should not be lifted.

Mr Moynihan commented after an estimated 1 000 English fans clashed with Italian police in Cagliari on Saturday before a World Cup match.

Italian police used teargas and truncheons to disperse the crowd after the English fans began throwing rocks, officials and news reports said.

A group of English soccer fans also beat up a Japanese television reporter and cameraman and smashed their camera in Cagliari

yesterday, police said.

A police patrol rescued the two Japanese and took them to hospital for treatment for cuts and bruises.

It was not known how many fans attacked the crew and there were no reports of any arrests.

"The violence and the devastation perpetrated by bands of hooligans reinforces the conviction of my government. The ban on English teams from European cups must not be revoked, but remain in force for an indefinite time," Mr Moynihan was quoted as saying.

### Readmitted

English clubs have been banned from European competitions since May 1985 when 39 people died in Brussels during riots between English and Italian fans before the European Champions Cup final.

In Genoa, European Football Union (UEFA) president Lennart Johansson said the incidents further reduced the chances of Eng-

lish clubs being readmitted to European competition.

UEFA has been considering lifting the ban, but has said its decision would depend on the behaviour of English fans during the World Cup.

Massive security to guard against World Cup violence in Cagliari has upset prostitutes, who say it is ruining their business.

They claim that the 4 000 police patrolling the town to prevent soccer violence have made it impossible for them to pick up customers in the streets.

Brazil's lambada road show has upset the sober citizens of Turin and has been told to cool it — except on Brazilian World Cup match days.

A lorry fitted out with 10 000-watt speakers to blast out samba and lambada rhythms has been banned from the city centre after residents complained — Sapa-AP-Reuters.

See Page 20.



# Tug-of-war for homelands is on

Ste 19/6/90 (101)

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The tug-of-war between the Government and the ANC for the hearts and minds of the homeland leaders is on.

This emerged from yesterday's "summit" at Tuynhuys between President de Klerk and the leaders of self-governing territories and Indian and coloured leaders in Parliament.

Some political observers believe all the homeland leaders — except Kwa-Zulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are already in the ANC camp.

## Not convinced

However, Government and other sources at the meeting said they were not convinced this was so.

They were encouraged by the fact that the meeting had taken place at all — after the original meeting scheduled for April had been aborted because of ANC intervention.

However, there are suggestions that the homeland leaders agreed to yesterday's meeting only after getting prior approval from the ANC.

Government officials believe that some of the homeland leaders are adopting a pro-ANC stance for public consumption — possibly to placate rebellious citizens back home — while privately taking a more conservative line.

Some leaders stated publicly that they were not ready for negotiations yet and felt certain obstacles still had to be overcome.

Privately, they expressed the wish that negotiations should start as soon as possible — in order to catch the ANC off-guard before it was properly organised.

The homeland leaders may be caught in a cleft stick.

Asked if he was closer to the ANC or the SA Government, Lebowa leader Nelson Ramodike said after the meeting: "I regard the two as co-partners in the struggle to solve the problems of our country amicably.

"For this purpose I am prepared to talk to the Conservative Party or even the AWB."

He told the press after the meeting that Lebowa "did not see its way clear" to start negotiations yet.

He believed some obstacles — including the Group Areas Act — would have to be removed first.

Government official sources claimed, however, that at the meeting Mr Ramodike took a more conciliatory line and expressed himself in favour of early negotiations.

Mr de Klerk's statement suggested the same. He said there had been agreement among all participants that real negotiations for a new constitution should be the "highest priority and should start as soon as possible".

Hawassa

1913 THURSDAY, 21 JUNE 1990 1914

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Self-governing territories: Blacks employed  
428. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid:

How many Blacks in each self-governing territory were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis and (b) by development corporations for such territories as at 31 December 1989?

(101)

B1013E

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

Self-governing territory	Latest specified date	(a) Number of persons employed in undertakings established with the aid of experts outside the self-governing territories	(b) Number of persons employed by undertakings established by development corporations
Gazankulu	30/9/1989	7 860	6 286
KaNgwane	30/9/1989	1 496	6 998
KwaNdebele	30/9/1989	8 900	3 579
KwaZulu	30/9/1989	41 285	16 402
Lebowa	30/9/1989	10 215	14 316
Qwaqwa	30/9/1989	25 000	5 831

Self-governing territories: new employment opportunities for Blacks

429. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: (101)

(a) How many new employment opportunities were created for Blacks in each employment sector in the self-governing territories and

border areas (i) by development corporations and other statutory bodies and (ii) through investment by (aa) South African and (bb) overseas companies in the 1988-89 financial year and (b) what was the cost per employment opportunity created in each of these sectors?

B1014E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

Self-governing territory*	Commerce, services and housing	Industries	Small industries	Mining	Agriculture	Transport	Other
Gazankulu							
(a) (i)		907	113		101	29	
(ii) (aa)		905	113		101	29	
(bb)		2					
(b)		R4 890	R4 072		R7 007	R19 710	
KaNgwane							
(a) (i)	538	189	224		420		54
(ii) (aa)	538		224		420		54
(bb)		189					
(b)	R6 341	R13 190	R2 090		R7 526		R6 170
KwaNdebele							
(a) (i)	277	2 000	170		352		
(ii) (aa)	277	1 700	170		352		
(bb)		300					
(b)	R13 188	R8 349	R3 543		R9 826		



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101  
 Self-governing territory\* Commerce, services and housing Industries Small industries Mining Agriculture Transport Other

Province	Commerce, services and housing	Industries	Small industries	Mining	Agriculture	Transport	Other
<b>KwaZulu</b>							
(a) (i)	297	3 730	328	—	2 180	500	887
(ii) (aa)	297	3 730	328	—	2 180	500	887
(b)	R11 492	R6 625	R5 315	—	R7 598	R14 040	R6 127
<b>Lebowa</b>							
(a) (i)	256	662	78	249	79	—	975
(ii) (aa)	256	481	78	249	79	—	975
(b)	—	R5 358	R6 331	R20 878	R22 199	—	R13 054
<b>Orange</b>							
(a) (i)	132	3 300	200	—	392	—	285
(ii) (aa)	132	3 300	200	—	392	—	285
(b)	—	R3 183	R1 350	—	R6 657	—	RS 937
<b>STKLEB SADF-areas</b>							
(a) (i)	53	3 343	576	—	1 825	—	—
(ii) (aa)	53	1 443	576	—	1 825	—	—
(b)	—	R9 300 <sup>(2)</sup>	(i)	—	R6 610 <sup>(2)</sup>	—	—

(1) Not available as yet.  
 (2) Only average term figures available.  
 \* The Minister of Development Aid is not responsible for activities in border areas. Industrial development in these areas is managed by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC).

**Irradiated foodstuffs: applications**

443. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) (a) What are the names of the individuals or companies that applied to irradiate food in (i) 1987, (ii) 1988 and (iii) 1989 and (b) for (i) which specified foodstuffs and (ii) what quantities of such foodstuffs were such applications made in each case;
- (2) whether she will disclose the names of the retail outlets to which each applicant intended to distribute such irradiated foodstuffs; if not, why not; if so, what are their names.
- (3) (a) what total quantity of each specified foodstuff was irradiated in each of the above years and (b) where was it done in each case?

**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT.**

- (1) and (2) These questions relate directly to the business or affairs of the persons or companies who have been given approval to sell irradiated foodstuffs. Section 16(1)(b) of the Foodstuffs, Cosmetics and Disinfectants Act, 1972 (Act 54 of 1972) prohibits the disclosure of such information;
- (3) (a) attached is an exposition of the total number of foodstuffs irradiated in the Republic during the period 1 July 1988 to 31 December 1989. No figures are available for the period prior to 1 July 1988;
- (b) for the same reason as mentioned above the kind and number of foodstuffs irradiated at each of the five irradiation facilities cannot be disclosed.

B1034E

1917

THURSDAY, 21 JUNE 1990

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Total number (metric tons) of products irradiated commercially in the RSA for the period 1 July 1988 to 31 December 1988

Product name	1/7/88-30/9/88	1/10/88-31/12/88	Total
Dried onions	16	0	16
Strawberries	53	82	135
Herbs and spices	310	267	577
Mango pickle achar	56	171	227
Seaweed powder	2	0	2
Tornilite yeast	147	169	316
Fresh fish	16	0	16
Egg-white powder	10	39	49
Milkshake powder	2	0	2
Dehydrated vegetables	24	1	25
Papayas	0	38	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>636</b>	<b>767</b>	<b>1 403</b>

Total number (metric tons) of products irradiated commercially in the RSA for the period 1 January 1989 to 30 June 1989

Product	Mass (metric tons)		Total
	1/1/89-31/3/89	1/4/89-30/6/89	
Tornilite yeast	63,08	196,00	259,08
Yeast	128,48	163,00	291,48
Spices and herbs	229,31	539,42	768,73
Egg-white powder	19,55	11,02	30,57
Mango achar	161,18	172,11	333,29
Dehydrated vegetables	30,08	18,98	49,06
FRN Squizy	10,24	4,10	14,34
Bacon	8,64	3,19	11,83
Dried figs	3,06	1,83	4,90
Meat	0,59	—	0,59
Fruit juice concentrates	3,50	4,35	7,85
Potatoes	0,45	—	0,45
Onions	15,99	—	15,99
Fish	13,49	9,50	22,99
Milkshake powder	—	1,12	1,12
Concentrated egg-white	—	1,07	1,07
Rollod Oats	—	1,00	1,00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>687,65</b>	<b>1 126,69</b>	<b>1 814,34</b>

Total number (metric tons) of products irradiated commercially in the RSA for the period 1 July 1989 to 31 December 1989

Product	Mass (metric tons)		Total
	1/7/89-30/9/89	1/10/89-31/12/89	
Spices and herbs	1 107,818	1 090,901	2 198,719
Concentrated egg-white	47,032	51,683	98,715
Mango achar	126,339	172,452	298,791
Concentrated fruit juice	3,024	3,024	6,048
Fish	17,545	10,755	28,300
Rollod oats	1,125	0,507	1,632

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

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(3) Yes

(a) Pupils attend secondary schools in New Brighton, KwaZakhele and Zwide residential areas.

(b) Transport cost by municipal bus from Walmer to the nearest secondary school amounts to R2,40 (return ticket) per day for those who make use of a pre-paid coupon system. For others the cost is R3,40 per day.

(3) whether his Department suffered a loss as a result of replacing such cheques; if so, what total amount was so lost? *R245 21/6/90 B1215E*

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(1) (a) The information on the number of cheques forwarded is not readily available.

(b) Falls away.

(2) Yes, 3 257 of which 1 404 cheques were re-issued and 1 853 are still receiving attention.

(3) No.

Note: The figures are for the period 1 January 1989 to 31 December 1989 which is the financial year of the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

Unemployment Insurance Fund: cheques

517. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Manpower: *Handwritten 21/6/90*

(1) (a) How many Unemployment Insurance Fund cheques were forwarded to employees in the 1988-89 financial year and (b) what was the total amount of such cheques;

(2) whether any of these cheques were lost and subsequently replaced; if so, how many in each case: *B1217E*

Independent Black states: total amount spent on projects *(101)*

518. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: *Handwritten 21/6/90*

(a) What total amount was spent on projects in each independent Black state from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1989-90 financial year and (b) on what projects was this money spent?

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

INDEPENDENT BLACK STATE	PROJECT	AMOUNT
Bophuthatswana	Itoseng Township Development	R 3 304 014,87
	Atamalang Township Development	201 368,11
	Pampierstar Township Development	715 957,36
		<u>R 4 221,340,34</u>
Transkei	Ezebeleni Township Development	R 4 053 948,09
	Mdantsane Township Development	R 8 879 053,38
	Sada/Whitlsea Township Development	1 677 819,56
	Bisho: New government offices — Civic Square	71 658,95
	Bisho: New building for Radio Ciskei	7 842,38
Ciskei	Bisho. New offices for Departments of Health, Welfare, Pensions and Agriculture	192 303,77

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1929

THURSDAY, 21 JUNE 1990

*Handwritten 101*

1930

INDEPENDENT BLACK STATE	PROJECT	AMOUNT
	Middeldrift Prison	149 812,15
	Bisho: New service bay facilities for the Quarter Master Stores Complex	11 853,13
	Settlement of farm labourers	1 391 904,92
	Ntabamba Settlement	1 563 695,68
	Glenmore water supply	2 627,24
		<u>R13 948 571,16</u>
	Total amount spent	R22 223 859,59

Universities: number of students

520. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Education: *Handwritten 21/6/90*

(1) (a) Which universities fall under his Department and (b) what is the number of students at each of these universities;

(2) what annual subsidy is paid to each of these universities;

(3) whether the relevant subsidy formula is applied fully, if not, (a) why not and (b) what amount should each university receive annually according to this formula? *B1219E*

Medical University of Southern Africa  
R41 258 000  
Vista University R57 137 000

Amounts include adjustments in salaries of administrative assistants as well as the 10% non-pensionable allowance for all personnel.

Subsidies are calculated annually in terms of the SAPSE-110 financing formula

(3) No.

(a) Due to a lack of funds the Universities of Zululand, the North and Vista cannot be funded in full accordance with the subsidy formula. The amount voted in the 1990/91 financial year for the Medical University of Southern Africa for normal recurrent expenditure is higher than the amount provided for by the subsidy formula mainly as a result of the fact that the University has not yet come to an agreement with the Transvaal Provincial Administration regarding the financing of certain aspects of the rendering of medical services.

(b) for 1990/91

INDEPENDENT BLACK STATE	PROJECT	AMOUNT
University of Zululand	Amount voted in the 1990/91 financial year for normal recurrent expenditure	R64 348 000
University of the North		R65 014 000
Medical University of Southern Africa		R26 047 000
Vista University		R70 021 000
University of Zululand		R38 764 000
University of the North		R47 776 000

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



Orange Free State	0	0	0	0
Transvaal	0	0	0	0

(b) No deaths due to cholera were notified to the Department of National Health and Population Development during 1989

\* Notifications received by the Department of National Health and Population Development.

513. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) How many (a) cases of and (b) deaths from poliomyelitis were reported in re-  
(2) how many persons of each race group were immunised against poliomyelitis in each province in 1988? B1203E

**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

(1) (a) Notified cases of poliomyelitis received by the Department of National Health and Population Development in the Republic of South Africa by population group, 1989 (as on 30 May 1990):

Province	Population Group			
	Indian	Black	Coloured	White
Cape Natal	0	3	3	0
Orange Free State	0	2	0	0
Transvaal	0	1	0	0
		2	0	0

(b) No deaths due to poliomyelitis were notified to the Department of National Health and Population Development during 1989.

(2) Number of children under one year who received at least three doses of poliomyelitis vaccine in the seven health regions of the Republic of South Africa, 1988.

Province	Population Group			
	Indian	Black	Coloured	White
Cape Natal	345	43 819	71 168	19 319
Orange Free State	16 029	78 765	2 212	7 240
Transvaal	55	15 976	472	1 754
	3 356	108 474	6 946	40 980

**THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE:**

522 Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) In respect of sentences handed down by the Supreme Court for murder, how many persons were sentenced to (a) a fine without the option of imprisonment, (b) a fine with the option of imprisonment, (c) up to 5 years' imprisonment, (d) 6 to 10 years' imprisonment, (e) 11 to 15 years' imprisonment and (f) other specified punishments in 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989, respectively;

(2) what total number of persons was convicted of murder in each of the above years? B1230E

The required information is not readily available. To obtain it all court records pertaining to the crime concerned will have to be scrutinised which is not economically feasible.

Unrest-related deaths in Cape Town area: 22/6/90 inquests

523 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice: Whether any inquests have been held into the deaths of any of the persons who died in the (a) Cape Town, (b) Wynberg, (c) Goodwood, (d) Bellville and (e) Simon's Town magisterial districts as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989, if so, in respect of each such person, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings of the inquest; if not, why not? B1253E

As far as could be established no persons died in this magisterial district as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989.

**THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE:**

(a) CAPE TOWN

No.

(b) WYNBERG

No.

(c) GOODWOOD

No. The person who caused the death of 1 person at Elises River on or about 6 September 1989, has been charged. The dockets in connection with the death of 3 persons on or about 6 September 1989 at Bishop Lavis are with the Attorney-General, Cape Town, for a decision.

(d) BELLVILLE

No. As far as could be established no persons died in this magisterial district as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989.

(e) SIMON'S TOWN

No. As far as could be established no persons died in this magisterial district as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989.

**SA Development Trust: future of land**

524. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid:

- (1) Whether the Government has taken a decision regarding the future of land currently held by the South African Development Trust; if not, (a) why not and (b) when can such a decision be expected; if so, (i) when was this decision taken and (ii) what is the purport of the decision;
- (2) whether he will comment on whether certain reports concerning such land

which appeared in newspapers on or about 3 May 1990, copies of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, what is his response to these reports? B1254E

**THE MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:**

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) Fall away

(i) In the court of March 1990.

(ii) The land shall be administered by the South African Development Trust for the benefit of Blacks, which may include the disposal thereof to Blacks. The land shall further only be included in the areas of jurisdiction of independent states and self-governing territories if the inhabitants concerned agree thereto.

(2) The Government announced that the Black Land Act, 1913 (Act 13 of 1913) and the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936) are receiving attention with the view to possible revision. These Acts effect *inter alia* the vested interests of a large variety of people and instances. It is therefore an extremely complex matter. No decision has as yet been taken in this regard.

**HSRC: investigations for Bureau for Information**

525. Dr F H PAUW asked the State President:

Whether the Bureau for Information requested the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) over the past four years to carry out investigations for the Bureau; if so, (a) (i) how many and (ii) what investigations, (b) what was the cost involved, (c) to whom was the information gathered by means of these investigations made known and (d) in respect of what period is this information furnished?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(a) Yes.

(i) 25.

(ii) On various matters of current interest to the Government.

**Charity begins . . .** (101)

Pretoria's patience is running out with the increasing financial burden independent homelands are placing on SA taxpayers. Pro-

*FM 13/7/70* (101)

posals on how to deal with the problem are being investigated by the Cabinet.

President F W de Klerk's government is not opposed to re-incorporation of the homelands and among possibilities being examined is that of an administrator, as with Namibia before independence, and total financial control by Pretoria.

According to *FM* information, there is also growing impatience with Transkei military strongman Bantu Holomisa. Relations are at breaking point and increased pressure by the SA government — which could take the form of a cut in funds — is not being ruled out.

Part of the problem is that the Department of Foreign Affairs is finding its budget constrained — 80% of its expenditure goes to development aid to homelands — and other programmes are being curtailed. A number of missions are in the process of being closed.

At the same time, developments in central Europe have opened ever more doors to the department (see "SA-Soviet links" p41) and spending by the department may be aimed at establishing interest offices in those regions. And that would be at the expense of the homelands where no return on the investments has ever been evident.

Holomisa earned himself the wrath of Pretoria after he recently announced a 10% wage increase for all Transkei civil servants. He is also pressing Foreign Minister Pik Botha to extradite casino and hotel magnate Sol Kerzner to face charges of bribery. In the department it is, however, felt that with his expertise, Kerzner could still make important contributions to the welfare of the territory. He was noticed at the Union Buildings last week.

*Eddie Botha*



third of the world's population lives in federal states. The root idea of federalism lies in Montesquieu's classical assertion that power can be checked only by power.

In other words, if the federal society can create and entrench countervailing sites of authority, then the danger of the omnipotent centre can be checked and curtailed.

It is precisely the abuse of absolute power by an untrammelled parliament which has brought SA to its present impasse. Equally, it is the fear and uncertainty of a transfer of absolute power from a minority to a majority which causes the hesitation and resistance to negotiating a new constitutional dispensation for SA.

A territorial or geographic federation for the new SA is the most likely compromise between a specific system of racial checks and balances on the one hand and the demand for majoritarian rule within a unitary state on the other.

However, if the federal concept was to be floated as some sort of glorified Bantustanisation of SA then the concept will be dead in the water. It is specifically the fear that a federation could result in the reinforcement, rather than the reconciliation, of the existing racial divide which has led to its prima facie rejection by many major players in the liberation struggle.

Assuming that a departure point for a realistic federal arrangement for SA is one of limiting the power of the dominant group without invoking ethnicity, then the starting point must be a redelimitation of existing boundaries within the country. If a federation is to succeed, the federal units should ideally be of roughly equal population, geographic size, wealth and power.

John Dugard, in a recent study, noted that if substantial parity is to be achieved in a federal SA, it will be necessary to reduce the power of the Transvaal, hence his suggestion of a new province of the Witwatersrand area. In terms of population the redelimitation of provinces would result (on 1985 population estimates) in the following divisions:

□ Cape Province (including Trans-

# A federation would mean new boundaries and new powers

TONY LEON

kel, Ciskei and part of Bophuthatswana) — 9-million people;  
□ Natal (including KwaZulu) — 6-million;  
□ Free State (including QwaQwa and part of Bophuthatswana) — 2-million;  
□ Transvaal (excluding Witwatersrand but including Venda, part of Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane) — 10-million; and  
□ Witwatersrand — 2-million.

Dugard notes that although the Witwatersrand, Natal and Free State would have much smaller populations than the Cape Province and the Transvaal, they would probably compare with the larger provinces in economic terms.

Many would contend that the existing provincial boundaries, which Dugard moots, are far too large for the closer and more dynamic relationship between public representatives and constituents which federalism should engender.

There is nothing magical about the existing provincial boundaries. They reflect the division of power pre-1910 and enjoy little emotional support.

Perhaps a better delimitation of federal units would be the nine or 10 economic regions into which SA is divided for planning purposes. The problem is that there are only four major areas of industrial concentra-

tion: the PWV triangle, the Durban-Pinetown-Maritzburg conurbation, the Cape Town metropole and the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area. It is here that the other devices of a federal arrangement become critical.

While the US and Australia have no special arrangements for the allocation of revenue and loan capital between the various states comprising their federations, other federal countries do. Canada allows for the pooling of national resources and the distribution of them between provinces on the basis of need.

A fiscal commission should investigate the reasonable cost, to each federal state and to the Republic, of administering the various subjects assigned to each state in terms of the constitution on the basis of no discrimination as between the states.

The FFP's constitutional proposals suggested a Federal Finance Council comprising representatives of the federal and state governments and expert bureaucrats. It would examine state and federal budgets to determine the amount of revenue and loan funds which each state could claim from the federal treasury. Its decisions would be subject

only to the combined veto of both majorities in the federal assembly and the affected state assembly.

Other equalisation devices could ensure that each state, pro rata, got its rightful share of resources.

There are few federations in the world which do not make concessions to important unitary principles. Federalism in Germany, for example, has drastically changed over the past 20 years. People in the various "länder" (or federal states) are unwilling to tolerate major differences in living conditions as an effect of living in different regions. Therefore there is a greater pressure for uniformity. This has impacted on major areas.

Generally federal constitutions specifically enumerate the powers granted to national government and leave the residue of powers to the various units comprising the federation.

Certain functions are by their very nature federal or national: foreign relations, citizenship, currency, interstate commerce, defence, internal security, borrowing on the credit of the government, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, customs and excise, national transportation, mineral and energy affairs.

Even in a state as unitary as SA, certain powers have always been

exercised at a local or provincial level. These include aspects of health, local government, licensing, town planning, taxation and education. A new dispensation in a federal SA should ensure that all the latter powers are exercised in the fullest sense by each federal unit. Other powers should always have been exercised at a local or regional level, namely law and order, prisons and land settlement.

By multiplying the sites of political power and competition, new and transcending alliances based on regional or common interests can be forged which will lead to the resolution of problems and issues at a localised level.

The precise institutions which will serve at both the federal and at a local level will have to be determined in a process of negotiation. This equally applies to the question of federal boundaries and government competencies.

Underpinning any federal arrangement will be other institutions of crucial significance, namely the constitutional court which will have to reconcile the claims of feuding states against each other and in their disputes with the central state. The composition and appointment of the federal constitutional court will, in turn, be a delicate and problematic matter. Precedents from other federal jurisdictions are readily available.

do not know whether the federal argument will cause mass conversions to its point of view, or whether it will persuade South Africans to relinquish current demands in favour of this principled middle way. But those who reject the federal argument must offer a more viable set of proposals which will bring peace and unity to SA.

The most significant difference in our constitutional debate is the division between the expedient democrats, who support democracy only because a general election in a unitary SA will almost definitely bring them to power, and the genuine democrats who are committed to something more durable.

□ Tony Leon, DP MP for Houghton, was formerly a lecturer in constitutional law at Wits.

101

101



# ANC parley with Bantustans

By LANCENAWA  
South Africa  
16/12/1990

HISTORY was made last weekend in Johannesburg when an "independent" homeland cabinet minister and other Bantustan representatives met with UDF/ANC officials to thrash out a common political approach.

At least 10 homelands were repre-

sent at the conference held at the St Alban's School near Lanseria.

The conference was opened by veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki and attended by senior UDF and ANC executive members. About 150 delegates attended.

But while ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told a TV audience that the ANC was forging black unity by also talking to homeland governments, UDF

spokesperson Tinus Mafolo said the "meeting should not be read as a shift of policy by the UDF and ANC with regard to co-operation with homelands".

Mr. Steve Mabona, a KwaNdebele cabinet minister and members of the Transkei military council were among those present.

Significant decisions adopted at the conference were that ANC structures be

allowed to function freely in the homelands and that referendums be held regarding re-incorporation into South Africa.

The ANC has not been allowed to operate in some of the homelands.

The ANC has, however, forged close links with homelands like Transkei.

Bophuthatwana is the only homeland which is seemingly remaining aloof.



## Cross-border maintenance <sup>(101)</sup>

**EDYTH BULBRING**

PRETORIA — Maintenance orders in SA and the TBVC states will be reciprocally enforced, according to an Act which came into effect from Saturday, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement.

The object of the Act is to facilitate the reciprocal enforcement of maintenance orders between SA and the TBVC states.

The Act envisages a procedure whereby the transmission of maintenance orders is effected directly between the administrative heads of the departments of justice. B10451770

Provisional maintenance orders, emoluments and attachment orders made by a maintenance court in one country may also be registered and enforced by a maintenance court in the other countries, the statement said.

# Land Acts must go, says researcher

8 12 07 12/9/98  
THE Land Acts restricted economic development in SA and their abolition should lay the ground for a R3bn action programme to promote rural development, the Urban Foundation said yesterday.

Urban Foundation executive director for urbanisation Ann Bernstein said the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act as well as the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts was a vital step towards a new rural development policy for a future SA.

Bernstein and Natal University economic research unit director Prof Gavin Maasdorp yesterday presented the two latest research and policy documents released by the Foundation and the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation (PSC) at a news conference in Johannesburg.

Bernstein said the PSC propos-

MATTHEW CURTIN

als for rural development were based on the premise that race was not an indicator of potential farming performance but access to land, skills and resources were.

A balance between economic efficiency and equity was essential for successful rural development.

The abolition of apartheid laws should be accompanied by a new legal mechanism to resolve land conflicts.

She said rural development was important because those South Africans with the lowest quality of life lived in rural areas.

In 1985, 37% of the population, 12-million people lived in rural areas, and while by the year 2000 only 30% would be rural dwellers, they would then number about 14-million.

(101) It was not feasible to expect so many people to continue to survive on only 13% of the land.

Bernstein said the Urban Foundation proposed the funding of a development programme should be shared by the state and the private sector which the Foundation envisaged could raise R1,7bn on the private capital market.

Maasdorp said government's decentralisation policy was a failure and should be abandoned.

He said the policy was guided by ideological considerations — the promotion of homelands in SA — and marked by the abuse of government incentives, inefficiency and high opportunity costs.

About half of firms benefiting from government subsidies did not need incentives to ensure profitability, while the others were not profitable even with the subsidies.

● See Page 10



TRADITIONAL LEADERS (101)

## CHIEF TROUBLE

FIM 1419190

Details of the mysterious suspension of Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) president Mhlabunzima Maphumulo last month will emerge at the organisation's annual conference. There's some doubt, however, whether the maverick tribal chief will turn up to give his side of the story.

Maphumulo, the popular tribal leader appointed first president of the rural-based, ANC-aligned movement but suspended last month at a general council meeting, seems to have gone to ground. The *FM* could not contact him this week.

Acting president Sango Holomisa, an Umtata advocate, regional representative of the ANC and nephew of Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa, said Contralesa's executive committee would present a full report at the organisation's annual conference in QwaQwa on October 12 following the investigation into "serious allegations of misconduct" made against Maphumulo.

"Though suspended as president, Maphumulo is still a member of Contralesa and should, therefore, attend the conference where he will be given an opportunity to state his case," Holomisa said.

He would not detail the allegations but did confirm that, basically, Maphumulo had at times been acting "without a mandate from Contralesa."

The *FM* learns from reliable sources that the suspended president had apparently been travelling abroad in the name of Contralesa without first consulting the executive committee and that his attendance at executive meetings was rare.

Reports that Natal representatives of Contralesa, where Maphumulo hails from, were unhappy with the president's suspension and could even break away from the organisation were dismissed by Samson Ndou in the congress's Johannesburg office.

"We have not heard of any dissent from Natal. In fact they seem to be behind the investigation," he said.

Maphumulo, a traditional chief, though stripped of his position by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his in-

FIM 1417190 (101) involvement with Contralesa and his perceived anti-Inkatha views, claims a following of about 30 000 people in the Table Mountain area of Natal.

Under his leadership the congress, a network of about 50 dissident chiefs and sub-chiefs with their respective followings, gained support in rural areas to the point where it became a threat to the much bigger Inkatha movement.

The ANC, noting Contralesa's influence in rural areas, has been placing increasing importance on the organisation's role within the broad liberation movement.

Contralesa was formed three years ago by a nucleus of tribal chiefs opposed to the homeland system.

Shaun Harris

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# SA plugs TBVC export loophole

GILLIAN HAYNE

GST exemptions for SA traders exporting to the independent homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) — will be suspended on October 1.

The closure of this tax loophole, gazetted recently, is aimed at preventing tax evasion on goods which are supposed to be exported to the TBVC states, but are not, thereby causing losses to the fiscus.

A Commissioner of Inland Revenue spokesman said losses through GST at uncontrolled frontiers were difficult to quantify. Luxury items such as TVs, refrigerators and microwave ovens caused the most concern. Registered motor vehicles were easier to monitor. *6/10/91 19/9/90*

Deloitte Pim Goldby senior tax manager Rob Collins said: "The intention of the regulation, quite clearly, is to minimise the evasion and malpractices which are cur-

rently taking place by the fraudulent misuse of the form VB52 which currently allows an exemption from sales tax on any goods exported from SA."

He said under the new system, all export sales to Bophuthatswana would be taxed with purchasers being the losers. However, those who had farming or manufacturing enterprises in Transkei, Venda or Ciskei (TVC) would be exempt from paying GST, as well as those selling registerable goods.

Because the TVC had similar tax systems to SA, these purchasers would be able to claim a credit from their respective authorities. *(320)*

Collins said the administrative impact of the change can be substantial. The change affects management and accountings systems.

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SALES TAX FIM 21/9/90 (101)  
**PLUGGING HOLES** (320)

Until now, goods exported to the TBVC states have been treated in the same way as exports generally (that is, exempted from GST). This arrangement has led to widespread evasion through misrepresentation that goods were destined for TBVC. And the problem is particularly acute with Bophuthatswana, which does not impose a sales tax of its own.

Now, Inland Revenue has gazetted a complete revision of the rules for exports to TBVC, to take effect from October 1, which should have a major impact on evasion.

There is a technical difference of treatment between exports to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, which have sales taxes of their own, and those to Bophuthatswana. Bophuthatswana is important in relation to evasion for another reason: its ragged borders and proximity to major population centres in SA.

In future, exports to vendors registered in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei will be subject to payment of GST. So will all exports to Bophuthatswana, for the obvious reason that there cannot be any vendors registered there.

Where vendors in SA have acquired goods in Transkei, Venda or Ciskei, they will be allowed to offset the input tax incurred by claiming a credit against their output tax payable to SA Inland Revenue. This provision will make it necessary to set up a clearing house for sales tax receipts between SA and Transkei, Venda and Ciskei — which is the intention of the governments concerned.

The change, which should block large-scale evasion of GST in SA based on misrepresentation by the purchaser that the goods are destined for export to the TBVC, will impose important additional management and accounting requirements on traders.

In particular, invoices and analysis systems will have to record the destination of sales; there will have to be a new method of completing the monthly GST return (VB5); and invoices will have to be split to differen-

FIM 21/9/90 (101) (320)

tiate foodstuffs and other non-taxable items, to enable the clearing house to distribute sales tax receipts among the states.

There is special treatment for items such as vehicles and guns which require registration into the name of a new owner under other legislation. As registration in Transkei, Venda or Ciskei requires proof that local sales tax has been paid, export of these goods to those countries will still proceed free of GST. But the export of registerable goods to Bophuthatswana will be subjected to GST. ■

# GST loophole closed

By Tom Hood

Sept 25/1990 (CI)

Exporters could be hit by unexpected general sales tax changes which make their goods more expensive in TBVC countries — Transkei, Bopthutatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The Government Gazette last week announced that exports to these states would no longer be free of GST from October 1.

Hardest hit will be business with Bopthutatswana, which has

no sales tax. Casinos and resorts such as Sun City would now have to pay 13 percent tax on goods imported from South Africa, which would bring a big hike in expenses.

GST charged on bricks and building materials — previously tax free — could add significantly to the cost of a new hotel.

Imports from these countries would no longer be free of GST but South African enterprises could claim an equal tax credit.



# It's fiscal anarchy, says auditor-general

PRETORIA — Financial and fiscal controls in self-governing states and black local authorities were severely criticised by auditor-general Peter Wronsley in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking at a Control of Public Institutions conference at the HSRC, he said billions of rands in accumulated overspending and in forfeited, uncollected income were involved.

That represented not only fiscal but constitutional anarchy, and had to be a central theme at the negotiating table.

Whatever government lay ahead for SA, he hoped there would be one auditor-general to keep a watchful eye over the whole of the public sector.

"This is not empire-building — it is a healthy understanding of Africa."

The fine fiscal balance between legislative and executive organs had been disturbed by the establishment of self-governing states and, later, independent states — each with its own auditor-general.

In spite of training efforts and visiting restructuring teams, some of the entities — to the detriment of the SA taxpayer — lost effective control over their public funds, Wronsley said.

Black local authorities' finance and bookkeeping were in a critical state.

Wronsley said auditing under these circumstances had become impossible in some places and often control instruments became useless because corrective action was simply missing.

SA Law Commission vice-chairman Mr Justice Pierre Olivier said the Commission

GERALD REILLY

for Administration should initiate urgently a programme to educate and prepare all public servants for the human rights culture.

Delaying such a step until a bill of rights appeared on the statute book would be a serious mistake.

"It would leave our administration in a position where it would be unable to cope with its legal duties."

A major change in attitude would be required, the judge said.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the powers of the advocate-general were to be widened dramatically in new legislation to come before Parliament next year.

Coetsee said the advocate-general could, in terms of current legislation, initiate investigations and report on abuse of authority and misuse of power.

For instance, complaints against Ministers, officials and the police in the Press, which often remained unresolved, would get swift attention from the advocate-general.

His authority would be far greater than that of traditional ombudsman in other countries.

The authority of the advocate-general now included investigations and reports to Parliament on irregularities involving public funds and unlawful enrichment at public expense.

He was not a court of law, however, but an official of Parliament who reported only to Parliament.

# Reform gathers pace as Acts bite the dust

Star 4/10/90

101

21/10/90

One of the country's most emotive pieces of legislation is destined for the scrap-heap, accompanied on its journey to oblivion by the angry cries of farmers, some politicians and hard-line right-wingers.

The death knell for the Black Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 — known collectively as the "Land Act" — was sounded in Pretoria this week when President F W de Klerk, leaders of the self-governing homelands and the Administrators of the country's four provinces agreed that ownership of land should be open to all and not only to whites.

They said the Acts should be repealed "as part of a comprehensive programme to remove all racially discriminatory restrictions on the acquisition of land."

It was also decided that, simultaneously, credit facilities would be opened to allow non-discriminatory access to the Land Bank and agricultural credit.

## Hopping mad

It is, without doubt, one of the most far-reaching decisions yet taken by the Government in its drive to reform South Africa politically.

It means that farmers of another colour would, once the Acts have been repealed, be able to buy land anywhere.

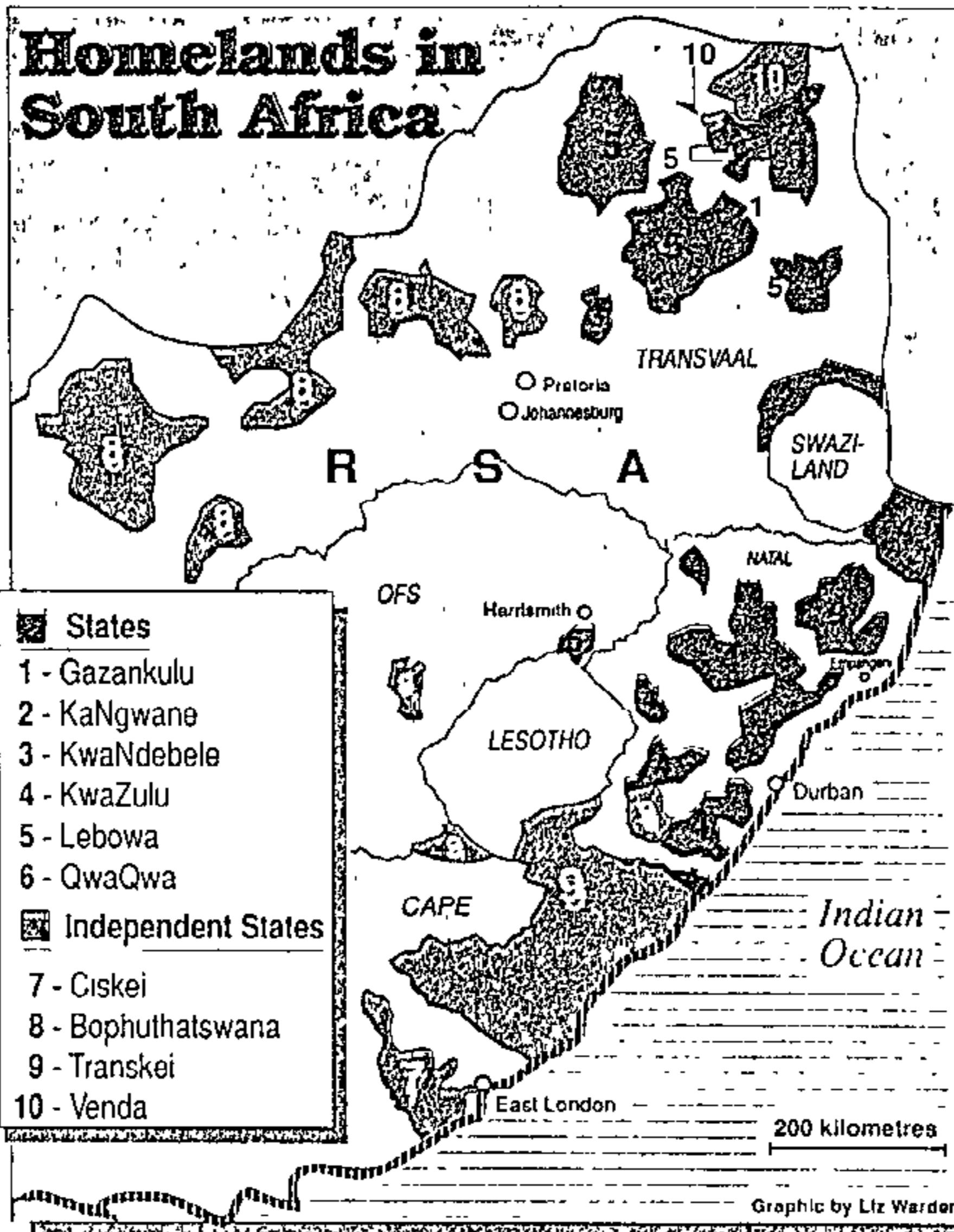
This is the one particularly emotive decision which has got farmers, particularly in conservative Transvaal, hopping mad. They see their once-powerful grip on who can and who cannot farm the land being broken once and for all.

The extent of their rage will be shown tomorrow when they hold a major protest meeting in Pretoria.

They are protesting even though the Government meeting this week also pledged to protect specific community interests in regard to land tenure. A special working group is looking into this aspect.

But farmers cannot say they were not warned.

A highly contentious piece of South African legislation is headed for the scrap-heap. **NORMAN CHANDLER** of The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports on the implications resulting from the repeal of the land Acts.



The State President paved the way at the Pretoria agricultural summit in August when he told farmers their interests would be looked after in a new South Africa but that they had to be prepared to share the land.

Then he said more or less the same thing in an American newspaper interview and to United States government officials while visiting President Bush last month.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said this year that the land issue had to be addressed by taking over unused farming lands, against compensation, for settling farmers and aiding new (that is,

black) farmers with know-how and finance to ensure adequate use of the land.

The Urban Foundation backs the viewpoints, suggesting that R3 billion be invested over a four-year period for extensive land-redistribution and farmer-education schemes.

It ran into fierce opposition from the Transvaal Agricultural Union, which said the Urban Foundation did not "apparently understand the implications this would have for the production of food for a growing population... Organisations which had been in favour of an end to influx control now want to transfer the present chaos of squatter towns around

cities to the white platteland."

The African National Congress has made land ownership a key part of the negotiating process, saying there was extreme prejudice against black people at the time the two Acts came into being.

That blacks were prejudiced against is without question.

It took just three years after Union in 1910 for blacks to realise that whites would be deciding who could live or farm in certain areas.

The Black Land Act, No 27 of 1913, made it abundantly clear that acquisition of land by blacks was forbidden except in certain defined areas — now known as "scheduled black areas".

The Institute for Race Relations, in a 1987 paper entitled "Land and Race: South Africa's Group Areas and Land Acts", said both the Black Land Act and the Development Trust and Land Act — which to an extent modified the earlier legislation — restricted acquisition.

## Fallen away

The Acts expressly prohibited the purchase, hire or other acquisition of land or interest in land — meaning no black person could even have a share in a farm (although in some areas this has largely fallen away) — outside "scheduled black areas."

And if a white person bought land in a prescribed area at a sale in execution, for instance, he had to sell it to a black person within a year.

The 1936 Act went further: no black-owned company could acquire or own land unless they owned it before that year. The restriction did not apply to "a legally recognised tribe".

Soon all of this will be history as land ownership is thrown open to all races — apparently irrespective of what white farmers in far-flung corners of the Transvaal may have to say.

The problem is that the resulting upheaval in the country's farming communities may take time to settle down.



# New homeland tax rules 'could be illegal'

THE new GST regulation on exports to the independent homelands could be illegal, tax experts said yesterday.

The regulation, which removed the sales tax exemptions on all goods to Bophuthatswana, may have gone beyond the ambit of a regulation in terms of the Sales Tax Act.

Experts maintained the Act required that where such an exemption no longer applied, the vendor should be allowed relief either by way of a credit against tax or in any other manner provided in the regulation. This has not been achieved regarding Bophuthatswana.

One source said the Bophuthatswana government had been advised

GILLIAN HAYNE

by an advocate in SA that the dispensation was *ultra vires* and therefore void.

Ernst and Young tax partner David Clegg said the regulation had gone beyond the mandate because the government was dealing with non-residents. The use of the word "enterprise", which by definition should be a business carried on in SA, was confusing because the regulation affected vendors outside SA.

"For this reason even if valid, the regulation is arguably meaningless."

A Benoni Receiver's office spokesman confirmed that it had not been given a final ruling on the implica-

tions of the dispensation. It had only got the letter sent to all vendors.

Deloitte Pim Goldby senior tax manager Rob Collins said that some of his clients had been given incorrect advice by Receiver's offices.

The point of contention was the transfer of goods to a branch in Bophuthatswana. Rulings were given that an inter-branch transfer did not constitute a sale, and as such would be free of sales tax, which Collins confirmed was correct.

However, the vendors were not told that in such instances the GST exemption enjoyed by the SA branch on the purchase of those goods would no longer be applicable.

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TAX POLICY

## BACKTRACKING AGAIN

FIM 510190

**Imposition** of GST on exports to the TBVC states has been postponed from October 1 to November 1. The main reason, says a press release from Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais, is "to give further attention to the impact of the regulations on commercial and industrial establishments in Bophuthatswana and to investigate any possible relief." A further reason is to give traders in SA more time to adjust systems or programmes.

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This reflects yet another sad failure to consult the private sector at the appropriate time — *before* promulgating important changes to the tax system.

The *FM* reported the imposition of GST on exports to the TBVC states two weeks ago and last week told how the amendment would have grave consequences for manufacturers who had relocated to Bophuthatswana but bought raw materials in and exported output to SA. In effect, such industries would have to pay almost double GST, on imported inputs as well as sales.

SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) chief economist Ben van Rensburg tells the *FM* the chamber was not consulted in advance. After the announcement, his office was besieged by indignant members whose interests were seriously affected. Sacob is setting up an internal committee of affected members,

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and inviting members not already involved to join. Van Rensburg doubts whether an additional month will suffice to iron out problems.

Even if negotiations between Sacob and Treasury arrive at a formula to satisfy manufacturers in Bophuthatswana as well as Revenue, grave questions remain.

This is only the latest in a long sequence of over-hasty, impulsive fiscal amendments without prior consultation with affected parties, followed by delays or retractions after the private sector draws the implications of the change to the authorities' attention.

Also questioned is the role and effectiveness of the Tax Advisory Committee, which has strong private-sector representation and ought to be able to act as effective liaison with government. Indeed, that was surely the reason for establishing the committee.

One basic flaw is that members sit on the committee on a personal, not representative, basis — the same problem as with the Economic Advisory Council. What is needed is the participation of representatives who have access to broadly based business opinion.

Committee chairman Michael Katz could not be reached for comment.

It is not unreasonable to say to government that this unfortunate and unnecessary fiasco should be the last. Before the next important amendment to the tax laws, the mechanisms of consultation with industry and commerce should be revived and improved. Government can prevent tax evasion and protect its fiscal interests by changing the tax laws without disrupting business interests unfairly and unnecessarily. ■



# Buthelezi shuns ANC talks with homelands

HELEN GRANGE

ALL non-independent homeland leaders — except for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had agreed to act as a united force in deciding principles for negotiations with the Government, ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting with non-independent homeland leaders at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi could not join the briefing on the violence and discussions on negotiations.

### Reason

The reason given by Chief Buthelezi for his absence was that he was invited as a homeland leader rather than as leader of Inkatha, Mr Mandela said.

"This is inconsistent, because when President (F W) de Klerk invites him as a homeland leader, he accepts. He has hardly missed a meeting," Mr Mandela said.

### Third force

Mr Mandela said it was agreed by all leaders at the meeting that there was a third force orchestrating violence in the townships and that it was not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus as alleged by the media.

The Government had to take full responsibility for the conduct of its own agencies orchestrating

TO PAGE 2.

Saturday Star October 6 1990

# Buthelezi

FROM PAGE 1.

the violence, Mr Mandela said.

The leaders at the meeting had agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems. "It is the only way problems will be resolved," the ANC leader said.

Asked whether there was a chance of a one-on-one meeting with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said it was "always possible" but that the climate was not ideal.

"I would meet him as an individual. I am not concerned with labels. It

makes no difference whether he comes as a homeland leader or the leader of Inkatha."

Mr Mandela would not confirm or deny reports of a top-level meeting between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town on Monday. "The Government has not denied what's already in the papers," he said.

Two other homeland leaders were absent, but were represented. They were QwaQwa's Chief TK Mopeli and KwaNdebele's Prince Mahlangu.

Those who attended were Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa.

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# Leaders speak with one voice

Sowetan 5/10/90

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Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo and Kangwane's Mr Enos Mabuza at a press conference after the ANC's meeting homeland leader's at Mandela's house on Friday. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

**THE African National Congress and leaders of the self-governing states, excluding Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu, will in future work as a united front to formulate strategies for talks with the Government.**

Addressing the media after a meeting with five homeland leaders at his Orlando West home on Friday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi did not attend.

## BY KENOSI MODISANE

Buthelezi had earlier indicated that he would attend only if he was invited as leader of Inkatha Freedom Party and not as a homeland leader.

"This is inconsistent because he has hardly missed a meeting when President De Klerk invited him as a homeland leader," said Mandela.

Commenting on the possibility of a one-on-one meeting with Buthelezi, Mandela said: "I would meet him as an individual. It makes no dif-

ference whether he comes as a homeland leader or the leader of Inkatha."

Mandela, however, said the climate was not ideal for such a meeting with him.

Commenting on the meeting with the five homeland leaders, Mandela said the ANC had briefed them on the recent violence in the Reef townships "and they all agreed that a third force was involved".

"We all agreed that the violence is not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus. And that it is not at all a tribal conflict. It is

orchestrated by certain faceless forces. And the Government must take full responsibility for the conduct of their own state agencies orchestrating the violence," added Mandela.

He said the leaders had also "agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems." It is the only way problems will be resolved."

Apart from Buthelezi, Qwaqwa's Chief TK Mopeli and KwaNdebele's did also not attend. They were however, represented.



# Leaders speak with one voice

Sowetan 8/10/90

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Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo and Kangwane's Mr Enos Mabuza at a press conference after the ANC's meeting homeland leader's at Mandela's house on Friday. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

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**T**HE government's announcement that the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 are to be repealed can only be welcomed. These laws have had devastating consequences for millions of black South Africans, dispossessing them of their land and birthright.

They have created a situation where Africans may own land only in the bantustans and whites own 87 percent of South Africa.

Clearly they are terrible laws and must go, but what will be the effect of their abolition? In announcing the imminent repeal of these laws, President FW de Klerk has assured whites that their property rights will be protected. The Land Acts have played their role — they have destroyed black property rights and have entrenched white privilege. To drop them now will have only a minimal effect on the racial distribution of the land; only a tiny portion of blacks have the capital necessary to buy land at current prices.

The timing of the repeal is significant. White ownership of most of South Africa needs to be legitimised before a majority government comes to power. Laws which prohibit one section of the population from land ownership on the basis of race do not bode well for the prospects of white land owners under a black government. In this context, the fundamental ideological shift in government policy is a matter more of expediency than true reform.

Whatever the motivation, the abolition of the Land Acts will have immediate and immense effects in the rural areas. There is potential for both positive results and terrible destruction. If not done carefully, the abolition may lead to dispossession on a far worse scale than that caused by the policy of forced removal.

In most instances black property rights are not reflected in legal documents like title deeds. This does not mean that blacks have no property rights, it means that the state prohibited them from having such documents. Neither are legal restrictions on black ownership of land limited to white areas. There are restrictions in the homelands as well. These are complicated, but most stem from the policy that blacks should not own land, but that their land be held in trust by the state on their behalf.

While the land in these areas may be nominally owned by the South African Development Trust, or a homeland government, or a chief, it is in fact occupied by millions of individual families and communities. In many cases these people have rights to particular pieces of land — whether by grants, certificates of occupation, purchase or inheritance. The fact that these rights are not registered on title deeds is a result of the bizarre and complicated maze of regulations, reservations and overlapping trusts that the state has imposed on black areas.

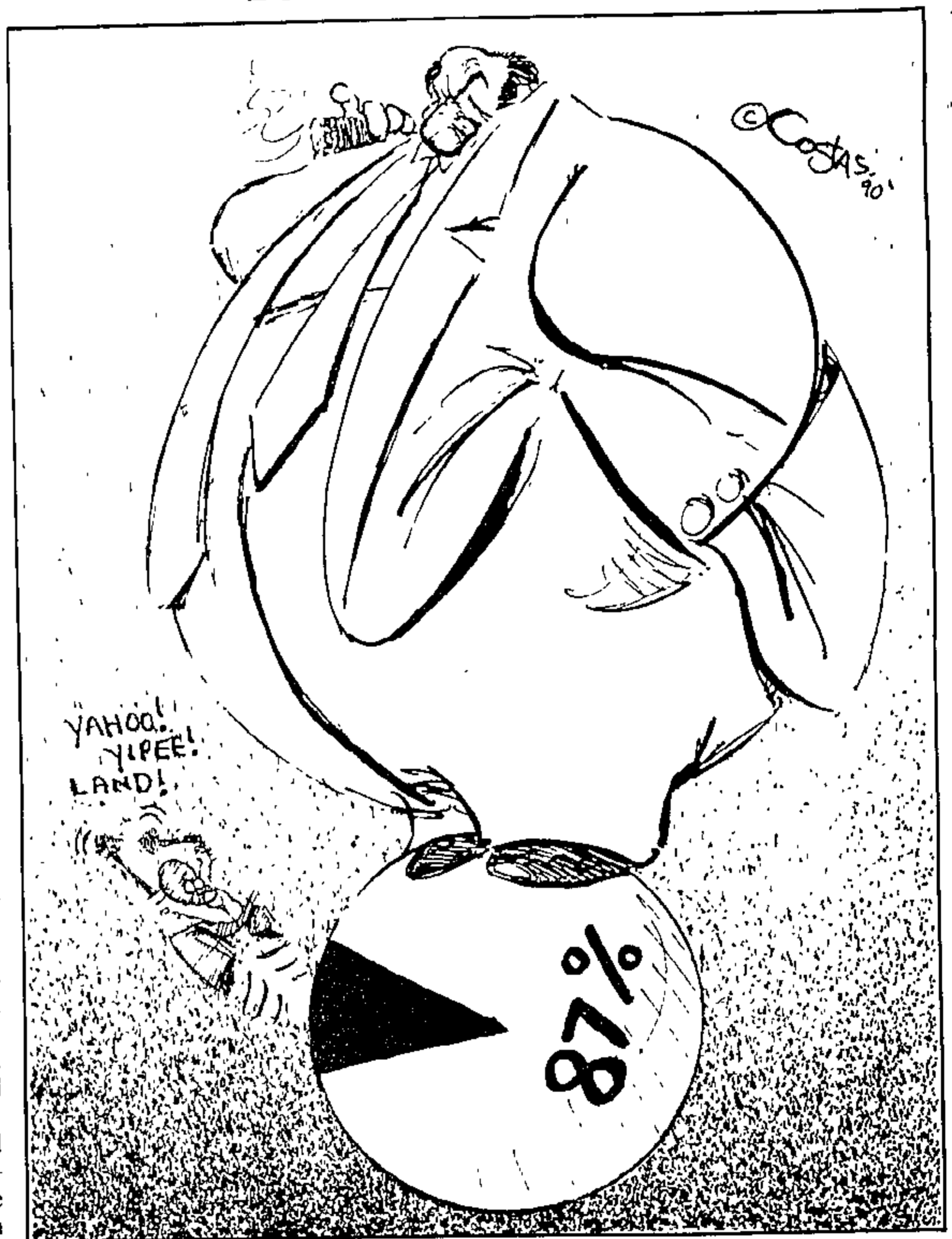
If these areas are simply opened up to the "free market", many people who have owned and occupied land for generations may find it sold from under them

# Reform and the tragic legacy of racial land laws

W/Mon 12/10 - 18/10/90

*The Land Acts cannot be undone simply by their repeal at this late stage. They must be carefully untangled to prevent even greater dispossession than forced removals.*

**BY ANINKA CLAASSENS**



by the nominal owners of the land. If this happens, there will be as much resistance as there was to the policies of "betterment", forced removal and incorporation into bantustans.

Rural people have suffered terrible and irretrievable losses through the impleme-

tation of these policies. Now the state is introducing reform. It would be bitterly ironic if this "reform" finally dispossesses people of their real rights to land in the name of "private property" and the "free market".

We cannot wish away the legacy of ra-



cial land laws, it has to be carefully un-  
done in a way which confirms the rights  
to land which exist in practice and not in  
documentation. For there to be stability  
and equity, the legal system must reflect  
the reality on the ground, and occupants  
and owners must be given documents  
that secure their status.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit  
Viljoen has commented on the need for  
transitional arrangements to protect spe-  
cific community interests, especially  
those regarding land tenure for tradition-  
al communities and agricultural settle-  
ments. We hope this means protection  
for existing rights. But we can do no  
more than hope. The process of consulta-  
tion is a closed one and the people  
whose destinies it shapes are not includ-  
ed. Instead, the matter is negotiated be-  
tween the government and the homeland  
leaders — the nominal owners of most  
of the land in the 13 percent of South Af-  
rica set aside for black occupation. They  
are the very people who stand to gain  
from the sale of land — land which is  
densely populated by people who inher-  
ited it from their great-grandparents,  
land full of resettlement camps.

The occupants of this land have not  
been consulted about the proposed re-  
forms; the government cannot claim that  
it does not know who they are. Viljoen  
himself has met some of them. There are  
rural communities all over South Africa  
who have petitioned the government  
about their land rights, whether in the  
context of removal, incorporation into  
homelands, secession from homelands,  
or security where they are.

There are also academics and lawyers  
who have done work on how the repeal  
of the Land Acts could be done in such a  
way as to confirm existing rights rather  
than destroy them. They have not been  
consulted or included in the working  
group which the state has set up with the  
homeland leaders.

It is a matter of great urgency that the  
process of developing a new legal frame-  
work be opened up to those with a direct  
interest and that the state draw on the ex-  
pertise and knowledge of practitioners  
who have worked in the minefield area  
of black land rights for years. This is ne-  
cessary to minimise the potential damage  
to existing rights and settlements of peo-  
ple should the Acts simply be repealed in

a vacuum.

Beyond the defensive position of pro-  
tecting existing rights is the issue of un-  
doing the legacy of rural apartheid law  
and policy. When Viljoen was asked  
whether the reforms meant that people  
previously dispossessed of their land  
would be given first option to acquire  
land, he told *The Citizen* this principle  
would lead to a complete revolution  
throughout the world, beginning in the  
United States and Australia.

It is cynical to compare the situation of  
indigenous people who lost their land  
centuries ago in wars of conquest with  
that of the victims of forced removals in  
our country. Here we are talking of com-  
munities like the Monnakgotlas, the  
Mfengu, and the Bakwena baMogopa,  
whose land was expropriated in the last  
few decades, sometimes less than five  
years ago. They live in impoverished re-  
settlement camps, and in many cases  
their land lies fallow, still registered in  
the name of the government.

If the present government does not  
have the grace to return such land to its  
rightful owners, it will find itself faced  
with innumerable court cases challeng-  
ing the legality of its expropriations,  
with land re-occupations and with disil-  
lusionment and bitterness. When it tries  
to sell this land it will completely dis-  
credit its new non-racial land market —  
and rightly so.

Care and consultation are necessary to  
minimise the possible damage should  
the Land Acts be repealed in a vacuum  
and to undo positively the damage  
caused by this terrible piece of legisla-  
tion.

●Aninka Claassens is a senior research offi-  
cer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies

# Major groups are to attend

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15/10/90

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THE Venda government has invited major political organisations, including rightwing groups to a conference to dis-

By MOSES MAMAILA

cuss the future of the independent homelands.

The head of the mili-

tary government, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, said on Friday the meeting would focus on "the position of the TBVC states in the envisaged new South Africa".

The conference will be held between October 30 and November 1.

At least 30 delegations from various organisations are expected to attend. These include ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, A WB, CP, Boerestaat Party, SACC and Cosatu.

Ramushwana said the Transkei and Ciskei governments had indicated that they would attend. However, the Bophuthatswana government had declined the invitation to attend.

"The intention of the conference is not to be prescriptive to any participant regarding a stand to be taken at the negotiating forum.

"Rather, it is intended to make us aware of the issues which have to be considered in leading our countries across the fairly stormy waters of the unavoidable constitutional adjustments," Ramushwana said.

He said although it was premature at this stage to indicate who would attend,

Among the influential personalities invited were Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former general secretary of Inkatha, and Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya.

The conference will be held at Nwanedi Conference centre in the Mutale district.



THE National Party government has announced its intention to abolish the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 next year. This is going to be very emotional and controversial.

The Transvaal Agricultural Union is dead-set against any change in the property patterns in the agricultural sector. The government is presumably of the opinion that it will be sufficient "compensation" for the exploitative effect of these acts if blacks are granted access to the Land Bank should they want to buy (white) farms.

It is rather significant that nobody — at least not in CP and NP circles — is asking what the blacks' perceptions of the Land Acts are. Perhaps many of them are still too much "prisoners" of the "old" South Africa to ask this kind of question.

To appreciate the full exploitative nature of the Land Acts, it is necessary to realise that these acts not only prescribed the utilisation of land, but also — and perhaps to a larger extent — the utilisation and exploitation of black labour.

To judge the Land Act of 1913 in a proper historic perspective, we should not only take the motives of the Union Parliament — when enacting this act — into account, but also the economic conditions in 1913. At that stage a potential clash was looming between the economic interests of the white (mainly Afrikaner) farmers and the white (mainly English) owned goldmines.

**Maintain low wages**

Both the white farmers and the controllers of the goldmines claimed that it would only be possible for them to produce respectively maize and gold profitably if large numbers of cheap and easily-controlled black labour were at their disposal.

To balance the potentially conflicting demands for cheap and controllable black labour by Afrikaner and English interest groups, a remarkable (and long-lasting) political compromise was formulated by the white parliament in 1913. This compromise has been dubbed "the alliance of maize and gold". It played a tremendously important role in South African history. It proved to be not only the foundation on which the white economy was built for at least six decades, but also the basis for the political success of the SAP/United Party — at least until 1948.

After South Africa was divided into 92% "white" area and 8% "native reserves" in 1913, the Chamber of Mines was granted the privilege of recruiting migrant labour in the Native Reserves. (The area of these reserves was enlarged to 13% of South Africa's territory in 1936.) Although on average less than 40% of the migrant labourers in the goldmines were recruited

# Land Acts crux of apartheid: there's a debt to be paid

CAM-71-15 16/10/90  
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**Professor SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE, who teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch, discusses the impact of the Land Acts in South African history.**

until 1975 in what were also called Bantustans or Homelands, this nonetheless enabled the goldmines to maintain black wages at a very low level (The rest of the migrant labourers were recruited mainly in Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique.)

**Similar to serfdom**

If we put the real wages of black migrant labour on the goldmines on an index of 100 in 1911, their cash wages were 84 in 1961 and 93 in 1971! (According to the same index the real wages of white mineworkers were 1 200 in 1911, 1 400 in 1961 and 1 950 in 1971!) As a proportion of working costs, black cash wages on the goldmines declined from 16.4% in 1911 to 8.8% in 1969!

In 1936 the ANC requested the Hertzog/Smuts government and the Chamber of Mines to recruit migrant labour only in South Africa, hoping that such a policy would increase black wages. The request was resolutely rejected.

To meet the demands of the white maize farmers, the 1913 Land Act not only restricted black access to land and black tenancy, but also introduced strict measures against "squatting" and/or "kaffir farming" on white farms, in order to increase the supply of cheap black wage-labourers. At the same time the "pass" laws were applied much more strictly to decrease the mobility of blacks and to increase their continuous availability. Taxes were also imposed on blacks to force them to earn cash wages. All these measures exacerbated the steady impoverishment of the black peasantry and transformed them into a very dependent,

docile and propertyless black proletariat.

If we focus on the lack of legal rights, the dependency and the forced immobility of the black population until, say, 1975, their position is reminiscent of serfdom in Europe under the feudal and manorial systems of the 10th and 11th centuries. Interestingly enough, the motives and measures to enforce "serfdom" were very much the same. No wonder Sol Plaatje wrote "The South African Native found himself (after the Land Act) not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth".

**Repay apartheid debt**

The black "serfdom" introduced by the Land Acts and concomitant measures enabled whites — in ALL sectors of the South African economy — to enrich themselves by exploiting their black "serfs". Before we abolish the Land Acts, the whites should acknowledge that these acts symbolise a cornerstone of apartheid's exploitation.

The whites should also acknowledge at the same time that because of the Land Acts and other measures, an apartheid debt has accumulated on their (white) books and that the repayment of this debt is long overdue.

One way to accomplish such an acknowledgement and repayment, is a property tax — on ALL property — of, say, half to one percent annually for, say, 20 years. The proceeds of this tax could be used as a "Restitution Fund" for land reform, resettlement programmes and housing.

Many whites argued that they never intended any wrongdoings against blacks but were unknowingly trapped in structures created by the Land Acts and other apartheid measures. That may be the case. Nonetheless these structures privileged and enriched them out of proportion with their own merits. Consequently they ought to be prepared for restitution to settle their alleged unintended debt — but debt nonetheless

## Homeland future grim — Mabuza

ACHMED KARIEM (101)

THOSE who were relegated by grand apartheid's social engineering to distant rural regions ran the risk of being forgotten when the new SA arrived, KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza said yesterday. 8/007 18/10/90

In his address to the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM) convention, he said the urban-rural divide was a reality that kept people trapped in poverty and underdevelopment.

He said the needs and demands of the new urban migrants would be met before those who lived at a distance.

Thus, leaders of such political constituencies needed to participate in the present political and constitutional debate. It was also their duty to see to the needs of their people as the future of the homelands looked grim.

Simply removing racist legislation would not help the rural areas, he said. However, redistribution of opportunity would possibly help equalise a "very distorted situation".



**Mhlabunzima Maphumulo**, the tribal chief who quickly rose to prominence as first president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), has apparently decided to end his political career just as rapidly. Despite leaving repeated messages, the *FM* could not make contact with Maphumulo this week. *FM* 17/10/90

The Zulu chief was stripped of his position by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for criticising the homeland and the Inkatha movement. He went on to build Contralesa to the point where it became almost the rural wing of the ANC and a direct challenge to Inkatha.

Contralesa is also having trouble contacting its former leader. It emerges that he was suspended three months ago for apparently embarking on one-man foreign missions in the name of the organisation without first consulting his executive committee.

He didn't show up for the recent congress to elect new leaders and a spokeswoman for Contralesa's Johannesburg office says Maphumulo is still considered a member, but has not made contact with the organisation for some time. The founding president has now been replaced by Umtata advocate (and tribal chief) Sango Holomisa, a more urbane leader who also heads the ANC's regional office in Umtata and has strong links with the organisation.

Maphumulo fell in with the ANC almost by default. He had to face a barrage of abuse from Ulundi and tried to establish his tribal area near Maritzburg as a neutral zone for refugees from political violence. But Holomisa, nephew of Transkei's military leader Bantu Holomisa, has always been a strong supporter of the ANC.

A surprise new member of Contralesa's executive is Stella Sigcau, member of royalty and president for a time of the Transkei after Bantu Holomisa toppled George Matanzima



**Sigcau ... a royal surprise**

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in a coup early in 1988. A few months after Sigcau took office, Holomisa accused her of taking bribes and set up the military council which he now heads.

With the Transkei (Nelson Mandela's birthplace) already having established close links with the ANC since its unbanning, and with an ANC man now heading Contralesa, the relationship between the two can only get stronger. And the executive committee is dominated by Xhosa names.

It remains to be seen whether the shift in tribal emphasis will alienate traditional Zulu leaders. ■

# Homelands' tax holiday to be ended

By ROBERT LAING *W/maul 19/10-25/10/90*

VERWOERD'S bantustans have been offering customers an amicable service — GST-free shopping.

Vatcom, the government's committee addressing the proposed Value Added Tax (VAT) system, intends ending that.

A Vatcom representative says: "One of the main problems with the previous structure was cross-border trade. There is no customs control between South Africa and TBVC states — the borders are wide open to sales tax evaders."

Government has said VAT on exported goods and services will be "zero-rated": foreign customers can deduct all indirect taxes that were paid on goods before reaching them in the sales chain.

The TBVC states, however, will not be regarded as foreign countries and will have to pay VAT for their merchandise.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope says he regards the attempt at unilaterally introducing sales tax in his country in a very serious light. "Laws passed by the parliament of South Africa are, in Bophuthatswana, for all intents and purposes not laws.

"There is presently no sales tax legislation in Bophuthatswana. Therefore no agreements relating to collection of sales tax can presently be entered into."

Vatcom is expected to hear representations until end-November. A Bill enabling the change-over from GST to VAT will probably be introduced early next year. "There will be discussions with the TBVC states, but we still have a fair way to go," the Vatcom representative said.

The government has spent a great deal of effort and money reassuring people that the transition from GST to VAT will have little effect on them. In theory, the final mark-up for an article would be the same for GST or VAT if their rate is equal. In practice, VAT may be higher than GST because vendors could be taxed on tax already paid by their suppliers — causing a tax cascade.

Traders will get "input VAT" credit to restrict the indirect tax from escalating exponentially.

Homeland merchants faced no loss by ignoring GST, it only helped make their prices more competitive. If bantustan governments choose to ignore VAT the South African government will still get most of the article's indirect tax. Homeland traders will be forced to pay sales tax to their South African suppliers from October 1. Ignoring the VAT component will only make their prices marginally cheaper than neighbouring shopkeepers.

Vatcom hopes that won't happen: "We need a complete harmonisation of the states to end cross-border evasion."

Mangope has warned Bop traders not to apply sales tax: "Instructions have been given to the consumer council to be on the lookout for any unscrupulous traders who may overprice their commodities under the cloak of sales tax."

He said Bophuthatswana has lodged a formal protest with the state president about South Africa's imposition of indirect tax on the citizens of his country.



# Tax scheme for TBVC exports 'may be scrapped'

*B/day 24/10/70*

THERE are strong indications that the new regulation on exports to the independent homelands could be indefinitely postponed, tax experts say.

The regulation, which has been described as "completely unworkable", could be scrapped before its implementation date of November 1, and an announcement on the subject is expected before the end of the week.

The subject was discussed at ministerial level by the Finance Ministers of SA, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei in Pretoria yesterday.

The regulation, gazetted without previous warning on September 7 and originally scheduled to come into effect on October 1, stated that GST exemptions would no longer apply on any exports to Bophuthatswana.

Meanwhile, only enterprises in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei (TVC) — except those involved in farming or manufacturing — would have to pay GST.

The complications involved with the regulation had tax experts describing the move as "disastrous". The lack of warning to the TBVC authorities also led to confusion and some dismay.

For Bophuthatswana, a country without a sales tax system of its own, the 13% burden would have made most enterprises uncompetitive.

GILLIAN HAYNE

"The dispensation would have led to the demise of Bophuthatswana," said one tax expert.

For the TVC countries, where a system of input tax credits was suggested, enterprises feared the refunds would not be forthcoming as they had no knowledge of and therefore had no system in place to cope with such a scheme.

Further criticism levelled at the government was that the dispensation went beyond the power of the law.

One source said the Bophuthatswana government had been advised by a respected advocate in SA that the dispensation was ultra vires and therefore void.

PETER DELMAR reports that the Venda government announced yesterday that it was increasing GST to the SA rate of 13% as a prelude to its reincorporation into SA.

The government said in a statement that GST would be lifted from 8% to 13% and that certain foodstuffs would be exempted.

A spokesman for the Venda embassy in Pretoria, V P Makwarela, said yesterday Venda hoped to be reincorporated "as soon as the direction of the new SA is clear".



# New parties may lead to a second-class deal

Sowetan 25/10/90

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**THE** impending negotiations between the Government and black political organisations is spawning a proliferation of pro-Government parties and groupings within the black community.

These emergent parties, led largely by bantustan politicians, are seen by political commentators as an attempt by the Government to overpopulate the talks and ensure division within black ranks.

Four months ago, Inkatha Ye Nkululeko Ye Sizwe Cultural Movement changed into a political organisation. It is now called the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Since then, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has insisted that he be recognised as such. He has been said to downplay his "other role" as chief minister of KwaZulu.

## Refusal

Buthelezi refused to attend a meeting called by the ANC, where all bantustan leaders were invited, saying he should be invited in his Inkatha capacity.

Last weekend Gazankulu's Ximoko Xa Rixaka held a two-day conference at Chachalani Hall, Giyani, under the theme "From Culture to Politics: Current political trends and the position of Ximoko Xa Rixaka in the new South Africa".

At the end of the conference on Sunday, the XXR had given way to a new party called Ximoko Progressive Party.

Ntsanwisi made much of the invitation extended to him by Anglican Ar-

## FOCUS

By MATHATHA TSEDU

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to an Indaba of black leaders to plan strategies for negotiations.

He said the invitation, directed simply to Professor Ntsanwisi, was a recognition of his leadership role.

In Lebowa, Chief Nelson Ramodike dissolved his Lebowa People's Party and replaced it with the United People's Party of South Africa.

## Acceptance

Ramodike has tried - as Ntsanwisi has also done - to emulate Inyandza of KaNgwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, which enjoys recognition and acceptance by the ANC.

In Venda, following the military takeover by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana in April this year, the overthrown Venda National Party has reorganised itself into a new party known as "Maanda Nga-u-Pfana".

The MNP, in line with its earlier mission while still in government, is dedicated towards participating in the negotiations and representing Venda-speaking people.

The military regimes in Transkei and Ciskei are assured of a place in the negotiations, as also Ramushwana, who has refused to reincorporate into South Africa before the conclusion of negotiations.

KwaNdebele and Qwaqwa are expected to launch their own versions of similar parties soon.



BUTHELEZI



MABUZA



RAMODIKE



RAMUSHWANA

The only doubtful starter in this scenario so far is Bophuthatswana, whose president, Chief Lucas Mangope, has steadfastly refused to be drawn into discussions on a New South Africa. Mangope has in fact said he would rather amalgamate with Botswana.

Political analysts believe that with the ANC so far the only credible black organisation that has thrown its full weight behind the negotiations process, De Klerk was investigating the birth of these

parties to create a plethora of seemingly independent and authentic black organisations for at least two reasons.

One would be to make sure that the ANC is not the only organisation at the table. The presence of the Inkathas and Ximokos would ensure "pliable" black voices that would temper any militancy from the ANC.

The other would be that in the event the talks deadlock between the ANC and De Klerk, and the ANC was to walk out,

there would remain at the table a crowd of these black organisations that would continue to talk and eventually reach some agreement with the Government in the name of the black people.

During the Lancaster negotiations between Zimbabwean nationalist forces and the settler rule of Ian Smith, British chairman Lord Carrington used Bishop Muzorewa's presence in the talks as a threat to go on what was dubbed a second class deal if Mugabe and Nkomo were to walk out.

## Fears

The proliferation of basically pro-Government organisations that are to take part in the negotiations process is therefore being seen more as an effort to prepare for a second-class deal than a need by the organisations themselves to stake their claims to leadership roles.

There is however another view that the bantustan politicians are discarding the "government lackey and puppets" image for their own survival. It is argued by some commentators that Buthelezi's forceful emergence as Inkatha leader, and the now seemingly unquestioning acceptance by everyone that Inkatha is an important political player assured of a seat at the negotiations table, is influencing the other bantustan leaders to emulate his efforts.

But, which ever way, one thing is clear. The room and the table at which the talks are to take place will have to be sizeable indeed if it is to accommodate the crowd that is bound to pitch up to decide this country's fate.



## TBVC countries win battle over GST

THE criticised regulation making GST applicable to the sale of goods to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) has been withdrawn, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis announced at the weekend.

The move followed strong objections by organised trade and industry and authorities in the TBVC countries.

The regulations had been introduced to prompt the TBVC countries to implement similar indirect tax structures before SA's introduction of VAT.

"The absence of full harmonisation of the indirect tax structures . . . was eroding SA's tax base, which could not be allowed to continue for an indefinite period" Du Plessis said.

Huge administrative problems had made the dispensation unworkable. Bophuthatswana Finance Minister Les-

lie Young said the decision had been taken for the TBVC countries to concentrate on bringing their indirect tax structures into line with SA's VAT by October 1991.

"Implementing systems to deal with the GST dispensation would have been pointless, for the short period left before the adoption of VAT," Young said.

He confirmed that Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland without a sales tax system, was examining options for the introduction of an indirect tax similar to others in operation.

This would pave the way for a clearing house operation whereby input tax paid on goods in one country could be claimed as a credit in the other.

Deloitte Pim Goldby tax partner Ken Boggis expressed relief at the news.

GILLIAN HAYNE

## Govt withdraws GST on exports to TBVC states

The decision to charge GST on the sale of certain goods for export to the TBVC countries will be withdrawn, the Minister of Finance Dr Barend Du Plessis has announced.

A statement released by the Minister says this is being done because the adjustment of man-

agement and accounting procedures to meet the VAT system has already been planned by trading concerns.

It is felt that this planning should not be interfered with at this stage.

The notice of the withdrawal will be published in the Government Gazette shortly.— Sapa.

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29/10/90



# Homeland leaders are focus of a tug of war

Day 21 11 90 (101)  
TANIA LEVY

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had begun a low-key tug of war lobbying for the support of homeland leaders and their constituencies, KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza said in Vereeniging yesterday.

Speaking at the Hollandia Forum, Mabuza called for the scrapping of the homelands which he said had no place in a future democratic constitutional dispensation. He referred to them as "dummy institutions with no political base".

Homeland leaders whose power

to scrap the Land Acts would delete homeland boundaries and make it unnecessary to force black people to live in historically designated and limited areas, said Mabuza.

While urgent, the dismantling of the self-governing territories had to be done in an orderly way, he said.

Failure to provide a decent standard of education, to ensure employment opportunities, housing and a reasonable standard of living would inevitably lead to a new wave of unrest in the forgotten homelands.

base was located in traditional support had lately begun to hurriedly resuscitate defunct political parties in an attempt to gain a measure of credibility and secure a place at the negotiation table.

Mabuza said the National States Constitution Act of 1971, under which the homelands were established, should be repealed.

President F W De Klerk's proposal

# W/CMG 10/11/98 (101) Whether the Homelands?

**T**HE concept of regionalism is fairly widely used in South Africa, forming part of proposals ranging from those of the Democratic Party to those of the President's Council and Inkatha. It is, therefore, unlikely to escape the negotiations agenda. The position of homelands strengthens this assumption.

It seems trite to think that transition can take place without regional and local reconstruction.

On the local level, the debate has already begun, as signified by the Soweto Accord of September 1990, a landmark development ushering in the Metropolitan Chamber for Central Witwatersrand, and the deal on rent boycotts between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Soweto Peoples Delegation. On the whole, however, the debate about regional reconstruction has been lagging.

In a sense, the African National Congress, more specifically through Mr Chris Hani's recent extended stay in Transkei, has further cemented ties with this homeland, thereby focussing attention on "regionalism" and the role of homelands in the ANC's scheme of things.

Mr Hani's "homeland holiday" also might have forced the ANC to clarify its position on those homelands not subscribing to its constitutional guidelines or the Freedom Charter, like Kwazulu, Qwaqwa, Bophuthatswana and possibly others.

However, what are the options for the homelands? These are some of the possibilities:

- The retention

**WITH apartheid going, one of the key questions about reconstructing South Africa is what should happen to its ultimate creation, the homelands. At a conference on the issue in Venda last week, PROFESSOR WILLIE BREYTENBACH of the University of Stellenbosch's Department of Philosophy presented various scenarios. This is an abridged version of his speech.**

of the status quo; that is, maintaining sovereign status and still co-operating with other sovereign entities through Secosaf, and remaining a full member of the South African Development Bank. However, not all these institutions (notably Secosaf) may survive regional reconstruction. Their functions may persist, but role and forms are bound to change;

- Redefining relationships with South Africa as one of bilateral association, as in the cases of Monaco (and France), Lichtenstein (and Switzerland) or San Marino (and Italy). Usually, this is done through treaties and are very specific;

- Being incorporated into a multilateral co-operation framework through confederal membership; that is, retaining sovereignty, but sharing the same citizenship and nationality with the rest. Membership is usually voluntary and can be terminated at any time.

- Being incorporated into a single, federal structure on the basis of one-state, one-nation and, presumably, one central budget. Although regional "sovereignty" is inconsistent with this model, "autonomy" is the essence of federalism.

There are two varieties: the decentralised model, as in Switzerland, Germany and the United States, where the powers of central governments are circumscribed; and centralised federalism, such as in Canada where the powers of the regional governments are circumscribed, being a case of administrative decentralisation rather than of political devolution; and

- Incorporation into a unitary state. This is the old ANC policy and presumably still that of the PAC and Azapo. Even

here, there are two varieties: unitary states with regionalism and localism (eg France and Botswana), or unitary states without these.

Virtually all socialist and previously all Marxist states in Africa are or were unitary states without institutionalised localism. This highly centralised model has now failed completely throughout Africa and, presumably, everywhere else.

Whatever the options, the background is important. These are the major forces guiding the rules of the game and setting the parameters for the players:

- Total regional integration exists between the TBVC states, the rest of South Africa and even the BLS states, constitutionally further afield (implying "regional" infrastructures, transportation and the regional dominance of SA, etc);

- Constitutionally speaking, the TBVC states formed an integral part of the Union of South Africa until the sixties when they were given greater autonomy under the apartheid designs of Malan, Verwoerd and Vorster. In a sense, therefore, homelands are new, and actually South African.

- They are virtually completely dependent economically, and financially, on South Africa. Without budgetary assistance, they will all perish.

- However, there is also the undeniable legacy of separate security and administrative structures that exist in all TBVC states today. To quote Dr Van Zyl Slabbert: "They represent rare areas of bureaucratic expertise in regions that will be in great need of administrative care during and after transition."

Economically and financially, the problems of restructuring are daunting.

Consider the following list of items randomly selected from the debate now taking place in South Africa: the degree of national and regional state control over the economy, implications for budget-making in the new SA, the questions of taxation (eg Ciskei has a liberalised tax system, the others not), monopolies, profits, privatisation, minimum wages and last, but not least, affirmative action, especially on land ownership and civil service recruitment. Will all these things also apply to homelands?

It seems imperative these questions be solved through democratic procedures and mechanisms aimed at measuring the consent of the governed.

However, I suppose all roads lead back to Damascus. So, the assumption may be made that all TBVC states will sooner or later be returned to the fold.

In fact, even the constellation/confederation debate of the late seventies and early eighties, may, in the words of Deon Geldenhuys, have meant "to bring together what apartheid has put usunder", but failed to materialise.

This time, however, the zeitgeist unleashed by Uncle Gorby, Uncle Sam, Oom Fw and Neef Nelson, is perhaps more serious and has a stronger imperative underpinning it.

There are many pitfalls, the most notable of which are negotiations themselves and the positioning of TBVC states during this process.

It seems that this debate, and the soul-searching that goes with it, has only just begun. It must go much further.



# Boya calls for single non-racial councils

By MONK NKOMO

All black town councillors should resign and black local authorities scrapped and replaced by single non-racial municipalities, former Daveyton mayor Mr Tom Boya said in Pretoria.

Addressing a monthly meeting of the Pretoria Media Club on Saturday, Boya who resigned as mayor and councillor about three weeks ago, said: "The scrapping of racially segregated local authorities would assist us to reach our envisaged new South Africa free of domination and oppression from whatever quarter".

Boya added that Black Local Authorities had no future "because they represent essentially underdeveloped areas characterised by inadequate infrastructures for the

provision of basic services such as electricity, sanitation, roads and stormwater drainage.

"All Black Local Authorities have to be incorporated into one economic, non-racial single tax-base local authority," Boya said.

He stressed however that the administrative structures in the black local authorities should be maintained until non-racial local government structures are formed.

"This will allow the rendering of essential services to continue."

Another speaker, Mr James Mahlangu chief minister of KwaNdebele, said there was no room for homelands in a new South Africa. He added that blacks were abused

by the "white minority Government" and forced into reserves known today as Bantustans or homelands based on ethnicity.

Leaders who operated from the homeland platform were disadvantaged, unpopular and not well-accepted however good their intentions.

Mahlangu stressed that the will of the people should govern and said he would resign as chief minister if his people asked him to do so.

He added: "It is a regrettable misfortune that the exponents of apartheid and white domination have now successfully turned some of our brothers and sisters into a shield against the hard attack waged by democratic masses against apartheid."

# Forget, blacks urged

THE people should forget the past and work with homeland leaders who are prepared to work with the ANC, the organisation's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 20 000 people at an ANC rally at Thohoyandou Stadium in Venda, Mandela said Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana "understands that the only salvation for him is to work with the ANC".

"Ramushwana is now prepared to work with the ANC and I sincerely hope he will follow this direction", said Mandela.

However, "any bantustan leader who suppresses his people and runs to the ANC for support will not get it", he said.

## Violence

He congratulated Ramushwana for getting rid of "the government that has terrorised our people".

Addressing the question of inter-organisational violence, the ANC leader said the fighting among political organisations revealed that black leaders had not assumed full command of the situation.

He appealed to the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha "to forget the past and accept our hand of friendship".



# 3 homelands back ANC - Mandela

Own Correspondent and Sapa

THOHoyANDOU — Three independent homelands — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — were prepared to throw in their lot with the ANC, which meant the collapse of apartheid, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing about 20 000 at a Cosatu rally in Thohoyandou, Venda, he appealed for people to unite and speak with one voice.

"We should forget about past differences," he said.

Venda military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana and other leaders had accepted the

offer to work with the ANC, he said.

Mr Mandela appealed to the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha to accept the hand of friendship.

"We are aware that our people are clashing with others, but we should forget about past differences and work as a united force to destroy the apartheid regime.

"The ANC has reached the last mile of the struggle, which is going to be very difficult."

He congratulated Brigadier Ramushwana for toppling the previous government, which had "terrorised our people"

The ANC welcomed his efforts to bring about a clean

administration.

Mr Mandela warned that homeland leaders must not join the ANC and still suppress the masses.

He urged Venda youths to forget the past and work with Brigadier Ramushwana.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the constitution of a future South Africa would be drawn up by organisations with proven support.

Workers should have a share in the wealth of the country because they had produced it. Guns that were killing people should be used to protect the masses.

Land should be taken from

the "enemy" to be shared by all people, Mr Naidoo said.

Mr Mandela said his trip to the Far East and Asia had been successful. "I want to tell you that the ANC is highly respected worldwide.

"We came back with our hands full. ANC president Oliver Tambo has done marvellous work. He and his national executive committee have raised the ANC to a level it never had before."

Mr Tambo is scheduled to spend seven days in Lusaka with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and arrive in South Africa on December 14 for the ANC's conference.

## ANC highlights state role in land issue <sup>(101)</sup>

ALAN FINE

A REPORT on an ANC workshop on the land question, released by the organisation's land commission yesterday, shows widespread support for intensive state intervention in post-apartheid programmes to redistribute land. <sup>BIDAM 15/11/90</sup>

Points raised at the workshop will be taken into account in the formulation of an ANC discussion paper on rural policy due to be completed before the end of the year.

Land commission administrator Derek Hanekom yesterday cautioned that the workshop, held last month, had not been a policy-making exercise. He said the report

should be seen as "the beginning of a process of consultation". It was the first time some of these concepts had been critically discussed.

"It gave us a good understanding of people's aspirations. But the main thing to emerge from the workshop was the complexity of the issues," Hanekom said.

Participants included ANC regional delegates, rural community leaders and local and foreign specialists in various land-

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## Land issue <sup>(101)</sup>

related issues. <sup>BIDAM 15/11/90</sup>

A simulation exercise carried out during the week-long workshop suggested that a future government was going to find itself squeezed between people's aspirations and the power of the banks, he added.

The report said while nationalisation of land was seen as a means of acquiring land for redistribution, the dominant view was that land should not remain in state hands, but should be "given back to the people".

Arguments against fullscale land nationalisation included that it could cause economic collapse, increase state power and therefore potential for its abuse, and act as a disincentive against people carrying out improvements to the land.

The report argued the initial priority for state acquisition should be unused, abused, or under-utilised land. A second set of criteria would be those based on social considerations, where there had been human rights violations like forced removals.

Although initial discussions proposed the targeting for acquisition of farms owned by companies, this view fell away in favour of a system where taxation and other

aspects of agricultural policy should be geared to benefit individually and community-owned farms above company farms.

All land tenure forms should be permitted in a mixed economy, the report said.

Except in cases of unused and abandoned land, and cases of human rights abuses, the workshop adopted the view that compensation be paid for any land acquired by the state. A portion of the compensation — 25% — should be paid in cash and the remainder in industrial and 10-year government bonds.

The workshop examined land claims, for example by relocated individuals and communities to their original land, and the numerous areas of possible disputes.

Such disputes could arise, the report noted, between landowners and tenants, present and historical occupants, and claims based on chieftainship versus those based on civic associations.

It therefore proposed the establishment of a land claims commission charged with arbitrating on conflicting claims.

From Page 1



# SA may soon foot R2bn TBVC bill

101  
B10am 21/11/90  
SA WILL have to assume responsibility for debts totalling more than R2bn when the TBVC states are reincorporated.

With all four countries having now indicated a wish to be part of the new SA, Cabinet has instructed officials to prepare an initial assessment of what the cost will be by Friday.

An immediate cost is the R1,4bn in bridging finance which Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have borrowed from commercial banks since 1986.

The loans have been guaranteed by SA and, given the paltry state of the economies of the three countries, it is likely SA will have to assume responsibility for the loans once reincorporation takes place.

Before reincorporation the three states will ask SA to guarantee further loans, taking the amount to more than R2bn.

This year they are looking for loans totalling R1bn. Cabinet has yet to approve any new guarantees and officials say that if approval is forthcoming, this figure will be severely trimmed.

Last year Cabinet refused to guarantee any further loans to Transkei following a decision by that country to award massive pay hikes to civil servants. Transkei re-

MIKE ROBERTSON  
and EDYTH BULBRING

sponded by using state pension fund money to fund current expenditure.

In its current budget Ciskei indicated it was looking for R444m in bridging finance. After being told by SA officials that there was no chance Cabinet would approve such an amount, Ciskei returned asking for even more — R582m.

Reincorporation will also result in SA assuming responsibility for bloated bureaucracies in the four states. With a future dispensation still to be negotiated, officials have difficulty in assessing just how many of the jobs will remain.

But with personnel salaries making up 47% of total expenditure in Venda and 44% in Ciskei as opposed to the World Bank's recommended 30%, it is clear that there will have to be big retrenchments.

There are backlogs in education and health which would require large-scale additional spending by SA to achieve parity. Bringing pensions in Transkei and Ciskei on a par with the amount paid to black people in SA will cost about R150m a year.

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## TBVC states

101  
B10am 21/11/90  
In addition to assuming responsibility for overstuffed civil services, SA will also have to deal with anomalies in payments to certain officials. In some cases individuals receive salaries totally out of proportion to the work involved. The director-general of foreign affairs in Transkei, according to this year's budget, receives a salary of R126 000, which compares very favourably with that of his SA counterpart Neil van Heerden.

Transkei's President Tutor Ndamase is paid R183 000 more than the R174 000 which President F W de Klerk receives.

The perception among SA officials is that Transkei is recklessly overspending because it believes that at the end of the day, SA will have to pick up the tab.

Officials are working on the basis that reincorporation would entail a standardisation of tax structure, which would mean the introduction of VAT into Bophuthatswana and an end to the Ciskei policy of having no company tax.

Coupled with the expected phasing out of present decentralisation incentives, it is

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□ From Page 1  
expected that this will result in the closure of a quarter of the companies operating in the independent states.

Sixteen years after the grand apartheid experiment began, none of the four states is showing signs of becoming financially viable. As a result, even if the NP succeeds in winning support in negotiations for a federal option, it is highly unlikely that the independent states could be reincorporated in their present form.

Bophuthatswana, which has performed best, expects to raise 71% of total revenue of R2,8bn locally this year. The biggest contribution is expected to come from tax on mining companies, totalling R600m. Ciskei expects to raise 38% of revenue locally this year, Venda 36% and Transkei 59%.

Total SA aid to TBVC states has more than trebled from R1,2bn in 1983/4 to R4,2bn last year. It is expected to total R4,5bn this year. As in the case of all other government spending, aid to TBVC states will be cut by 5% in real terms next year.

# R2bn new debt?

CAT 7/11/90 21/11/90 Own Correspondent 101

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa will have to assume responsibility for debts totalling more than R2 billion when the independent homelands are re-incorporated.

With all four countries — Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — having now indicated a wish to be part of the new South Africa, the cabinet has instructed officials to prepare an initial assessment of the cost. The officials have to submit an initial assessment to the cabinet by Friday.

An immediate cost they have identified is the R1,4bn in bridging finance which Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have borrowed from commercial banks since 1986.

The loans have been guaranteed by South Africa, and, given the paltry state of the economies of the three countries, officials believe there is little likelihood that they will be able to repay the loans.



**S**INCE Ciskei opted for independence in December 1981, becoming the fourth independent homeland, the SA government has pumped about R21bn in various forms of aid into the so-called TBVC states.

Despite this, financial viability for all four homelands remains a distant dream and standards of living for the ordinary inhabitants have on the whole declined. And all four are willing to consider reincorporation into the new SA.

Officials attempting to salvage the wreckage of the failed grand apartheid experiment are discovering that reincorporation could be costly. Just as apartheid spawned a mandarin class in Pretoria, the biggest beneficiaries of grand apartheid in the homelands have been the politicians and the bureaucrats.

Promised by apartheid planners when they took independence that they would not be worse off than their counterparts in SA, politicians in the independent homelands have awarded themselves salaries which are simply not commensurate with the size of their countries' budgets.

**T**hus in Transkei, President Tutor Ndamase earns R183 000 a year and each minister receives R144 010. In Bophuthatswana, which has been the least extravagant, President Lucas Mangope earns R125 964 while his ministers take home R89 628.

The question confronting officials now is what happens to these politicians on reincorporation? If they are to be treated like former politicians in SA, their pension bill will run to millions.

What to do with the bloated bureaucracies of the independent homelands poses an even greater question. A nurse earning a top salary of R25 000 in Venda could easily be accommodated in the health service of a new SA, whatever the final dispensation agreed on. But what is to be done with the chief of the Venda defence force who earns R110 901, or Transkei's director-general of foreign affairs who earns R126 100?

With the SADF already cutting back expenditure, there would appear to be little likelihood of large-scale incorporation of the defence force members of the four homelands. It is more likely that the four defence forces would be scrapped

# Only the casinos will remain when the homelands go

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**MIKE ROBERTSON**

entirely, resulting in a saving of about R292m — based on this year's budgets of the TBVC states. On the other hand, the cost in pensions, retrenchment packages and unemployment benefits would be astronomical. The possibility of large-scale disruption by disaffected members of the defence forces also needs to be taken into account.

As with the defence forces, there would be no need in a new SA for the departments of foreign affairs of the four homelands. Despite their failure to gain international recognition, this year they plan to spend about R41m. Some officials could be incorporated depending on ability; most would have to be retrenched — again at a cost.

Whether the new SA has a federal system or not, there would always be a need to have justice, agriculture, police and other government department officials in the various regions. Again, depending on ability, there could be some form of incorporation. But will there be jobs at the top for the approximately 80 directors-general of the homeland departments or their thousands of senior assistants, all with lucrative pay packages?

While homelands have been channelling money into the pockets of the bureaucratic class, the quality of services provided to the inhabitants has generally declined.

It is true that in Ciskei, for example, the pupil to teacher ratio is better than that in most black schools in SA. Thus, however, is an exception. Simply bringing the

spending on health, education, pensions and shelter in the four homelands on a par with that of black South Africans, let alone whites, will take years and cost millions if not billions. Equalising pensions in Ciskei and Transkei with those paid to black South Africans will in itself cost an extra R150m a year.

For companies at present operating in the independent homelands, reincorporation holds many pitfalls.

What, for example is to happen to the casinos? This year Bophuthatswana expects to raise R42m

through gambling tax, and Ciskei R5,5m. This, however, does not take into account the amount earned from casinos through company tax and personal taxation of their employees.

SA officials looking at the costs of reincorporation believe it would be unwise to insist on closing down casinos. At the same time they also believe that allowing gambling throughout SA would result in the demise of the various gambling operation in the present independent homelands. Why go to a homeland casino when you can gamble in Johannesburg?

A compromise, they suggest, is that gambling in a new SA be allowed only in the most underdeveloped regions, which would include all the present homelands.

Existing incentive schemes for industries in the homelands and other decentralisation areas will be phased out from April next year. The replacement scheme has yet to be announced but is expected to concentrate on coastal metropolitan areas like Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town where it is believed incentive schemes will be most effective. The R81m it is estimated SA will pay in incentive schemes for industries in the homelands this year will almost certainly be scaled down.

Without these schemes, officials estimate that a quarter of the companies now operating in the homelands will go to the wall.

Ciskei is a corporate tax haven,

and Bophuthatswana has no sales tax. On reincorporation, companies operating in Ciskei will have to start paying company tax while those in Bophuthatswana will have to pay GST or VAT.

The creation of free ports or export processing zones could, of course, form part of new incentive scheme but, with the exception of Ciskei and parts of Transkei, this is unlikely to benefit the majority of companies now operating in the independent homelands.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa declared recently that Transkei would remain an entity in its present form in a new SA. Mangope feels the same way about Bophuthatswana. Financial reality, however, points to this not being likely.

Bophuthatswana, which expects tax receipts of about R600m mainly from its platinum mines this year, has come closest to achieving financial independence from SA. This has been helped to a large extent by the fact that the salaries it pays its bureaucrats are almost half those that Transkei dishes out.

Nevertheless, more than a quarter of Bophuthatswana's estimated state revenue of R2,8bn this year consists of budgetary aid and development loans from SA.

Transkei is even less viable. It hopes to raise just 59% of total state revenue locally this year; as with the other homelands, the rest comes from the SA taxpayer.

**T**he creation of the homelands was a political decision. After 16 years the National Party has finally accepted economic realities and dumped grand apartheid.

In constitutional negotiations the National Party, supported by the Democratic Party, will be arguing the need for a federal system with strong regional government in SA. But as President F W de Klerk, having learned from the mistakes of his predecessors, has argued, defining the boundaries of these new regions will have to be determined on financial and not political grounds.

The costs of undoing the expensive grand apartheid experiment will be huge. SA officials are likely to make it clear to homeland leaders that bureaucratic empires are going to be slashed, non-viable homelands will not be retained as non-viable regional entities in a unified SA.

### SA AID TO TBVC STATES Estimates 1989-1990

DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE	
Budgetary aid	2 200 363 896
Incentive scheme for industries	68 781 302
Non-recoverable financial assistance	6 283 581
Special employment	23 468 158
<b>Total</b>	<b>2 298 896 937</b>
TRANSFER PAYMENTS	
Tax compensation	318 094 028
Customs union	1 484 435 000
Common monetary area	45 905 167
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 848 438 195</b>
Loans from RSA (Project Aid)	69 861 613
TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE	
Manpower provision	59 484 000
Flour subsidy	8 489 000
Technical assistance	3 300 000
Salaries of judges	1 401 000
<b>Total</b>	<b>72 676 745</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>4 289 872 745</b>
Guaranteed overdraft facilities	431 500 000
Amount utilised	425 500 000

### LETTERS

# Traditional leaderships must be guaranteed - Ramodike

*Sowetan 26/11/90*

TRADITIONAL leadership should be guaranteed in a new South Africa but ethnic boundaries created by unsympathetic parties should be transcended, Lebowan Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said on Saturday.

Ramodike was addressing the launch of the Transvaal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa in Pietersburg.

Traditional leadership was a common heritage of mankind all over the world and had been his system of government, he said.

*(101)*

"In our search for a new constitution for the country it should be one which should guarantee traditional leadership's protection. Throughout the process of decolonisation, liberation movements have developed a negative hostile attitude towards traditional leaders."

But the leader of this self-governing state in northern SA said also: "I wish to appeal to you that your views on the future of this country should transcend the tribal and ethnic boundaries that have been grown for you by those who never had your interests at heart" - *Sapa*



## Self-governing states unhappy

PRETORIA — The six self-governing territories expressed dissatisfaction yesterday with the inadequate way they had been funded. <sup>(10)</sup> ~~10~~ 30/11/90

At a special meeting of the Conference of Ministers of Finance from the self-governing territories, chaired by newly appointed Agricultural and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers, the broad priorities for the self-governing territories were discussed.

In a statement after the meeting, the Department of Development Aid said attention was drawn to the grave and urgent need for socio-economic upliftment in the self-governing territories.

"In particular the self-governing territories expressed dissatisfaction with the inadequate way they have been funded up to now and the backlogs that have developed as a result."

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emphasised the need for setting priorities in government expenditure.

□ The fifth meeting of political leaders in SA Governmental Executives will be chaired by State President F W de Klerk in Pretoria today.

It will discuss future regional and local government structures and abolition of the Land Acts.

Present will be Cabinet ministers, members of the Ministers' Councils, leaders of the self-governing territories and the administrators. — Sapa.

CSA TIPS 3/12/90

# Homelands angry over budget cuts

101

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has angered homeland leaders by telling them millions will be slashed from their budgets in the next financial year.

The six self-governing homelands were told last week that their budgets would be cut by 5% in real terms, leaving them with increases below the inflation rate. The four independent homelands are expected to be given the same bad news about payments from SA.

The cuts are in line with the reductions being forced on all South African government departments by the Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Dr Wim de Villiers.

The self-governing homelands are scheduled to receive more than R5 billion from SA taxpayers this year, and the independent TBCV states are to receive R4,3bn.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, outlined the position at a meeting in Pretoria with finance ministers of the six non-independent

homelands — KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane and Qwa Qwa.

Also at the meeting, which was chaired by the Minister of Agriculture and Development Aid, Mr Jacob de Villiers, were Dr De Villiers and the deputy minister of Training and Development Aid, Mr Piet Marais.

The meeting was described as being the first occasion on which the government gave homeland leaders the opportunity to have a direct briefing on the broad parameters of the Development Aid budget.

According to a brief official announcement, the self-governing states' representatives said they were dissatisfied with inadequate funding received to date.

Sources close to the meeting said the ministers were told that police, salaries, administration and government building budgets would all have to be trimmed.

Both sides agreed, however, that there should be a greater emphasis on socio-economic upliftment.



Angry ministers get the message

# Homelands told SA is to slash budgets

101  
BIDay  
3/12/90

GOVERNMENT has angered homeland leaders by telling them millions will be slashed from their budgets in the next financial year as part of the cutbacks in state spending.

The leaders are resisting cuts in their huge bureaucracies and point to spending needs for schools, hospitals, roads and job creation.

The six self-governing homelands were told last week that their budgets would be cut by 5% in real terms. This leaves them with increases below the inflation rate.

The four independent homelands are expected to be given the same bad news about payments from SA.

The cuts are in line with the reductions forced on all SA government departments by Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers.

The self-governing homelands are scheduled to receive more than R5bn from SA taxpayers this year.

The bill for the independent TBVC states is R4,3bn.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Cabinet colleagues outlined the position at a meeting in Pretoria with finance ministers of the six non-independent homelands — KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane and Qwa Qwa.

Also at the meeting, which was chaired by Agriculture and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers, were Wim de Villiers and Training and Development Aid Deputy Minister Piet Marais.

Money for self-governing homelands

PETER DELMAR and  
GERALD REILLY

comes under the Department of Development Aid.

This was said to be the first time homelands have been given direct input on the broad parameters of the Development Aid budget.

A brief official announcement said representatives of the self-governing states said they were dissatisfied with inadequate funding to date.

Sources close to the meeting said the ministers were told that police, salaries, administration and government building budgets would all have to be trimmed.

Both sides agreed, however, that there should be a greater emphasis on socio-economic upliftment.

However, these funds could be increasingly channelled through central government departments and provincial administrations rather than through the homeland governments.

Government, too, might make greater use of initiatives such as the R2bn Independent-Development Trust to address socio-economic backlogs in the homelands, generally regarded as being among the most underdeveloped areas of SA.

It is believed government also intends reducing finance to the TBVC states by at least 5%. Most of this money is paid by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The statement said the present state of

□ To Page 2

## Homelands

BIDay  
3/12/90

101

the 1990/91 budget and the outlook for the 1991/92 budget were discussed, as well as self-governing states' broad priorities.

Also stressed were their "very substantial" needs in the areas of education, health, housing and the provision of roads, sanitation, electricity, and job creation.

Du Plessis apparently failed to obtain an agreement from the finance ministers to reduce expenditure on items such as salaries, administration and public works.

It is believed the ministers said their territories not only lacked schools and hospitals, but that their governmental infrastructures were underdeveloped.

One source said most ministers present

at the meeting had "expressed grave reservations" about any plan to cut their budgets in real terms.

Although there was general agreement on the need to tighten belts, it was felt a blanket cut would have serious consequences for the homelands.

The homelands believed they needed increased funding, not to expand their operations but to address historical backlogs.

One source said even if direct Development Aid financing was cut, the homelands could conceivably receive more from the SA government through grants for socio-economic development made through central government departments.

□ From Page 1

HOMELANDS - GENERAL

1991



# Bama republics... SA style

South 25/2 - 6/3/91

UP to now South Africa has maintained a strict appearance of dealing with the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) only in terms of international diplomatic conventions, however farcical these may have seemed.

Communications between officials concerning agricultural projects or road building have been tediously routed through Departments of Foreign Affairs and ambassadorial fax machines.

Where governments have embarked on obviously foolish projects, like Matanzima's attempt to start a navy, Sebe's unused airport and Venda's peculiar little university, Pretoria has had to smile tolerantly and pay.

## Network

A labyrinthine network of "multilateral technical committees" coordinated by the so-called Secretariat for the Economic Community of Southern Africa (SECCOSAFA) with its headquarters alongside the Development Bank of Southern Africa offices at Halfway House (near Johannesburg), ensures that everything from postage stamps to cattle dipping programmes get discussed at length by infinite numbers of bored civil servants.

Because nothing is decided without being referred back to respective ministries and cabinets for approval, everything is discussed more than can possibly be necessary.

However, the system has done very little to prevent foolish and wasteful projects from being undertaken. And

we can be fairly sure that "reincorporation" has not been on the agenda.

The TBVC states are all in financial difficulties. During the mid-1980s, South Africa insisted on the establishment of "joint financial adjustment committees" (JFCAs) for each state, with the Development Bank acting as a facilitator.

For Pretoria, the purpose was to impose financial discipline, while for the TBVC states the committees became a channel for articulating increased demands for development-related funding.

The total amounts allocated to the "independent homelands" from South Africa increased during the 1980s with inflation and population growth, and came to about R5bn in 1990. For both Ciskei and Transkei, transfers from Pretoria represent something like 80 percent of the total revenue. Even this does not set the limits to homeland spending.

During the 1989/90 fiscal year the Ciskei government budgeted to spend R1.3 billion, while revenue for the year including budgetary assistance from the South African government was estimated at just under R900m.

The shortfall of nearly R500m was to come from loans from the South African government and the Development Bank of SA and from so-called "financial adjustments" (government-guaranteed bank overdraft facilities).

The frightening truth is that the TBVC states can borrow as if they were sovereign governments without having to pay the price of excess spending — a devalued currency.

The economic agreement signed this week by South Africa and the Ciskei adds another twist to the complex and sometimes farcical relationship between this country and the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). South Africa's main hold on the "independent" TBVC countries has been its financial leverage but at the cost of billions of rands to keep them afloat. But what are the economic and financial implications of reincorporation into South Africa? **Andrew Donaldson** examines the issue:

The ICFA's may have made undisciplined overdraft borrowing a little more difficult, but the homelands still face what Polish economist Jan Komar called "soft budget constraints".

"Soft" budget constraints arise because officials are not themselves responsible for the problems of overspending.

When Transkei announced generous civil servants pay increases last year, Pretoria sent an admonishing diplomatic note, but nobody's salary cheque

bounced. Total government expenditure in 1980/81 at the time Lennox Sebe took independence, was R137m. Spending has increased dramatically and to date Ciskei's total debt is probably between R4- and R5bn.

The only thing that can be said with any certainty about the future repayment of this debt is that it will not come from the surplus generated from the Ciskei enterprises.

## Evaluate

How should one evaluate the increase in spending of the TBVC regimes, and their increased indebtedness? On the one hand, relentless growth of the bantustan bureaucracy, conspicuous indulgence in infrastructural excesses, and fraud, incompetence and corruption, represent a shameful waste of taxpayers' money.

On the other hand, there has been substantial improvement in distribution and availability of schooling and health facilities and industrial growth. Agricultural development account for some share of increased spending, as do pensions and other social welfare transfers.

Reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa, along with other independent homelands, would presumably lead to the standardisation of social services at norms essentially determined by central government, along with adjustment of the anomalous features of industrial policy and taxation in the Ciskei.

Removal of discrimination in South Africa, will, of course, dictate substantial improvement in the standards of

social services in (currently) black rural areas.

Unless a massive exodus of people from Ciskei locations occurs accordingly, spending on education, health and welfare must be expected to continue to rise.

The only real prospect for reduced spending in homelands is on bureaucratic functions and on activities which do not require local or regional programmes.

Dismantling the redundant bureaucracy involved paying off civil servants, many of whom are earning far more than they could in the labour market. They have become accustomed to privilege and influence, and will not go away quietly.

Perhaps more difficult than closing down superfluous offices will be the reintegration of various state functions into a unified South African government.

Restoration of administrative efficiency and discipline, attention to quality and promptness of services and standardisation of policies and procedures will bring numerous tensions and problems. Unfortunately the short-term financial saving from dismantling homeland governments will be very slight — perhaps R150m in Ciskei's case.

But this is not the issue. At stake is the quality and coherence of regional government in the country. The benefits of restructured government in the Eastern Cape cannot be simply stated in rands saved. The Ciskei regime is in trouble not because it spends so much, but because it governs so badly.

## Homelands to get less money

GERALD REILLY (10)

PRETORIA — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday told his counterparts in the six self-governing states that their 1991/92 budgets would have to be severely trimmed.

This was said at a conference with the six homeland ministers, held to discuss budget allocations.

The ministers said they were dissatisfied with the allocations. ~~8/1/89 13/2/91~~

Allocations to the six homelands in the current financial year increased by nearly 30% to R5,971bn.

Gazankulu got R745,5m (R592,8m the previous year); KaNgwane R415,5m (R297,435m); KwaNdebele R324,7m (R236,7m); KwaZulu R2,618m (R1,876m); Lebowa R1,565m (R1,136m); and Qwaqwa R302,3m (R234,5 m).

Central Statistical Service said the self-governing states employed more than 190 000 civil servants at the end of last September. Their pay for the third quarter was R768,3m — up by R48,407m on the same quarter in 1989.



(a) it is therefore not possible to give an indication at this stage what the nature of shortcomings are, if any, and

(b) apart from the aforementioned commission steps have already been taken to upgrade the management of the Department. In this regard there was *inter alia* an investigation and recommendations by an independent financial and management consultant Mr Leendert Dekker. Another consultant Mr Sieve Rossouw has recently been requested to conduct a further investigation.

(2) As far as the allocation and recommendation of housing loans under the individual self-build schemes are concerned, no irregularities have come to light. Parts (a) and (b) of this question thus fall away.

*New questions.*

\*1 Mr D J Dalling—Justice. [Question standing over.]

\*2 Mr J A Jordaan—Law and Order. [Question standing over.]

#### Subsidized motor transport schemes

\*3 Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Development Aid: (101)

(1) Whether officials of his Department seconded to the self-governing territories, participate in subsidized motor transport schemes the terms of which differ from those pertaining to similar schemes for such officials in the Republic of South Africa; if so, (a) which self-governing territories have schemes that differ from comparable schemes in operation in the Republic, (b) in what respects do these schemes differ from those operating in the Republic, (c) why do these differences exist and (d) what is the estimated additional cost of these differences for the 1988-89 financial year;

(2) whether any action is proposed to standardize subsidized motor transport schemes, if not, why not; if so, what action?

B22E

(101) scale down the benefits of their transport schemes in order to bring it in line with those which apply in the Republic.

#### State lottery

\*4 Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of National Health

(1) Whether she has received any petitions and/or submissions regarding a state lottery to finance health services, if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was (i) the purpose of and (ii) her response to these petitions and/or submissions;

(2) whether she will make a statement on the desirability of a health lottery? B56E

#### THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) Yes,

(a) 25 November 1990 and 20 December 1990,

(b) Mr A V Sacks and the Town Clerk of Pietermaritzburg,

(c) (i) to finance medical services, health education, housing and similar services

(ii) referred to the Minister of Justice as the Gambling Act, 1965 is administered by the Department of Justice;

(2) no.

#### Pietermaritzburg: capital city status

\*5 Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

(1) Whether he or any member of his Department has held discussions regarding the capital city status of Pietermaritzburg, if so, (a) when, (b) where and (c) with whom;

(2) whether any decisions and/or recommendations emanated from such discussions, if so, what decisions and/or recommendations; if not, when can a decision be expected;

(3) whether he or any member of his Department intends holding discussions in this regard in the future; if so, when?

B57E

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) No, (a), (b) and (c) fall away

(2) falls away

(3) no

#### False Bay: pollutants

\*6 Mr A L JORDAAN asked the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry:†

(1) Whether his Department exercises control over pollutants discharging into the sea in False Bay by way of river courses, if so, what control, if not, why not;

(2) whether the pollution levels in the sea in False Bay are monitored; if so,

(3) whether he will make known the results of this monitoring,

(4) whether research is being done on the long-term effects of this type of pollution; if so, what is the nature of this research;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B58E

#### THE MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY:

(1) Yes. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry exercises control over point sources of pollution discharging into the sea in False Bay, or into estuaries, rivers and streams which flow into the Bay.

In terms of section 21 of the Water Act, 1956 (Act 54 of 1956) a general standard is laid down and any discharge of effluent must comply with that standard. In those cases where it is not regarded as essential that all the parameters be complied with, exemptions from certain requirements and subject to certain specific conditions, may be granted. The general standard and any exemptions are determined by the Department in consultation with *inter alia*, the Department of National Health and Population Development and the South African Bureau of Standards. The 13 point sources of effluent discharge in False Bay, or the catchment area of the Bay, comply with the exemptions granted



Alan A Cooper speculates on the future of the self-governing states

# Ghostly four at FW's poker game

Star 29/11/91

101

THESE will be four ghosts floating around the negotiating table in Pretoria when the "new South Africa" is constructed.

The four ghosts, all creatures of apartheid, are the self-governing states, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, born out of scraps of tribal reserves.

Their future will be decided at that negotiating table and whether they shriek and clank their chains or not at the verdict, they will have to accept it.

The major players in the political game — the Government, ANC and Inkatha — are not overconcerned at the future status of the TBVC states. But they could be a problem if the ANC insists they be re-incorporated into the new South Africa and their sovereign status, albeit recognised only by South Africa, removed.

And this, perhaps, in return for some concession from the ANC regarding minority rights. The independent states then could either be a useful or throwaway card in F W de Klerk's hand at the constitutional poker game.

There are three options facing the ghostly four. The weakest is for them to continue in their strange sub-world of quasi-independence where they go unrecognised by anyone except South

Africa, on whom they rely for economic impetus and financial hand-outs.

In this option, Bophuthatswana alone has the economic strength to survive, relying on its vast platinum and precious metal resources.

Three-quarters of its R2-billion budget for 1990/91 will come from its own resources — mineral royalties and company, personal and casino taxes. Its Minister of Finance, Leslie Young, predicts Bophuthatswana could become economically independent in 1995 but even then it will have to rely on South Africa for electricity, roads, railways and technical services — and this year's contribution of some R500 million from its parent towards development.

Ciskei, Venda and Transkei have no large mineral resources to prop up their economies. They rely more than Bophuthatswana on South African aid and financially would no doubt welcome abandoning their "independent" status — and debts.

The second option for the four is to remain as actors within a southern African federation or confederation. Already the trade, finance and service links binding them to their parent are there, a confederation if not in name.

The third option is for the four to abandon their independence and become provinces in the "new South Africa", a course that would be welcomed by the liberation movements who are campaigning for the return of the "homelands".

There has been considerable talk about referendums in the four states on this issue of reincorporation. Transkei ruler General Hlonima has promised a ballot and the others have hinted at it. Again, the odd man out, President Mangope of Bophuthatswana, has categorically rejected this option.

But in November his government, after meetings with the ANC, announced it would put calls for reincorporation to a test by calling a referendum.

The validity of these referendums on reincorporation could be questioned. No referendums were held when South Africa created these "independent" states.

It is possible, therefore, that the four could be reincorporated merely by the South African Parliament repealing those acts which gave them independence, a point constitutional lawyers have stressed. Perhaps these referendums and their outcome will prove useful to Mr de Klerk in his poker game with the ANC.

There is one more option which faces Bophuthatswana alone, the possibility of some closer union with its fellow Tswanas in Botsswana. They are the same people with the same culture, language and close blood ties.

A Whitehall blunder at the turn of the century divided them into Botsswana and what became Bophuthatswana in 1977.

"We would like to look at the possibility of a federation with Botsswana as a way to unite our people," says Mr Mangope.

Politically, Botsswana, as a member of the Frontline States, does not recognise Bophuthatswana, which it regards as a creature of apartheid.

Perhaps this obstacle might be removed once a "new South Africa" is taken back into the African fold.

A Tsswana federation, fuelled by Botsswana diamonds and Bophuthatswana platinum, could become a strong force.

But whatever the options, the future of the ghostly four remains to be decided in Pretoria.

The worth of their "independent" status will be put to the test at these negotiations.

● Dr Cooper is a former lecturer at the University of Bophuthatswana. □



# Land reform must redress apartheid's distortions

THE National Land Committee says any resolution to the land question must have popular legitimacy and support for it to work.

In a statement reacting to President FW de Klerk's announcement last Friday of the scrapping of the Land Acts, the Johannesburg-based committee said it welcomed the news that the government would produce a white paper on land reform. South 7/2-12/2/91.

"Until now, the government has formulated its plans in secret," the Committee said.

"We have always believed that any resolution to the land question must have popular legitimacy and support for it to be workable. In particular it would have to recognise and be able to redress the wrongs and distortions that apartheid has meant for black South Africans and society as a whole."

## Aspirations 101

"Such a lasting solution which meets the needs and aspirations of South Africans can only be found through a representative and consultative process," the Committee said.

It reiterated demands of many communities for a new system of land ownership. These included:

- Land lost by black people as a result of forced removals be restored immediately;
- The government must ensure that legislative reform does not deprive black people of existing rights to land; and
- The government must commit itself to a programme of affirmative action that would make land and resources available for blacks, particularly for the landless and women who constitute the bulk of the farming population in the homelands.

# Plugging a bad cash flow

NOW that the South African government has begun reincorporating the Ciskei into South Africa, the question is: how much of the bureaucracy will be dismantled?

This week, military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo signed a treaty which spelt out the de facto end of independence. In effect, Pretoria will now appoint key ministers and help the homeland maintain law and order.

Previously, SA had maintained a strict appearance of dealing with the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) only in terms of international diplomatic conventions, however farcical these may have seemed.

## Foolish

Communications between officials concerning agricultural projects or road building were tediously routed through the departments of foreign affairs and ambassadorial fax machines. Where governments embarked on foolish projects, like Matanzima's attempt to start a navy, Sebe's unused airport and Venda's peculiar little university, Pretoria had to smile and pay.

A labyrinthine network of "multilateral technical committees" co-ordinated by the Secretariat for the Economic Community of Southern Africa ensures that everything from postage stamps to cattle dipping get discussed at length by a large number of bored public servants.

ST Times 3/3/91 (101)

## ANDREW DONALDSON counts the costs of reincorporation of the homelands into South Africa

Because nothing is decided without being referred back to ministries and cabinets, everything is discussed more than can possibly be necessary. However, the system has done very little to prevent foolish and wasteful projects.

The TBVC states are all in financial difficulties. During the mid-80s, SA insisted on the establishment of "joint financial adjustment committees" for each state, with the Development Bank acting as a facilitator. For Pretoria, the purpose was to impose financial discipline, while for the TBVC states the committees became a channel for articulating demands for development-related funding.

But the frightening truth is that the TBVC states can borrow as if they were sovereign governments without having to pay the price of excess spending: a devalued currency.

The JCFAs may have made undisciplined overdraft borrowing a little more difficult, but the homelands still face what Polish economist Jan Kornai called "soft budget constraints" (which arise because officials are not responsible for the problems of over-spending). When Transkei announced generous public

servants' pay increases last year, Pretoria sent an admonishing diplomatic note, but nobody's salary cheque bounced.

How should one evaluate the increase in spending of the TBVC regimes and their increased indebtedness?

On the one hand, the relentless growth in the bantustan bureaucracy, conspicuous indulgence in infrastructural excesses, and fraud, incompetence and corruption represent a shameful waste of taxpayers' money.

On the other, there has been an improvement in the availability of schooling and health facilities. Industrial growth and agricultural development account for some share of the increased spending, as do pensions and social welfare transfers.

Reincorporation of Ciskei into SA, along with other independent homelands, would presumably lead to the standardisation of social services at norms determined by the central government, along with adjustment of the anomalous features in industrial policy and taxation.

But the only real prospect for reduced spending in homelands is on bureaucratic functions and activities which do not require

local or regional programmes. Some entire departments, particularly foreign affairs, finance and the auditor-general, will become redundant.

Dismantling the redundant bureaucracy involves paying off public servants, many of whom are earning far more than they could in the labour market. They have become accustomed to privilege and influence and will not go away quietly.

## Quality

Perhaps more difficult than closing down superfluous offices will be reintegration of state functions into a unified South African government. Restoration of administrative efficiency and discipline, attention to quality of services and standardisation of policies and procedures will bring numerous problems.

Unfortunately, the short-term financial saving from dismantling homeland governments will be slight — perhaps R150-million in Ciskei's case. But this is not the issue. At stake is the quality of regional government.

The benefits of restructured government in the Eastern Cape cannot be simply stated in rands saved. The Ciskei regime is in trouble not because it spends so much but because it governs so badly.

□ Andrew Donaldson is at the Department of Economics and Economic History at Rhodes University.



# Future of TBVC states to be main theme at talks

Star 27/3/91

(101)

By Peter Fabricius

The future of the four TBVC homelands will be the topic of the multiparty conference which precedes full constitutional negotiations, President de Klerk said on Monday.

He was speaking at a press conference in Cape Town after talks with Venda leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana about the role of Venda in a new constitutional dispensation.

The Government view was that the states had a "vested interest" in what happened in South Africa and there were various options about their future role. The Government believed the first step was to get the proposed multiparty conference off the ground.

The role of the TBVC states ought to be discussed and an understanding reached at the conference.

Until then the Government would continue with a series of talks



Brigadier Ramushwana ... met with F W de Klerk in Cape Town.

with the TBVC states.

It would soon be holding talks with Bophuthatswana leader President Lucas Mangope and the Ciskei and Transkei.

Mr de Klerk said there did not seem to be a common approach among all TBVC states about their role in the future South Africa.

Brigadier Ramushwana said the future of Venda also rested with the rest of South Africa.

He said he did not envisage following the ex-

ample of Ciskei by entering an arrangement whereby the South African Government would help in governing the country in the interim period before re-incorporation.

He said Venda was trying to promote efficiency in its public service. If it managed to do this properly, it would not be necessary to have an interim arrangement with South Africa.

Brigadier Ramushwana was accompanied by fellow members of the Venda Council of National Unity and officials.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels, director-general of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Deputy Finance Minister Dr Org Marais, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs Dr Tertius Delport and officials attended.

# Homelands will take part in talks - FW

101

Sowetan 27/3/91

THE future of the homelands will be discussed at the negotiating table, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

The TBVC areas had a "vested interest in what happens in South Africa" and would therefore be part of the proposed multi-party conference, De Klerk said.

Speaking in Cape Town after meeting a delegation from Venda, De Klerk said there would be no interim measure similar to that in Ciskei where the Government had placed white South Africans in senior government posts.

He said, however, that both the South African

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

and Venda governments were in favour of sound administration in the homeland.

The future of Venda did not only rest with the people of the homeland, the area's military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana said.

## Leaders

Both leaders said talks which had been going on for some time would continue.

De Klerk also said the Government would meet Bophuthatswana leader Chief Mangope "soon".

Among South Africans at yesterday's talks were Minister of Foreign Af-

fairs Mr Pik Botha, his deputy Mr Leon Wessels, Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Deputy Minister of Finance Dr Org Marais.

Ramushwana was accompanied by senior members of his government.

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## R100-m to jack up the homelands

Sowetan 2/3/91.

101

A ONE-OFF sum of R100 million was to be made available to the self-governing homelands to meet certain pressing economic needs, Mr Barend du Plessis said.

He said in his Budget speech that this would be made available on a priority basis in consultation with those concerned and would be administered through the Department of Development Aid.

It was provisionally estimated that R70 million of the amount would be spent on education. - *Sapa*.

# Outlay on buying land for homelands is slashed 76%

CAPE TOWN — Government spending on the purchase of land for the homelands is to be slashed by 76% from R53,5m to R12,7m during the 1991/92 financial year.

But expenditure on the 10 homelands is to increase by 24,7% to R9 811,5m.

No provision has been made for the purchase of properties in the four independent homelands, an item which cost R15m last year.

The cuts in expenditure come in the wake of government's White Paper on land reform, in which it said the law under which land was to be purchased for the homelands, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act, was to be scrapped.

Enormous sums of money have been spent over the years for the purchase of land to consolidate the homelands.

This item will now disappear from the Budget, and the R12,7m in the 1991/92 financial year is likely to cover commitments which government has already made for the purchase of property.

The Estimates of Expenditure, which

Political Staff

was tabled in Parliament last year, make provision under the Foreign Affairs vote for budgetary aid to the independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei to go from R2 644,9m to R3 551,9m.

A further R86m has been set aside for the industrial incentive schemes in the TBVC states and R13,6m for "ad hoc grants", for which R6,1m was budgeted last year.

However, no details were provided of how much would be transferred to each of the TBVC states.

Under the Development Aid vote, R6 160m has been provided for the six non-independent homelands, compared with the R5 129,9m budgeted last year.

KwaZulu is to get R2 736,7m, Lebowa R1 578,2m, Gazankulu R773,9m, KwaNgwane R413,2m, KwaNdebele R333,7m, and QwaQwa R313,1m.

# Health spending goes up by nearly 9%

CAPE TOWN — Government spending on health services would increase by 8,9% to R8 175bn in 1991/92, with greater emphasis placed on primary health care, said Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

But despite the change in emphasis on health spending, only 5% of the health budget would go to primary health care, Du Plessis said.

"Experience has shown that the health status of a community is influenced to a significant degree by expenditure outside the strict health field, for example in the supply of water for domestic use, sewer-

Political Staff

age, housing and balanced nutrition.

"Various measures for which funds are being supplied in this Budget... therefore indirectly support the function of primary health care," he said.

Du Plessis said the private sector continued to devote itself to more specialised curative services "for that portion of the population that can bear economic tariffs".

He said what the private sector spent on health services already represented about 45% of the total.

# housing 'must be accelerated'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Beefed up housing schemes should allow an additional 90 000 families to acquire housing or a serviced stand in the new financial year, says the Budget review.

However, the actual amount provided for housing in the Budget dropped from the R1,208bn in the 1990/91 financial year to R1,087bn in the coming financial year.

An additional appropriation of R60m for housing expenditure is also proposed for the House of Representatives.

The review points out, though, that these amounts are not strictly comparable for purposes of evaluating the progress of low-cost housing, inasmuch as certain off-budget loci have come into existence that provide various forms of financing in this field.

The review takes note of the serious housing shortage and says it could get worse.

It said it was estimated that more than 1,6-million people could be regarded as squatters, as defined at present, while another 1,7-million lived in backyards.

The review says state spending on housing must accelerate and adds that a "leverage mechanism" must be devised in respect of private sector funds to deal with backlogs.

It noted that the Independent Development Trust had recently announced that R375m would be made available in each of the following two years for housing.

In addition, it was proposed that the R119m remaining from the R250m allocated in 1990/91 for the purchase of land for black urbanisation, be voted in the additional appropriation for 1991/92. This was to have been funded out of the proceeds of privatisation.

It was further proposed that a supplementary R90m be voted for the Department of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing to supply basic infrastructure.

om the surplus of the previous financial year meet its financing requirement.

## AX PROPOSALS:

VAT will be introduced at 12% on September 1.

Company tax: The nominal company tax rate will be reduced from 50% to 48% in the first step towards the goal of a 40% tax rate. However, the removal of tax concessions will result in a higher effective tax.

Personal tax: The maximum marginal tax rate for married men will be cut from 44% to 33% and the primary rebate will be reduced from R2 100 to R2 000.

The maximum marginal tax rate for married women remains unchanged at 38%, while the primary rebate will increase from R700 to 800. Married women over the age of 65 will become eligible for the additional rebate of 2 100. Separate taxation will be fully phased in this year with the separate taxation of investment income.

Life assurance industry: The tax rate will be reduced to 43%, the same level as the maximum marginal rate for individuals.

Mining industry: The lower tax formula for old mines recommended last year will be fully implemented this year and step three of the phasing out of the surcharge on non-gold mines will proceed.

Marketable Securities Tax and Stamp Duty:

MST will be reduced from 1,5% to 1% of the purchase price of a security, while stamp duty on the transfer of unquoted marketable securities will be reduced from 15c to 10c. Both will be phased out over three years.

## IMPORT SURCHARGE:

□ Capital goods will be cut by half to 5%.  
□ Intermediate goods will be reduced from 7,5% to 5%.

□ Less essential consumer goods will be maintained at 40%.

□ White goods will be maintained at 15%.

## CUSTOMS AND EXCISE:

□ Beer will increase by 3c a bottle of 340ml or "dumpy".

□ Spirits will increase by about 1,5c a tot, or 37,7c a 750ml bottle.

□ Cigarettes will increase by 3c for 10 cigarettes.

□ Cigarette tobacco will increase by 3c per 50g.

□ Pipe tobacco and cigars will increase by 25c per kg.

□ Fortified wine and sparkling wine will increase by 1,8c per 750ml bottle.

LAST YEAR'S SURPLUS: R1bn has been allocated to government pension funds, R450m to the Export Credit Reinsurance Fund, R350m to the Maize and Grain Sorghum Boards and the remaining R206m to the 1991/92 fiscal year.

LESLEY LAMBERT



# ENORMOUS CHANGES

Government's land reform plan will enrage political extremists, both Left and Right, but it is undoubtedly the most fundamental change so far in Nationalist policy. It will do as much to shape the new SA as the Tomlinson Commission report in 1955 shaped apartheid by providing the framework for separate development.

In essence, the White Paper and five Bills tabled in parliament this week will:

- Remove all racial discrimination from land ownership;
- Automatically convert about 2m leasehold properties in black townships to freehold; ~~(2m)~~ (101)
- Immediately release 254 000 ha of SA Development Trust land originally earmarked for incorporation into the homelands for sale (by implication to black farmers) with a further 220 000 ha to follow soon;
- Allow communities on a nonracial basis to determine "norms and standards" for their areas; and
- Greatly speed up the acquisition and ser-

*Continue* →

vicing by the State of land for "less formal towns" and provide for the establishment of a financial and technical support structure to help low-income earners and farmers to acquire land.

The measures affect 189 laws and an estimated 15 000 proclamations which have regulated land ownership on a racial basis for nearly 40 years. Government hopes to have the Bills passed by parliament by mid-June.

The Black Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act, the Black Communities Development Act and all other provisions regulating land ownership on a racial basis will be repealed "finally and unconditionally," according to the White Paper.

But the final rooting out of all race-based measures will be the task of a special Advisory Committee on Non-Racial Area Measures under the minister of justice. This will liaise with all State departments that could be affected by the reforms.

The white Right will accuse government yet again of caving in to black demands, while the radical Left will no doubt condemn the failure to propose either large-scale land redistribution or compensation for loss of land and property rights due to apartheid.

Government's spokesman on the issue, Stoffel van der Merwe, agrees that land was lost owing to apartheid's social engineering but argues that more white land was given to blacks for homeland consolidation. Any attempt to restore land to its original owners would be a nightmare. "We must look to the future rather than the past."

Local Government and Planning Minister Hernus Kriel says while no specific anti-discriminatory clauses are contained in the Bills, once race-based laws are scrapped, common law will prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race, creed or gender. However, individuals will be free to decide to whom they wish to sell or lease their property and he concedes that this could be based on race — just as it could be based on religion, gender or cultural group. Government will not interfere in this process.

The reform measures don't affect the legal status of the homelands, their geographical definitions or their self-governing status. Government says the future of the homelands is under negotiation and can't be finalised in terms of the land reforms.

The system of tribal ownership in the homelands will also remain almost unchanged unless the tribal authorities themselves wish to change it, and even then a 10-year "sunset clause" in one of the Bills provides for judicial review of land transactions to ensure that the tribe is not prejudiced.

The White Paper says the "norms and standards" measures are needed to allay fears in "certain communities" that the repeal of the Group Areas Act will threaten "established community life."

The White Paper repeats government's view that "own affairs" will stay until a new constitution is implemented. Interim provision is made in one of the Bills to provide for

the continued administration of certain areas and functions as "own affairs" even though the principle is repudiated by the reforms. ■

101



*Answer* set aside or alter such order or to issue another order which he may deem just. The procedure to be followed by such a member is set out explicitly in Prisons Regulation number 78. In terms hereof a member who wishes to appeal to the Minister against an order of dismissal or demotion in rank or seniority must within fourteen (14) days of written notification to him of the issue of such order, lodge a notice of appeal in writing to his commanding officer for transmission to the Commissioner. The member concerned must clearly and specifically set out the grounds on which the appeal is based and he may at the same time himself or through his legal representative submit written arguments or representations in support thereof. The Commissioner must then submit the notice of appeal and written arguments or representations together with the record of the proceedings of the inquiry and the findings and reasons of the commissioned officer who conducted the inquiry to the Minister for consideration.

Of the thirty six (36) members concerned six (6) have appealed against the decisions. These applications for appeal are being dealt with at present. In conclusion I would like to mention that strikes by members of the Department of Correctional Services are seen in a very serious light, in as much that a Bill was passed by Parliament as recently as 1990 making provision for the summary dismissal of members who make themselves guilty of this practice.

**Petrol: maximum price**

\*11 Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:†

- (1) Whether he envisages prescribing only a maximum price for petrol in all the fuel zones in the Republic, if not, why not; if so, when;
- (2) whether such maximum prices will be calculated on exactly the same basis as the present fixed prices; *Answer* 12/3/91
- (3) whether this arrangement in respect of a maximum price will also apply to the wholesale price of diesel;

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (4) whether consideration is being given to reducing the price of paraffin, if not, why not? *Answer* 12/3/91 B417E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.

- (1) In accordance with Government's policy on commercialisation and deregulation, an investigation into Government's involvement in the petroleum industry is also being conducted. The investigation is a comprehensive exercise and is still not fully finalised. The Competition Board was also approached for advice. Any possible change to the existing pricing policy can only be considered after the lifting of oil sanctions against South Africa.
- (2) Falls away.
- (3) The prices of petrol, diesel and illuminating paraffin have for many years been controlled on wholesale level only as maximum prices.
- (4) Yes, an announcement will be made in the not too distant future.

**Independent Black states: reincorporation into RSA** (101)

\*12. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: *Answer* 12/3/91

- (1) Whether the South African Government has been approached by any of the four independent Black states with a view to reincorporation into the Republic; if so, (a) by which states, (b) when and (c) what was the response in each case; if not,
  - (2) whether the Government will take steps to facilitate the reincorporation of these states into the Republic at the earliest opportunity; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;
  - (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B431E
- The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
- (1) and (2) I have already replied to these questions in my response today to question 1 of the interpellation.
  - (3) No, not for the time being.

**Group areas permits: abolishment**

\*13. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

Whether, in view of the reply by the Minister of Justice to Question No 20 on 19 February 1991 in regard to prosecutions against persons contravening the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, he will take steps to abolish the necessity to apply for group areas permits; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

B432E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING: *Answer* 12/3/91

In view of the announced repeal of the Group Areas Act, I have requested all institutions which are concerned with the administration of permits, to grant permits on a free basis. No further group areas or free settlement areas will be proclaimed.

- (a) and (b) Fall away

**Nurses: salary increase**

\*14. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) On what date did nurses receive their most recent salary increase;
- (2) whether radiographers were given a salary increase at the same time; if not, why not; *Answer* 12/3/91
- (3) whether it is the intention to increase radiographers' salaries in the near future;
- (4) whether she will make a statement on the radiography profession in South Africa? B441E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) 1 July 1990;
- (2) no, the occupational class Radiographer was not identified by the Cabinet for an occupational specific investigation during the 1990/91 financial year;
- (3) finally has not been reached yet about which occupational classes' salary structures will be improved during the 1991/92 financial year. An announcement in this respect will be made soon;

**Single department of health**

\*15. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health.

- (1) Whether her Department has taken any steps to consider the administrative, financial and national health implications of a single department of health for South Africa, if so, what steps; if not, why not,
- (2) whether she will make a statement on the matter? *Answer* 12/3/91. B446E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) The Department of National Health and Population Development is at present in the process of considering various models for the restructuring of health services. Extensive deliberation and consultation by the Department with the relevant role players take place at high level on a continuous basis. In the consideration of the different models various factors, including the administrative, financial and health implications, are taken into account;
- (2) no.

\*16. Mr P G SOAL — Home Affairs. [With-drawn.]

**Johannesburg: rapid rail transit system**

\*17. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 106 on 2 March 1988, a decision has been taken on the introduction of a rapid rail transit system for Johannesburg; if not, why not; if so, what was the decision? B461E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

No. Upon recommendation of the then National Transport Commission (NTC), the former Minister of Transport approved, in September 1988, a full feasibility study to a mass transit system for the Greater Johannesburg Area. This comprehensive study, which is being conducted by the Massstran Consortium, will include an investigation into a rapid rail transit system as an alternative transport system and is expected to be completed by the end of June 1991. A report will then be

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# F R Tomlinson and a dream die together

Star 9/3/91.

(101)

"HISTORY," said Professor FR Tomlinson only 10 years ago, "will have to decide whether we were right or wrong."

History is now poised to complete those deliberations following the death in Worcester in the Cape last month of the "architect of the homelands".

He is certain to be found to have been wrong — and the irony of the timing of the revelation could not have been more acute.

For in the very week in which Frederick Rothmann Tomlinson died at the age of 82 — some 35 years after the publication of his famous Tomlinson Commission Report — the first of the "independent" homelands took a step toward inexorable reincorporation into South Africa.

The incremental "homecoming" of Ciskei marks the beginning of the end of the grand homelands plan, rendering Professor Tomlinson's 17-volume, one-million-word report all but obsolete at a stroke.

## Undignified obscurity

In Parliament, too, the country's white legislators are dismantling the laws of the past four decades. The old ideologues and technocrats of apartheid are being consigned to undignified obscurity.

Professor Tomlinson will nevertheless occupy a permanent place in the modern history of South Africa, and it must be clearly understood for what it is and what it is not.

He cannot fairly be referred to — although he often is — as "the architect of apartheid" writ large. To be sure his mammoth report laid a foundation for the politicians to put apartheid into practice (and even coined the phrase "separate development").

But he insisted it was a technocratic "solution" to a prescribed political "problem" — that of the homelands.

"I was asked to do a job," he said in a rare interview in 1976. "I was not ideologically committed to the idea of separation except in as much as any South African has been born and bred with some idea of separateness."

As chairman of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, Professor Tomlinson spent nearly five years in the early 1950s dreaming up the scattered ethnic enclaves which Verwoerd firmly believed would unscramble South Africa's racial egg.

Professor Tomlinson emerged convinced that the homelands could work — but only on condition that white South Africa dug deep into its pockets to ensure rapid development.

He subsequently fell out with Dr Verwoerd, who liked the political but not the burdensome financial elements of the plan, and the professor broke a 20-year silence on the implementation of his report in 1974.

He had never been consulted since completing the report, he told the South African Agricultural Union.

## History now deciding that apartheid is a failure



HONOURED: Professor Tomlinson was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service in 1985.

SHAUN JOHNSON

He now believed that the Government had "wasted 15 years" in making only desultory progress in the development of the homelands. "The commission had seen the whole task as stated by it," he said, "as an expected act of faith of the white population."

## Small scale efforts

"I am convinced that there was the opportunity at the time of the appearance of the report in 1956, to fire great enthusiasm, idealism and support among

the white section of the population by starting large scale ambitious programmes which gripped the imagination

"Instead of which we got important but small scale efforts . . ."

Professor Tomlinson's criticisms at the time were very revealing of the man himself, and of the strictly limited political options which were considered at that stage to be reasonable by whites.

What was at issue were degrees of paternalism. Professor Tomlinson said repeatedly that he believed "we (whites) are in Africa for God's purpose. I believe that we have important missionary work to do and I saw the Tomlinson Commission Report as part of that work, as part of my Christian duty".

He expressed "great faith in the ability of black South Africans to manage their own affairs", saying "I have a very high regard for the potential, still largely dormant, of our black people".

But Professor Tomlinson totally rejected any possibility of wholesale integration. It was as unthinkable to the supposed "neutral" expert as it was to the apartheid ideologue Verwoerd.

It is for this reason that he will probably not retain his reputation as a visionary who "saw through" apartheid dogma. History is more likely to remember him as a brilliant technocrat whose theories were never properly tested, but were unworkable anyway.

Professor Tomlinson was, despite his name, an Afrikaner. He had an English grandfather, but his mother's side of the family had emigrated to South Africa from Germany as early as 1774.

## Household notoriety

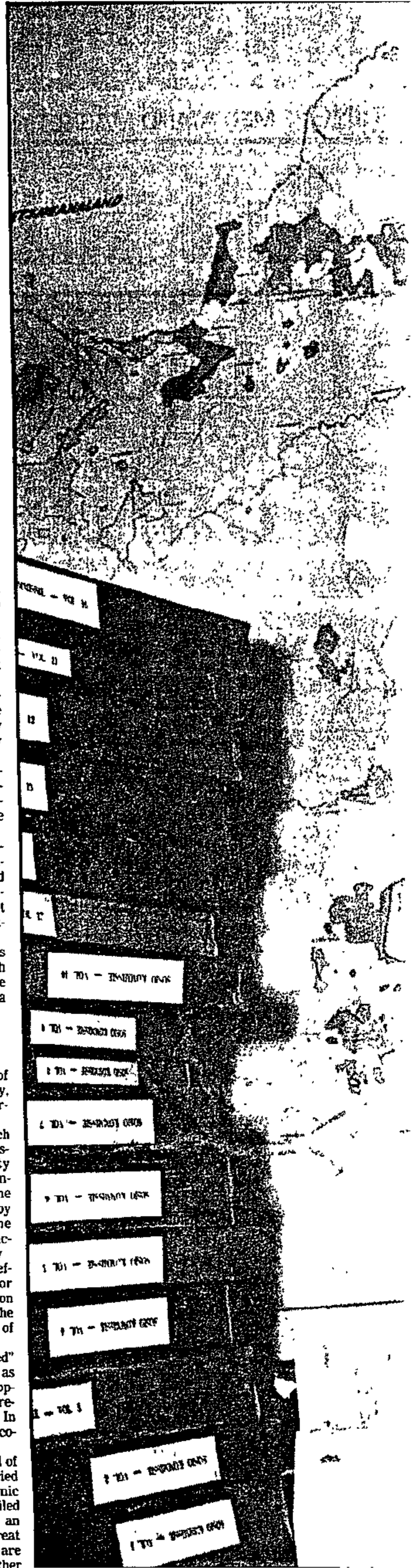
He excelled in the academic study of agriculture at Stellenbosch University, eventually completing a PhD at Cornell University.

He started lecturing at Stellenbosch at the age of 25, and became a professor thereafter. It was in this capacity that he was invited to chair the commission which eventually bore his name — he was apparently recommended by JG Strijdom, later to become prime minister — and moved from relative academic obscurity to household notoriety.

This was short-lived: Dr Verwoerd effectively gagged him, and Professor Tomlinson's light receded as he took on long-term tenure as the Director of the Transvaal Region of the Department of Agriculture.

He made a brief comeback, "recalled" in 1982 by Prime Minister P W Botha as a consultant to the Department of Co-operation and Development, and then retired to his home town of Swellendam. In 1985 President Botha conferred the Decoration for Meritorious Service on him.

Professor Tomlinson died at the end of February in Worcester, and was buried in Swellendam. A long-time academic colleague, Professor Dirk Smith, hailed him as a "great Afrikaner who had an intense love for his country . . . a great cedar tree has fallen, but its roots are anchored across the whole land". Other historians have yet to have their say.



MASTERPLAN: Professor Tomlinson



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MASTERPLAN: Professor Tomlinson with the 17 volumes of his famous Tomlinson Commission Report.



been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, if so

- (a) which section of the Defence Force (b) to which of these organisations and (c) to what extent.

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *Hansard S/3/91* B363E

**THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:**

(1) and (2) As far as the SA Defence Force is concerned, I refer you to the answer given by the State President regarding the National Intelligence Service, which suffices

**Organisational support to self-governing territories**

\*22. Mr J H MOMBBERG asked the Minister of Development Aid + *Hansard S/3/91* 101 ~~101~~

- (1) Whether, over the past 10 years any section of his Department or of the government of the self-governing territories has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to any of the cultural or political organisations of the said territories, if so, (a) what sections of his Department or the departments of the self-governing territories, (b) to which such organisations and (c) to what extent,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *Hansard S/3/91* B366E

**THE MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:**

(1) Yes.

- (a) Directorate Social and Ethnological Services
- (b) Historical Monuments Committee of KwaNdebele

(c) An official of the Department of Development Aid is serving, since the establishment of the Department, as member on the Historical Monuments Committee of KwaNdebele where he is rendering expert advice. No financial or further organisational assistance is rendered

Inquiries were made to the Governments of the self-governing territories in order to reply in full to the question. Feedback is still awaited

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

*Hansard* Whether the honourable member *S/3/91* will be furnished with a written reply on these questions *(101)* ~~(101)~~

(2) No. A statement is not deemed necessary

**Electrification of schools**

\*23. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Training: *Hansard S/3/91*

- (1) Whether any investigation has been conducted into the electrification of schools falling under his control, if not, why not, if so, (a) when and (b) what was the outcome,

(2) what will be the additional (a) capital and (b) annual operating cost of providing electricity to all schools other than farm schools? B367E

**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:**

- (1) No. The provision of additional classrooms, teachers and equipment enjoys priority over the electrification of these schools where electricity has not been provided. Where electricity is available, new schools and schools where extensions are being added to the buildings, are provided with electricity
- (2) The information is not available.

**Avoidance of military service: indemnity**

\*24. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence: *Hansard S/3/91*

- (1) Whether any persons who left the Republic for the purpose of avoiding military service and who have subsequently been granted indemnity by the Government will be subject to conscription by the South African Defence Force upon their return, ~~(1)~~
- (2) whether any other persons returning to the Republic from voluntary exile are to be made subject to conscription;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B376E

**THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:**

- (1) Such an indemnity covers an instance where an individual has committed the

*Hansard* offence of contravening section 120A(1)(a) of the Defence Act (Act No 44 of 1957). It stands to reason that he can no longer be prosecuted for that offence. The indemnity does not, however, preclude him from being called up again for military service in terms of the Act

- (2) Yes ~~(1)~~
- (3) No

**Ezibeleni Township: water supply**

\*25. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing: *Hansard S/3/91*

- (1) Whether the municipality of Queenstown has cut off the water supply to Ezibeleni Township, if so, why;
- (2) whether these residents have embarked on a consumer boycott in Queenstown; if so, what were the reasons advanced for this boycott

(3) whether the cutting off of the water supply had any other effects on the residents of this township, if so, what effects,

(4) whether he has investigated the grievances of these residents and the underlying reasons which led to dispute, if not, why not, if so, what were his findings? B377E

**THE MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:**

- (1) Yes, Ezibeleni is situated in the Transkei. The water supply was cut off by Queenstown Municipality because Ezibeleni did not pay its account to Queenstown. The water was connected again on 22 February 1991 after negotiations.
- (2) Yes, the reasons advanced for the boycott are:

- Arrear amounts for what must be written off.
- Two prisoners must be released.
- The Town Clerk and Mayor of Queenstown must resign.

(3) Yes, there was a possibility of a health risk before the water was connected again on 22 February 1991.

(4) The matter was investigated from which it became evident that Ezibeleni is situated in the Transkei and it is accordingly the responsibility of the Transkei Government to find a solution, if necessary in co-operation with Queenstown Municipality. *Hansard S/3/91* 105 ~~105~~

**Certain person: deportation**

\*26. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *Hansard S/3/91*

- (1) Whether arrangements have been made to deport a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, if so, (a) when is the deportation to take place, (b) to which country is this person to be deported and (c) what is his name,

(2) whether he has consulted the Minister of Defence or the head of the Civil Co-operation Bureau about the proposed deportation, ~~(1)~~

(3) whether he will make a statement on this matter? B378E

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

- (1) Yes.
- (a) 31 March 1991
- (b) He may possibly be removed to Ireland as he is the holder of a valid Irish passport. He may, however, at his own expense depart from the Republic to any country of his own choice.
- (c) Donald Acheson.

(2) No. The decision concerning his removal rests solely with the Department of Home Affairs.

(3) No

**Surplus of 1 000 teachers**

\*27. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Finance: *Hansard S/3/91* ~~105~~

- (1) Whether he recently made the statement that the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Delegates had a surplus of 1 000 teachers; if so, how was this figure arrived at,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Appl Trnts 8/3/91 101 (1/5/91)

# Land reform buries race restrictions

Political Staff

THE government's long-awaited white paper on land reform is to be tabled in Parliament next Tuesday.

The white paper will outline the government's approach to land reform following the scrapping of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

These measures will remove all racial restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land.

However, the government is expected to provide some protection for communally owned land in the rural areas, particularly that in the homelands.

It is also expected to pave the way for peasant occupation and farming in the 1,2 million hectares of land at present owned by the South African Development

Trust.

This land, originally bought in terms of the 1936 Development Land and Trust Act, was intended for transfer into the homelands, but with the gradual process towards the dismantling of the homeland system this transfer will no longer take place.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa has drawn up plans for the development of black farmers by making use of the SA Development Trust land.

The government is expected to give an effective green light to the Development Bank plan.

The SA Development Trust land includes one of the biggest citrus estates in the world, the 30 111ha Zebediela Estate in the Northern Transvaal.

The Minister of Development

Aid, Mr Jacob de Villiers, said in Parliament this week, in reply to a question tabled by Mr Mike Tarr (DP, Maritzburg), that the Trust controlled 647 854ha in the Transvaal, 400 106ha in Natal, 111 246ha in the Cape and 68 277ha in the Free State.

He added that arrangements for the disposal of this land would appear in the white paper.

President F W de Klerk said in Maitland on Monday that the government would ensure that rights to "own" community life and schools for those who wanted it would be protected, and existing property rights would not be threatened in the new order.

The white paper is expected to contain the government's proposals on how these rights will be protected in the wake of the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.



# SA cash clamp on TBVO finances

101  
SITimes  
3/3/91

THE government has told three of the four independent homelands that it will not guarantee another R1-billion in loans unless they surrender control of their departments of finance to SA nominees.

The move to restore some semblance of order to the chaotic finances of Ciskei, Venda and Transkei is an interim step pending a decision on how to reincorporate all the homelands into SA, senior government officials said yesterday.

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

Homeland finances have reached crisis point:

- Total homeland debt now amounts to R8-billion.
- Transkei has virtually wound down its civil pension funds in an attempt to pay for current expenditure.

## Better

● At current rates, it will take only another three years before the two Kei states and Venda are unable to pay the interest, let alone the capital, on their debts.

The finances of Bophuthatswana, which has rich mining and tourism resources, are in better shape.

SA has already guaranteed debt totalling R1,46-billion for Ciskei, Venda and Transkei.

In negotiations with Ciskei, the SA government agreed to guarantee new loans — provided the homeland signs over financial control.

The actual amount of loans guaranteed was not made public, but it is understood Ciskei was looking for R440-million.

## Guarantee

Senior SA Treasury officials — who will be appointed Ciskei's ministers of finance, administration and economic affairs — will have to authorise every cent spent by the homeland.

Venda is looking to SA to guarantee new loans totalling R193-million to keep its administration running. The South African government will only agree to this if Venda also agrees to hand over financial control.

For the past two years the government has re-

fused to guarantee any overdraft facilities for Transkei. Its military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is understood to have been running down the state pension fund to finance current expenditure.

Senior officials believe he has almost depleted the pension fund and will soon be forced into negotiations with the government for funds to keep his administration going.

A senior government official said this week that the National Party recognised that grand apartheid had been a "dreadful error".

It was inevitable, he said, that all the homelands would in some way be reincorporated into SA.

## Option

The government, he said, believed it could not unilaterally decide on the manner of reincorporation.

Rather, it felt that reincorporation and the question of how the homelands should be represented at the negotiating table should be on the agenda at the first meeting of the multi-party conference.

The chaotic mismanagement and waste of funds in the homelands could not be allowed to continue, the official said.

It had been decided that the only option was to persuade the homelands to surrender "part of their sovereignty" — control of finances and administration.

In this way it was hoped that, when the manner of reincorporation was finally decided at the negotiating table, some progress would have been made in restoring effective government in the territories.

# Land Reform

LAND which has been earmarked for the TBVC homelands will not be affected by Government's policy paper - White Paper on Land Reform.

According to the document the Black Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 provided for the reservation of land for the exclusive occupation, use and tenure as well as ownership of black people.

In terms of the 1913 Act, 10 422 437 hectares were made available and an additional 7 186 178 hectares were added between 1936 and 1990.

"As the basis for self-government, the

## Land earmarked for homelands

(10)

*Sowetan 13/3/91*

## not affected

greater part of this land forms the territories of the TBVC states and the self-governing territories.

"The remaining portions of this land situated outside the TBVC states and the self-governing territories totalling about 1 250 000 hectares are held by

the SADT," the policy document states.

However in terms of the new undertakings, "approvals and consolidation estimates" some 1 000 000 ha of land is still to be incorporated into the TBVC states and the self-governing territories.



**POVERTY LEVELS**

W/PC/113-717/91

MORE than two out of every five South Africans live in poverty and one in 16 lives in extreme poverty, according to the Vatcom report released this week.

The report said 16,3-m people in South Africa and the TBVC countries (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) were living below minimum living levels and 2,3-m were in dire straits. On the Development Bank's estimate of the total population of South Africa and the TBVC at 36,6-m, those living in poverty constitute 44,5 percent of the population.

"The minimum living level differs depending on region and family circumstances, but, roughly speaking it is people whose total family income does not exceed approximately R600 a month," the Vatcom report said.

**In what** will be the most fundamental reform of land tenure in SA's history, government is considering giving blacks full ownership of land they occupy in tribal areas.

It is also considering selling more than 2m ha owned by the SA Development Trust.

Draft legislation to provide for the reforms has been prepared by the Law Review Project. *FIM 113191*.

If it is approved by Cabinet it could be tabled in parliament within weeks. Land reform was discussed earlier this week during the meeting in Cape Town between government and homeland leaders.

Land ownership in tribal areas has long been one of the most sensitive and controversial issues facing National Party reformists. The vested interests of tribal leaders have effectively blocked progress towards freehold title in rural areas of the homelands.

But it is reliably understood that government is now ready to push ahead with what amounts to radical changes to the traditional system of land allocation and occupation. It is apparently satisfied that it will be able to persuade homeland and tribal leaders that they have more to gain by the changes than they will lose.

It is likely that the legislation will provide for title to property to be registered with local magistrates in terms of common law. De facto boundaries to properties will be accepted; stands will not be surveyed unless the new owner asks for it or if surveying is needed when the property is bonded.

The sale of Development Trust land has been pending for some time (*Current Affairs* May 4). Initially, it was envisaged that a black commercial farming sector would be established on land originally earmarked for homeland consolidation.

Government has been reassessing the future of more than 2m ha of trust land after the official abandoning of the aim of consolidating homelands as part of the grand apartheid scheme.

A lobby within the NP wants some of the land allocated to black farmers as part of an "affirmative action" programme to help to establish farmers who were prevented over the years from obtaining farm land.

At least 1m ha of trust land is now leased to white farmers or used by the State Trust Corporation. Much of it is regarded as "high potential area."

But with State legal advisers now combing the statute books to trace and delete all

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

references to race, "affirmative action" involving only black farmers seems unlikely — though blacks do seem set to benefit most from the availability of land close to existing homelands. *FIM 113191*

It is generally accepted that 87% of land in SA is reserved for ownership and occupation by whites and only 13% for blacks. The pending reforms are in line with the proposed scrapping this year of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. ■



Notes:

1. 33 Posts in respect of the Central Economic Advisory Service are reflected on the approved establishment of the Office of the Commission for Administration  
 230 Posts in respect of the Office for Regional Development are reflected on the approved establishments of the Departments of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, Trade and Industry and the Administration: House of Assembly.

2. In a number of cases the abolishment and creation of posts reflect a transfer of a function for example the transfer of the forestry function from the Department of Environment Affairs to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. In other cases the change in establishment figures is the result of reorganization where part of an organization was restructured by abolishing the existing organization and posts and replacing it with as new organization structure and recreated posts—for example the Office of the Commission for Administration.

3. Posts created

Posts abolished

4. Establishment: Public Service as on 1-1-1990  
 Establishment: Public Service as on 31-12-1990

5. The net increase in posts represents a growth of 2,32%.

208 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: *Hansard 28/3/91*

(1) (a) How many family housing units were built in 1990 in each self-governing territory by (i) the authority of the territory; (ii) private owners and (iii) the South African Government and (b) what was the total amount spent by each in respect of each territory;

(2) whether there is a shortage of housing units in any self-governing territory; if so, how many units are required in respect of each territory;

(3) whether any family housing units are being built in the self-governing territories at present by (a) the authority of the territory, (b) private owners and (c) the South African Government; if not, why not; if so, (i) how many units are being built by each in each territory and (ii) when are they due to be completed in each case?

*Hansard 28/3/91* (101) B556E  
 THE MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID.

(1)(a)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
OwaOwa	Nil	110	Nil
KwaZulu	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	1 014
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
Gazankulu	300	1 070	Nil

The houses which are being built in KaNgwane is the result of a promise made by the South African Government to the KaNgwane Government during the 1989/90 financial year.

(b)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
OwaOwa	Nil	Unknown	Nil
KwaZulu	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	R7 116 067
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
Gazankulu	R13 012 500	Unknown	Nil

(2) Yes, there does exist a shortage but the self-governing territories could not furnish details of the shortage.

(3)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	No

	OwaOwa	No	Yes	No
KwaZulu	Unknown	Unknown	No	No
KaNgwane	No	Unknown	Yes	Yes
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	No	No
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	No	No

	(a)(i)	(b)(i)	(c)(i)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	None
OwaOwa	None	20	None
KwaZulu	Unknown	Unknown	None
KaNgwane	None	Unknown	131
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	None
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	None

	(a)(ii)	(b)(ii)	(c)(ii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
OwaOwa	Unknown	June 1991	Unknown
KwaZulu	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	31 March 1992
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

The South African Government does not build houses in the self-governing territories since 1984 but in the case of KaNgwane houses were promised in the towns Matsulu and Kamaghekeza for people who have been moved to the towns years ago in order to supply them with proper housing.

The self-governing territories were requested to forward information but to date not all replies were received in all the cases.

*Hansard 28/3/91* (101)

State budget: percentage spent on agriculture

226. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Agriculture: What percentage of the total State budget was spent on agriculture in (a) 1950, (b) 1960, (c) 1970, (d) 1980 and (e) each specified financial year since the 1984-85 financial year for which figures are available?

	(a)	1950	Not available	11,66
(b)	1960	R 49 926 088	8,35	

(c)	1970	R 115 638 100	6,82
(d)	1980	R 354 952 287	3,05

Note: Above-mentioned figures include the expenditure of the then existing Departments of Agriculture.

(e)	1984/85	R 962 120 764	3,73
	1985/86	R1 136 333 514	3,61
	1986/87	R 940 410 550	2,46
	1987/88	R1 240 422 374	2,65
	1988/89	R1 173 813 948	2,18
	1989/90	R1 005 108 892	1,57
	1990/91	Final figures not available	—

Note: Aforementioned figures are only in respect of the actual expenditure incurred by the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Agricultural Development and do not include—

(i) funds allocated to agriculture by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates as these funds are not readily available; and

(ii) special concessions to agriculture by Departments such as Customs and Excise and Transport as these amounts cannot be identified.

The total budget of the Department of Agricultural Development is not included in the total State budgets. It is due to the fact that only the net deficit in respect of the total budget of the Administration, House of Assembly is provided for in the main budget.

*Hansard 28/3/91* (101)

273. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: Whether any freehold land is being held by the State or any of its agencies which was previously occupied by persons who have now been removed from such land; if not, what is the position in regard to such land; if so, what are the details of the land so held?

Freehold land

# Ownership of communal areas transferred to tribes

CAPE TOWN — Government has decided to protect communal tenure of land by tribes in the rural areas for 10 years, and to transfer ownership of this land directly to the tribes. (10)

But it said it believed "tribal communities should seriously consider the advantages of individual tenure". Nor was it in favour of the expansion of the traditional system of land tenure. B/Dumy 13/3/11

The decision to vest control of tribally held land under existing "tribes" and chiefs is likely to vest

Political Staff

control in the very groups that controlled the homeland structures.

The government decision on tribal land could, in the circumstances, expose it to criticism of protecting the power bases of those chiefs over land.

Government said in its White Paper that large tracts of land in black areas were occupied and used by members of the tribe in accordance with the traditional communal system of land tenure.

These rights "cannot be typified under common law and converted into rights recognised in South African law", it said.

Ownership therefore was granted to tribes to give them full right to dispose of their land. To safeguard the interests of individual members of a tribe, the proposed law prohibited the tribe from selling its land to people who were not tribal members for 10 years after the land had been transferred to the tribe unless a court order authorising the sale was obtained.



## Mandela: ANC to collaborate with homeland leaders

*Staw 28/3/91*  
MATSULU (KaNgwane) — The African National Congress will in future be working hand-in-hand with homeland leaders, deputy president Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Mr Mandela was speaking to about 4 000 supporters — mainly youths — at the Matsulu sports stadium.

Mr Mandela received a rousing welcome from the cheering supporters.

~~SA~~ (101) Singling out KaNgwane's former chief minister, Enos Mabusa, as an excellent politician, Mr Mandela said the ANC did not want to repeat its past mistake of isolating homeland leaders.

# Govt nod to TBVC states joining talks

~~DOWN~~ TIM COHEN 101

GOVERNMENT yesterday came out in favour of the TBVC states taking part in the multiparty conference on negotiations.

A government delegation, led by President F W de Klerk, met homeland leaders and the chairmen of parliamentary Ministers' Councils, but the meeting was not attended by the heads of the TBVC states

The meeting agreed that the participation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei would be decided by the multiparty conference itself.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation regarded the residents of the TBVC states as South Africans and that they ought to be represented at the conference. But the ANC still had to decide whether it was in favour of the TBVC governments being represented in that their capacities as governments. ~~DOWN~~ 11491

However, the ANC would not campaign for the exclusion of political parties which operate in the TBVC states, the spokesman said.

Yesterday's conference in Cape Town accepted that the states had a vested interest in future constitutional developments in SA.



Blom 16/4/91.

11/11/91 (101)

## Contralesa backs ANC over ultimatum

LINDEN BIRNS

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) yesterday came out in support of the ANC's ultimatum to government over violence and attacked Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi's support for the carrying of traditional weapons.

Contralesa Natal regional secretary Chief Zibuse Mlaba yesterday accused Buthelezi and his KwaZulu cabinet of trying to delay negotiations, insulting the Zulu nation and of trying to distort Zulu customs, culture and history.

Contralesa publicity secretary Sphiwe Thusi said sharpened objects did not constitute traditional Zulu weapons and were

only used for important celebrations.

Mlaba also lashed out at government accusing it of funding impis with arms, transport and money.

Mlaba said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok should take responsibility if rogue police members were instigating violence.

Thusi said Contralesa, while in favour of the ANC's ultimatum, was opposed to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's threat to arm the townships if it was not met.

Contralesa was opposed to all forms of violence, he said.

# Now chiefs gear up for democracy

By CLAIRE KEETON: East London  
THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa wants to democratise the traditional chiefs system.

Their proposal, which has been supported by the African National Congress' national executive committee, is that hereditary chiefs allow communities to choose representatives to the chiefs' council.

"People will be given an opportunity to elect their own representatives," said the national president of Contralesa, advocate Patekile Holomisa.

He said each administrative area had a chief under whom were several local

*with mail 26/4 - 2/5/91.*  
areas. "There will therefore be more representatives than chiefs in the council, as each locality will be able to elect people," he said.

Chiefs would consult their communities and local structures about this system, which would then be taken to the homeland authorities for approval.

Contralesa and the ANC met on the weekend to discuss the role of chiefs in a changing South Africa. The meeting addressed problems that have arisen between chiefs, village committees and civic structures. Holomisa said a source of friction had been the ap-

pointment of certain chiefs by homeland authorities. Chiefs opposed to the apartheid system "were removed, banished, detained or deposed and replaced by people more compliant with the regime", he said.

In an attempt to reduce existing tensions, the ANC, Contralesa and the civics would co-ordinate structures and consult at a local level "to achieve maximum unity".

Contralesa also decided it would give input into discussions on the ANC's draft constitution and on the proposals of the ANC's local government commission. — Elnews



**T**HE White Paper on Land Reform has reinforced the widely held belief that rural development can make a major contribution to integrating black South Africans into the economy. In the absence of appropriate policies, it is in fact more likely the rural areas will continue as a repository for the marginalised poor, draining national resources.

More than 50% of black South Africans live in these areas; three quarters of them in the homelands. The term "rural" is misleading since the majority actually inhabit a uniquely South African purgatory, supported by funds from the cities but isolated far from them.

Because so many people are involved, it is necessary to address their particular needs and to promote policies which will enable them to enter — and contribute to — the mainstream of SA society.

It is also crucial that the financial burden they are going to impose is recognised and provided for.

To do this, however, some myths need to be dispelled. One is the notion of the so-called "subsistence economy". The White Paper makes frequent references to this. It talks specifically about "a delicately balanced subsistence economy which, if replaced injudiciously, could lead to the collapse of the economies to which it affords a livelihood".

It mentions that "up to 80% of the income of subsistence areas is derived from the sale of labour through the migrant and commuter systems". But it implies that at least 20% — and probably more — comes from agriculture.

This, of course, is nonsense. Even in the homelands where this subsistence economy is supposed to be found, "only 10% of household income is derived from agriculture" according to the Urban Foundation's Rural Development report. Another dangerous myth driving

# New policies needed to bring rural poor into the mainstream

MIKE MULLER

810 Bay 18/4/91

the policy debate is that agriculture will provide a place in the economy for the majority of those rural dwellers whom apartheid has marginalised. The implicit assumption is they will not be dependent on public or private welfare.

This wishful thinking is not borne out by facts. In some homelands, a family of six may eke a living off five hectares of rain-fed fields (assuming that R3 000 annually can sustain a family of six). If the homelands' 2-million hectares of arable land were to be fully utilised, they could support perhaps 400 000 families or 2,5-million people — less than a quarter of their population.

How much scope is there outside the homelands? Take an unlikely extreme. If black farming families were willing to accept one tenth the income of their white counterparts, and 60 000 white farming units were handed over, another 600 000 black farmers, 3,5-million people, could be put on the land.

Together with those from the homeland areas, that is only half the rural population, just over a third of the 14-million predicted by the Urban Foundation in 2 000. It thus appears inevitable that the majority of

rural people will be excluded from farming. The Bureau for Market Research recently recognised this by "urbanising" them in their statistics, arguing that they live in dense settlements, supported by urban earnings.

This is unhelpful. These communities are supported in the limbo between city and countryside by a fragile system of remittances from city workers, homeland civil service salaries and pensions. For a minority, income from gardening (a more accurate description than farming) helps to cushion the rural household from interruptions in the flow of funds from outside.

**T**his support network is unraveling, however. The migrant labour system is breaking down. As the White Paper notes, "there are factors at play that could lead to the rapid collapse of circulatory migration".

Massive urban unemployment clearly reduces recruitment from peripheral areas — a situation unlikely to improve soon. The outlook for jobs in homeland governments is

equally unpromising. Any rationalisation of government spending should, on efficiency criteria, cut these peripheral bureaucracies first. The only secure component of the support system is pensions. But not even an overnight equalisation to white levels could compensate for the predictable losses of income from the other sources.

Over the next decade, hundreds of thousands of young adults are thus likely to be trapped in rural areas, with no prospect of work and no source of external funds to sustain their families.

No government will allow destitution to occur on the scale which is threatened. One way or another, funds will be transferred to these communities. Already, many homeland salaries are little more than disguised welfare transfers.

A pessimistic but realistic vision of tomorrow's rural SA is of a growing, welfare-dependent population which outnumbers small farmers. If rural development work focuses solely on farmers, it will fail when the bypassed majority obstruct it.

Rural sociologist Chris de Wet of Rhodes University argues that the homeland areas will need roads and

transport, education and training; health services will have to be expanded; basic needs such as water supplies addressed; forests developed to provide people with fuel.

A major objective will be to help people escape from the rural dead-end by building up what is fashionably known as their human capital — they have no other — so they can compete and contribute in the cities.

The conclusions of UCT regional planner David Dewar about the Transkei, that "the prospects of the economy being in any way viable are nil" and that "any longer term development path must involve a large net transfer to other parts of the country" applies equally to the other homelands. The exodus is clearly inevitable.

To support the process, we urgently need a better understanding of how rural people survive, the scale of their needs in a changing environment and the limits to sustainable rural development.

How many people can agriculture support; how many will be "surplus" to the rural economy and, eventually, have to be accommodated, physically and economically, elsewhere?

**S**ome social services of national scope — education and old age care in particular — could be provided in the rural areas. Would this provide a helpful economic base? Or would the costs of the supporting physical infrastructure outweigh potential benefits?

Without clear perspectives grounded in rural realities, rural development policies will continue to fail and society will pay the price of keeping a dependent population in the countryside in perpetuity. Already, Ina Perlman tells us that Operation Hunger is feeding 400 000 people in the Transkei — 10% of the population. She warns of massive increases in real hunger. That can only be a foretaste of things to come.

□ Muller is a senior policy analyst at the Development Bank of Southern Africa. The views expressed are, however, his own.

# 'Call in the UN'

C/pres 31/3/91

THE United Nations (UN) should be involved in the transfer of power in South Africa, says the leader of the ANC-aligned chiefs' body, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Contralesa national president Patekile Holomisa said an interim government constituted by a body which enjoys UN support should take over from the NP government.

Holomisa - a member of the Transkei ANC regional executive and the younger brother of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa - was addressing the East London branch of the ANC on the transitional period South Africa faces.

He said a Patriotic Front composed of the major liberation movements should be established and then an all-party conference held.

Holomisa dismissed the government's proposal of a "super cabinet" and saw the ANC's signature campaign as a way of pressurising the government into accepting an interim government and constituent assembly.

Contralesa rejected the view "homeland leaders should be on our side of the negotiating table" as such an approach would "help perpetuate tribalism".

He urged popular leaders not to form new parties but to join national organisations.

"As to the political circus that is on show in the Ciskei under the apparent leadership of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Contralesa is deeply disturbed," said Holomisa.

"We are also convinced Gqozo is not his own man. No black South African with all his senses would commit the atrocities he has against his own people, including his army colleagues, unless he is acting on somebody's orders.

"(Foreign Minister) Pik Botha would be well-advised to recall Gqozo to South Africa so that the people of this area can decide for themselves who should rule them in the interim period."

Holomisa said he would not be surprised if the Ciskei people decided to support Paramount Chief Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile, the only paramount chief in the Ciskei. - Elnews



## 'Unjust' homelands policy to change

Political Staff

101

CAPE TOWN — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda wanted to be reincorporated into SA because they had increasing doubts about their economic and constitutional viability, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He agreed that it was no longer justifiable to keep "homeland" blacks from having rights in SA. *8/10/91 315/91*

Bophuthatswana, however, had a different view because it was doing well, De Klerk said during parliamentary debate on his office's budget.

Government had realised "absolute self-determination" in a heterogeneous society such as SA was not attainable.

"Our democratic and geographic inter-linking, as well as the socio-economic realities, made it impossible."

The conclusion was that millions of South Africans still did not have the rights which citizenship normally included. This could not continue unchanged because it was clearly unjust, in conflict with Christian values, in conflict with internationally accepted norms and a certain recipe for resistance, civil war and revolution.

SA had been in a dead end street of increasing unemployment and worklessness and its entry to international markets and modern technology had been systematically restricted.

Poverty and unemployment promoted crime, social instability and violence. Politically and constitutionally the situation had not gone much better. "The policy of separate development was visibly and perceptibly busy failing."

# 'Doubts' prompt move to rejoin SA

101  
CAPE TIMES 3/5/71

Political Staff

TRANSKEI, Ciskei and Venda wanted to be reincorporated into South Africa because they had increasing doubts about their economic and constitutional viability, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Bophuthatswana, however, was different because it was going well there, Mr De Klerk said during the debate on his vote in Parliament.

"Half of the country's platinum reserves lie in Bophuthatswana

and I think more than half of the chrome reserves. Therefore, they are economically viable and have a different standpoint," he said.

Mr De Klerk also said the "realities of our existence" forced the government to the realisation that absolute self-determination in a heterogenous country such as SA was not attainable.

"Our democratic and geographic inter-linking, as well as the socio-economic realities, made it impossible."

Mr De Klerk said the conclu-

sion was that millions of South Africans still did not have the rights which citizenship normally included.

This could not continue unchanged because it was clearly unjust, in conflict with Christian values and internationally accepted norms and a certain recipe for resistance, civil war and revolution.

This had also been acknowledged in the document drawn up by the CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, and his team, Mr De Klerk said.



The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) (a) Bonds (stocks) as at 31/12/1990  
R2 990 397 000
- (b) Government bonds (stocks) as at 31/12/1990 — R18 450 660 000
- (c) Other investments (money market securities and cash) as at 31/12/1990 — R6 142 214 000
- (d) Cash balance as at 31/03/1990 — R8 211 859

(2) (a) Pension contribution receipts (members' contributions)

- 1985/86 — R392 803 151
- 1986/87 — R474 827 249
- 1987/88 — R578 612 050
- 1988/89 — R656 825 162
- 1989/90 — R778 820 030

(b) State contributions

- 1985/86 — R1 080 074 653
- 1986/87 — R1 305 550 568
- 1987/88 — R1 590 942 661
- 1988/89 — R1 802 494 498
- 1989/90 — R2 143 353 859

(c) Receipts from investments

- 1985/86 — R1 028 087 033
- 1986/87 — R1 459 261 469
- 1987/88 — R1 787 467 215
- 1988/89 — R2 248 846 824
- 1989/90 — R3 307 126 876

(3) (a) Direct costs for the administration and maintenance which were debited to the fund. Amounts represent the costs for the actuarial assessment and regional establishment levy

- 1985/86 — —
- 1986/87 — R 151 315
- 1987/88 — R 6 450
- 1988/89 — R 34 305
- 1989/90 — R4 320 253

(b) The bulk of the direct costs is financed out of the Department's vote.

(i) Pensions (annuities)

- 1985/86 — R 596 168 561
- 1986/87 — R 714 430 932
- 1987/88 — R 879 738 428
- 1988/89 — R 988 603 012
- 1989/90 — R1 154 949 493

*[Handwritten signature]*

(ii) Retirement bonuses (gratuities, benefits paid on resignation and payments to estates)

- 1985/86 — R379 377 947
- 1986/87 — R448 588 328
- 1987/88 — R496 751 235
- 1988/89 — R570 117 638
- 1989/90 — R720 976 896

(4) The date of the information furnished is as at 31 March 1990 unless otherwise mentioned.

Voters' list: names of White deceased persons

267. Dr W J BOTHA asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

(1) (a) What procedure is followed in removing White deceased persons from the voters' list and (b) how long does this take; *Hansard 715191*

(2) whether lists of White deceased persons with the same particulars that appear on the voters' list are made available to political parties, if not, why not; if so, what is the average time this takes;

(3) how many White (a) persons of 18 years and older have died since the voters' list for the general election of 1989 closed and (b) deceased persons have been removed from the voters' list since the voters' list for the said election closed;

(4) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B718E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) During the processing of a complete death notice for the updating of the Population Register the names of such deceased persons are identified automatically by computer for deletion from the voters' list.

(b) As voters' lists are amended on a monthly basis, the deletion normally takes place during the month in which the notice is received.

(2) Yes. Particulars of inter alia deceased White voters are made available monthly per electoral division to all registered political parties by means of a list of deletions.

(3) (a) 61 494 deaths in respect of White South African citizens 18 years and older are registered with the Department for the period concerned

(b) 56 191

The difference between the figures in (a) and (b) is because all the deceased are not registered voters whose particulars appeared in the voters' lists.

The difference of 5 303 is made up as follows:

4 296 pensioners without identity numbers.

376 persons over 18 in possession of old identity cards

631 persons over 18 without any form of identification.

(4) The period 1 June 1989 (voters' lists for the general election of 1989 closed on 31 May 1989) until 28 February 1991.

SA citizenship

314. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *(101)*

(1) How many Blacks in each independent Black state regained their South African citizenship in 1990 in terms of the provisions of the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, No 13 of 1978,

(2) whether any applications were refused; if so, (a) how many from each state, and (b) why, in each case? *Hansard 715191*

B794E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) Owing to the provisions of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act 73 of 1986), which came into effect on 1 July 1986, no Black of any of the independent states applied in terms of section 3 of the National States Citizenship Act, 1970 (Act 26 of 1970), as amended by the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978 (Act 13 of 1978) for South African citizenship during 1990.

(2) (a) and (b) Fall away.

University students registered in 1990

324. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(a) How many (i) White, (ii) Coloured, (iii) Asian and (iv) Black students were registered in 1990 at each university falling under the control of his Department, and (b) how many of these students were first-year students, in each case? *[Handwritten signature]*

B846E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black
The North	25	7	6	10 588
(a)	5	7	3	4 504
(b)				
Zululand	48	2	15	5 196
(a)	13	1	3	1 410
(b)				
Medunsa	235	18	117	1 649
(a)	20	5	24	509
(b)				
Vista	106	251	28	24 399
(a)	26	113	13	7 492
(b)				

Tax concessions: amount lost

325. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance: *Hansard 715191*  
What is the total amount of tax lost or expected to be lost as a result of tax concessions granted to decentralised or deconcentrated industries in respect of the year ended 31 March 1990? *[Handwritten signature]*

B847E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

It is estimated that the tax lost as a result of the granting of concessions to industries in decentralised or deconcentrated areas will amount to R19,0 million for the financial year ended 31 March 1990. Final figures are not available as many assessments, especially in respect of companies, have yet to be processed.

The original estimate of R1 million for the year ended 31 March 1989 has been increased to an amount of R21 million in the light of further information now available.

B 1099 8/5/71

## **Pik warns of finance crisis in homelands**

Political Staff (101)

THE financial crisis in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei could be worse than suspected, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He said government would place the participation of independent homelands high on the agenda of the first meeting of the multi-party conference.

Government's standpoint was that all options were open in regard to the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei into SA.

Botha, who was speaking during the debate on the Foreign Affairs budget, said control of financial aid to the TBVC homelands would be tightened.

The homelands had been told future payments would be confined to areas which incorporated the harmonising of tax structures, improved the relationship of personal emoluments to total expenditure, and the implementation of an economic and financial planning system. SA would monitor this.

Botha said whatever the homelands decided about returning to SA, they would still have to be administered, and essential services would have to be maintained.



101 **Pik: TVC in dire financial straits** *Opp Trib 8/5/91*

By BARRY STREEK,  
Political Staff

THE financial crisis in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei could be worse than suspected, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He also said the government would place the participation of independent homelands high on the agenda of the first meeting of the Multi-Party Conference.

The government's standpoint was that all options were open in regard to the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei into South Africa.

Mr Botha, speaking during the de-

bate on the foreign affairs vote, said an indication of the financial crisis in the three homelands was Transkei's pension fund, which could already be exhausted.

Control of financial aid to the TBVC homelands would be tightened in the future.

They had been told that future payments would be confined to areas which incorporated the harmonising of tax structures in the homelands, improving the relationship of personal emoluments to total expenditure and the implementation of a system of economic and financial planning.

# Tax on imports from the TBVC states

101

So far we have focused on the application of value-added tax to "taxable supplies" made domestically by vendors of goods or services. We now turn attention to another important component of the trading mix — imports.

For VAT purposes, the categories are:

- Imports from TBVC countries (Transkei, Bophuthatswans, Venda and Ciskei).
- Imports from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia (the BLSN countries).
- Imports that are required to be cleared by the Department of Customs and Excise.

From the domestic viewpoint, you will remember that exports will be zero-rated except when these are shipped to the TBVC countries which fall outside the "export country" definition, in which case the standard 12 percent VAT rate will apply.

Despite this exception, we find on examining VAT on imports that although no special distinction is applied to imports from TBVC countries — imports from across their borders will be treated as imports — selective consideration will be given to the way these are taxed.

At the root of VAT treatment is the geographic relations these countries have with South Africa's borders — it clearly would be impractical to station Customs and Excise officials at every port of import — and the need by the taxman to claim his dues in the most practical manner possible.

Normally, only where imports are to be used in the making of

## VAT AND YOU

Sixteenth in a daily series by André Meyburgh, consultant on indirect taxation with chartered accountants KPMG Aiken & Peat.



"taxable supplies" in South Africa will the VAT on imports be deductible as an "input tax".

The importer who will be liable to pay VAT on incoming goods will not always be required to have these goods cleared by the Department of Customs and Excise yet he might be responsible for determining the amount of VAT payable, based on the customs value if the imports had been cleared at a Customs and Excise office.

In the case of imports from TBVC countries to be used for making taxable supplies however, no VAT will be payable. The result will be: No tax paid — no input tax claim.

It is a different story if the imports are to be used to make "non-taxable" supplies: that is:

By definition, then, where goods are imported from a TBVC state by enterprise in the business of making exempt (or non-taxable) supplies, most notably the now familiar financial or educational institutions, there will be a VAT charge (say, on the importation of special stationery or books), and no input tax set off.

Similarly, if a vendor making taxable supplies, such as sports goods and apparel, were to import TBVC-made boardroom furniture, which certainly would form part of the process of making clothes or shoes, there would be a tax on the goods which also would not be deductible.

Furthermore, where a non-vendor trader or the man-in-the-street imports goods from a TBVC country, he will have to pay VAT, but will not have recourse to a claim back.

Remember that "persons" not registered as vendors do not really have any status in VAT terms. To illustrate the point further, if a non-vendor were to buy groceries in a TBVC state to avoid VAT at the point of purchase, these goods would be still be subject to VAT once they arrive in the Republic.

**TOMORROW:** The BLSN countries and imported services.

- "Exempt supplies", or
- goods used or consumed outside the normal process of a vendor in making "taxable supplies", or
- goods used by "non-vendors".

In these instances, the importer will be required to submit a special return to the Receiver of Revenue and to volunteer payment of VAT within 30 days after the date of importation.

Readers who have specific value-added tax questions or problems are invited to address these to: Managing VAT, KPMG Aiken and Peat, PO Box 7400, Johannesburg 2000. Replies will be dealt with confidentially, but interesting issues raised may be discussed in general terms in this series.

● A booklet comprising all the articles in this series will be available soon and can be ordered from The Star Promotions, PO Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000, at R20 plus GST.



## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

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## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

- (2) whether all posts in these territories in respect of which secondment is required are filled at present; if not, how many remained vacant as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;
- (3) whether any further secondments are envisaged, if so, how many?

†Indicates translated version  
 For written reply:

B918E

General Affairs:

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

Self-governing territories: SA public servants seconded

356. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid:

- (1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

- (1) (a) and (b) The latest date for which figures are available is 31 December 1990 and, as requested, is contained in the attached schedule

(c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R106 253 000 for the period 1 April 1990 to 31 December 1990.

- (2) No A survey indicated that 1 499 of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 December 1990

(3) Yes. Numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements, the availability of funds and the availability of manpower.

## POSTS IDENTIFIED FOR OCCUPATION BY SECONDED STAFF: 31 DECEMBER 1990

Occupational Class	Kwa-Zulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		Oswaqwa		Kwa-Ndebele		Ka-Ngwane		Total
	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	
Prosecutor	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	6
Administration Officer	38	19	1	1	0	0	1	0	13	10	13	10	66
Administration Clerk	18	15	5	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	10	9	38
Artisan Staff	238	82	110	95	11	9	38	14	23	16	36	15	456
Pharmacist	49	29	1	1	9	9	0	0	0	0	3	2	62
Occupational Therapist	8	2	1	1	6	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	17
Architect	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10
Business Economist	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	6
Taxation Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dredging Inspector	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Forester	5	3	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	13
Forestry Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Forestry Scientist	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5
Quantity Surveyor	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7
Fireman	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2

101

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Occupational Class	Kwa-Zulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		Qwaqwa		Kwa-Ndebele		Ka-Ngwane		Total
	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	
Departmental	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dietician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Director	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Health Services	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Efficiency Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economist	3	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	6
(Agriculture)	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Ethnologist	24	8	1	1	7	4	0	0	0	0	2	36	15
Physiotherapist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community Development	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Officer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Medical	19	7	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Technologist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Health Inspector	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Housemother/father	23	9	7	6	5	2	2	0	4	0	3	45	20
Engineer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apprentices	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Clinical	16	6	17	8	4	1	1	0	4	1	5	2	47
Psychologist	12	3	12	12	5	1	4	0	18	6	2	2	53
Agricultural	31	27	1	0	3	2	1	1	6	5	4	4	46
Adviser	8	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	11
Magistrate	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Assitant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social Worker	391	252	46	21	40	32	3	1	2	1	30	17	512
Medical Officer	26	15	11	7	11	5	0	0	0	0	4	3	52
Supernintendent	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Oral Hygienist	7	4	8	8	4	2	1	0	5	3	4	3	29
Nature Conservator	15	7	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	19
Conservation Scientist	81	18	11	9	2	0	10	3	13	4	14	4	131
Industrial Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Training Officer	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Survey	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Statistcian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personnel Officer	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	5
Personal	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	6	3	3	15
Secretary	25	15	17	14	6	4	21	7	30	23	13	8	112
Police	6	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	11
Functional Staff	50	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Programmer	40	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Project	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supernintendent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Radiographer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Own Affairs:

CS Educators	328	258	220	182	238	164	180	105	179	142	237	163	1 382	1 014	368
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 444</b>	<b>696</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>2 456</b>	<b>1 325</b>	<b>1 131</b>

**New models: statistics**

69. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) (i) Which schools voted on the new

101

101

Occupational Class	Kwa-Zulu		Lebowa		Gazankulu		Qwaqwa		Kwa-Ndebele		Ka-Ngwane		Total		
	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled			
Operator	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		
Accountant	21	8	3	2	4	0	2	2	10	6	5	2	41		
Legal Adviser	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	1	9		
Legal Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3		
Secretary (Head of Department)	9	9	6	5	6	6	4	3	6	6	4	4	35		
Security Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		
Liaison Officer (and Media Officer)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Specialist	141	66	14	6	17	10	2	1	0	0	6	6	180		
Sport Promotion Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Speech Therapist	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Town and Regional Planner	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	6		
Magistrate	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2		
Dentist	22	19	6	3	5	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	36		
Dental Technician	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		
Dental Therapist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Technical	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Assitant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Typist	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Data Typist	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	2	5		
Horticulturalist	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5		
Veterinarian	7	4	5	4	7	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	21		
Animal Health Officer	7	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	11		
Traffic Inspector	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	5		
Nursing Staff	7	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	13		
Food Service Supervisor	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Foreman	15	6	15	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30		
General	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		
Laundry Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Water Care Plant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Superintendent	15	4	8	8	6	1	6	2	13	8	8	4	26		
Works Inspector	1 444	696	329	247	171	109	113	41	181	107	218	125	2 456	1 325	1 131

Own Affairs:

CS Educators	328	258	220	182	238	164	180	105	179	142	237	163	1 382	1 014	368
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**New models: statistics**

69. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) (i) Which schools voted on the new



(1) What total amount is it estimated will his Department save in (a) operating costs and (b) salaries during the first 12-month period following the closure of the St Patrick's Primary School (Kokstad), Estion Primary School and Bulwer Primary School;

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

B922E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

No final decision has been taken on the closure of the schools. If the schools mentioned should be closed, the saving for the period mentioned will be the following:

- (1) (a) R45 894,00  
(b) R477 000,00

However, when the closure of a school is being considered a decision is taken not only on the grounds of possible savings which could be effected, but other factors such as the wishes of the community, educationally accountable provision of education, provision of extra-curricular activities, etc are thoroughly taken into account;

(2) no.

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.*

**Deaths by intravenous drips: investigation**

\*4. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Health Services:

(1) Whether she or her Department has been informed of the deaths of approximately 27 persons that were allegedly caused by intravenous drips; if so,

(2) whether an investigation is being made into these deaths; if not, why not, if so, what progress has been made;

(3) whether any action is being taken against the company responsible for the manufacturing of these drips; if not, why not, if so, what action?

B978E

**The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES:**

(1) The Department of Health Services and Welfare: House of Assembly, became

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

aware of the outbreak of a neonatal infection and death of seven babies on 28 August 1990 at the following private hospitals: Park Lane Clinic, Morningside Clinic and Garden City Clinic

(2) The Department of Health Services and Welfare: House of Assembly investigated the deaths and all relative documents were forwarded to the Attorney-General, Witwatersrand Local Division. The Attorney-General submitted all the clinical information submitted to him to a panel of experts which, at his request was organised by the Department of Health Services and Welfare, Administration: House of Assembly, to decide if the babies in fact died from unnatural causes. The Attorney-General will make a decision as soon as all the reports have been received and studied and the police investigation has been finalised

(3) The company responsible for the manufacturing of these drips, voluntarily closed the production facility concerned. The Attorney-General is considering amongst others, the question whether any penal responsibility exists in respect of any medical practitioner, institution or any other party because of the death of the persons

*For written reply:*

*General Affairs.*

**Customs Union Agreement: amounts paid over**

330. Mr K M-ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) What amounts were paid over to (a) each of the independent Black states and (b) (i) Botswana, (ii) Lesotho and (iii) Swaziland in terms of the Customs Union Agreement in the 1990-91 financial year;

(2) what was the balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa?

B858E

**The MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

(1) (a) Transkei R502 084 000  
Bophuthatswana R698 418 000  
Venda R 99 580 000  
Ciskei R265 989 000

(1) Botswana R661 046 000  
(ii) Lesotho R354 658 000  
(iii) Swaziland R338 040 000

(2) After provision was made from total customs and excise receipts for an amount of R657 633 000 in respect of Namibia, the balance, that accrued to the Republic of South Africa, amounted to R4 462 508 724.

*Own Affairs:*

**Cape Province: 1990 matriculation results**

71. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) How many pupils at schools falling under the control of his Department (a) (i) passed, (ii) failed, and (iii) obtained matriculation exemption in, and (b) wrote, the matriculation examinations in respect of the Cape Province at the end of 1990;

(2) how many of these pupils obtained (a) A, (b) B, (c) C, (d) D, (e) E, (f) F and (g) other aggregate symbols in the 1990 matriculation examinations;

(3) how many of these pupils passed in (a) Mathematics and (b) Physical Science in the above-mentioned year?

B887E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

(1) (a) (i) 16 261  
(ii) 942  
(iii) 7 343

(b) 17 203

(2)\* (a) 650

(b) 1 379

(c) 2 680

(d) 2 278

(e) 356

(f) 0

(g) 0

(3)\*\* (a) 9 335

(b) 5 858

\*Only candidates entered for matriculation exemption.

\*\*Higher, standard and lower grade candidates included.

## 'Ban those weapons' 101

THE carrying of dangerous weapons in urban areas bore no relevance to the promotion of the Zulu culture, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa said yesterday. *Sowetan 14/5/91*

Contralesa said the carrying of axes, spears, assegais and shields at rallies was "a gross distortion of our people's customs and traditions".

"It is an undisputed fact that the brandishing of dangerous weapons by Inkatha-supporting bands inevitably results in conflict with people they view as their opponents."

Contralesa said the rejection by the Zulu chiefs of a ban on traditional weapons was unjustifiable. - *Sapa*.



# Self-ruling territories 'face disaster'

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's self-governing territories were facing "disaster" because of under-development and some rural communities were unable to provide for their most basic needs, Minister of Public Works, Land Affairs and Development Aid Mr Jacob de Villiers warned.

Speaking in the development aid budget debate, Mr De Villiers said urban development and the provision of land for settlement in the cities was crucial in relieving the burden on rural areas.

"The only effective antidote for the disaster the self-governing territories are faced with is economic growth and job opportunities."

He said that while it was clear a new constitutional dispensation would not solve development problems, it was essential that efforts to tackle them should be channeled through a national strategy that included the self-governing territories.

Mr De Villiers said: "The goal the government has set is not to attempt to lead the self-governing territories to independence — which they do not want in any case — but to make them part and parcel of the mainstream of development."

He and his department had established a system of co-operation with the territories to determine development priorities.

"The problem of underdevelopment — the provision of infrastructure, basic facilities such as potable water,

land for food production, community development, the creation of jobs, education and health, and welfare programmes — is so great, so extensive and so demanding in respect of capital and human resources and expertise that it is indeed one of the greatest challenges ahead of us.

"It is clear that our rural resources are totally inadequate. So much so that it contributes to the inability of the rural communities to provide for their most basic needs of life.

"We must therefore concentrate increasingly on urban development, allowing people to move to towns, cities and metropolitan areas, to accommodate newcomers by making sufficient land available in urban complexes as part of the campaign to ease the burden on rural areas, to offer these newcomers the opportunity to develop their full potential."

The provision of land for urbanisation must have "absolute priority".

But Mr De Villiers made it clear the government would limit its role in development to providing essential public services.

"This means private enterprise and initiative form the pivot of the process of development. The government prefers a development process managed by the private sector."

He pointed out that South Africa had an "extensive infrastructure" of 10 000 private sector non-profit organisations which spent some R2-billion a year on socio-economic development programmes.

This had not yet been fully exploited mainly because of the attitude that the State should play a dominant role.

101 ACCOMMS 14/5/91

## LP condemns homeland policy

The Labour Party believed in a simple federal structure for South Africa with anything between 15 to 20 nonracial states which would cut through existing boundaries, T Abrahams (LP Wentworth) said yesterday. (101) ~~101~~

It did not make sense to have "patchwork-quilt territories like KwaZulu" or to ignore the historical dispersion of, say, the Ndebele and to try to "collect them all together" into a homeland, he said in the development aid debate.

Federal boundaries had to be geographic, Mr Abrahams said. Star 14/5/79

"I assume that next year we will not be discussing self-governing territories and the promotion of self-government." The political climate made it unlikely, he said. — Sapa.



## More homeland aid urged

The recommendations of the Pickard Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the Department of Development Aid would be noted and acted upon, Minister of Development Aid Jacob de Villiers said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the budget debate on his vote, he said the move away from an ethnic-based constitution had not come a moment too soon.

One-third of the population lived in the self-governing territories and contributed only 3,2 percent to the gross domestic product.

These people had to be given the means to improve their lot and had to be given access to sources of aid.

The population growth in the self-governing territories, at 4 percent, was far higher than the national average.

Most of these areas spent up to 50 percent of their annual budgets on staff and administration but the priorities were health care, education, provision of land for food, and the creation of job opportunities.

*Star 14/5/91*  
As the country's natural resources were underdeveloped, urgent attention had to be given to urban development.

Newcomers to urban areas had to be given the opportunity to develop to their full potential, Mr de Villiers said.

People had to be given the technical expertise to develop these areas properly.

He said about 10 000 private organisations were involved in urban development and it was hoped that overseas organisations would also become active in this process. — Sapa.

VALUE-ADDED TAX FM 17/5/91  
**WHITHER TBVC?** (101)

Among the loose ends still to be tied up before VAT is up and running is the politically sensitive issue of the TBVC countries. The

FM 17/5/91 (101)

problems are acute with exports from SA, which the VAT Bill treats as fully taxable (exports to other countries are zero-rated).

As things stand, SA VAT will be a cost to importers in all TBVC countries. In Transkei, Ciskei and Venda there will be double taxation — SA VAT plus local GST. Bophuthatswana has no GST but imports from SA will nevertheless be loaded by 12% VAT, including imports of raw materials for manufacturers who have relocated from SA.

A sensible solution would be for TBVC countries to introduce VAT at the same rate as SA and to set up a clearing system to offset VAT debits and credits between members. The agreement should also include a revenue-sharing system to adjust net balances between governments. Obviously, setting up VAT in the TBVC countries will impose major administrative requirements, which are being addressed at the moment.

**Clearing system**

Under a clearing system, TBVC importers bringing in goods from SA would logically be entitled to an input tax credit in so far as they are making taxable supplies.

Regrettably, unless some way is found to deal with these issues by the end of September, there will be severe dislocations to export trade from SA to the TBVC countries.

Imports from the TBVC countries to SA used in making taxable supplies (in respect of which the importer would qualify for an input tax credit) are exempted from VAT in terms of the Bill. Exempt businesses such as certain financial enterprises and individuals will however have to pay VAT on imports from TBVC countries within 30 days. ■



Groenkloof and Brooklyn—A lobby with 2 600 private boxes is at present being erected at the Groenkloof Post Office to serve both suburbs. The lobby will be completed during June 1991.

Pretoria North and Onderstepoort—A lobby with 2 000 private boxes will be erected adjacent to the Pretoria North Post Office. The expected completion date is April 1992.

Rosslyn—650 additional private boxes will be installed by January 1992.

Silverton—600 additional private boxes will be installed by August 1991.

Valhalla—A new post office with 1 000 private boxes will be erected. The expected completion date is June 1993.

Villieria and Lynn East—400 additional private boxes will be installed at the Villieria Post Office by August 1991.

Verwoerdburg—1 850 additional private boxes will be installed. The expected completion date is December 1991.

Olifantsfontein—100 additional private boxes will be installed. The anticipated completion date is not yet available.

Hennopsmeer—A lobby with 2 000 private boxes is planned. The expected completion date is June 1992.

**Bramley: new post office/postmen's depot**

342. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

Whether any progress has been made in regard to the construction of the post office and postmen's depot in Bramley, Johannesburg; if not, why not; if so, what progress?

B916E

**The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:**

Construction of the post office and postmen's depot in Bramley, Johannesburg, has not yet

Bophuthatswana: 43 154 hectares

Venda: —

Ciskei: —

TOTAL: 83 316 hectares

(c) Due to the Government's new land reform policy and while it is the intention to abolish the South African Development Trust, it might be necessary to reconsider the necessity to acquire the land which has been earmarked to be purchased. The required information is therefore not readily available.

(3) (a) (i) The required information is not readily available. A large volume of work will have to be undertaken to establish the particulars, which can not be justified.

(ii) It is no longer the Government's policy to remove people. Therefore no additional compensatory land is being acquired for this purpose.

(b) As indicated in the White Paper on Land Reform, the South African Development Trust still owns approximately 1 225 000 hectares outside the self-governing territories and TBVC states.

**Certain toll-road companies: agreements**

345. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether his Department has entered into any agreements with two companies, the names of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, in regard to the past and future operation of the toll-roads; if so, (a) what moneys are payable by the State to each of these companies in terms of the above agreements, (b) in respect of what items will each such amount be paid, (c) when are these amounts to be paid and (d) what are the names of the companies concerned, if not,

(2) whether any steps are to be taken to normalise the position; if so, what steps;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B923E

**The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:**

(1) No, but more than one agreement has been concluded by the South African Roads Board (SARB), because of the complex and protracted nature of toll-road projects. The SARB originally in 1986 concluded agreements with two companies which were conditional upon amendments being made to the National Roads Act, 1971. As Parliament declined to pass the relevant amendments these agreements terminated on 30 September 1990. Cabinet subsequently approved that the SARB may enter into short-term agreements in terms of existing legislation in order to permit the situation to be reassessed. These agreements terminated on 31 March 1991. Further agreements for the period 1 April until 31 July 1991 have been concluded in terms of which the two relevant companies are currently managing the toll-roads on behalf of the SARB. New draft agreements are being negotiated for a further four-year period.

(a) The agreements prior to 1 April 1991, were concluded on a reimbursement of cost basis only. No claims in respect of remuneration for services rendered in the past, over and above reimbursement of cost, have been accepted by the SARB. The current agreements allow the companies to be reimbursed their cost of operation, managing and maintaining the toll-roads. The new draft agreements which are now negotiated, contain resolute clauses concerning the money to be paid in respect of the operation of the toll plazas and routes, as this aspect is under investigation by a private firm of accountants.

(b) The agreements relate to payments for project management, maintenance and operations of the toll plazas and routes. Appropriate remuneration for each aspect is under review.

(ii) One.

(b) 24 April 1991.

(2) No.

(3) The remuneration package of regional services council chairmen does not provide for pension benefits.

**Transvaal:**

(1) (a) (i) Four.

(ii) Eight.

(b) 30 April 1991.

(2) No.

(3) The remuneration package of regional services council chairmen does not provide for pension benefits.

**Natal:**

(1) (a) There are no regional services councils in Natal, but with regard to joint services boards, which were instituted in terms of the KwaZulu and Natal Joint Services Act, 1990, the position is as follows:

(i) The Chairman of the Zululand Joint Services Board is in receipt of a pension from the KwaZulu Government.

(ii) The Chairman of the Natal Midlands and Thukela Joint Services

Boards both receive Parliamentary pensions. The Port Natal-Ebhowe Joint Services Board Chairman receives a pension from the Natal Joint Municipal Pension Fund.

(b) 29 April 1991.

(2) There is no pension scheme for chairmen of joint services boards.

(3) Falls away

**Dr Nelson R Mandela High School**

323. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) Whether, as at 8 April 1991, the Dr Nelson R Mandela High School in Crossroads had any (a) word processors and printers, (b) photocopiers, (c) roneo machines, (d) overhead projectors, (e) overhead projector screens, (f) computers, (g) sport equipment, (h) desks, (i) typewriters and (j) chairs; if so, how many of each;

(2) whether, as at the above date, this school needed more of any of the items referred to above; if so, (a) how many of each and (b) what is the cost or estimated cost of the items needed?

B841E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:**

- (1) (a) No  
 (b) One (1)  
 (c) One (1)  
 (d) No  
 (e) Four (4)  
 (f) No  
 (g) Soccer:  
 Netball:  
 Athletics

Ball:  
 Ball:  
 High jump apparatus.  
 Javelins:  
 Shot put:  
 Discus:  
 Starter's pistol:  
 Tape measure:  
 Ball:  
 Standards and net:

- (h) 483 double tables  
 (i) No  
 (j) 1 020 (laboratory chairs not included)  
 (2) (a) Overhead projectors:

- (1)  
 (1)  
 (1 set)  
 (1)  
 (1 ball)  
 (1 disc)  
 (1)  
 (2)  
 (1)  
 (1 set)

(5)

**Sports equipment:**Rugby:  
Cricket:Balls:  
Wickets:

(2)

(2 sets)

(4)

(10)

(1)

(6)

(6)

(2)

(1)

(2)

(1)

(1 ball)

(300 double tables)

(70)

(600)

Table Tennis:

Soccer:  
Netball:

Athletics:

Foam rubber for landing  
(high jump):Javelins:  
Shot put:

Furniture:

Typewriters:  
Chairs:

(b) ± R80 500,00

**Self-governing territories: citizenship certificates**

334. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many citizenship certificates (a) (i) had been issued and (ii) remained to be issued as at 31 December 1990, and (b) were issued in 1990, to citizens of each self-governing territory?

B892E

**The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

	(a) (i)	(a) (ii)	(b)
KwaZulu	1 611 231	1 573 229	457
Lebowa	278 321	1 164 343	0
Qwaqwa	171 822	866 064	2 065
Gazankulu	98 444	416 522	0
KaNgwane	4 574	536 663	0
KwaNdebele	47 190	324 082	5 714

The figures furnished under (a) (ii) are projections based on the 1985 census figures as supplied by the Central Statistical Service. The figures will be adjusted pending the results of the census survey presently being undertaken.

**Pretoria: telephones/private post boxes**

335. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

Whether any applications for (a) telephone services and (b) private post boxes were outstanding in the Pretoria area as at the latest specified date for which figures are available, if so, (i) how many and (ii) when is it anticipated that the backlog will be eliminated?

B893E

**The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.**

(a) Yes;

(i) 4 853 as at 30 April 1991, and

(ii) approximately 3 503 of the waiting applicants will be provided with telephone service during the current financial year. It is at this stage not possible to indicate when the requirements of the remaining applicants, whose applications are being deferred due to insufficient capacity in certain exchanges, will be met.

(b) Yes;

(i) 1 631 as at 30 April 1991 (Alkantrant 23, Groenkloof 305, Brooklyn 150, Pretoria North 70, Onderstepoort 6, Rosslyn 500, Silverton 200, Valhalla 30, Villieria 150, Lynn East 50, Verwoerdburg 35, Olifantsfontein 32 and Hennopsmeer 80)

(ii) Alkantrant—Negotiations are in progress for the erection of a mail collection point to serve the residents of Newlands and Eras-muskloof which will relieve the demand for private boxes at Alkantrant. The anticipated completion date is not yet available.



Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — An upsurge of Xhosa nationalism was further complicating attempts to bring peace to Reef townships, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Representation said yesterday.

The board comprises prominent human-rights lawyers and clerics. Its researchers say Xhosa nationalism manifests itself in the singing of Xhosa songs in praise of Transkei and Pondoland. An East Rand squatter camp has been named after Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

The report is the first public acknowledgment from a non-partisan and credible quarter that Zulu chauvinism is fuelling a similar reaction among Xhosas.

The researchers say the Xhosas are adamant that the ANC is a Xhosa organisation with no place for Zulu leaders.

# Xhosa nationalism is hampering peace

for 10 times more acts of aggression during Reef violence than the ANC.

A Case report said the media and monitoring organisations blamed Inkatha for 66% of 146 incidents between July last year and this month, and the ANC for 6%.

The report also claimed the reported use of AK-47s was restricted to Inkatha.

Reacting to the report, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Case had a "highly politicised partisan reputation", and accused it of distorted analysis.

The ANC said the report's finding that traditional weapons were used in 31 of 82 incidents attributed to Inkatha explained why the ANC had called for a prohibition on the carrying of traditional weapons, including spears.

They attribute the upsurge in Xhosa nationalism to an influx of rural Transkeians.

ANC leader Mr Chris Hani was recently drowned out by squatters singing tribal songs at Katilehong when he tried to put the Zulu contribution to the ANC's history in perspective.

He was speaking after 15 squatters were killed when Xhosa residents of Holomisa squatter camp attacked neighbouring Mandela camp because they had heard Inkatha supporting Zulus were living there.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) claimed yesterday that Inkatha had been reported to be responsible

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involved. The normal periods of lease contracts are 12 months. The total revenue derived from the leasing of the land concerned, amounted to R4 854 101.

The provision of particulars in respect of each separate lease contract, can as a result of the large volume of work to be undertaken, not be justified.

**Norwood police station: staff details**

382. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he will furnish the (a) total allocated and (b) actual strength of each rank in the current establishment of the Norwood police station situated in the Johannesburg North Police District; if not, why not; if so, (i) what are the relevant details, (ii) how many temporary members are there on the current establishment of this police station and (iii) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) whether any steps have been and/or are to be taken specifically to increase the strength of this police station; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: B1009E

(1) (a) and (b)

No, it is not in the interest of the members at the relevant police station, and policing in general, to furnish information of this nature. I am, however, prepared to inform the hon member personally and confidentially in this regard.

(2) (a) and (b)

The increase of manpower at police stations takes place on the basis of investigations by the Division: Efficiency Services of the South African Police. Such an investigation in respect of the Norwood police station has not yet been carried out. The personnel at the police station in question is, however, not at full strength. The available members nevertheless perform an outstanding task in maintaining law and order in the station area. I have requested the Commissioner of the South African Police to conduct an effi-

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ciency investigation regarding the manpower situation at the Norwood police station so as to supplement it, should such an investigation prove it necessary.

**Self-governing territories/TBVC countries: land Development Aid**

384. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Development:
- (a) What is the area of the land which, on the adoption of the Development Trust and Land Act, No 18 of 1936, was allocated to each of the states that subsequently became the self-governing territories and TBVC countries and (b) what was the area of each self-governing state and TBVC country as at 31 December 1990?

B1016E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

- (a) The required information is not readily available. The estimated extent of land declared scheduled area in terms of the Black Land Act, 1913 (Act 27/1913), before the adoption of the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18/1936), is approximately 10 000 000 hectares.
- (b) The respective areas (rounded off) are as follows:

Gazankulu	774 000 hectares
Lebowa	2 251 000 hectares
KwaZulu	3 317 000 hectares
Owawa	105 000 hectares
KwaNdebele	228 000 hectares
KaNgwane	438 000 hectares
Bophuthatswana	4 407 000 hectares
Ciskei	800 000 hectares
Venda	708 000 hectares
Transkei	4 286 000 hectares

**TV licences: income/cost**

387. Mr H J COETZEE asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

- (a) What amount did the Post Office receive for handling television licences in each of the latest specified three financial years and (b) what was the cost involved in the television inspectorate of the Post Office in each of these years?

B1019E

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The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

	(a)	(b)
1988/89	R9 138 221	R5 892 756
1989/90	R12 428 691	R7 460 889
1990/91	R14 191 206	R8 576 311

**Self-governing territories: size**

398. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development:

- What was the size in hectares of each of the self-governing territories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B1033E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

The size in hectares (rounded off) of each of the self-governing territories as at 31 December 1990 are as follows:

Gazankulu	774 000 hectares
Lebowa	2 251 000 hectares
KwaZulu	3 317 000 hectares
Owawa	105 000 hectares
KwaNdebele	228 000 hectares
KaNgwane	438 000 hectares

**Public Service officials: seconded**

405. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development:

- (1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at 31 December 1990;
- (2) whether all posts in the self-governing territories in respect of which secondment is required were filled as at 31 December 1990; if not, how many remained vacant as at that date;
- (3) whether any further secondments are envisaged, if so, how many?

B1070E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

The member is kindly referred to the reply to Question 356 (see col 1405)

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Limpopo Hospital: patient removed by SAP

409. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police removed an injured boy from the Limpopo Hospital in Messina on or about 7 February 1991, if so, (a) why and (b) what are the circumstances surrounding the matter;
- (2) whether doctors (a) were consulted before, and/or (b) consented to, the removal of the boy from this hospital; if not, why not in each case;
- (3) whether the boy was subsequently held overnight at the Pietersburg police station, if so, why;
- (4) whether the boy was transferred to the Pietersburg Hospital the next day, if so, why;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the handling of this matter by the Police?

B1076E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) On account of a written request which the Superintendent of the Limpopo Hospital addressed to the South African Police.

(b) According to the Superintendent political interference from outside was prejudicial to the discipline in the hospital. The Charge Office Commander, however, was not aware that the boy had to be transferred to the Pietersburg Hospital immediately. The boy accordingly spent the night in the Police cells at the Pietersburg Police Station.

(2) (a) and (b)

The removal was done at the request of the Superintendent. The South African Police did not consult or ask the consent of other doctors.

(3) Yes, I refer the hon member to paragraph (1)(b) above.

(4) Yes, for further medical treatment and according to a request by a medical practitioner.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

## TBVC countries: across-the-border activities

60. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: (101)

(1) Whether the Government has entered into any agreements with any of the four independent Black states (the TBVC countries) regarding the operating of members of the (a) defence and (b) police forces of one country within the borders of the other country; if not, what rules or regulations govern across-the-border activities with regard to South Africa and the TBVC countries; if so, (i) what agreements, (ii) when were they entered into and (iii) what is the purport of these agreements in each case;

(2) whether any transgressions of these agreements have occurred since they were entered into; if so, (a) by whom, (b) when, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding each case and (d) what action was taken in each case? B171E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) Yes  
(b) Yes

(i) Non-aggression agreements exist with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The non-aggression agreement with Transkei was terminated by Transkei on 10 May 1978. In the case of the police forces, the Government of South Africa has entered into bilateral agreements with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

(ii) The non-aggression agreement with Bophuthatswana, Venda

and Ciskei were entered into on 15 November 1977, 13 August 1979 and 20 November 1981, respectively. The police agreements between South Africa and Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were entered into on 26 November 1977, 13 August 1979 and 20 November 1981, respectively.

(iii) The purport of the non-aggression agreements are clear from the title. Military co-operation includes joint exercises, the provision of training and of seconded personnel. Joint Management Boards have been established where matters of mutual military interest are discussed. The police agreements provide for co-operation in general on request and has resulted in sound co-operation in such fields as vehicle theft, stock-theft, narcotics, forensic services and criminal investigations. Training assistance is also provided.

(2) No.

Reserve Bank exchange rate basket: make-up  
361. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Finance:†

(a) How is the exchange rate basket of the Reserve Bank made up and (b) what is the share of the various foreign exchanges in this basket? B966E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(a) and (b). The composition of the basket takes into account the geographic distribution of South Africa's foreign trade in goods and services as well as the role played by the major foreign currencies in the country's flow of foreign payments. It is however not desirable that the weights used to calculate the effective exchange rate of the rand be disclosed, since the management of the exchange rate and the Reserve Bank's day to day market operations could then be hampered by speculators operating against the Reserve Bank.

# Pik: TBVC salaries won't come from welfare funds

Star 13/6/91 ~~101~~ ~~102~~ 101

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said in Parliament yesterday that he could give the assurance that additional funds appropriated to the TBVC states for social welfare services would not be used for the payment of civil servants.

Speaking during debate on the R1,204 billion Supplementary Budget introduced by the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, he said a Transkei delegation had recently told him they had launched an investigation to find out whether cheating had taken place. As a result, between R3 million and R4 million had been recouped.

Mr Botha said his department would also do its best to ensure that the best possible facilities were made available to staff opening up South African missions in Eastern Europe.



Assurance given . . . Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Mr du Plessis said in his introduction that finality had not yet been reached on the most effective means, in consultation with the potential participants, of managing the various special aid programmes.

The funds being made available to the TBVC states was a further attempt to promote so-

cial welfare services.

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said his party's point of view was that the TBVC countries were independent and should be helped to remain so.

There should be particular understanding for the problems faced by staff members opening missions in Eastern Europe.

Mr Botha said there had been no transgressions of the non-aggression and bilateral agreements South Africa had with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

In a written reply to a question from Andre de Wet (DP Nom), he said similar agreements with Transkei had been terminated by that homeland on May 10 1978.

The non-aggression pacts encompassed military co-operation, including joint exercises, the provision of training, and seconded personnel. — Sapa.



# Soweto Day crowd hears Mandela commend hom and leaders, chiefs

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid tribute to traditional chiefs and commended homeland leaders who had renounced apartheid, at a Soweto rally attended by more than 20 000 people.

Scores of ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party demonstrators commemorating the 15th anniversary of the Soweto student uprising of 1976 culminated in yesterday's mass rally at the FNB stadium.

The PAC, Inkatha and other organisations all staged rallies and prayer services

in Soweto and other centres yesterday. The Soweto rally was attended by tribal chiefs of KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebewa and Cazankulu.

A message was also read out on behalf of ANC president Oliver Tambo, while Lebewa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike was among the speakers.

Mandela said Ramodike's speech demonstrated that the ANC's policy of working with homeland leaders was correct. Despite the countrywide demonstrations, police reported no unrest-related

deaths by late yesterday. About 1 000 people yesterday attended a commemoration service at Soweto's Regina Mundi church organised by black consciousness organisations, including Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Hundreds of Inkatha supporters toyed through Soweto on their way to services, while police maintained a high profile.

Sapa reports Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani told about 2 000 people at a Durban rally yesterday that the ANC would negotiate for democracy and not for special co-existence with government.

SA's major cities and towns witnessed a wave of protest marches on Saturday.

Demands would be held an end to "state-sponsored violence", the release of political prisoners and a general amnesty for exiles as well as a constituent assembly and interim government.

JONATHAN REES

However, it was reported yesterday that turnout at most protests on Saturday were relatively low, possibly influenced by the chilly weather.

In Johannesburg, more than 5 000 protesters marched on Saturday at John Vorster Square. Several thousand joined a Pretoria march led by Winnie Mandela.

In Durban, a toyi-toying crowd of about 2 000 protesters took part in a march in the centre of the city, while about 500 marched in Bloemfontein.



are. [Interjections.] Oh, those hon members know even less. In June 1990 the NCCR, which acts on behalf of all the bodies, told us it was 100 000. A month later this same body told us it was 40 000. Shortly afterwards the ANC came and said their members numbered approximately 22 000, but immediately afterwards they changed this figure. The international humanitarian aid organisation estimates the total number, women, children and hangers-on, at 40 000. Therefore we are working with a figure of approximately 40 000. I say I do not know whether it is 20 000. These are the facts: nobody knows.

Mr L F STOFBERG: [Inaudible.]

\*The MINISTER: I cannot understand what the hon member wants to say. We are not negotiating only with the ANC—20 came from the NCCR, 63 came without the ANC. We are negotiating with everybody. Why is the hon member complaining? Are 720 at a time too many or too few? He must tell us.

Mrs Mahlangu-Ngcobo says this is far too slow. The hon member says it will take 30 years. It therefore seems to me that he wants this matter concluded in 10 years. He therefore wants us to bring three times the number. What is the problem? [Interjections.] Some of the exiles want guaranteed housing, others want guaranteed employment, others want a free flight, others fear violence, others are worried. . . . [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! If hon members do not control themselves they will have problems and their problems will be with the Chair. The hon the Minister may continue.

\*The MINISTER: Others are worried about the so-called education crisis, others fear arrest. The Government and my department take all these things into consideration and are maintaining a balance. The Government will not allow itself to be pushed into a corner by ultra-right-wing or ultra-left-wing groups. [Time expired.]

\*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, I should like to spend a moment on another point. I want to ask who would have thought during the general election of 1989 that today we would be debating the number of so-called exiles of the ANC returning to South Africa with impunity and with the approval and the blessing of the NP. [Interjections.]

Hon members of this House will probably remember how I was ordered to leave this very Chamber in 1988 because I had indicated that Mr Albert Nothnagel had interceded on behalf of the ANC in this very Chamber and I pointed out to him that these were the same people who had murdered my people in Roodepoort.

Hon members will remember how the then leader-in-chief of the NP in the Transvaal—hon members know who that is—wanted to convene the executive of the NP in the Transvaal to haul Mr Albert Nothnagel over the coals for his remarks which had sounded too favourable towards the ANC. [Interjections.] Hon members will remember how the NP described the ANC during the 1989 election as the number one enemy of democracy and Christianity in South Africa. Today the same NP is eating out of the hand of the ANC and committing itself to contracts with the ANC to allow their lackeys to return to this country. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The two hon members and the hon the Minister may not conduct a debate across the floor of the House. The hon member may continue.

\*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Last but not least, the hon leader-in-chief of the NP declared this year that he wants to build a new nation on the basis of shared common values specifically with these people in South Africa. The adage goes: "You will reap what you have sown". [Time expired.]

\*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister asked me whether it was too many or too few. It does not matter to me whether it is too many or too few. The CP will indeed know what to do, whether they are too many or too few. He need not worry about that.

This is the problem. Here in present-day South Africa violence is one of the Government's greatest problems. There is one tearful scene after another; there is one call after another. The violence must stop. Please stop the violence. And the spearhead of the violence is not even here yet! [Interjections.] This is the point! Those hon members are negotiating to get the spearhead of the violence here. [Interjections.] This is the crisis into which they are plunging themselves! [Interjections.]

I do not want to teach the poor Government how to manage its own best interests. It is an absolute disgrace that the Government is trying to enter

into an agreement with the ANC about this matter at all. None of this is in the interests of the whole population of South Africa, nor is it in the interests of the country's economy. It is not in anybody's interests, but the Government is doing all these things against the best interests of the whole of South Africa. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, half of the spearhead of violence comprises the brethren of that party and their ultra-right-wing groups. [Interjections.] It is them! The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe's new identity document only for White Afrikaners is at present being issued by the new Boerestaat party. It has just been announced in today's *Cape Times*. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Roodepoort . . .

\*Mr J H HOON: What about documents for

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Kuruman must contain himself! The hon the Minister may proceed

\*The MINISTER: The hon member for Roodepoort asked who would ever have thought that the Government would allow exiles to return with impunity. That is nonsense. One obtains indemnity either because one has crossed the border without permission, or because one has to return and pay for one's wrongs according to the law, or one returns not having done anything—one has fled and one is a South African citizen. [Interjections.] A South African citizen on the left is just as good as a South African citizen on the right, as the Piet Rudolphs and the Wit Wolwe—the whole bunch of them!

\*Mr J H HOON: Who has paid thus far?

\*The MINISTER: The rights of a man with citizenship have to be respected. This does not mean that one has to hand over the government to him. That party suspects this Government of having spent millions of rands on getting these people back. That is not the case. They believe that thousands upon thousands of people who are not being declared are being concealed. [Interjections.] That is not the case. This Government is not prepared to give up the sovereignty of this country in its negotiations to get the exiles back. [Interjections.] This Government will negotiate with a high commissioner, but will not allow him to interfere in the domestic

business of South Africa. [Interjections.] The vast majority of exiles are South African citizens—fortunately or unfortunately, whichever way hon members want to interpret it—in all respects.

As regards the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, I want to say that a certain value may be attached to this. He can help us with aid organisations and finance. This is acceptable, but he cannot be allowed to interfere in any way in the sovereignty of this country, in the domestic business and discipline of this country. . . . [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Debate concluded

#### Self-governing territories: police forces

2. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order (101) ~~the~~

Whether he has taken any steps to integrate the police forces of the self-governing territories into the South African Police Force; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

B1235E INT

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, before replying directly to the question, I would like to make the following introductory remarks. The self-governing territories attained their status in accordance with the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, No 21 of 1971, which provides in section 3(1)(a) as follows:

(1) Any legislative assembly may—

(a) for the area for which it has been established, make laws, not inconsistent with this Act, in respect of any matter referred to in Schedule 1;

Schedule 1, *inter alia*, provides in item 21B as follows:

Subject to the conditions determined by the Minister of Law and Order of the Republic, the establishment, control, organisation and administration of a police force.

All six self-governing territories have, since the Act came into effect, opted for their own police forces. The Self-governing Territories Constitution Act is still in force and the various police forces remain functional entities. Any incorporation of such forces will be the result of negotiations between the South African Government



and the self-governing states. If consensus on the incorporation of these forces into the SA Police is reached, it will have to be legalised by the passing of legislation in Parliament. The incorporation will, of course, take time and will entail, *inter alia*, the redefinition of the structure of the SA Police, namely Police regions and districts, which at present apply, and amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act, the Police Act and the Prisons Act which are still in force in these territories. (101)

The direct reply is no, no formal representations for the integration into the SA Police of any of the police forces of the self-governing territories have thus far been directed to the Government or to me. Should any such request be made, the South African Government would obviously give it consideration. However, any decision regarding the possible incorporation of the police forces of the self-governing territories will be a political decision. This can only materialise after negotiations between the Government, the various self-governing territories and all other interested parties who will be participating in negotiations on a future constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

In the interim the status quo will therefore have to be maintained, and these forces will continue to function in accordance with existing legislation. However, the SA Police and I have an open mind as far as this issue is concerned. If necessary, recommendations in this regard will be made, with the primary aim of serving the best interests of the SA Police, the forces referred to and, specifically, policing in South Africa in general. In the meantime the SA Police will continue to render assistance with the training of members of those forces in order to maintain high standards of discipline, efficiency and capability. [Time expired.]

Mr P H P GASTROW: Mr Chairman, it is clear from the hon the Minister's reply that neither he nor his department has taken any steps to pursue the possibility of re-incorporation. No representations have been received, but he has done nothing either. I could submit a number of reasons why such steps are necessary and essential. We were constitutionally carved up into homelands because Dr Verwoerd had a political vision. Now the trend is a return towards one state. As a result the various police forces envisaged by Dr Verwoerd for the independent states need to come back into one national police

force, because the constitutional tendency is back to the so-called "one nation".

Secondly, if one speaks to farmers living in the areas bordering the self-governing states and people in towns which are close to cities and fall under self-governing states, the following becomes clear. There is duplication, there are bad channels of communication and there is ineffective crime prevention and law enforcement, because we have seven official police forces in South Africa.

However, the most important reason why there ought to be incorporation relates to the imminent period of transition, which requires stability and law and order. How can we go through a transition with any degree of stability if there are seven official police forces, half a dozen unofficial militias, commandos, military groups, "skiet-kommandoes" and self-defence committees? How can we run a country effectively if there is no national police force? The hon Minister of Law and Order ought to take the initiative, through negotiation—I accept that—to pool into one broad national South African police force the six police forces of the self-governing states, as well as those unofficial militias, self-defence committees, etc. There should also be a greater degree of all-party civilian supervision in the Police Force.

If the hon the Minister's department is not able to move into transitional gear, this country will not have stability during the transitional period. He needs to take the initiative, because law and order is a prerequisite for success in the constitutional field. He cannot sit back and wait for applications to arrive. He needs to take the initiative in consultation with others. I would suggest he is not fulfilling his duty by sitting back. Various militias and official police forces provide backing, in one form or the other, for their political masters in the game of mobilising support for negotiations. How can the hon the Minister blame the one political leader, who has an unofficial police force, for not carrying on recruiting if he allows the other political leader with an official police force to use that force to back him up? This is the scenario into which we are moving. [Time expired.]

\*Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Chairman, as in the past we only have to look at what the DP is calling for in order to know exactly what the NP is going to do tomorrow. [Interjections.] We know that

what the DP is advocating here today will be meticulously implemented. Regardless of what the hon the Minister may say about this, it is the logical consequence of the policy of this Government. (101)

It is of course also true that at this stage many of those forces consist of a majority of communists and ANC members. [Interjections.] Moreover, with the formal legalising of communism to take effect this week, it is impossible—even with the SA Police as they are now—to keep communists and ANC supporters out of the SA Police. [Interjections.] Our Security Forces were the only remaining obstacle in the way of a violent takeover of the State by communism and the ANC. To prevent this, the takeover of our Police from the inside is on the agenda of the ANC and the communists, and with this hon Minister's stated aim that the Police Force should reflect the numbers of the population groups, the takeover of the SA Police by the ANC and communism, and with that the takeover of the State, is at hand. This Government is plunging this country into a scandalous situation. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I would like to finish my reply before replying directly to what the hon member said in his speech.

I was saying this included the basic training of Police students and management training for senior members. In an attempt to co-ordinate management and administration and to maintain co-operation in general, a co-ordinating committee between the SA Police, the TBVC states and the six self-governing territories was established. The primary aim of this committee is to bring recruiting, training and promotion onto an equal level with that of the SA Police. These meetings are chaired by a major general of the SA Police on my instruction. The committee consists mainly of the commissioners of the aforementioned police forces. The co-ordination which is taking place is making a large contribution towards increasing the good co-operation between the SA Police and these forces. At the same time it is also contributing to a large extent to improving policing in these areas so as to bring it on a par with that of the SA Police. This is the one thing that bothers the hon member.

I would like to say that these police forces, as I have indicated, have been instituted in terms of

the constitutions of these self-governing territories. That hon member now expects me to change that after negotiation, but I think it is only fair to say that around the negotiation table for a new constitution for our country, including these self-governing territories, this will be negotiated to determine what it should look like in the future. Therefore I think it will really be putting the cart before the horse if I were to try to negotiate one big police force on a national basis when we have not had the time to negotiate the constitutional future of our country. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

\*Mr J VAN ECK: Mr Chairman, I just want to say to the hon the Minister that he can make a start with this process now. If having one police force for the whole of South Africa is meaningful, there is no need to wait until after the negotiation process has been finalised. [Interjections.] The security forces in the self-governing territories which have been used for decades to enforce separate domination also remain one of the most important factors which can wreck the entire negotiation process in the new South Africa. The self-governing territories are going to remain part of South Africa and will be part of the negotiation process. Therefore one cannot regard the police forces of those territories as separate.

As a result of the political partiality of the security forces the supporters of the State's opponents, the ANC and the PAC—whether they are inside South Africa or the self-governing territories—have no confidence in these forces to protect their rights during the negotiation process. That is why central management is very important. Hon members who want to query this should simply ask themselves how they would feel if they were in the ANC's shoes and had to rely on Umkhonto we Sizwe's protection and neutrality [Interjections.]

To crack down on the political partiality of our Security Forces it is essential that, firstly, all police forces in South Africa, inside and outside the boundaries of the self-governing territories, should be united in one force. As the hon member for Durban Central said earlier, we cannot have seven forces.

Secondly, neutral monitoring units should be established to monitor police action inside and outside the boundaries of the self-governing territories, investigating and exposing all cases of



alleged political partiality, such as the bloodbath at Swanenville.

The hon the Minister may perhaps look at the multiparty conference as a starting point where that central monitoring role can be determined and where the matter can be settled, but then on condition that the police forces of the self-governing territories become part of a central, national police force in South Africa.

Mr P H GASTROW: Mr Chairman, this hon Minister has the choice, firstly, of saying that they will wait until the negotiations have been concluded and then sort this out—which is what he is doing today—or he can say that he is primarily interested, as Minister of Law and Order, in stability and law and order during the transition period. I believe he ought to choose the second. [Interjections.]

We are talking about a transitional period during which one wants a Police Force which has the broad respect of the population as a whole. The hon the Minister must take steps to achieve that—he is not doing it now. The negotiations will decide whether, in addition to a national Police Force, regions can complement the Police Force. I agree that that is an open question, but is the hon the Minister interested in stability during transition or not, or is he going to hide behind legal-technical excuses, saying that he is not touching the status quo because of the Constitution? I suggest that the hon the Minister is abrogating his responsibility. Steps need to be taken now, otherwise the SA Police Force will not be able to cope on its own with so many other police forces and militias around. The hon the Minister needs to do something now.

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, one can understand why the DP are sitting in those benches and we in these. [Interjections.] They are really putting the cart before the horse now. [Interjections.] It is a terrible charge against the hon members that we are implementing their policy better than they can proclaim it! [Interjections.]

The fact remains that the hon members cannot expect us to take away policing powers which were given to independent territories in terms of legislation in a constitution. [Interjections.] I am in favour of looking at these and of negotiating, but the SA Police cannot anticipate the negotiation process.

We have an open mind about this and in the meantime, in order to make sure that the standard and balance are maintained, we are training and assisting in the training of all these people. The co-operation is good and we go out of our way to co-ordinate, because we are more concerned about security than those hon members

I agree with hon members and I am in favour of having one big police force in the country—it would be more manageable—but one has to do it the right way. We are doing it the right way; hon members are suggesting the wrong way. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Ermelo has communism on the brain. I fail to understand it.

\*Mr J H HOON: You are a minion of the communists!

\*The MINISTER: The hon member for Kuru-man can say that I am a minion of the communists, but it is not true. [Interjections.] I want to beat communism in South Africa. They have already lost against the communists—that is the point. [Interjections.] The hon members are so afraid of communism that they have run away. [Interjections.] They should instead stand up with us and fight communism!

\*Mr J H HOON: It is because you are a minion of the communists!

\*The MINISTER: They run away, they do not want to fight communism; that is why they are now accusing me of being a minion of communism. [Time expired.] Debate concluded.

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

### Monitoring of seaworthiness

\*1 Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether the seaworthiness of vessels in (a) international waters and (b) South African territorial waters is subject to any monitoring;

if so, (i) who is responsible for carrying out such monitoring, and (ii) in terms of what statutory or other provisions is this done, in each case?

B1119E

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(a) Yes

(b) Yes.

(i) With regard to international waters, monitoring of seaworthiness is done by the states which own ports (port state) and with regard to South African territorial waters by the Department of Transport specifically.

(ii) In international waters as well as South African territorial waters, monitoring is done in terms of international conventions and local legislation of the relevant port state.

†Mr J H MOMBERG: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I just want to ask him what laws and conventions affect the seaworthiness of vessels?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the laws and international conventions involved are for monitoring purposes, for seaworthiness of vessels there is South African legislation, namely the Merchant Shipping Act, Act 57 of 1951, and the Marine Traffic Act, Act 2 of 1981. The international conventions are the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1974, the Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1972, the International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, the International Convention on Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping for Seafarers, 1978, and the International Convention on Tonnage of Ships, 1969.

\*2. Mr P J Paulus—National Health. † [Withdrawn.]

### Assault at Doornkop base

\*3 Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether he or the South African Defence Force has been informed of an incident in which a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was

allegedly beaten up at the Doornkop military base; if not, why not; if so, what is this person's name;

(2) whether an investigation is taking place into this incident; if not, why not; if so, what progress has been made in the investigation;

(3) whether any (a) suspects have been traced and (b) arrests have been made in connection with this incident; if so, what are the relevant details?

B1168E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) to (3) The matter is at present being investigated by the SA Police and is *sub judice*. No further information can thus be made available.

### Strategic oil reserves: revenue allocated to roads

\*4. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

(1) Whether any of the revenue from the sale of strategic oil reserves has been allocated to roads; if so, how much, if not;

(2) whether it is the intention to allocate part of the above-mentioned revenue to roads; if not, why not; if so, how much;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1169E

†The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) Up to now no specific allocation has been made to roads from the funds derived from the sale of strategic oil reserves;

(2) It is the intention to allocate part of the income concerned to roads. The hon the State President had already made his intention clear during the discussion of his budget vote when, amongst other things he announced that "in view of the fact that the road user has also made an important contribution to the creation of those funds, a contribution towards the maintenance of essential road infrastructure will also receive special attention, particularly where secondary roads are concerned". With regard to the amount to be allocated to roads, a comprehensive



- War veteran's pensions: R320
- Foster parent allowances: R212 per child
- Maintenance allowances: R304 per parent
- Child allowances: R92 per child

In addition to the increase in basic pensions it has also been decided to increase the attendance allowance paid to people who need the assistance of a second person for their daily needs, from R26 per month to R50 per month.

I am not responsible for military pensions.

(b) *Persons in receipt of welfare assistance:*

The Department of Health Services and Welfare, Administration: House of Assembly administers a social relief scheme where short-term help is given to a person or family to overcome a temporary need. In terms of this scheme the following amounts are payable for food assistance:

- adults and children — R20,40 per 10 years and older week
- children below the age of 10 years — R14,00 per week

An increase in these tariffs is being considered at present.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! It appears to me that the hon member for Pinetown, who put the question, is not interested in the answer.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that I am holding this earphone close to my ear in an attempt to hear while all this noise is going on. The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! At the same time the hon member for Pinetown is carrying on a conversation with another hon member across the floor of the House! The hon Minister may proceed.

†The MINISTER: In addition to assistance with food, this scheme also makes provision for financial assistance regarding housing, transport and other necessary expenses . . . [Interjections.]

(c) *The unemployed:*

During 1985 the said Department introduced a special scheme to provide relief to unemployed persons and their families in

order to enable them to provide themselves with the basic necessities. This scheme is aimed specifically at persons who are unemployed as a result of the prevailing economic climate. According to this scheme . . .

Mr Chairman, on a point of order: When we ask to table information from time to time, hon members make insinuations that we are trying to evade questions. When we try to reply in full on matters that according to our insight are of an urgent and serious nature, hon members make accusations that we are stealing the time of the House.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The time for replying to oral questions has expired in any case. The remainder of the hon member's reply will nevertheless be recorded in Hansard.

According to this scheme an adult may be paid R228 per month and a child below the age of 18 years, R69 per month. An increase in these tariffs is being considered at present.

(2) *Issuing of a statement:*

No. A statement will be issued only after the two said committees have concluded their work and made recommendations.

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.*

**Rationalisation programme in Cape/Natal**

\*2. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether, in the light of the recommendations made by the Committee of Education Department Heads on the education renewal strategy, he will amend or cancel his rationalisation programme in Natal and the Cape Province; if not, why not; if so, what amendments will be effect to this programme;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B1195E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE.

(1) In the planning and execution of the rationalisation programme all possible factors were taken into account, also the recommendations of the Education Re-

newal Strategy to which my Department contributed. The extent of rationalisation is *inter alia* influenced by the availability of funds. The programme will therefore not be cancelled, but if circumstances allow, it could be amended.

(2) A statement has already been made on the situation in Natal. No further statement is contemplated.

*For written reply:*

*General Affairs:*

TBVC countries/independent Black African states: aid

348. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

SCHEDULE 1

AID TO TRANSKEI

1)\* 1)\* 2)\*\*

1988/89 1989/90 1990/91

R R R

A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Budgetary Aid	711 769 680	875 320 000	1 076 109 000
Incentive scheme for industries	21 332 370	25 327 100	20 753 976
Non recoverable financial assistance	—	—	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—
Special Job creation	4 484 056	6 517 000	—

TOTAL

	737 586 106	907 164 100	1 096 862 976
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B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Tax compensation	157 273 476	192 301 965	253 000 000
Customs union	458 231 000	548 915 000	502 084 000
Common monetary area	17 676 587	24 202 900	29 489 027

TOTAL

	633 181 063	765 419 865	784 573 027
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C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

	6 699 904	4 177 602	9 351 000
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(a) What (i) financial and (ii) development aid was granted by the South African Government to (aa) each of the TBVC countries and (bb) each other independent Black state in Africa in 1988, 1989 and 1990, respectively, and (b) what amounts were involved, in each case? B932E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(a) and (b)

The South African Government's aid to the TBVC States for the financial years 1988/89, 1989/90 and 1990/91 is set out in schedules 1-4, whilst aid to other independent African states during the aforementioned financial years is set out in schedule 5.

101

1967

TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1968

TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1970

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE			
Manpower provision	4 829 355	6 899 875	5 744 363
Flour subsidy	6 791 280	5 127 755	7 122 846
Technical assistance	682 312	665 581	279 749
Salaries of Judges	381 552	666 834	549 833
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12 684 499</b>	<b>13 360 045</b>	<b>13 696 791</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1 390 151 572</b>	<b>1 690 121 612</b>	<b>1 904 483 794</b>

\* 1) Actual expenditure

\*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

SCHEDULE 2AID TO BOPHUTHATSWANA

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE			
Budgetary Aid	448 565 841	539 641 740	666 638 000
Incentive scheme for industries	18 164 058	20 992 666	21 982 443
Non recoverable financial assistance	7 612 576	5 559 323	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—
Special Job creation	8 499 999	9 860 805	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>482 842 474</b>	<b>576 054 534</b>	<b>688 620 443</b>

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1969

TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1970

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS			
Tax compensation	59 414 367	72 647 339	95 000 000
Customs union	516 028 000	623 354 000	698 418 000
Common monetary area	8 458 560	11 585 617	14 115 400
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>583 900 927</b>	<b>707 586 956</b>	<b>807 533 400</b>
C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)	9 132 130	19 148 127	12 710 000
D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE			
Manpower provision	12 941 420	19 312 765	16 301 329
Flour subsidy	7 441 345	4 346 724	2 686 625
Technical assistance	878 702	873 034	119 644
Salaries of Judges	170 207	111 093	222 499
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21 431 674</b>	<b>24 643 616</b>	<b>19 330 097</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1 097 307 205</b>	<b>1 327 433 233</b>	<b>1 528 193 940</b>

\* 1) Actual expenditure

\*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

SCHEDULE 3AID TO VENDA

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE			
Budgetary Aid	290 194 860	348 202 230	437 125 000
Incentive scheme for industries	3 148 392	6 362 648	7 415 646

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



1971

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1972

	1988/89		1989/90		1990/91	
	R	R	R	R	R	R
Non recoverable financial assistance	7 134 183	1 200 522	—	—	—	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—	—	—	—
Special Job creation	2 479 372	2 095 036	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>302 956 807</b>	<b>357 860 436</b>	<b>444 540 646</b>			
<b>B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS</b>						
Tax compensation	10 322 361	12 621 392	16 000 000			
Customs union	86 653 000	90 390 000	99 580 000			
Common monetary area	2 601 173	3 559 250	4 335 067			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>99 576 534</b>	<b>106 570 642</b>	<b>119 915 067</b>			
<b>C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)</b>						
	11 344 730	27 058 928	15 078 000			
<b>D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE</b>						
Manpower provision	11 551 110	14 549 855	10 964 806			
Flour subsidy	1 762 451	1 130 893	921 744			
Technical assistance	928 541	545 222	197 296			
Salaries of Judges	191 541	401 041	204 729			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14 433 643</b>	<b>16 627 011</b>	<b>12 288 575</b>			
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>428 311 714</b>	<b>508 117 017</b>	<b>591 822 288</b>			

\* 1) Actual expenditure

\*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1973

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1974

## SCHEDULE 4

## AID TO CISKEI

	1988/89		1989/90		1990/91	
	R	R	R	R	R	R
<b>A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE</b>						
Budgetary Aid	384 930 928	440 033 134	561 934 117			
Incentive scheme for industries	31 310 570	16 098 888	35 324 135			
Non recoverable financial assistance	99 278	—	—			
Relief of distress	—	—	—			
Special Job creation	6 457 660	4 995 317	—			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>422 798 436</b>	<b>461 127 339</b>	<b>597 258 252</b>			
<b>B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS</b>						
Tax compensation	33 141 862	40 523 332	53 000 000			
Customs union	180 489 000	221 776 000	265 989 000			
Common monetary area	4 794 133	6 561 400	7 993 440			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>218 424 995</b>	<b>268 860 732</b>	<b>326 982 440</b>			
<b>C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)</b>						
	11 544 730	20 359 114	11 649 000			
<b>D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE</b>						
Manpower provision	17 570 022	17 112 280	13 786 329			
Flour subsidy	454 378	322 036	117 755			
Technical assistance	432 276	573 049	473 421			
Salaries of Judges	345 508	726 976	382 505			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18 802 184</b>	<b>18 734 341</b>	<b>14 760 010</b>			
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>671 570 345</b>	<b>769 081 526</b>	<b>950 649 702</b>			

\* 1) Actual expenditure

\*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1971

Hansard  
TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1972

101

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
Non recoverable financial assistance	7 134 183	1 200 522	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—
Special Job creation	2 479 372	2 095 036	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>302 956 807</b>	<b>357 860 436</b>	<b>444 540 646</b>

B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Tax compensation	10 322 361	12 621 392	16 000 000
Customs union	86 653 000	90 390 000	99 580 000
Common monetary area	2 601 173	3 559 250	4 335 067
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>99 576 534</b>	<b>106 570 642</b>	<b>119 915 067</b>

C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

	11 344 730	27 058 928	15 078 000
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D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE

Manpower provision	11 551 110	14 549 855	10 964 806
Flour subsidy	1 762 451	1 130 893	921 744
Technical assistance	928 541	545 222	197 296
Salaries of Judges	191 541	401 041	204 729
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14 433 643</b>	<b>16 627 011</b>	<b>12 288 575</b>

GRAND TOTAL

	428 311 714	508 117 017	591 822 288
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\* 1) Actual expenditure

\*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1973

Hansard  
TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1974

SCHEDULE 4

101

101

AID TO CISKEI

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
	384 930 928	440 033 134	561 934 117
	31 310 570	16 098 888	35 324 135
	99 278	—	—
	6 457 660	4 995 317	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>422 798 436</b>	<b>461 127 339</b>	<b>597 258 252</b>

A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Budgetary Aid	384 930 928	440 033 134	561 934 117
Incentive scheme for industries	31 310 570	16 098 888	35 324 135
Non recoverable financial assistance	99 278	—	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—
Special Job creation	6 457 660	4 995 317	—

B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Tax compensation	33 141 862	40 523 332	53 000 000
Customs union	180 489 000	221 776 000	265 989 000
Common monetary area	4 794 133	6 561 400	7 993 440
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>218 424 995</b>	<b>268 860 732</b>	<b>326 982 440</b>

C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

	11 544 730	20 359 114	11 649 000
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D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE

Manpower provision	17 570 022	17 112 280	13 786 329
Flour subsidy	454 378	322 036	117 755
Technical assistance	432 276	573 049	473 421
Salaries of Judges	345 508	726 976	382 505
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18 802 184</b>	<b>18 734 341</b>	<b>14 760 010</b>

GRAND TOTAL

	671 570 345	769 081 526	950 649 702
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\* 1) Actual expenditure

\*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



## Homelands 'can now be drawn in'

*Star 18/6/91*  
The second reading of the Development Aid Laws Amendment Bill was approved by all three Houses yesterday, with the Conservative Party in the House of Assembly voting against it.

(101)  
In a declaration of vote, Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) said: "It makes possible the incorporation into South Africa of the self-governing territories."

Kobus Jordaan (DP Umh-

langa) said it was important that the leaders in the self-governing territories could now be drawn into the administrative process during the transitional period to a new constitution.

Jurie Mentz (NP Vryheid) said the Bill prepared the way for joint decision-making.

The Bill was supported by the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly after a division. — Sapa.

the various methods which can be employed to estimate future water demands, but water itself is not the limiting factor for the growth of the PWV Area, as water can be imported from elsewhere. With the rise in the standard of living of communities there is an increase in the water demand per person and the total demand can thus increase for many years even if the population remains constant. Should there be no supplementation of existing water supply sources in the future and should there be no implementation of water restrictions, it is estimated that about 12 million people in the Vaal River supply area could be supplied with water.

The following figures give an indication of the order of size of population growth for which provision was made in the water demand projections and the water resource development proposals:

Population growth in the Vaal River supply area

Year	Million people
1980	8.6
1990	10.7
2000	13.5
2010	17.3
2020	22.4

According to expectations, about 65% of these people will be residing in the PWV Area.

(3) Not at all.

**Vote No 28: Programme 3**

456 Mr J C BOTHA asked the Minister of Development Aid:†

Whether, with regard to Vote No 28—Development Aid, he will subdivide the amount of R5 504 477 000 under Programme 3—“Assistance to governments of self-governing territories”, according to aims; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B1184E

**The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:**

The aims of the allocation of funds are described in detail on page 28-9 of the Department's Vote

The amounts involved are as follows:

1. Manpower assistance R189 174 000
2. Additional amount R5 303 986 000
3. Project Aid R11 317 000

The further subdivision of the aim Additional amount is not possible.

**Prisoners/hunger strikers: particulars**

457. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

(1) Whether he will furnish the names and other particulars of (a) all prisoners who have been refused release by the Government and (b) the hunger strikers who are not political prisoners; if not, why not; if so,

(2) (a) in respect of the prisoners who have been refused release by the Government, (i) what are their names, (ii) of what crime or crimes was each convicted and (iii) on what date did each apply for release and (b) in respect of the above-mentioned hunger strikers, (i) what are their names and (ii) of what crime or crimes was each convicted?

B1185E

**The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:**

(1) and (2)

Due to the extensive information required by the hon member with regard to each individual case, it cannot be provided within the scope of this reply. However, should the hon member be interested in the details of a specific case he is most welcome to approach my office whereafter I will make the information available to him on a personal basis.

I would however like to mention that since 2 February 1990 and up to and including 18 June 1991 a total of 1 040 security and security/unrest related prisoners have been released in terms of the various measures available but particularly as a result of the categories announced by the Government, the

granting of special remission by the State President and as a result of the approved applications.

Since 7 November 1990 a total of 6 272 applications for release by prisoners have been registered at the office for Indemnity Immunity and Release in Pretoria. It is important to note that 5 152 of these applications were received after 30 April 1991. At least 90% of the applications received after 30 April 1991 fall outside the guide-lines for defining political offences and in fact appear to be designed to frustrate the process.

Out of the total number of applications received

— 621 prisoners were released;

— 583 applications have been referred to the consulting bodies for advice (363 of these applications were refused by the State President but nevertheless referred to the consulting bodies of judges for review and advice. The consulting bodies have already concurred with 155 of these refusals);

— 2 502 applications were refused,

— 79 were duplicate applications,

— 109 were applications by prisoners who committed their crimes after the cut off date of 12h00 on 8 October 1990; and

— the remaining 2 315 of these applications are at present being dealt with.

It is important to note that the applications of those who clearly fall outside the guide-lines for defining political offences are refused whilst the applications of those who nevertheless claim that they fall within these guide-lines and where doubt may exist are referred to the consulting bodies for advice.

**Own Affairs:**

**Education budget: details**

85 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

What (a) amount and (b) percentage of the education budget of his Department was spent in (i) the Republic (ii) the Orange Free State and (iii) Natal on (aa) pre-primary, (bb) primary, (cc) secondary and (dd) tertiary education during the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available?

B1114E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

- | (a)                         | (b)              |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (i) (aa) R83 278 million    | (i) (aa) 1,50%   |
| (ii) (aa) R7 049 million    | (ii) (aa) 0,13%  |
| (iii) (aa) R15 671 million  | (iii) (aa) 0,28% |
| (i) (bb) R1 277 725 million | (i) (bb) 23,09%  |
| (ii) (bb) R129 539 million  | (ii) (bb) 2,34%  |
| (iii) (bb) R155 018 million | (iii) (bb) 2,80% |
| (i) (cc) R1 205 002 million | (i) (cc) 21,77%  |
| (ii) (cc) R92 386 million   | (ii) (cc) 1,67%  |
| (iii) (cc) R143 991 million | (iii) (cc) 2,60% |
| (i) (dd) R130 041 million   | (i) (dd) 2,35%   |
| (ii) (dd) R5 600 million    | (ii) (dd) 0,10%  |
| (iii) (dd) R14 186 million  | (iii) (dd) 0,26% |

Information in respect of Public Ordinary School Education and teacher training only, according to the 1990/91 printed budget (CS-sector).

**Certain school's management board meeting: pamphlet**

88. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) Whether, immediately prior to a management board meeting at a certain school, particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, a pamphlet was distributed on the grounds of this school; if so, (a) in terms of what regulations and/or directives, (b) with whose permission, (c) what are the particulars of the incident and (d) what is the name of the school concerned.

(2) whether his Department is contemplating any action in this regard, if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when.

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1201E

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

(1) Yes.



# Form defence units union

By IKE MOTSAPI

DEFENCE units must be formed by trained soldiers of the ANC and PAC to protect blacks from harassment by organisations such as the CCB, trade unionists said at the weekend.

Delegates attending the third national congress of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union in

Johannesburg were told that defence units should be formed by all cadres of the liberation struggle.

These could come from the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Azanian Peoples Liberation Army "as a matter of urgency".

In one of the resolu-

tions adopted by the congress, Saccawu said: "These units must be equipped and armed for defence.

"Members of the community must be urged to join them regardless of political affiliation because they will be expected to democratically run, control and monitor such defence units."

The union also re-

solved to work hard towards the "total eradication" of the homeland system.

To achieve this the union pledged to vigorously campaign in all homelands with the aim of gaining more support to help destroy them.

During elections Ms Edna Sithembe became the first woman to be elected as first vice-president of Saccawu.

Sowetan  
25/6/91

101



## African Bank's strategy pays off

THE African Bank emerged from a difficult period with a 15% increase in net taxed income to R571 423.

In the six months to end-March total assets rose to R240m from R214m.

CE Jack Theron said although it had been a difficult year, the African Bank was in a far stronger position because of the "tremendous improvement" in its capital base. Concerns over the company's under capitalisation were addressed at the beginning of the year when it opened its shareholding to all races.

The company's ordinary share capital increased by R255 000 in the six-month period and a further R600 000 has been received

(SA) (101) 81000429/4191  
GILLIAN HAYNE

since then. Applications from the Ciskei People's Development Bank for 400 000 shares and the National Sorghum Breweries for 500 000 shares are the latest shows of interest.

Theron said he felt comfortable with the company's performance which was keeping pace with the requirements of the Deposit-Taking Institutions Act.

The group's past bad debt experiences have resulted in a more selective lending policy, with a significant increase in the home loan business in the TBVC states and homelands.

"All our housing loan business is in the black

areas but we have not experienced any of the problems of other banks," Theron said.

While admitting that the African Bank was still too small to be really competitive in the banking industry, Theron said he was following a specific strategy

"By taking over and bringing together small divisions of financial institutions and development corporations solely doing business in black areas, we can establish a greater position of strength."

To this end the bank had acquired the Sibasa Savings Bank from the Venda Development Corporation and the Lebowa Savings outlets from the Lebowa Development Corporation.



## Homelands' complaints

810am  
11/7/91

GERALD REILLY

101

PRETORIA — The six self-governing territories say they are being underfunded, a problem which is retarding upliftment of their people.

The claim was made at a meeting in Pretoria on Friday attended by the territories' finance ministers and chaired by Public Works, Land Affairs and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers.

Purpose of the meeting was the planning of the territories' budgets for the 1992/93 financial year.

Main complaint of the six finance ministers was a lack of funds for development and job creation.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Dennis Madide said unemployment and poverty, just as in the major urban areas, were worsening in KwaZulu. This intensified the need for development funds, he said.

# Development Bank to make R4bn available

THE Development Bank of Southern Africa will make R4bn available for development projects over the next three to four years.

Bank spokesman Frans van Rensburg said yesterday funds were for development in SA, the independent homelands, self-governing states, Lesotho and Mozambique. *Bloom 10/7/91*

Loans would be granted to national, regional or local government structures or their development agents.

Van Rensburg said almost R1bn had been disbursed in the past financial year, an increase of 36% compared with 1989/90.

Bank loans could be repaid over periods as long as 40 years, as most projects were infrastructural.

The bank's Lebowa project manager Alwyn Coetsee said Lebowa had applied for R750m worth of loans for the development of water schemes, transport and energy infrastructure.

Coetsee said 22 water development projects, valued at R181m, were in the identification phase, with a further five approved for funding of R60m.

He said water schemes required mas-

JONATHON REES

sive subsidisation due to the high costs of building a dam wall, laying pipelines, and technical support.

The bank had recently supported small water development schemes where communities took responsibility for initial development and maintenance.

The SA government would provide R500m to the bank this year and next year through the Industrial Development Corp.

Funds were also generated on the capital market.

The bank had provided R600m for the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme since 1986, Van Rensburg said.

Financing was available for rural and agricultural development, business and entrepreneurial development, human resource development, bulk infrastructure development and urban development.

Van Rensburg said development funds were also made available by the Independent Development Trust, Urban Foundation, SA Trust Corp and the Small Business Development Corp.



# Search under way for new health plan <sup>(101)</sup>

Pretoria Bureau

Senr 10/7/91 -

A model for a new health dispensation for South Africa, focused on decentralising health services, has been proposed at a conference of Ministers of health and welfare from South Africa and the self-governing territories.

It was proposed that it was time that attempts were made to arrange health services in

such a way that they were more accessible and affordable.

A document said there were signs that the health status of inhabitants was deteriorating and that the present system was no longer affordable.

Local authorities, including regional services councils, should form the base of any future health dispensation — and all other services built on this base.

It was also established at the conference that the distribution of medical practitioners in the self-governing territories (Lebowa, QwaQwa, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane) was unsatisfactory compared with the rest of the country.

There was one doctor for 15 625 people in the six territories, against one doctor for every 1 099 in South Africa.

16 JUL 1991

REPUBLIC  
OF  
SOUTH AFRICA



REPUBLIEK  
VAN  
SUID-AFRIKA

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Vol. 313

PRETORIA, 12 JULY  
JULIE 1991

No. 13395

## PROCLAMATION

(101)

by the

State President

of the Republic of South Africa

No. 67, 1991

AMENDMENT OF SCHEDULE 1 TO THE SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES CONSTITUTION ACT, 1971 (ACT No. 21 OF 1971)

Under section 37A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), I hereby amend Schedule 1 to the said Act by—

(a) the substitution for item 2 of the following item:

"2. Education, and with the approval of the Minister of Education and Training the provision of education outside the area, but excluding education provided by a University or College which gives tertiary education and is established by or in terms of an Act of Parliament.";

(b) by the substitution for item 7A of the following item:

"7A. The provision of financial assistance to persons in the area concerned who carry on or undertake to carry on farming operations, and the exercise of control in respect of such financial assistance provided.";

(c) the substitution for item 15 of the following item:

"15. A direct tax—

(a) on—

(i) citizens or any particular category or group of citizens;

(ii) the income of citizens or any particular category or group of citizens,

whether the citizens concerned are or reside within or outside the area, provided they are or reside within the Republic;

(b) any or all non-citizens who reside, work or carry on any trade, business, profession or occupation within the area;

688—A

## PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident

van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 67, 1991

WYSIGING VAN BYLAE 1 BY DIE GRONDWET VAN DIE SELFREGERENDE GEBIEDE, 1971 (WET No. 21 VAN 1971)

Kragtens artikel 37A van die Grondwet van die Self-regerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971), wysig ek hierby Balae I by genoemde Wet deur—

(a) item 2 deur die volgende item te vervang:

"2. Onderwys, en met die goedkeuring van die Minister van Onderwys en Opleiding die verskaffing van onderwys buite die gebied, maar uitgesonderd onderwys verskaf deur 'n Universiteit of Kollege wat tersiêre onderwys aanbied en by of ingevolge 'n Wet van die Parlement ingestel is.";

(b) item 7A deur die volgende item te vervang:

"7A. Verlening van finansiële bystand aan persone in die betrokke gebied wat boerdery daarin beoefen of onderneem om dit te beoefen, en die uitoefening van beheer ten opsigte van sodanige verleende finansiële bystand.";

(c) item 15 deur die volgende item te vervang:

"15. 'n Direkte belasting—

(a) op—

(i) burgers of 'n bepaalde kategorie of groep burgers;

(ii) die inkomste van burgers of 'n bepaalde kategorie of groep burgers,

hetsy die betrokke burgers binne of buite die gebied is of woon, mits hulle binne die Republiek is of woon;

(b) enige of alle nie-burgers wat binne die gebied woon, werk, of enige ambag, besigheid, profesie of beroep beoefen;

13395—1



(c) property situated in the area.”;

101

(d) the insertion of the following item after item 20A:

“20B. Fire brigade services.”;

(e) the substitution for item 30 (a) and (b) of the following item:

“30. (a) Tribal and regional authorities referred to in section 12 and other local institutions of a similar nature.

(b) Institutions or bodies other than such institutions as are referred to in paragraph (a) which have, in respect of one or more areas (whether contiguous or not) outside the area of jurisdiction of any institution contemplated in that paragraph, similar powers and functions of any such mentioned institution.”;

(f) the insertion of the following item after item 32A:

“32B. The conservation and utilisation of water sources and recourses including the prevention of pollution, and other activities which can change the natural occurrence of water sources and atmospheric precipitation.”;

(g) the insertion of the following item after item 32B:

“32C. Sectional titles.”; and

(h) the insertion of the following item after item 32C:

“32D. Appointment of commissions of inquiry.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twentieth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-one.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**

State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

**J. DE VILLIERS,**

Minister of the Cabinet.

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

### ADMINISTRATION: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE

No. 1633

12 July 1991

COMMUNITY WELFARE ACT, 1987

ABOLITION OF REGIONS

ALTERATION OF REGIONAL LIMITS

ALTERATION OF NAMES OF REGIONS

ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONS

ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL WELFARE BOARDS

By virtue of the powers vested in me by sections 6 and 7 of the Community Welfare Act, 1987 (Act No. 104 of 1987), I, Christian Jeffrey April, Minister of Health Services and Welfare of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, hereby amend Gov-

(c) eiendom geleë in die gebied.”;

(d) na item 20A die volgende item in te voeg:

“20B. Brandweerdienste.”;

(e) item 30 (a) en (b) deur die volgende item te vervang:

“30. (a) Stam- en streekowerhede in artikel 12 bedoel en ander plaaslike instellings van 'n soortgelyke aard.

(b) Ander instellings of liggame as instellings in paragraaf (a) bedoel, wat ten opsigte van een of meer gebiede (hetsy aangrensend al dan nie) buite die regsgebied van 'n instelling in daardie paragraaf beoog, soortgelyke bevoegdhede en funksies het van so 'n bedoelde instelling.”;

(f) na item 32A die volgende item in te voeg:

“32B. Die bewaring en benutting van waterbronne en hulpbronne met inbegrip van die voorkoming van besoedeling en ander bedrywighede wat die natuurlike voorkoms van waterbronne en atmosferiese neerslag kan verander.”;

(g) na item 32B die volgende item in te voeg:

“32C. Deeltitels.”; en

(h) na item 32C die volgende item in te voeg:

“32D. Aanstelling van kommissies van ondersoek”.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Twintigste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehoenderd Een-en-negentig.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

**J. DE VILLIERS,**

Minister van die Kabinet.

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

### ADMINISTRASIE: RAAD VAN VERTEENWOORDIGERS

#### DEPARTEMENT VAN GESONDHEIDSDIENSTE EN WELSYN

No. 1633

12 Julie 1991

GEMEENSKAPSWELSYNSWET, 1987

AFSKAFFING VAN STREKE

WYSIGING VAN STREEKGRENSE

INSTELLING VAN STREKE

WYSIGING VAN NAAM VAN 'N STREEK

INSTELLING VAN STREEKWELSYNSRADE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikels 6 en 7 van die Gemeenskapswelwynswet, 1987 (Wet No. 104 van 1987), wysig ek, Christian Jeffrey April, Minister van Gesondheidsdienste en Welsyn van die Ministersraad van die Raad van Verteenwoordigers, hierby

# Stand on 'homeland' prisoners explained

ASB (101)  
BIDAY 12/7/91  
SBB

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — President George Bush decided to lift sanctions after concluding that political prisoners still held in the homelands were not covered by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, a legal justification issued by the White House says.

The document also stated that SA law and practice had been sufficiently reformed in recent months as to "provide assurances" that there would be no further political convictions, as defined by the Act, in the "foreseeable future".

Bush's decision that the Act's five conditions had been filled has been sharply attacked by sanctions proponents in Congress on the grounds that it failed to take into account 164 prisoners held in Bophuthatswana, most of them soldiers and officers involved in the 1988 coup attempt.

Congressman Ron Dellums, echoing ANC lawyer Matthew Phosa, said Bush had "in a de facto way, recognised Bophuthatswana as an independent state".

Lawyers for Human Rights in Pretoria on Tuesday asked US ambassador William Swing to forward to Bush a letter purporting to be from the Bophuthatswana prisoners currently on hunger strike, pleading for their cases to be taken into account.

The White House statement said prisoners held in the TBVC states had not been counted because the CAAA "does not include reincorporation of the so-called 'independent' homelands as a condition for lifting sanctions".

Officials further explained that to have

included TBVC prisoners might also have meant making the lifting of sanctions contingent on the ANC's releasing those it is still holding against their wills.

Instead, it was decided to focus on those prisoners in the custody of the central government and to treat homeland administrations as "other groups".

The US embassy had "exhaustively reviewed the cases of persons incarcerated or otherwise detained by the government".

ANC President Nelson Mandela told ABC's Ted Koppel that there were "still a large number of prisoners who are covered by the definition agreed upon by the ANC and government" and criticised the US for "imposing its own definition".

The White House statement said the CAAA was clear on this. Its standard "applies only to persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained without trial".

Recent amendments to the Internal Security Act, new restrictions on detention with judicial review, and other reforms permitting free political activity made it unlikely that there would be further "convictions . . . for offences constituting "persecution for political beliefs".

The statement also noted the agreement between government and the ANC on the release of political prisoners was founded in the "acceptance" by all sides of "the essential integrity of the SA judicial system".



# TBVC states in line for Vat handouts

*S (Times) (Business Times)*  
VAT HAS opened another channel for disguised handouts to the TBVC states.

SA will administer the Vat systems for Transkei, Venda and Ciskei for free. Bophuthatswana has hired experts from Britain to implement its system.

All four will have access to SA legislation, forms and explanatory literature and their public servants are being trained by SA officials.

Under Vat there will be a net outflow of funds from SA to the TBVC states in the form of input credits because they buy more from SA than they sell to it.

A central clearing house will be established to facilitate these transfers.

Because it would be prohibitively expensive to calculate the exact amounts involved, the credits will be a function of gross domestic product, imports and exports of each state, says Central Statistical Service deputy director Hilda Botha. The amounts involved are not known because the formula has not been agreed on.

All the TBVC states will introduce Vat on

14/7/91  
By TERRY BETTY

the same date and at the same rate as SA. Inland Revenue chief director Trevor van Heerden says that because the TBVC states have no border controls with SA, they are the only ones to which SA exports are not zero rated.

The nominally independent TBVC states had little option but to follow SA and charge the same Vat rate.

"Had they not done so they would have received no input credits from SA," says Mr Van Heerden. "They would still have had to charge their own GST. This would have had disastrous inflationary effects and would have made their goods less competitive.

"They are similarly prevented from reducing the Vat rate below that of SA because they would then receive proportionately less credit from us."

The advantage for the SA receiver of having the same system in all the TBVC states is that it is more easy to police.

## Homelands on line for electricity

Staff Reporter

(101)

ARGUS

25/1/91

HOMELANDS and other underdeveloped areas of southern Africa will be getting electricity following an agreement between Eskom and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

The partnership, signed yesterday, will ensure these companies use their full resources to achieve this goal.

A joint committee between Eskom and the DBSA has been set up to liaise with governments and local authorities.

The homeland of Kangwane has al-

ready benefited from this type of liaison.

Kescor, the Kangwane electricity supply body, has obtained a loan of R17-million. It is estimated 4 000 households in the rural and urban areas of the homeland will get electricity through the project within the next two years.

● The provision of electricity to townships in South Africa will also be considered by Eskom if representations are made by township authorities.



# Developing communities anywhere

By Louise Burgers

The Development Bank of Southern Africa has contributed to the improved living conditions in many communities, but this was still only a drop in the ocean as far as the national need was concerned, says chief executive Dr Simon Brand.

The bank made about R1 billion available to projects in the 1991/92 financial year and in the past eight years it spent some R4 billion on 750 projects.

The largest project the bank is involved in is the provision of R600 million worth of infrastructure for the Lesotho Highlands Water project. In KwaZulu and Natal, it is providing about R70 million towards industrial infrastructure.

Dr Brand said the Development Bank had often faced the criticism that it was seen to be supporting apartheid structures by providing assistance in the homelands and TBVC-states. "The money is there for the upliftment of communities," he said, adding that the Bank was prepared to help regardless of political affiliation.

The bank has also played an important role in changing the approach to agricultural development in black areas.

"We have shifted it away from a situation where you have the development corporations farming on a large scale with the local people involved as labour — and shifting that towards an approach where one supports the small farmer to get a more meaningful involvement of people in agricultural development."

Important to the bank is its support of education and training and health care facilities — such as technicians and teacher and nursing training colleges.

The bank has also acted as a facilitator in getting the private sector involved with the provision of housing and commercial facilities in disadvantaged areas.

With promises of a huge influx of foreign funding, the bank stands poised to redress the multi-billion rand backlog in development.

This is the scenario Dr Brand sees evolving as overseas governments shift their emphasis from funding traditional "apartheid victims" to funding development projects in Southern Africa.

"We have been discussing co-operation between the bank and Western European governments and multi-national institutions such as the United Nations development programme and the

World Bank.

"The work of the bank is well-known and appreciated in many of these institutions and our impression is that there is quite a keen interest. They (developed countries) are all looking at their involvement in Southern Africa and also South Africa."

However, the bank did not want to enter into any international agreements on foreign funding until it had the support of extra-parliamentary movements and other institutions in the country. "We keep the extra-parliamentary movements informed about what we see as the future of development."

The Development Bank was established on June 30 1983 by the governments of South Africa, Friesland, Bophuthatwana, Venda and Ciskei to mobilise and provide loan finance, technical assistance and advice for sustainable development projects. It has increasingly become involved in economic reform issues.

During the eight years of its existence, services have been extended to neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Mozambique and Namibia.

The ultimate clients of the bank are the economically disadvantaged people in Southern

Africa. Its direct borrowers are central, regional and local governments, their development agencies and non-governmental agencies fulfilling a developmental role.

Funding is from parliamentary grants and the capital markets.

Dr Brand said that increasingly, in the past few years, the bank had not always been able to identify the technical capacity of the borrower to implement projects — whether it be a homeland authority, local authority, para-statal body or non-governmental organisation.

When the bank was first approached to provide assistance in Soweto, it was clear that the town councils did not have sufficient support from the community.

"Therefore, before we could get involved in a project, one had to work towards establishing more legitimate, representative structures with which we could co-operate. We suggested to the Transvaal Provincial Administration that they had to be prepared to bring the civic associations in."

This is how the Development Bank got involved in the Soweto Accord and the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber where it has observer status and provides technical assistance.

# I did not lie about funding, says Botha

Birnam 26/7/91  
BILLY PADDOCK

FOREIGN Minister P. W. Botha yesterday denied that he had lied at a news conference last month when asked about government funding of Inkatha.

Botha said the question asked of him, and what he had denied, was not whether government funded Inkatha but whether it did so through its payments to the KwaZulu government.

Botha was responding to Press reports this week which, he said, implied that he lied during Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans's visit to SA. Criticising the Australian govern-

ment's donation to the ANC, Botha said at the time that to give the money would have contributed to the violence.

During a news conference yesterday taped for the Agenda TV programme, Botha took exception to suggestions that he had lied and — in a reference to a Business Day editorial — that he had told a "breathtaking lie".

He said he had been responding to a question in which a journalist stated

that government was funding Inkatha through its funding of the KwaZulu government.

He said he had denied this. This was untrue then and was still untrue. He said he did not formulate the journalist's question which was clearly inferring that money allocated to the KwaZulu administration was dishonestly intended to be channelled to Inkatha.

Reading from a transcript, Botha said what was put to him was that funds given to the KwaZulu government were also intended for Inkatha.



Offer than the Secret Service and FBI and  
once a haven for political appointees with

ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

# Homeland leaders to join front

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

High-ranking officials from Transkei, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele agreed after meeting ANC leaders yesterday that there were "no obstacles" to the formation of a patriotic front between the

ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said an "emergency" meeting was called yesterday, mainly to discuss the Inkatha scandal disclosures.

A statement after the meeting condemned the government for "destabilising

homeland governments that they consider to be progressive and anti-apartheid".

The ANC delegation, headed by chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, included deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

The PAC previously opposed the participation of homeland and self-governing territory leaders in the front.

But PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had "no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government."

# Homeland leaders line up for patriotic front

LEADERS of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the ANC, PAC and Azapo in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

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The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said after yesterday's meeting that many obstacles to forming the front had been overcome.

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to be progressive and anti-apartheid".

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But PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had "no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government".

He said discussions were continuing between a PAC-ANC committee and representatives from other independent states, including Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

He said there was a possibility that the Labour Party would also agree to attend next month's conference.

DARIUS SANAI



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13 1 JUL 1991

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JULIE 1991

No. 13424

## PROCLAMATION

by the

State President

101

of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 71, 1991

RESERVATION OF CERTAIN LAND FOR THE OCCUPATION OR ACQUISITION BY BLACKS IN TERMS OF THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 36A OF THE SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES CONSTITUTION ACT, 1971 (ACT No. 21 OF 1971): AMENDMENT OF PROCLAMATION No. R. 37 OF 1976 AND PROCLAMATION No. 205 OF 1981

By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 36A (2) and (3) of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), I hereby amend—

(a) Proclamation No. R. 37 of 1976: Reservation of certain land for the occupation or acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), by the insertion after regulation 7 of the following regulation:

"7A. A general plan which represents the subdivision of land referred to in the Schedule hereto may, with the consent of the Minister, be altered, amended or partially or totally cancelled by the Surveyor-General: Provided that where such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation affects any public place, the Surveyor-General has, prior to such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation, been advised by the Minister that the provisions of the law relating to the permanent closing of any public place or portion thereof have been complied with."; and

(b) Proclamation No. 205 of 1981: Reservation of certain land situate in the Province of Natal for the occupation or acquisition by Blacks under the provi

## PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident

van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 71, 1991

AFSONDERING VAN SEKERE GROND VIR DIE OKKUPASIE OF VERKRYGING DEUR SWARTES INGEVOLGE DIE BEPALINGS VAN ARTIKEL 36A VAN DIE GRONDWET VAN DIE SELFREGERENDE GEBIEDE, 1971 (WET No. 21 VAN 1971): WYSIGING VAN PROKLAMASIE No. R. 37 VAN 1976 EN PROKLAMASIE No. 205 VAN 1981

Kragtens die bevoegheid my verleen by artikel 36A (2) en (3) van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971), wysig ek hierby—

(a) Proklamasie No. R. 37 van 1976: Afsondering van sekere grond vir die okkupasie of verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971), deur die volgende regulasie na regulasie 7 in te voeg:

"7A. 'n Algemene plan wat die onderverdeling van grond bedoel in die Bylae hiervan voorstel, kan met die goedkeuring van die Minister deur die Landmeter-generaal verander, gewysig of gedeeltelik of in sy geheel gerojier word: Met dien verstande dat wanneer sodanige verandering, wysiging of gedeeltelike of algehele rojering 'n publieke plek raak, die Landmeter-generaal voor sodanige verandering, wysiging of gedeeltelike of algehele rojering deur die Minister in kennis gestel is dat aan die wetsbepalings aangaande die permanente sluiting van 'n publieke plek voldoen is."; en

(b) Proklamasie No. 205 van 1981: Afsondering van sekere grond geleë in die provinsie Natal vir die okkupasie of verkryging deur Swartes kragtens die bepa

sions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), by the insertion after regulation 4 of the following regulation:

"4A. A general plan which represents the subdivision of land referred to in the Schedule hereto may, with the consent of the Minister, be altered, amended or partially or totally cancelled by the Surveyor-General: Provided that where such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation affects any public place, the Surveyor-General has, prior to such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation, been advised by the Minister that the provisions of the law relating to the permanent closing of any public place or portion thereof have been complied with." (101)

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Eighth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**

State President.

By Order of the State-President-in-Cabinet:

**J. DE VILLIERS,**

Minister of the Cabinet.

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES



### ADMINISTRATION: HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

#### DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

No. R. 1737

26 July 1991

#### EDUCATION POLICY ACT, 1967

#### TEACHER TRAINING

The Minister of Education and Culture has, under section 1 B (1), read with section 1 B (5), of the Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act No. 39 of 1967), further amended Government Notice No. R. 1903 of 22 October 1976, as amended by Government Notice No. R. 110 of 24 January 1986, as set out in the Schedule.

#### SCHEDULE

Government Notice No. R. 1903 of 22 October 1976 is hereby amended by the substitution for the proviso to paragraph 2 of the following proviso:

"Provided that the particulars specified in subparagraphs (f) and (g) may be omitted if a separate, full statement, firstly, in respect of the teaching subjects passed, with an indication of subjects passed with distinction, and secondly, in respect of the relevant other subjects passed, with an indication of year levels, is issued to the holder of the certificate."

lings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971), deur die volgende regulasie na regulasie 4 in te voeg:

"4A. 'n Algemene Plan wát die onderverdeling van grond bedoel in die Bylae hiervan voorstel, kan met die goedkeuring van die Minister deur die Landmeter-generaal verander, gewysig of gedeeltelik of in sy geheel gerojering word: Met dien verstande dat wanneer sodanige verandering, wysiging of gedeeltelike of algehele rojering 'n publieke plek raak, die Landmeter-generaal voor sodanige verandering, wysiging of gedeeltelike of algehele rojering deur die Minister in kennis gestel is dat aan die wetsbepalings aangaande die permanente sluiting van 'n publieke plek voldoen is".

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Agste dag van Julie Eenduisend Negehonderd Een-en-negentig.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

**J. DE VILLIERS,**

Minister van die Kabinet.

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

### ADMINISTRASIE: VOLKSRAAD

#### DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN KULTUUR

No. R. 1737

26 Julie 1991

#### WET OP ONDERWYSBELEID, 1967

#### ONDERWYSERSOPLEIDING

Die Minister van Onderwys en Kultuur het kragtens artikel 1 B (1), saamgelees met artikel 1 B (5), van die Wet op Onderwysbeleid, 1967 (Wet No. 39 van 1967), Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1903 van 22 Oktober 1976, soos gewysig deur Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 110 van 24 Januarie 1986, verder gewysig soos in die bylae uiteengesit.

#### BYLAE

Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1903 van 22 Oktober 1976 word hierby gewysig deur die voorbehoudsbepaling by paragraaf 2 deur die volgende voorbehoudsbepaling te vervang:

"Met dien verstande dat die besonderhede vermeld in subparagrafe (f) en (g) weggelaat kan word as aan die houër van die sertifikaat 'n aparte, volledige verklaring, eerstens, ten opsigte van die onderrigvakke waarin geslaag is, met 'n aanduiding van die vakke met onderskeiding geslaag, en tweedens, ten opsigte van die betrokke ander vakke waarin geslaag is, met 'n aanduiding van jaarvlakke, uitgereik word."



# Elderly 'shy off political bodies' (101)

Sowetan 20/8/91.  
HORRIBLE stories of torture, intimidation and arson have led traditional leaders to question their future role in a new South Africa.

Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said this at the weekend while addressing a meeting of school principals and *mogoshi* in Lebowakgomo.

The elderly population had become increasingly alienated from some political organisations because of the conduct of self-imposed leaders acting under the cloak of these organisation.

He said his United People's Front was formed in consultation with the leadership of the African National Congress.

"It would prove inconsistent of us to do the opposite of what we have been preaching all along," adding that their political alliance was guided by their views and objectives for the future.

He said reports that the UPF was formed to establish ANC presence in the territory was "mere speculation".

- Sapa

# Homeland policy <sup>(101)</sup> may be dumped this week

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The National Party is expected to abandon the Verwoerdian dream of tribal homelands this week, new secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has indicated.

Dr Van der Merwe confirmed to the Observer yesterday that the new NP constitutional plan to be discussed at a federal congress on Wednesday is "the formal end of the homelands policy, although we have been moving in that direction for some time".

## Watershed

He stressed that the new plan was a negotiating position, not a fixed policy, and that if the inhabitants of any particular homeland wanted it to remain as a separate region, this would be negotiable. But it would no longer be NP policy to have "homelands", he said. Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer told the Observer: "This is a watershed moment. There was an ideological watershed on 2 February 1990, when President F W de Klerk turned his back on the apartheid policy, and now we have the practical watershed of the whole vision being dumped."



There has been much talk over the past two

vote and advocate a free market capitalist system.

in as Deputy Minister of National Planning and Education.

# Our decision not to pay Jalc - Holomisa

103

*Sowetan 3/9/91*

TRANSKEI was not instructed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to withhold payment to Jalc Holdings the homeland's ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday.

In a statement from Umtata, Holomisa said the decision not to pay Jalc, which built houses in Transkei, was taken by the homeland administration "without any input from RSA Foreign Affairs".

Botha is being sued for R25 million by Jalc for al-

legedly instructing Transkei not to pay the money owed to Jalc.

Holomisa said the reverse was true, that Botha's department tried to pressurise his government into paying Jalc. Any suggestion to the contrary was "a pack of lies".

Poor and defective workmanship were the reasons Transkei had refused to settle its account with Jalc.

Holomisa said he had met with Botha in Cape

Town on June 8, 1988, where the issue of Jalc had been discussed.

"I informed him (Botha) that the matter could not be handled at the political level. I advised the minister to tell Jalc to observe channels of communication," he said.

A meeting was also held with Jalc, where Holomisa told a representative of Jalc, Mr Chris van Rensburg, why his government would not pay any more money to the company. - Sapa

By TERRY BETTY

THE construction industry has asked the Government to delay the implementation of Vat in the TBVC states for six months. (10)

With only three weeks to go to Vat-day, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei have yet to pass the required legislation. But they have started to send out Vat registration forms.

A Transkei Inland Revenue spokesman says the Vat Bill must still be "channelled through the corridors of the military council". S/Times

A Bophuthatswana official says its Bill has not had its third reading. (13/11)

Colin Mester, chairman of Concom, says many sub-contractors and suppliers in these states have not registered. This will make them uncompetitive because they will have to pay Vat on their inputs without being able to claim input credits. (13)

### British

They will also be unable to issue Vat invoices which enable customers to claim input rebates.

Mr Mester says that because South Africa had a six-month lead after promulgation of the Vat Act, it is unfair to expect vendors in the TBVC states to get their act together in a few weeks.

Inland Revenue chief director, tax policy development, Trevor van Heerden, says if TBVC Vat systems are

## Vat delay for TBVC states sought

not up and running in time, it is possible to backdate legislation to September 30. But this means vendors will have to charge as if they were including Vat in their prices.

But confusion will reign if the TBVC states do not change their tax laws by September 30 because the GST system will remain in place.

If this happens vendors will pay Vat on goods bought in SA and have to levy GST on top of this without qualifying for rebates.

Building Industries Federation of South Africa (Bifsa) economist Charles Martin, says such doubts have caused confusion for those involved in major projects in the TBVC states.

Dr Martin says: "It is difficult to tender for new contracts when there is uncertainty about tax."

The first TBVC registration forms were sent out last week. Bophuthatswana employed British experts to help implement its system and mailed forms before SA did.



By PATRICK COLLINGS

KANGWANE — Last month Yingwasane Khosa and her two children escaped the Mozambican civil war by crawling under an electric fence into South Africa, and began a new life in a country that wants neither her nor her children.

The Khosa family, like an estimated 50 000 to 60 000 other Mozambicans, will be able to carve out a twilight existence within the borders of South Africa, due to the generosity of the self-governing homelands of Gazankulu and KaNwane.

Since 1985 the two homelands have offered the displaced Mozambicans a sort of refugee status by granting them renewable temporary resident permits of six months duration.

But, outside the homelands, between 150 000 to 250 000 Mozambicans are considered illegal aliens and are picked up by South African security forces, loaded onto trucks and driven to the Komatipoort border

# Homelands a haven for 'unwelcome' refugees

101

post, where they are deported.

Because South Africa is not a signatory to the United Nations Convention on Refugees, it is not obliged to give the Mozambican fugitives refugee status.

The Department of Foreign Affairs says that despite the United Nations' involvement in the repatriation of South African exiles, the world body would not deal with the problem of Mozambican refugees in South Africa.

The picture is different in Malawi where the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees last year pumped almost R60 million into the running of refugee camps housing a million displaced Mozambicans. Local South African police say the monthly deportation of thou-

sands of Mozambicans is heart-breaking, but unavoidable as their presence inside the borders of South Africa is a "big problem".

However, the biggest problems are those faced by the refugees who encounter a multitude of dangers crossing into South Africa, where many are exploited and sold into virtual slavery.

Like many Mozambicans, Ms Khosa and her family fled Mozambique to escape the savagery of Renamo rebels, who butchered her husband to death.

The trip into South Africa is hazardous — Mozambicans travelling to Gazankulu normally enter through the Kruger National Park and face being eaten by lions and other wild animals. Operation Hunger

field worker, Mr Kevin Lancaster, describes the journey as "a mad, head-long run across the park".

Other Mozambicans enter South Africa illegally by crawling under the lethal 70-odd kilometre electric border fence which runs from Komatipoort to the Swaziland border.

These refugees then make for a transit camp 15 km away at Mangweni, KaNwane, where they are registered before being settled in one of the 37 villages in the area.

Field worker for the local Hlangunani Refugee Committee Ms Sally McKibbon estimates that about 500 people flee over the border into her area each month, but says the figure depends on the fighting inside Mozambique.

During July 1 200 people fled heavy fighting between Renamo and Mozambique's ruling Frelimo Party. Many of those fleeing the violence are former members of either army.

Often the refugees are exploited by the very people who help them cross into South Africa — their guides.

Ms McKibbon says the problem arises when the refugees are unable to pay the guide for bringing them through to South Africa. "If the refugee can't pay, (the guide) then has the power (to sell the refugee) to anyone who will take that person," Ms McKibbon said.

Mozambican women are sold into "marriage" for between R200 and R500, while the men only fetch between R30 and R40 as farm labourers,

and, if lucky, will earn R2 a day.

Sometimes the farmer reports the presence of his Mozambican labourers to the police, who then deport the men before they have been paid for their month's labour.

Those refugees who manage to make it to the homelands are absorbed into the community where they are provided with food and clothing by the various aid organisations, sponsored by the British, Swiss, and Germans.

**FRIENDS IN NEED** . . . Refugee field worker Rachel Nsimbini holds the book which is used to register Mozambican refugees arriving in Kanguwane. Once registered as temporary residents the fugitives enjoy a type of refugee status in the homelands.



Operation Hunger executive director Ms Ina Perlman estimates that it costs her organisation between R350 000 and R400 000 a month to feed the refugees, 70% of whom are children under the age of 16.

Very few men remain in the homelands, choosing rather to travel west to the Transvaal reef which offers better job opportunities.

The majority of those living in the homelands know little of the peace talks aimed at ending Mozambique's civil war

and refuse to return to their native land.

Despite the fact that the never-ending influx of refugees places a strain on the poor communities of Gazankulu and Kanguwane there is no talk of the refugees being deprived of their new homes.

"We cannot let these people down, for one day we might be refugees (in need of help)," says refugee worker Ms Rachel Nsimbini. [Patrick Collings is the Transvaal correspondent for the Cape Times.]



# Surprise Voter figures

(101)



CT 13/9/91

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

SURPRISE estimates of voter numbers in a free election in South Africa show that nearly two out every five voters will come from the Eastern Cape-Natal regions.

They also show that both the National Party and the ANC have grossly over-estimated the number of voters in the PWV region, whose 3,8 million voters will be smaller than the Natal region's 4,3 million. Rural voters, with 45,9% in the 10 homelands, will have a decisive influence over South Africa's first free election.

## Up-to-date

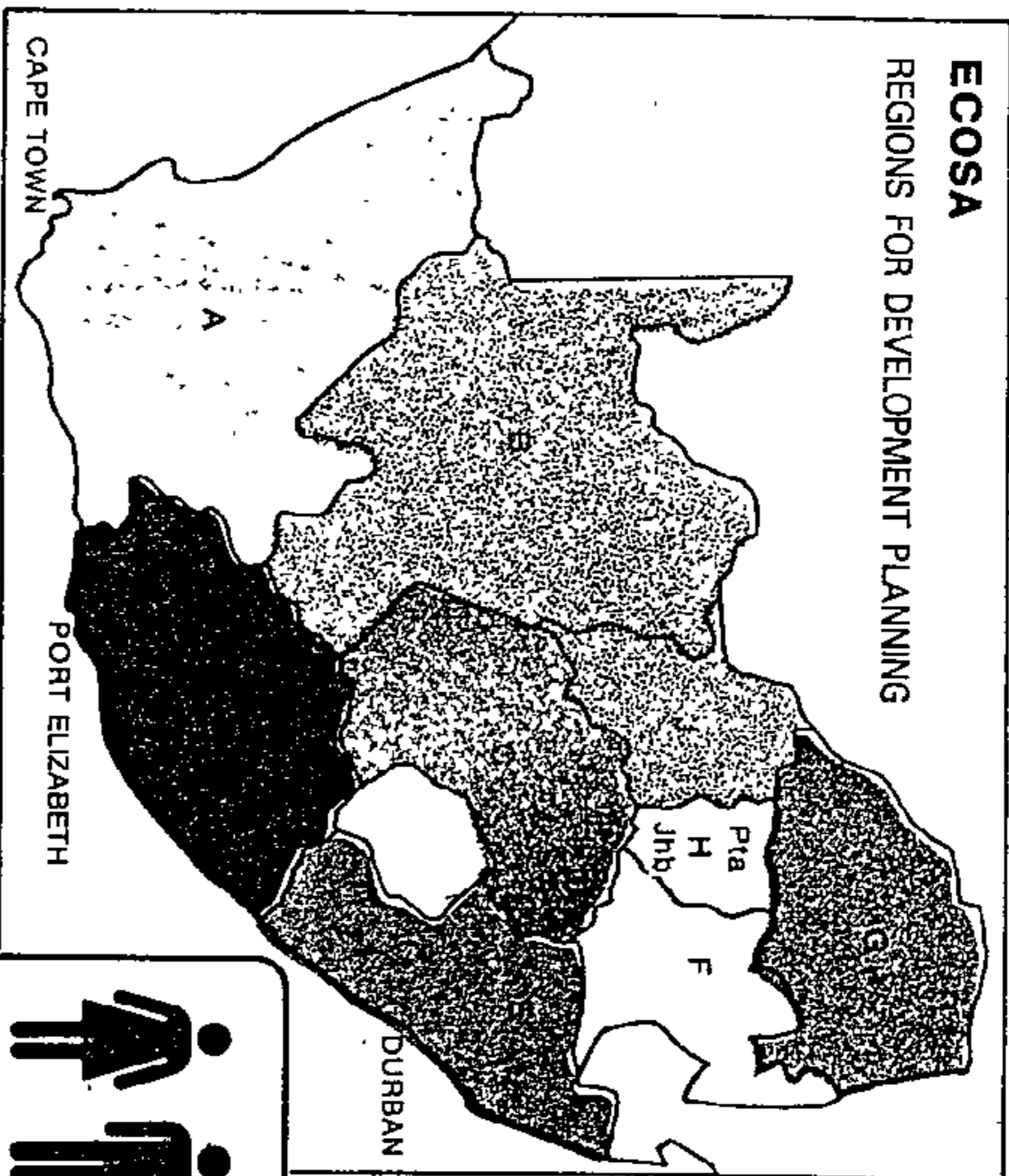
If the NP's proposals for an upper house of Parliament with equal representation for each of the nine development regions are implemented, five smaller regions, where 28,2% of the potential voters live, could exercise control over Parliament and block legislation.

The voter estimates are based on figures provided yesterday on request by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) on the number of people over the age of 18 in the nine regions, including the homelands.

The bank, which maintains an extensive resource unit to monitor demographic trends in South Africa, is believed to keep the most up-to-date statistics on population numbers in the country.

Its figures, based on 1990 estimates, show that South Africa would have 17 319 120 potential voters, 9 374 870 of whom, 54,12% of the total, live outside the homelands.

ECOSA  
REGIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING



REGION	TOTAL	%
E Natal Natal	4 281 611	24,7
H PWV Bophuthatswana	3 793 155	21,90
A Western Cape	1 375 969	7,94
F Eastern Transvaal	926 518	5,35
G Northern Transvaal Gauteng	1 222 511	7,06
J Northern Cape Ghaqwa	1 122 511	6,48
B Northern Cape Bophuthatswana	842 845	4,87
C Northern Cape Bophuthatswana	493 405	2,85

A further 3 191 094 live in the 'independent' homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and 4 753 156 voters are in the other six homelands.

Region E, which includes the eastern portions of Transkei, Natal and KwaZulu, has the largest number of voters, 4 277 617, or 24,7% of the total, while the PWV's 3 793 155 people over the age of 18 in Region H constitutes 21,9% of the total.

The PWV estimates come as a major surprise to both the NP and ANC, whose spokesmen have recently stated that about half of South Africa's

potential voters lived in the region.

Region D, which includes the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and the western portions of Transkei, has 2,2 million voters, 12,7% of the total, while Region G, in the Northern Transvaal and Venda, has 2,1 million voters, 12,1% of the total.

These four regions, the most densely populated in South Africa, will have 71,8% of the voters and in terms of the NP and ANC constitutional proposals will dominate the proportionally elected lower House of Parliament.

The Western Cape, Region A, will

have 1,4 million voters, 7,9% of the total, while Region C, which includes Free State, Gwaqwa and parts of Bophuthatswana, has 1,2 million voters, 7,15% of the total.

Region F, which includes the Eastern Transvaal and Kaingwane, has 926 518 voters, 5,35% of the total, while Region J, which includes the Western Transvaal and parts of Bophuthatswana, has 842 845 voters, 4,9% of the total.

The smallest region, Region B, which includes the Northern Cape and parts of Bophuthatswana, has 493 405 voters, 2,85% of the total.

INFORMATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS





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Cape Times, Friday, September 20 1991 7 3

# S Tough Bill to stamp out bribes

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## Political Correspondent

A TOUGH new Bill designed to stamp out bribery and corruption was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Corruption Bill, which is based on recommendations of the SA Law Commission's report on bribery, aims to "criminalise corruption anew in order to provide for proper combating of that evil".

The short Bill avoids elaborate definitions in a bid to prevent restricting the categories of persons who may be bribed.

It also envisages providing for those instances where a benefit is offered to persons other than the bribee himself or his family.

## Implications for homelands

The Bill, which will be considered by Parliament in 1992, also proposes criminalising corruption committed outside the Republic of South Africa if this has an effect inside the country.

This could have major implications for acts or alleged acts of corruption committed inside the "independent" TBVC homelands, in particular.

The Corruption Bill also envisages providing for an "unlimited discretion" in the assessment of sentence within the punitive jurisdiction of the court concerned.

A memorandum attached to the Bill states that "all interested parties" were consulted by the SA Law Commission during its investigation.

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# 'Each policeman has to adhere to code'

Star 25/9/91

(10)



By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Every member of the police forces of South Africa and the six self-governing territories will have to give a written undertaking that he or she accepts the police code of conduct contained within the National Peace Accord.

This was announced after a conference in Pretoria yesterday where Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his counterparts from KwaZulu, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane and Lebowa fully committed their police forces to uphold the letter and spirit of the accord and to implement it as soon as possible.

The accord commits

the police to behave impartially and with restraint in dealing with political crime.

The conference also resolved that:

- All the provisions of the accord would be reflected at all levels of training and re-training.
- Joint units would be established to investigate violence and unrest-related crimes.
- Joint units would be set up to investigate complaints on police conduct.
- Each self-governing territory would appoint a member of its police force to serve with the SAP and members of the community on the proposed Police Board.
- Copies of the police Code of Conduct spelt out in the peace accord should be made available to every police offi-

cial and that every member of all police forces within the country should be required to give a written undertaking that he or she accepts and understand it.

- The self-governing territories should use SAP Reporting Officers to avoid duplication.

The conference also discussed cross-border policing and training.

Among those at the meeting were: Minister of Development Aid Jacob de Villiers; Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers; Gazankulu Chief Minister and Police Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi; Qwaqwa Police Minister R H Mopeli; KwaZulu Minister Without Portfolio N J Ngunane; KwaNdebele Deputy Law and Order Minister S J Mabona and KaNgwane Police Minister M S Gininda.

# Madlala: 'no talk of hit list'

## CP Correspondent

LAKALE Kaunda, the *Natal Witness* reporter who was first to interview self-confessed military intelligence agent Sipho Madlala, this week denied Madlala told her about a security police hit list.

Kaunda said the only name of a person supposed to be killed, and mentioned by Madlala, was that of trade unionist Alfred Ndlovu.

Kaunda was giving evidence at the Pietermaritz-

burg Supreme Court inquest into the death of former head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who was gunned down on February 25. *CP Press 29/9/91*

Madlala - who confessed to being part of a plot to murder Maphumulo - told the court he had seen a two-page hit list at the Halfway House police station in the possession of Det WO Piet Scott.

He said he told Kaunda about this but had asked her not to publish it.

Madlala said Ndlovu's name was second on the list behind that of local ANC leader Harry Gwala. *(101)*

Kaunda also pointed out that some parts of the transcription of their recorded interview were incorrect and the tape itself was inaudible.

Madlala had earlier refused to answer questions related to contents of the tape as he believed it had

been edited. He also said he had made the interview as part of a security branch plot to infiltrate the ANC. *(S)*

City Press reporter S'bu Mngadi told the court about his meetings with Madlala. The inquest was adjourned to October 21. Meanwhile, the house of an interpreter at the inquest, Themba Qwelane, was set alight last week. It could not be established if the attack was connected with the inquest.



### Govt, homelands meet

THE urgent need to effectively integrate the SA government and the homelands in a management process to govern the country as a whole was acknowledged at a top-level meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

Attending yesterday's conference were seven SA Ministers, six deputy Ministers and Ministers from each self-governing or independent homeland.

Meeting chairman and Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said the meeting strongly emphasised the need for a coherent policy framework for socio-economic development and development assistance in the transition period.

16/10/77  
Crad/S

~~SEPA~~ (101)

## Sebe return plans slated

*Elnews 6/10/91*  
THE Congress of Traditional leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has urged the South African Government to reconsider their plan to return former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe to the homeland.

Sebe, who was overthrown in March last year after allegations of corruption, has been offered indemnity from prosecution and R2,3-million. *(10)* *(025)*

Contralesa national president Patekile Holomisa said the money should rather be used to ease the plight of Ciskei civil servants dismissed during a strike earlier this year. - Elnews *6/10/91*.



## Transkei 'is part of SA'

THEO RAWANA

TRANSKEIANS' continued denunciation of Transkei as a separate political entity from SA had upset the vicious machinations of the authors of grand apartheid, Transkei military council head Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said in Umtata yesterday.

Delivering his foreign policy speech, Holomisa said Transkeians had consistently believed SA's "heterogeneous" population constituted one country, one nation with the right to owe allegiance to one leader. "This would promote and enhance one patriotism to the common country, SA, instead of elevating tribalism, sectionalism and racism above SA nationhood."

"The present Transkei government has gone out of its way to complement and reinforce the endeavours of the broad liberation movement in incubating the spirit of oneness and belonging together into the minds of South Africans in a relentless effort to supplant decades of racial divisiveness and ethnic fragmentation," he said.

# Public sector seen as likely to expand

8/10/91

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The re-incorporation of the homelands into SA, a consolidated parliament and the disappearance of the own affairs policy could initially lead to a smaller public service, Commission for Administration chairman Piet van der Merwe said yesterday.

However, the service was likely to expand in the longer term to cope with dynamic new demands from a rapidly expanding population.

And blacks would play a greater role in public administration, Van der Merwe said. They already outnumbered whites there.

In the public services of SA and the homelands, blacks made up 60% of the work force and whites 28%.

In the SA public service alone, blacks constituted 41% of all workers, and whites 39%.

Van der Merwe said the demand for expanded public services against a background of the black population increase would continue to grow and with it the size of the service.

The decline in the white population growth and the demand for their labour in the private sector would mean an expanding public service would have to rely more heavily on the appointment of qualified blacks.

Asked if contingency planning was in

progress to provide for a consolidation of the SA and homelands services, Van der Merwe said the normal delivery of services would obviously have to continue whether constitutional changes took place or not. So consolidation would not necessarily lead to fewer civil servants.

On a possible Africanisation of the service in a new dispensation, Van der Merwe said it was the commissioner's firm policy, backed by the Public Service Act, to promote only on merit and qualifications. Hopefully that policy would continue in a new SA.

On the issue of a smaller more efficient public service Van der Merwe said rationalisation, privatisation and deregulation were aimed at this target.

The personnel standards imposed two years ago was still in force.

Van der Merwe said the size of the public service in relation to population size and the size of the economy was smaller than in many Western countries.

Reliable international statistics showed the SA public service, including local authorities, employed 11.2% of the economically active population.

Comparable figures for other countries were: Australia 25.6%, France 23.2%, Britain 21.8%, Germany 16.1% and US 16.8%.

## Paper criticises ANC

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — The ANC was criticised by the Financial Times yesterday for falling to set out a clear economic policy.

The influential London business paper also warned that by clinging to "outmoded" policies like nationalisation it was frightening away potential investors.

In an editorial, the paper said: "Again and again, the ANC fails to think realistically beyond apartheid to the daunting economic problems which lie ahead for SA."

Over the past fortnight, it noted, ANC leaders had pledged allegiance to nationalisation, then withdrawn this pledge; threatened to reneg on foreign loans, backtracked, and then threatened anew.

ANC officials, it said, had contradicted each other, "with scant regard for the damage done."

"Mr Nelson Mandela, the president, is among the worst offenders, reverting to the tired phrases of the 1955 Freedom Charter — promising to nationalise mines, banks and 'monopoly industries'."

### Deep chord

In private meetings such as that with US businessmen yesterday in Indiana, the Financial Times said, ANC officials could be expected to downplay the rhetoric and assure investors that nationalisation would be used primarily to ensure supply of basic services such as health, transport, and electricity.

"But they (the investors) should remember that industrial nationalisation strikes a deep chord in the ANC. Afrikaner socialism made the Volk rich, it is argued, and many ANC officials believe a post-apartheid state can do the same for blacks.

"It is time for ANC leaders to recognise the outmoded nature of this argument and set out a clear economic strategy."

"In so doing, they would dissipate some of the confusion which continues to frighten away potential investors."

ARG.

# Hani hails homeland leaders, but slams township councils

## The Argus Correspondent

KWA-NYAMAZANE (Kangwane). — The African National Congress endorsed homeland leaders' strategy of working within the apartheid system as long as they had a mandate from the people, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff, Mr Chris Hani, said here.

He said the bantustan system was in disarray as homeland leaders struggled for reincorporation into South Africa.

Asked whether "working from within" applied to councillors in townships, he said: "No, this does not go for discredited councillors who don't have any mandate from the people. The strategy of working from within the system evolved around discussions with the ANC and our comrades even before we were declared legal".

He was sharing a platform yesterday with Kangwane's Chief Minister, Mr M C Zitha, before thousands during the 13th annual congress of the homeland's ruling Inyandza National Movement.

Mr Hani said the movement's alliance with the ANC, which began in 1986, had to be applauded.

Mr Hani, who was given a standing ovation by delegates and foreign diplomats, saw the strategy in the homelands, including Kangwane, as succeeding and stopping "what would have been a disastrous part of our country".

"One of the pillars of the apartheid system was division and balkanisation of our people into homelands. But leaders here like Mr Enos Mabuza who formed this great movement, effectively fought apartheid by working within it," Mr Hani said.

"The Inyandza Movement took a dangerous step of meeting the ANC when we were banned, and branded terrorists. We share the same commitment, a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic government."

Mr Hani then made a scathing attack on the security forces for failing to protect those killed during civic leader Mr Sam Ntuli's funeral in Tokoza just weeks after the signing of the Peace Accord.

"We're surprised and disturbed that the government, which has been so effective in fighting us, is now powerless when it comes to arresting the perpetrators of this violence.

"How do 18 people die when there are scores of police and casspirs around?"

The ANC was also awaiting the outcome of the arrest of killers by train commuters, Mr Hani said.



# Chieftaincy 'must turn democratic'

(101)

CHIEFTANCY will have to undergo radical changes in a new South Africa, according to president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa Chief Patekile Holomisa.

He was speaking at the weekend at a two-day Contralesa conference in Pretoria on hereditary rule in a future South Africa.

In the light of the ongoing violence in the country, Holomisa warned of "tribal strifes and conflict" spilling over into the new South Africa.

Chiefs could, however, become instruments of peace and unity if chieftaincy got its due

recognition. *Sowetan*

Holomisa, an advocate of the Supreme Court in Umtata, predicts that chiefs as hereditary rulers "will remain in place". However, they would have to be elected by the members of their community, he said.

With the democratisation of traditional authority, the chief-in-council, in particular, would have to be elected by the community.

"This is where organisations such as residents associations, amongst others, will come in."

Whatever decisions the chiefs took would there-

fore be informed decisions, Holomisa said.

Contralesa had taken it on itself to ensure that as long as chieftaincy lasts, it will be transformed into a

modernised and democratic institution.

On the judicial front, chiefs would be accepted as the legitimate arbiters in disputes involving

members of their communities or those of neighbouring localities, while at a legislative level the Great Place was the legislative seat. - Sapa.

16/10/91

# POLICY



## LAND 1

### CURRENT STRUGGLES

New Nation

25/10 - 31/10/91

(Learn by Nation)

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 have always been seen as one of the cornerstones of apartheid. During the last session of parliament, the government formally removed racial restrictions on land ownership by abolishing these acts. But people's struggle for land is not yet over. The effects of these apartheid laws and the policy of forced removals remains.

While very few old-style forced removals or incorporations into bantustans still occur, the question of who owns and benefits from land in South Africa has not been resolved. Many communities are at the moment engaged in bitter struggles about land.

What are the main themes of these struggles?

#### RESTORATION OF THE LAND

Many communities, uprooted from land they had owned or occupied for generations, have never lost the desire to return to their land. At the moment, there are 20 rural communities around the country actively involved in attempts to return to land they regard as theirs. And there are probably many more people who wish to return, but have not yet organised themselves. Many readers will have heard of the Mogopa people's story of forced removal and return. They occupied their land in defiance of the government two years ago. After protracted negotiations and court cases they have recently won the right to remain on their land. But there are many other communities who have not been so fortunate.

Since November 1990, the Barolong tribe of Machavie and the communities of Goedgevonden (in the Transvaal), Crimen, Charlestown and Roosboom (in Natal) and Macleantown (in the Border region) have all tried to reoccupy their land. Only some of the people of Goedgevonden and Roosboom have been able to remain on the land, but their position is still insecure as they await the outcome of court actions and negotiations. Other communities like the Mfengu of Tsitsikama and the people of the farm Doornkop near Middelburg have been engaged in protracted correspondence with the government and land owners about their right to have land restored. They have had no success yet.

#### DEVELOPMENT

Most communities that won reprieves from forced removal or incorporation into a bantustan, remain underdeveloped. This is because the area has

been deliberately neglected by a government which until recently was trying to push blacks out of "white" South Africa. Residents of townships like Tshikota (near Louis Trichardt), Koster (near Ventersdorp) and Lawaakamp (near George) are now trying to improve their housing, services and facilities at an affordable cost.

Water supply, health and education facilities are serious problems in many rural settlements. In areas such as Driefontein and Daggakraal (in South Eastern Transvaal), Mooiplaas and Kwelera (in Border region) and Matiwane's Kop in the Natal Midlands, there is severe overcrowding.

Because of previous policies which tried to force all black from "white land", areas like these became the refuge of homeless people and now there is not enough land for farming.

These areas need to get a share of available resources to develop their settlements and improve the everyday lives of people living there. In particular, women in these areas are starting to demand the right to help determine priorities for development, since they are often the ones who must run the household when the men are working in the cities.

#### RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

To develop their areas, communities will have to work through strong accountable local government structures. Under apartheid, local government was used by officials to control and oppress communities. In the new South Africa, communities will have to think about how they want to administer their areas. This raises many questions about the role and composition of current structures - for instance should they be the civics, residents' associations, community authorities or tribal authorities?

Should they be hereditary or democratically elected? Which structures will serve the community best? Can all sectors of the community (for example women, youth) participate equally?

At the moment the government is trying to change legislation about rural local government. Several communities feel that the proposed changes are not a great improvement on the present apartheid legislation. They want to work out a whole new system that will serve their needs and have the support of their people.

While there is a lot of discussion about development and local government in urban townships,



there has been little about rural local government.

#### BANTUSTANS

Under apartheid, the government established bantustans and cast millions of people into the "care" of these puppet governments.

Communities in the bantustans feel excluded from the debates and discussions about the new South Africa. In particular people living under the rule of Bophuthatswana have seen little change or improvement in their situation. Repression has continued, and the South African government is unresponsive to people's pleas for assistance. So even though the South African authorities are making concessions about reform in "South Africa", they still refuse to take responsibility for people in the bantustans.

Communities who were forcibly incorporated and who opposed Bophuthatswana face continued harassment by bantustan police and vigilantes. The tragic story of Braklaagte in the Western Transvaal was told in an earlier edition of Learning Nation. Other communities such as Thornhill and Peulton in the Border region are affected by similar problems in relation to the Ciskei. Until constitutional agreements for a new government include the land and people of the bantustans there will be no real change in South Africa.

#### FARM WORKERS AND LABOUR TENANTS

The National Manpower Commission has finally recommended that farm workers' conditions of employment should be controlled by legislation. This is a major breakthrough for one of the most exploited sectors of workers in our country. But their rights to land and housing has not been addressed. Farm work-

ers live at their places of work and need to have some form of security or offer of an alternative place to live if they are evicted. Their situation is becoming worse as more and more farmers are deciding to reduce the number of their employees. These farmers fear future legislation over wages, unionisation and working conditions. Homeless and unemployed, evicted farm workers face a desperate future.

The problem may be even harder for labour tenants. These are people who farm land in exchange for working a few months year for the farmer. In many cases, the families of labour tenants have lived on the particular farm for generations, often witnessing the selling of land from white farmer to white farmer. But they have no legal right to this land. They are also farmers and in most cases have no desire to go into wage labour. But when a farmer decides he no longer wants them on the land, they have no legal right to stay even though they have invested in housing and livestock and may have lived there much longer than the current "owner". The land claims of labour tenants has to be addressed in a creative way which offers both tenants and farmers entrenched security of occupation.

There is no mention of their situation in the new legislation on land.

Next week, we will look at the government's 'White Paper' on land reform and legislation. We will also offer some guidelines for future land policy.

This article was produced by The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) of: Khofo House, 25 Anderson St. Johannesburg Ph: (011) 833-1063



## More SA ground for (101) 2/11/91 homelands

PRETORIA. — About a million hectares of SA Development Trust (SADT) land still had to be incorporated into homelands including Bophuthatswana, Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Mr Jaques de Villiers said yesterday.

He said in a statement that all land transferred to Bophuthatswana in terms of Proclamation 101/1991 had been acquired by the SADT in decisions taken by central government as far back as 1975.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North and spokesman on Development Aid, Mr Peter Soal, said the DP was opposed to the incorporation particularly into the homeland of Bophuthatswana where South Africans lose their citizenship rights".

— Sapa

# Arrests, raids as Ciskei simmers

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — More than 100 people have been arrested, political meetings have been disrupted and door-to-door raids made in Ciskei in a government crackdown on political protest.

According to Ms Marion Sparg, a member of the African National Congress's executive committee and Border ANC official, police have made raids in Mdantsane township near East London. She said military police and soldiers had targeted youth movements and civic organisations.

According to Ms Sparg, detentions in the Ciskei continued as the military government invoked Section 26 of the National Security Act, allowing indefinite detention.

Ms Sparg said that on Thursday night meetings of the South African Communist Party in the region were broken up by the army.

A house, bottle store and vehicles belonging to a member of the African Democratic Movement near King William's Town were torched on Sunday.

The situation in the Ciskei remains tense as the state of emergency goes into its third day and VAT protests are expected.

The area also has experienced much turbulence over the introduction of the headman system, which allows election of headmen who are not of aristocratic background.

Meanwhile, the Ciskei government has ordered chief magistrates and public prosecutors not to grant bail to people charged with political offences.



# Ciskei 'opens door' to peace

(10)  
CT 5/11/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The Ciskei-Border region has committed itself to the National Peace Accord and has opened the door to a "regional conflict resolution process" which is to be followed up at a National Peace Committee meeting to be held here on Thursday.

This is the gist of a decision taken at a closed meeting in Johannesburg yesterday between a senior delegation from Ciskei and committee chairman Mr John Hall.

The meeting follows the recent declaration of a state of emergency in Ciskei.

"We are starting a process which is encouraging and must chew the apple bite for bite as we go along," Mr Hall said.

## Arrested

The ANC has expressed "grave concern" for people held under Ciskei emergency regulations at the weekend.

A statement by the ANC said among those arrested were Mr Sam Kwelitta, a member of the ANC regional executive, and Mr Amos Mpela, an executive member of both the ANC and the Residents' Association.

ANC spokeswoman for the region, Miss Marion Sparg, said the two men were arrested while marking out sites for the homeless in Dimbaza.

Ciskei police refused to confirm the whereabouts of emergency detainees, an ANC spokesman said. — Sapa

# Nod for Viljoen in multiparty talks

A MEETING between the Government, homeland and tricameral parliamentary leaders yesterday voted that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get a multiparty conference off the ground.

The meeting, held at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, was chaired by President FW de Klerk and attended, among others, by Viljoen, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Dr Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, KaNgwane leader Cephas Zitha, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils - Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, House of Representatives (coloured) leader the Rev Allan

*Sowetan 6/11/91*  
Hendrickse and House of Delegates (Indian) leader Dr JN Reddy - and provincial administrators.

After the meeting the Ministry of Constitutional Development said in a statement there had been general agreement on the urgency of the multiparty conference becoming a reality.

The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and had agreed on the basic issues, the statement said.

Chief Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Prince SK Mahlangu of KwaNdebele could not attend but their administrations were represented. - Sapa.

● See picture on page 2

101



# ANC claim 250 held — denied by police

~~ARG~~  
ARG (101)  
6/11/91

## The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — About 250 ANC members have been arrested in Dimbaza near King William's Town, bringing the number of members detained since the Ciskei state of emergency was declared to 278, the ANC claims.

Among those arrested were an ANC regional executive member, Mr Sam Kwelita, the chairperson of the Dimbaza Residents' Association, Mr Vuyisile Radoni and an executive member of the ANC and the resident's association, Mr Amos Mpela.

The ANC's Border publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said Ciskei police were still refusing to confirm the whereabouts of emergency detainees.

"Repeated calls to police stations throughout Ciskei have resulted in simple denials that any detainees are being held in their stations," she said.

"Many of our members have been held for more than a week now in terms of the emergency regulations. Friends and relatives have approached police stations where they are believed to be held to take them fresh clothing and food parcels. "In all cases," said Ms Sparg "they are told

that no emergency detainees are held in that particular station."

The ANC has also claimed that in Komga, near East London, armed PAC supporters led by a South African Police special constable roamed the township on Sunday night attacking residents.

"About seven people were wounded by pangas and axes and stoning also took place," said Ms Sparg.

Several ANC members were also confronted and asked whether they still belonged to the organisation, she said.

She also accused South African security elements of planning a coup in the Ciskei.

The alleged plotters were planning to replace the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, with Chief Lent Maqoma, in a move aimed at preempting the Border Peace Committee's plan for an interim administration to replace Gqozo.

"It is obviously difficult to prove, but we have no doubt a coup is being engineered," she said.

It was becoming "increasingly evident that the De Klerk government is going to have to bow to the demands of the Border Peace Committee".

## ANC claims PAC attacks

EAST LONDON. — The local branch of the ANC has alleged that armed groups of Pan Africanist Congress supporters attacked residents in the Komga location on Sunday night.

Police in Komga denied any knowledge of such incidents.

PAC officials could not be reached for comment.

CT 6/11/91 (101)

## SA denies coup claim

EAST LONDON. — Allegations that South Africa's National Intelligence Service was planning a coup in Ciskei to overthrow the administration of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo were without substance, a spokesman for the SA embassy in Ciskei said yesterday.

The charge d'affaires at the embassy, Mr Isak Heath, said he was amazed the ANC could make the accusations.

The Border ANC claimed on Monday the plan was intended to pre-empt attempts by the Border Peace Committee to persuade SA to appoint an interim administrator in Brig Gqozo's position.

A co-chairman of the Border Peace Conference steering committee, Mr Andre de Wet, said yesterday he too had heard reports of a planned coup.





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## 314 'held in Ciskei'

Own Correspondent

(101)  
C1 6/10/91  
EAST LONDON. — At least 314 people have been reportedly arrested in Ciskei since the homeland's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, proclaimed a state of emergency there last Tuesday.

It is uncertain how many of those arrested have been detained under the emergency regulations, how many are routine arrests and how many are still being held.

The figure exludes the reported 300 arrested at Izeli last Sunday — 83 of whom have appeared in court, some being charged and others released.

Miss Marion Sparg of the ANC said another 18 people had been arrested yesterday.

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# Azasco hits out at homeland leaders

Sowetan 7/11/91

THE Azanian Students Convention yesterday accused homeland leaders of having a double agenda.

Azasco president Mr Sipho Maseko was reacting to the consent by homeland leaders and tricameral parliament representatives that Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get the multiparty conference off the ground.

This agreement was reached at a meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria at the weekend.

The meeting came a week after the Patriotic Front conference convened in Durban by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Maseko said the homeland leaders' par-

#8 101  
By THEMBA MOLEFE  
Political Staff

ticipation in the PF had reduced it to a "pathetic front".

He said: "Azasco's refusal, and that of the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole, to participate in the PF has been vindicated.

"This meeting has proved beyond reasonable doubt that these bantustan leaders are not redeemable.

"There is no way that these leaders can be part of the freedom movement, yet still be madly in love with this Government.

"Azasco believes this is the time when we need a real PF, which will isolate these puppets and their mentor," Maseko said.

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# Family to see 'assassin's' body

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are waiting for the family of an alleged Transkei "assassin" to identify his body, after he was shot dead when police intercepted him in Soweto just before midnight on Tuesday.

The Transkei's consular representative met Soweto police yesterday morning, and was asked to arrange for the man's next of kin to travel to Johannesburg to identify him.

Police intercepted the man after receiving information that a would-be assassin was on his way from the Transkei with "plans" to kill policemen, a police spokesman said.

A taxi the man was travelling in was intercepted by the police in Moroka, Soweto, but the suspect ran away and attempted to shoot at the police.

Police fired a shot, fatally wounding the man, and found a loaded 9mm pistol and an emergency Transkei travel document in his possession, the spokesman said.

● Twelve ANC supporters have been arrested at Wembezi near Estcourt in the Natal Midlands for allegedly possessing illegal guns.

In another incident at Wembezi, a man was killed and other was injured on Wednesday when a hand-grenade was thrown into a house. — Sapa

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die island ... cheap parking ... final pro- ...

# Not-so-silent women join hands to fight for rights

Star 19/11/91

Beauty Mkhize of the eastern Transvaal village of Driefontein stands at the helm of the newly formed Rural Women's Movement, a unique "bottom-up" organisation drawing together women's groups across the Transvaal platteland.

A blast from a policeman's shotgun at a community meeting nearly nine years ago set her on course for this role. It resulted in the death of her husband Saul, who had headed the fight of the Driefontein people against forced removal.

Mrs Mkhize soon became the only woman member of the Driefontein Council Board of Directors, the non-statutory representatives of the community. Her transformation was remarkable. There was little to recall the lightly charming woman Saul had brought from Johannesburg to keep his Driefontein home.

The struggle for Driefontein's survival and her fight to surmount her husband's killing became one, says Mrs Mkhize. "It was important for me to be with the Driefontein community," she recalls.

Driefontein and neighbouring kwaNgema won a reprieve from forced removal in the mid-'80s. It was the first sign that the Government was about to abandon its policy of "black spot" removals.

Mrs Mkhize says it is no coincidence that the Rural Women's Movement, launched at Lobethal Mission in Lebowa at the weekend, includes many organisations from areas which have struggled against removal or incorporation into homelands.

As her husband's death changed her, so the prospect of removal transformed other women. "Just

Rural women, the most silent of silent majorities, are finding their voice. JO-ANNE COL-LINGE reports.

being threatened — that's where they changed.

"The question of ploughing — they tell you not to plough because you must move.

"I know if I cannot plough I am not going to live. How am I going to start a new life somewhere else?"

The common threat meant "we started thinking of each other and of ways to come together and share our difficulties".

The Rural Women's Movement is simply structured, with each village organisation retaining its autonomy. It is open to "all oppressed rural women who wish to join our struggle for women's rights".

The 120-odd women who adopted the constitution earlier this month spanned a wide age range, sported ANC pins and ZCC badges, sloganed T-shirts and print dresses. Discussion flowed in Sotho, Zulu and Tswana.

The aims outlined in the constitution speak of the deprivation and alienation that rural women feel. They want equal rights to the land, access to literacy and training, an end to social practices and laws which disadvantage women.

Many of the delegates were keenly aware that the fact that they were not literate and not fluent in English kept them out of po-

litical forums. They made a claim for "a say in political matters at a national level and in our communities" and called for closer links between urban and rural women.

The formal business of the launch workshop was preceded by a day of sharing handicrafts and other skills and a night of self-performed entertainment. In building an organisation of those who have suffered greatest oppression it is important to focus on achievements and knowledge as well as problems, Mrs Mkhize insists.

The Rural Women's Movement certainly has no monopoly on organising women in rural areas. For instance, the Housewives' League and ANC Women's League have a rural constituency. But these organisations are controlled from the urban centres and often their programmes are dictated by their urban base.

The Rural Women's Movement has little urban dilution. At the moment it links organisations in 26 communities — many of them already serviced by development agencies and with ongoing projects. The Transvaal Rural Action Committee has worked actively toward the birth of the umbrella body, but has no representation on its executive committee.

Despite their easy consensual style, most of the 120 women who attended the launching meeting are fighters. They have faced demolition, conducted land invasions, weathered vigilante attacks, endured exile from their homes. The battles were desperate, but in a way simple. They were facing up to a juggernaut state to prevent the very destruction of their communities.

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21 NOV 1991

# Staatskoerant Government Gazette

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PRETORIA, 15 NOVEMBER 1991

No. 13622

## PROKLAMASIE

*van die*

*Staatspresident*

*van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*

No. R. 110, 1991

WYSIGING VAN DIE REGULASIES WAARBY DIE PLIGTE, BEVOEGDHEDE, VOORREGTE EN DIENSVOORWAARDES VAN KAPTEINS EN HOOFMANNE VOORGESKRYF WORD: PROKLAMASIE 110 VAN 1957

Kragtens artikel 2 (7) van die Swart Administrasie Wet, 1927 (Wet 38 van 1927), wysig ek hierby die bogemelde regulasies deur Regulasie 24 daarvan deur die volgende regulasie te vervang:

"24. Aan 'n kaptein wat erken of aangestel is, word die toelae betaal wat die Minister, in oorleg met die Tesourie, óf in die algemeen óf ten opsigte van 'n bepaalde kaptein bepaal en hy word by uitdienstreding weens ouderdom, swakheid of op ander goeie en voldoende gronde 'n aftredingstoelae toegestaan teen dié tarief wat die Minister in oorleg met die Tesourie bepaal: Met dien verstande dat die voorgaande bepalinge met betrekking tot die betaling van 'n aftredingstoelae, in die geval van 'n waarnemende kaptein slegs van toepassing is indien sodanige waarnemende kaptein by uitdienstreding 10 jaar of meer jaar diens voltooi het: Met dien verstande voorts dat 'n waarnemende kaptein wat by uitdienstreding vyf jaar of meer diens maar minder as 10 jaar diens voltooi het, met die goedkeuring van die Minister, 'n gratifikasie toegestaan kan word, bereken teen die helfte van sy toelae gedurende die laaste maand van sy werklike diens vir elke volle jaar van diens."

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Eerste dag van November Eenduisend Negehoenderd Een-en-negentig.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-kabinet:

**J. DE VILLIERS,**

Minister van die Kabinet.

951 — A

## PROCLAMATION

*by the*

*State President*

*of the Republic of South Africa*

No. R. 110, 1991

AMENDMENT OF THE REGULATIONS PRESCRIBING THE DUTIES, POWERS, PRIVILEGES AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF CHIEFS AND HEADMEN: PROCLAMATION 110 OF 1957

Under section 2 (7) of the Black Administration Act, 1927 (Act 38 of 1927), I hereby amend the above-mentioned regulations by the substitution of Regulation 24 thereof by the following section:

"24. An appointed or a recognised chief shall be paid the allowance as the Minister may determine in consultation with the Treasury either generally or in respect of a particular chief and, upon retirement from service on account of age, infirmity or other good and sufficient cause, shall be awarded a retiring allowance at such rate as the Minister may determine in consultation with the Treasury: Provided that the foregoing provisions in regard to the payment of a retiring allowance shall, in the case of an acting chief, only apply if such acting chief on retirement from service has completed 10 or more years service: Provided further that upon retirement from service an acting chief who has completed five or more years service but less than 10 years service, may, with the approval of the Minister, be awarded a gratuity calculated at the rate of one-half of his allowance during the last month of his actual service for each complete year of service."

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria on this First day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-one.

**F. W. DE KLERK,**

State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

**J. DE VILLIERS,**

Minister of the Cabinet.

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No. R. 2795

22 November 1991

## WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

## MEUBEL- EN BEDDEGOEDNYWERHEID: TRANSVAAL: VERLENGING VAN KOMS

Ek, Dennis van der Walt, Direkteur: Arbeidsverhoudinge, behoorlik daartoe gemagtig deur die Minister van Mannekrag, verleng hierby, kragtens artikel 48 (4) (a) (i) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, die tydperke vasgestel in Goewermenskennisgewings R. 3041 van 4 Januarie 1991, R. 1418 van 21 Junie 1991 en R. 2662 van 8 November 1991, met 'n verdere tydperk wat op 30 Junie 1992 eindig.

**D. VAN DER WALT,**

Direkteur: Arbeidsverhoudinge.

**DEPARTEMENT VAN NASIONALE  
GESONDHEID EN BEVOLKINGS-  
ONTWIKKELING**

No. R. 2766

22 November 1991

VERKLARING TOT STOFBEHEERGEBIED KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 27 VAN DIE WET OP VOORKOMING VAN LUGBESOEDILING, 1965 (WET No. 45 VAN 1965): STADSRAAD VAN BRITS

Ek, Elizabeth Hendrina Venter, Minister van Nasionale Gesondheid, na oorlegpleging met die Minister van Handel en Nywerheid en Toerisme en na oorweging van 'n verslag van die Nasionale Adviserende Komitee op Lugbesoedeling, verklaar hierby kragtens artikel 27 (1) van die Wet op Voorkoming van Lugbesoedeling, 1965 (Wet No. 45 van 1965), die regsgebied van die Stadsraad van Brits tot 'n stofbeheergebied vir doeleindes van hierdie Wet, met ingang van die datum van publikasie hiervan.

**E. H. VENTER,**

Minister van Nasionale Gesondheid.

**DEPARTEMENT VAN ONTWIKKELINGS-  
HULP**

No. R. 2779

22 November 1991

ALGEMENE REGULASIES VIR STAM- EN  
GEMEENSKAPSOWERHEDE

Hierby word vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat dit die Staatspresident behaag het om kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen by artikel 17 van die Wet op Swart Owerhede, 1951 (Wet 68 van 1951), die regulasies wat in die Bylae hierby vervat is, uit te vaardig ten opsigte van stam- en gemeenskapsowerhede.

**BYLAE**

## WOORDOMSKRYWINGS

1. In hierdie regulasies het 'n uitdrukking waaraan 'n betekenis in die Wet op Swart Owerhede, 1951 (Wet 68 van 1951), geheg is, tensy onbestaanbaar met die sinsverband, dieselfde betekenis en beteken —

"Departement" die Departement van Ontwikkelingshulp;

No. R. 2735

22 November 1991

## LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

## FURNITURE AND BEDDING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY: TRANSVAAL: EXTENSION OF MAIN AGREEMENT

I, Dennis van der Walt, Director: Labour Relations, duly authorised thereto by the Minister of Manpower, hereby, in terms of section 48 (4) (a) (i) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, extend the periods fixed in Government Notices R. 3041 of 4 January 1991, R. 1418 of 21 June 1991 and R. 2662 of 8 November 1991, by a further period ending 30 June 1992.

**D. VAN DER WALT,**

Director: Labour Relations.

**DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL  
HEALTH AND POPULATION  
DEVELOPMENT**

No. R. 2766

22 November 1991

DECLARATION OF DUST CONTROL AREA IN TERMS OF SECTION 27 OF THE ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION PREVENTION ACT, 1965 (ACT No. 45 OF 1965): TOWN COUNCIL OF BRITS

I, Elizabeth Hendrina Venter, Minister of National Health, after consultation with the Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism and after consideration of a report by the National Air Pollution Advisory Committee, hereby declare in terms of section 27 (1) of the Atmospheric Pollution Prevention Act, 1965 (Act No. 45 of 1965), the area of jurisdiction of the Town Council of Brits to be a dust control area for the purposes of this Act, with effect from the date of publication hereof.

**E. H. VENTER,**

Minister of National Health.

**DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT  
AID**

No. R. 2779

101

22 November 1991

GENERAL REGULATIONS FOR TRIBAL AND  
COMMUNITY AUTHORITIES

It is hereby notified for general information that the State President has been pleased, under and by virtue of the powers vested in him by section 17 of the Black Authorities Act, 1951 (Act 68 of 1951), to make the regulations contained in the Schedule hereto in respect of tribal and community authorities.

**SCHEDULE**

## DEFINITIONS

1. In these regulations any expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Black Authorities Act, 1951 (Act 68 of 1951), shall, unless inconsistent with the context, have the meaning so assigned thereto, and—

"area" shall mean an area proclaimed by the Minister for a tribe or community in terms of section 2 (2) of the Act;

"departementele verteenwoordiger" 'n beampte in die Staatsdiens deur die Direkteur-generaal aangewys;

"die Wet" die Wet op Swart Owerhede, 1951 (Wet 68 van 1951);

"Direkteur-generaal" die Direkteur-generaal van Ontwikkelingshulp;

"gemeenskapsowerheid" 'n gemeenskapsowerheid kragtens artikel 2 (1) (a) (ii) van die Wet ingestel of geag daarkragtens ingestel te wees;

"gebied" 'n gebied deur die Minister vir 'n stam of gemeenskap kragtens artikel 2 (2) van die Wet bepaal;

"Minister" beteken die Minister van Openbare Werke en Grondsake en van Ontwikkelingshulp;

"voorsitter" die persoon wat uit hoofde van die bepalings van artikel 3 van die Wet die voorsitter van 'n stam- of gemeenskapsowerheid is of as voorsitter daarvan waarneem;

"voorraad" ook—

(a) alle materiaal en artikels vir uitreiking in voorraad gehou;

(b) alle uitrustingsartikels vir gebruik uitgereik of in gebruik;

(c) alle lewende hawe aangekoop uit geld van die tesourie ingevolge artikel 8 van die Wet ingestel, of op 'n ander wyse aangeskaf.

## DEEL I

### *Erkenning en aanstelling van raadsmanne*

2. Die kaptein of hoofman van 'n stam ten opsigte waarvan 'n stamowerheid ingevolge artikel 2 (1) (a) (i) van die Wet ingestel is—

(a) erken as raadsmanne van die stamowerheid die persone wat kragtens die reg en gebruike van die stam saam met hom die stamregering van die stam uitmaak; en

(b) kan te eniger tyd daarna met die instemming van die erkende raadsmanne van die stamowerheid een of meer ander persone as raadsmanne van die stamowerheid aanstel:

Met dien verstande dat die getal raadsmanne kragtens subregulasies (a) en (b) erken of aangestel, nie meer mag wees as die getal raadsmanne deur die Staatspresident ingevolge artikel 3 van die Wet bepaal nie.

3. (1) Waar 'n gemeenskapsowerheid ingestel is ten opsigte van 'n gemeenskap of twee of meer gemeenskappe gesamentlik, en raadsmanne aangewys moet word, word die raadsmanne gekies op 'n vergadering of vergaderings deur die departementele verteenwoordiger vir die doel belê, op welke vergadering of vergaderings hy voorsit, deur die volwasse lede van die betrokke gemeenskap of gemeenskappe wat op so 'n vergadering teenwoordig is, deur die opsteek van hande of deur geheime stemming of op sodanige ander wyse as wat die departementele verteenwoordiger na goeddunke kan bepaal.

(2) Die persone gekies ingevolge subregulasie (1), word deur die departementele verteenwoordiger as gekose verklaar en word geag as raadsmanne van die gemeenskapsowerheid aangestel te wees vir die doeleindes van die Wet en hierdie regulasies.

"chairman" shall mean the person who in terms of the provisions of section 3 of the Act is or acts as chairman of a tribal or community authority; (101)

"community authority" shall mean a community authority established in terms of section 2 (1) (a) (ii) of the Act or deemed to be established in terms thereof;

"Department" shall mean the Department of Development Aid;

"Director-General" shall mean the Director-General of Development Aid;

"departmental representative" shall mean an officer in the Department designated by the Director-General;

"Minister" shall mean the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs and of Development Aid;

"stores" shall also mean—

(a) all material and articles held in stock for issue;

(b) all articles of equipment issued for use or in use;

(c) all livestock purchased from moneys derived from the treasury established in terms of section 8 of the Act, or otherwise acquired;

"the Act" shall mean the Black Authorities Act, 1951 (Act 68 of 1951).

## PART I

### *Recognition and appointment of councillors*

2. The chief or headman of a tribe in respect of which a tribal authority has been established in terms of section 2 (1) (a) (i) of the Act—

(a) shall recognise as councillors of the tribal authority those persons who by virtue of the laws and customs of the tribe constitute with him the tribal government of the tribe; and

(b) may at any time thereafter, with the concurrence of the recognised councillors of the tribal authority, appoint one or more other persons as councillors of the tribal authority:

Provided that the number of councillors recognised or appointed in terms of subregulations (a) and (b) may not exceed the number of councillors determined by the State President in terms of section 3 of the Act.

3. (1) Where a community authority has been established in respect of a community or two or more communities jointly, and councillors are to be designated, the councillors shall be elected at a meeting or meetings convened by the departmental representative for this purpose, at which meeting or meetings he shall preside, by the adult members of the community or communities concerned present at such meeting, by a show of hands or by secret ballot or in such other manner as the departmental representative at his discretion may determine.

(2) The persons elected in terms of subregulation (1) shall be declared elected by the departmental representative, and shall be deemed to have been appointed councillors for the community authority for the purposes of the Act and these regulations.



4. (1) Die raadsmanne van 'n gemeenskapsowerheid kies uit eie getoëde 'n voorsitter op 'n vergadering gehou onder voorsitterskap van die departementele verteenwoordiger, deur stemming op die wyse soos deur die departementele verteenwoordiger bepaal.

(2) Indien die amp van voorsitter om enige rede vakant raak, word 'n voorsitter in sy plek gekies op die wyse voorgeskryf in subregulasie (1).

(3) Tensy die gemeenskapsowerheid anders beslis, beklee die voorsitter sy amp vir die tydperk waarvoor hy as raadsman aangestel is en terwyl hy 'n raadslid is.

(4) Indien die voorsitter om die een of ander rede nie op 'n vergadering van 'n gemeenskapsowerheid aanwesig is nie, wys die raadsmanne teenwoordig uit eie geledere iemand aan om by daardie vergadering as voorsitter op te tree.

#### **Ampstermyn en ampsvoorwaardes van raadsmanne**

5. (1) Die ampstermyn van raadsmanne van 'n gemeenskapsowerheid is vyf jaar.

(2) By die verstryking van die tydperk word raadsmanne aangestel op die wyse in regulasie 3 bepaal.

6. (1) Die setel van 'n raadsman van 'n gemeenskapsowerheid raak vakant indien—

(a) hy deur 'n bevoegde hof geestelik gekrenk verklaar is;

(b) hy te sterwe kom;

(c) hy uit sy setel bedank; of

(d) so besluit word deur die gemeenskapsowerheid.

(2) Indien die setel van 'n raadsman van 'n gemeenskapsowerheid vakant raak, kan die gemeenskapsowerheid iemand in die plek van en vir die onverstreke tydperk van die ampstermyn van so 'n raadsman aanwys.

## DEEL II

### **Prosedure by vergaderings of ander verrigtinge van 'n owerheid**

7. Die prosedure wat gevolg moet word by vergaderings of ander verrigtinge van 'n owerheid, is in ooreenstemming met die reëls wat ooreenkomstig die reg en gebruike van die betrokke stam of gemeenskap in die geval van dergelyke liggame van toepassing is. By ontstentenis van 'n reël wat van toepassing is op die omstandighede van enige geval, of om enige ander rede, kan die owerheid die prosedure voorskryf wat gevolg moet word.

8. (1) Behalwe in die geval van sy onvermydelike afwesigheid moet die kaptein by elke vergadering van die stamowerheid teenwoordig wees.

(2) Die helfte plus een van die raadsmanne van 'n gemeenskapsowerheid maak 'n kworum uit en geen besluit geneem wanneer minder raadsmanne teenwoordig is, is geldig nie.

9. (1) 'n Lid van 'n stam of gemeenskap wat nie die kaptein, voorsitter of 'n raadsman is nie, mag, indien dit ooreenkomstig die reg en gebruike van daardie stam of gemeenskap is, aan die besprekings van die owerheid deelneem, maar kan nie stem oor, of deelneem aan die neem van enige besluit van daardie owerheid nie.

(1) The councillors of a community authority shall, by ballot in the manner determined by the departmental representative, elect a chairman from among their number at a meeting held under the chairmanship of the departmental representative. (101)

(2) If for any reason the office of chairman becomes vacant, a chairman shall be elected in his stead in the manner prescribed in subregulation (1).

(3) Unless the community authority determines otherwise, the chairman shall hold office for the period for which he has been appointed councillor and while he is a councillor.

(4) If for any reason the chairman is not present at a meeting of a community authority, the councillors present shall appoint a person from among their number to act as chairman at that meeting.

### **Period and conditions of office of councillors**

5. (1) The period of office of councillors of a community authority shall be five years.

(2) At the expiry of the period councillors shall be appointed in the manner prescribed by regulation 3.

6. (1) The seat of a councillor of a community authority shall become vacant if—

(a) he has been declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind;

(b) he dies;

(c) he resigns his seat; or;

(d) so decided by the community authority.

(2) If the seat of a councillor of a community authority becomes vacant, such community authority may appoint a person in the place of and for the unexpired period of the period of office of such councillor.

## PART II

### **Procedure at meetings or other proceedings of an authority**

7. The procedure to be followed at meetings or other proceedings of an authority shall be in accordance with the rules applicable in the case of similar bodies in terms of the laws and customs of the tribe or community concerned. In the absence of a rule applicable to the circumstances of any case, or for any other cause, the authority may prescribe the procedure to be followed.

8. (1) Except in the event of his unavoidable absence, the chief shall be present at every meeting of the tribal authority.

(2) The quorum of councillors shall be half the number plus one of the councillors of a community authority and no decision taken when a lesser number of councillors is present shall be valid.

9. (1) A member of a tribe or community who is not the chief, chairman or a councillor may, if it is in accordance with the laws and customs of such tribe or community, participate in the discussions of the authority but may not vote on or take part in the making of any decision of that authority.

(2) Waar dit volgens die reg en gebruik van die stam toelaatbaar is, kan 'n raadsman 'n verteenwoordiger benoem om as sy gevolmagtigde 'n vergadering van die stamowerheid by te woon.

(3) 'n Besluit van 'n owerheid is ongeldig en van geen krag nie indien 'n persoon wat nie die kaptein, voorsitter, 'n raadsman of 'n gevolmagtigde van 'n raadsman is nie, gestem het oor of deelgeneem het aan die neem van sodanige besluit.

**10.** (1) Wanneer die Direkteur-generaal of die departementele verteenwoordiger die kaptein of voorsitter skriftelik mededeel dat hy 'n vergadering van die owerheid wil bywoon waarop 'n saak in sodanige skrywe genoem, bespreek sal word, of wens dat sy gevolmagtigde dit moet bywoon, moet sodanige kaptein of voorsitter die departementele verteenwoordiger minstens sewe dae voor die vergadering skriftelik kennis gee van die datum, tyd en plek van die vergadering waarop sodanige saak bespreek sal word, en sodanige kennis moet ook gegee word ten opsigte van elke vergadering waarop die finale begroting van inkomste en uitgawes oorweeg sal word.

(2) 'n Besluit oor 'n saak genoem in subregulasie (1) wat geneem word, op 'n vergadering of ander verrigtinge van 'n owerheid waarvan die departementele verteenwoordiger nie die vereiste kennisgewing ontvang het nie, is ongeldig.

**11.** Behoudens die bepalings van regulasies 9 (1), 9 (2) en 10 (1) bepaal die owerheid wie 'n vergadering van sodanige owerheid mag bywoon.

#### **Notuleboek**

**12.** (1) 'n Owerheid hou 'n notuleboek waarin ten opsigte van elke vergadering opgeteken word—

- (a) die datum en plek van die vergadering;
- (b) of die kaptein of voorsitter teenwoordig was;
- (c) die name van die raadsmanne en alle ander persone teenwoordig;
- (d) 'n opsomming van elke besluit op die vergadering geneem; en
- (e) indien 'n raadsman aldus versoek, die feit dat hy teen 'n besluit gestem het.

(2) Alle besluite met betrekking tot die finansies of bates van die owerheid word ook in een van die amptelike tale opgeteken.

#### **Aanstelling en diensvoorwaardes van werknemers van owerhede**

**13.** 'n Owerheid kan sodanige werknemers as wat hy nodig ag, aanstel en hul diensvoorwaardes voorskryf.

#### **Stam- of gemeenskapsjoernaal**

**14.** (1) 'n Owerheid hou 'n joernaal waarin die vernameste gebeurtenisse opgeteken word wat in of met betrekking tot die stam of gemeenskap plaasvind, met ingang van die datum waarop die owerheid ingestel word.

(2) In sodanige joernaal word in die besonder—

- (a) afskrifte gehou van alle proklamasies en Goewermentskennisgewings in verband met die instelling en werksaamhede van die owerheid;

(2) Where permissible in terms to the laws and customs of the tribe, a councillor may nominate a representative to attend a meeting of the tribal authority as his authorised deputy. (101)

(3) A decision of an authority shall be void and to no effect if a person who is not the chief, chairman, a councillor or an authorised deputy of a councillor has voted on or taken part in such decision.

**10.** (1) Whenever the Director-General or the departmental representative informs the chief or chairman in writing that he wishes to attend a meeting of the authority at which a matter stated in such writing is to be discussed, or wishes his deputy to attend such meeting, such chief or chairman shall, at least seven days before the meeting, give the departmental representative written notice of the date, time and place of the meeting at which such matter is to be discussed, and such notice shall also be given in respect of each meeting at which the final estimates of revenue and expenditure are to be discussed.

(2) A decision on a matter referred to in subregulation (1) taken at a meeting or other proceedings of an authority of which the departmental representative was not given the required notice shall be invalid.

**11.** Subject to the provisions of regulations 9 (1), 9 (2) and 10 (1), the authority shall determine who may attend a meeting of such authority.

#### **Minute book**

**12.** (1) An authority shall keep a minute book in which shall be recorded in respect of each meeting—

- (a) the date and place of the meeting;
- (b) whether the chief or chairman was present;
- (c) the names of the councillors and all other persons present;
- (d) a summary of each decision taken at the meeting; and
- (e) if a councillor so requests, the fact that he voted against a decision.

(2) All decisions relating to the finances or assets of the authority shall also be recorded in one of the official languages.

#### **Appointment and conditions of service of employees of authorities**

**13.** An authority may appoint such employees as it may deem necessary and prescribe their conditions of service.

#### **Tribal or community record book**

**14.** (1) An authority shall keep a record book in which shall be recorded the main events that occur in or that relate to the tribe or community, from the date of establishment of the authority.

(2) There shall, in particular, in such recordbook—

- (a) be kept copies of all proclamations and Government Notices relating to the establishment and functions of the authority;



(b) aantekening gehou van die naam en die ampstermyn van elke agtereenvolgende kaptein of voorsitter of enige persoon wat as kaptein of voorsitter optree;

(c) aantekening gehou van die naam en die ampstermyn van elke raadsman; en

(d) register gehou van enige prosedure reëls of ánder sake deur die departementele verteenwoordiger of die owerheid kragtens regulasie 3 (1), 4 (1), 7, 25 (2), 32 (1) en 32 (2) voorgeskryf of bepaal.

(3) Daar kan in sodanige joernaal besonderhede aangeteken word van geskiedkundige gebeurtenisse in verband met sodanige stam of gemeenskap oorgelewer deur tradisie, asook besonderhede van die stamboom van die kaptein.

### DEEL III

#### *Boekjaar*

**15.** Die boejaar van 'n owerheid strek van 1 April in enige jaar tot 31 Maart in die daaropvolgende jaar.

#### *Samestellende afdelings van tesourie*

**16.** (1) 'n Tesourie ingestel ingevolge artikel 8 van die Wet, bestaan uit twee afdelings, hieronder genoem—

(a) die owerheidsfonds, naamlik die tesourie of die gedeelte daarvan waarvan die beheer nie aan die betrokke owerheid oorgedra is nie; en

(b) die owerheidstesourie, naamlik die hele tesourie of die gedeelte daarvan waarvan die beheer ingevolge subartikel (2) van artikel 8 van die Wet deur die Minister aan die betrokke owerheid oorgedra is.

#### *Aanstelling van 'n tesourier*

**17.** (1) 'n Owerheid stel 'n geskikte persoon aan as tesourier.

(2) Die tesourier is a raadsman of 'n werknemer van die owerheid.

**18.** 'n Owerheid moet 'n borgakke of waarborgakke aangaan en in stand hou waarby die owerheidsfonds skadeloos gestel word ten opsigte van die bedrag wat die owerheid bepaal, teen verliese as gevolg van die optrede van die tesourier of werknemer wie se pligte ook die hantering van ontvangste of bates van die owerheidsfonds insluit.

#### *Begroting van inkomste en uitgawes*

**19.** (1) Die tesourier moet 'n konsepbegroting, in die vorm van Aanhangsel A, van die geraamde inkomste en uitgawes vir die komende boekjaar van die owerheidsfonds opstel en ter oorweging aan die owerheid voorlê.

(2) Die owerheid moet die konsepbegroting oorweeg. Indien die begroting van inkomste voldoende is om die begroting van uitgawe te dek en geen begrotingshulp word van die Regering verwag nie, moet die owerheid die begroting voor of op 31 Maart van die boekjaar vóór dié waarop die begroting betrekking het, goedkeur.

**20.** (1) Indien die begroting voorsiening maak vir uitgawes wat gefinansier moet word met verwagte begrotingshulp van die Regering, moet sodanige uitgawes in 'n bylae by die begroting, in die vorm van Aanhangsel B, volledig deur die tesourier gemotiveer word.

(b) be recorded the name and the period of office of each successive chief or chairman or any person acting as chief or chairman;

(c) be recorded the name and the period of office of each councillor; and

(d) be recorded any rules of procedure or other matters prescribed or determined by the departmental representative or the authority in terms of regulations 3 (1), 4 (1), 7, 25 (2), 32 (1) en 32 (2).

(3) There may be recorded in such record book particulars of historical events concerning such tribe or community that are handed down by tradition, and particulars of the genealogy of the chief.

### PART III

#### *Financial year*

**15.** The financial year of an authority shall be from 1 April in any year to 31 March in the ensuing year.

#### *Constituent parts of treasury*

**16.** (1) A treasury established in terms of section 8 of the Act shall be in two parts, hereinafter referred to as—

(a) the authority fund, being the whole or that portion of the treasury of which the control has not been vested in the authority concerned; and

(b) the authority treasury, being the whole or that portion of the treasury of which the control has, in terms of subsection (2) of section 8 of the Act, been vested in the authority concerned by the Minister.

#### *Appointment of a treasurer*

**17.** (1) An authority shall appoint a suitable person to be treasurer.

(2) The treasurer shall be a councillor or an employee of the authority.

**18.** An authority shall enter and maintain a surety bond or fidelity bond, indemnifying the authority fund in respect of such amount as the authority may determine against losses through the action of the treasurer or employee whose duties include the handling of receipts or assets of the authority fund.

#### *Estimate of revenue and expenditure*

**19.** (1) The treasurer shall prepare and lay before the authority for consideration a draft budget, in the form of Annexure A, of the estimated revenue and expenditure of the authority fund for the ensuing financial year.

(2) The authority shall consider the draft budget. If the budget for revenue is adequate to defray the budget for expenditure and no budgetary aid is required from the Government, the budget must be approved by the authority before or on 31 March of the financial year preceding that to which the budget relates.

**20.** (1) If the budget provides for expenditure that is to be financed with expected budgetary aid from the Government, the treasurer shall justify such expenditure fully in an annexure attached to the budget, in the form of Annexure B.



(2) Die departementele verteenwoordiger moet sodanige motivering tesame met sy aanbeveling binne sewe dae na ontvangs daarvan aan die Direkteur-generaal stuur.

(3) Die Direkteur-generaal kan versoeke om begrotingshulp wat na hom verwys word ingevolge subregulasie (2) goedkeur en kan voorwaardes vir die beheer daarvoor en aanwending daarvan wat hy nodig ag, neerlê.

(4) Indien die owerheid versuim om 'n begroting vir die daaropvolgende boekjaar betyds goed te keur of aan die Direkteur-generaal voor te lê, moet 'n konsepbegroting nogtans deur die owerheid oorweeg en met die redes waarom dit nie betyds voorgelê is nie, aan die departementele verteenwoordiger voorgelê word vir oorweging deur die Direkteur-generaal. Geen uitgawes mag in sodanige geval aangegaan word voordat die konsepbegroting vir daardie bepaalde boekjaar deur die Direkteur-generaal goedgekeur is nie.

**21.** (1) 'n Owerheid moet die stand van uitgawes teenoor die begroting tweemaandeliks oorweeg en indien dit op enige tydstip blyk—

(a) dat die totale bedrag van die goedgekeurde begroting van uitgawes of die bedrag goedgekeur onder enige subitem daarvan, oorskry sal word; of

(b) dat uitgawes waarvoor daar nie voorsiening gemaak is nie, noodsaaklikerwys aangegaan sal moet word,

moet die tesourier 'n hersiene begroting van uitgawes, in die vorm van Aanhangsel C, opstel.

(2) Die bepalinge van regulasies 19 (2) en 10 is *mutatis mutandis* van toepassing op sodanige hersiene begroting van uitgawes.

(3) Sodanige hersiene begroting word, na goedkeuring, vir die betrokke boekjaar die goedgekeurde begroting van uitgawes van die owerheidsfonds.

#### **Verpligte heffings**

**22.** (1) Na ontvangs van 'n aansoek van 'n owerheid vir die instelling van 'n verpligte heffing ten bate van die betrokke stam of gemeenskap, en indien die departementele verteenwoordiger die doel waarvoor die voorgestelde verpligte heffing ingevorder staan te word, aanbeveel nadat hy oortuig is dat die meerderheid van die lede van bedoelde stam of gemeenskap teenwoordig op 'n vergadering vir die doel belê, die heffing verlang, kan die Minister by kennisgewing in die *Staatskoerant* op elke lid van sodanige stam of gemeenskap 'n verpligte heffing instel wat op die in die kennisgewing vermelde tydstip betaal moet word, en strafbepalinge by wanbetalings voorskryf.

(2) Die lede van die stam of gemeenskap bedoel in subregulasie (1) wat versuim om die heffing te betaal, is aan 'n misdryf skuldig.

(3) Die opbrengs van alle verpligte heffings kragtens subregulasie (1) ingestel en alle boetes opgelê weens versuim om sodanige heffings te betaal, moet in die owerheidsfonds gestort en aangewend word vir die doel waarvoor die heffing ingestel is.

(4) Die aansoek om 'n verpligte heffing moet in die vorm van Aanhangsel D wees en moet binne sewe dae na die neem van die besluit deur die departementele verteenwoordiger aan die Direkteur-generaal gestuur word.

(2) The departmental representative shall forward such justification together with his recommendation to the Director-General within seven days after receipt thereof.

(e) The Director-General may approve requests for budgetary aid that are referred to him in terms of subregulation (2), and determine such conditions for the control and appropriation thereof as he may deem fit.

(4) If the authority neglects to approve or submit to the Director-General a budget for the ensuing financial year, the authority must still consider a draft budget which must be submitted, with reasons why it was not submitted in time, to the departmental representative for consideration by the Director-General. No expenditure may be incurred before the draft budget for that particular financial year has been approved by the Director-General.

**21.** (1) Every two months an authority shall consider the state of expenditure against the budget and if at any time it appears that—

(a) the total amount of the approved estimate of expenditure or the amount approved under any subitem thereof will be exceeded; or

(b) expenditure not provided for will necessarily have to be incurred,

the treasurer shall prepare a revised estimate of expenditure, in the form of Annexure C.

(2) The provisions of regulations 19 (2) and 20 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to such revised estimate of expenditure.

(3) Such revised estimate shall, upon approval, become the approved estimate of expenditure of the authority fund for the financial year concerned.

#### **Compulsory levies**

**22.** (1) Upon receipt of an application by an authority for the institution of a compulsory levy for the benefit of the tribe or community concerned, and if the departmental representative recommends the purpose for which the proposed compulsory levy is to be collected once he is satisfied that the majority of the members of such tribe or community present at a meeting called for that purpose desire the levy, the Minister may, by notice in the *Gazette*, institute a compulsory levy upon every member of such tribe or community, which levy shall be paid at such times as may be specified in the notice, and prescribe penalty clauses in the event of default of payments.

(2) The members of the tribe or community referred to in subregulation (1) who fail to pay the levy shall be guilty of an offence.

(3) The proceeds of all compulsory levies instituted in terms of subregulation (1) and all fines imposed for failure to pay such levies shall be paid into the authority fund and used for the purpose for which the levy was instituted.

(4) The application for a compulsory levy shall be in the form of Annexure D and shall be forwarded by the departmental representative within seven days of adoption to the Director-General.



**Beheer oor owerheidsfonds**

23. Die departementele verteenwoordiger hou 'n aparte rekening ten opsigte van elke owerheidsfonds en betaal in sodanige rekening al die geld wat sodanige fonds toeval. Geen saldo van 'n owerheidsfonds aldus bygehou mag oortrek word nie.

24. 'n Owerheid kan besluit dat 'n aparte rekening ten opsigte van enige stamgedeelte of gemeenskap of enige twee of meer sodanige stamgedeeltes of gemeenskappe gesamentlik geopen word en bepaal met watter gelde, in of uit die ten opsigte van daardie owerheid ingestelde fonds betaalbaar, so 'n rekening gekrediteer of belas moet word.

**Invordering van inkomste van owerheidsfonds**

25. (1) Dit is die plig van die tesourier om ten behoewe van die owerheidsfonds alle geld wat daaraan verskuldig is, in te vorder.

(2) Die tesourier moet skriftelike, genommerde kwitansies vir alle geld wat hy ontvang en wat aan die owerheidsfonds verskuldig is uitreik en die geld aan die departementele verteenwoordiger of enige beampte deur hom aangewys, betaal nie later nie as veertien dae na die datum van ontvangs daarvan, of op sodanige tye as wat die departementele verteenwoordiger mag voorskryf.

26. Die departementele verteenwoordiger moet van tyd tot tyd die registers van die owerheid nagaan of laat nagaan ten einde te verseker dat alle geld aan die owerheidsfonds verskuldig, behoorlik verantwoord word: Met dien verstande dat die Ouditeur-generaal by die oudit van die rekord van die departementele verteenwoordiger die bevoegdheid het, om, waar nodig, brondokumente van die owerheid te bekom.

**Uitgawe uit owerheidsfonds**

27. Uitgawe uit die owerheidsfonds vind plaas ooreenkomstig die goedgekeurde begroting van uitgawes, volgens rekwisities deur die owerheid aan die departementele verteenwoordiger gerig.

28. Rekwisities vir betalings moet in die vorm van Aanhangsel E wees en daarin moet duidelik vermeld word die naam van die persoon of instansie aan wie die betaling verskuldig is, die aard van die eis, die bedrag ten opsigte daarvan verskuldig en die subitem van die goedgekeurde begroting waarteen die uitgawe in rekening gebring moet word en moet gesertifiseer word ten effekte dat die betaling verskuldig en deur die owerheid goedgekeur is.

29. Die tesourier moet enige rekening gelewer aan die owerheid ten opsigte van die bedrag waarop 'n rekwisie betrekking het, enige bestelling of tenders deur die owerheid geplaas of gevra vir die lewering van die goedere of die dienste, of enige ander dokument waarvan die departementele verteenwoordiger die voorlegging nodig mag ag ter staving van die korrektheid van die betaling, aan die departementele verteenwoordiger voorlê.

30. Die departementele verteenwoordiger kan weier om betaling volgens 'n rekwisie te doen tot tyd en wyl enige dokument of rekening vereis deur regulasie 29 aan hom voorgelê is en hy moet weier om betaling te doen indien hy nie daarvan oortuig is nie dat—

(a) die bedrag waarvoor gerekwireer word, wettig verskuldig is; of

**Control of authority fund**

23. The departmental representative shall keep a separate account in respect of each authority fund and pay into such account all moneys accruing to such fund. No authority fund balance kept in this manner is to be overdrawn.

24. An authority may decide that a separate account shall be opened in respect of any section of the tribe or community or a joint account shall be opened in respect of any two or more such sections of the tribe or community, and determine what moneys payable into or out of the fund established in respect of such authority shall be credited to or charged against any such account.

**Collection of revenue of authority fund**

25. (1) It shall be the duty of the treasurer to collect on behalf of the authority fund all moneys due to it.

(2) In respect of all moneys which are due to the authority fund and which are received by the treasurer, he shall issue written, numbered receipts and he shall pay such moneys to the departmental representative or to any official designated by such departmental representative, not later than fourteen days after the date of receipt of such moneys or at such times as the departmental representative may prescribe.

26. The departmental representative shall from time to time examine or cause to be examined the registers of the authority to ensure that all moneys due to the authority fund are properly accounted for: Provided that the Auditor General in auditing the records of the departmental representative, shall have the power to obtain the source documents from the authority where necessary.

**Expenditure from authority fund**

27. Expenditure from the authority fund shall be in accordance with the approved estimate of expenditure on requisitions addressed to the departmental representative by the authority.

28. Requisitions for payments shall be in the form of Annexure E, and shall state clearly the name of the person or body to whom payment is due, the nature of the claim, the amount due in respect thereof and the subitem of the approved estimate against which the expenditure is chargeable, and shall be certified to the effect that the payment is due and has been approved by the authority.

29. The treasurer shall submit to the departmental representative any account rendered to the authority in respect of the amount to which a requisition relates, any order issued or tenders called for by the authority for the supply of the goods or the rendering of the service, or any other document, the production of which the departmental representative may consider necessary to substantiate the correctness of the payment.

30. The departmental representative may refuse to effect payment on a requisition pending the submission to him of any document or account required by regulation 29 and he shall refuse to effect payment if he is not satisfied that—

(a) the amount requisitioned is legally due; or



(b) die betaling ooreenkomstig die goedgekeurde begroting is; of

(c) die batige saldo van die fonds voldoende is om die bedrag te dek; of

(d) fakture ouer as drie maande of duplikaatfakture gesertifiseer is as nie voorheen betaal nie.

**31.** (1) Behoudens die bepalings van regulasie 32 geskied alle betalings deur die departementele verteenwoordiger by wyse van skatkisorder betaalbaar aan die persoon of instansie aan wie die bedrag verskuldig is.

(2) Die rekvisisie, vergesel van die stawende dokumente bedoel in regulasie 29, word deur die departementele verteenwoordiger gebruik as sy bewys vir die betaling.

#### **Kleinkasuitgawe**

**32.** (1) Die tesourier kan, indien die owerheid hom daartoe gemagtig het, 'n kleinkasrekening hou volgens die voorskotstelsel, en hy moet 'n kleinkasboek ten opsigte daarvan hou.

(2) Die maksimum bedrag wat in die kleinkasrekening voorhande gehou mag word, mag nie R100 oorskry nie, tensy die departementele verteenwoordiger magtiging verleen dat 'n groter bedrag voorhande gehou mag word.

#### **Boekhouding**

**33.** Die tesourier moet 'n kasboek, 'n grootboek en sodanige ander hulpboeke en -registers as wat deur die besondere omstandighede van die owerheid vereis word, in een van die amptelike tale hou of laat hou.

**34.** (1) Alle ontvangste en betalings moet daaglik in die kasboek ingeskryf en met die kontant voorhande gebalanseer word.

(2) Die kasboek moet aan die end van elke maand afgesluit, gebalanseer en versoen word met die rekening deur die departementele verteenwoordiger gehou ingevolge regulasie 23.

**35.** Benewens enige ander grootboekrekenings wat gehou mag word, moet aparte rekenings in die grootboek gehou word vir elke subitem van die goedgekeurde begroting van uitgawes.

#### **Opgawes**

**36.** (1) So spoedig moontlik na die einde van die maande Junie, September, Desember en Maart, maar nie later as die 7de dag van die daaropvolgende maand nie, moet die tesourier 'n finansiële verslag, in die vorm van Aanhangsel F, in drievoud aan die owerheid voorlê.

(2) So spoedig moontlik na 31 Maart, maar nie later as die laaste dag van April nie, moet die tesourier na raadpleging met die departementele verteenwoordiger 'n balansstaat vir die vorige boekjaar, in die vorm van Aanhangsel G, in drievoud aan die owerheid, voorlê.

(3) Die owerheid moet die dokumente ingevolge subregulasies (1) en (2) ingedien, voor die 14de dag van die betrokke maand oorweeg en dit sertifiseer as deur die owerheid goedgekeur, waarna —

(a) 'n afskrif onverwyld aan die departementele verteenwoordiger gestuur moet word; en

(b) 'n afskrif vir openbare kennisname op 'n kennisgewingbord, op 'n beskutte plek teen die buitemuur van die kantoor van die stam- of gemeenskapsowerheid, vertoon moet word.

(b) the payment is in accordance with the approved estimate; or

(c) the credit balance of the fund is sufficient to cover the amount; or

(d) invoices older than three months or duplicate invoices are certified as not paid previously.

**31.** (1) Subject to the provisions of regulation 32, all payments by the departmental representative shall be made by warrant voucher payable to the person or body to whom the amount is due

(2) The requisition, accompanied by the supporting documents referred to in regulation 29, shall be used by the departmental representative as his voucher for payment.

#### **Petty cash expenditure**

**32.** (1) The treasurer may, if authorised thereto by the authority, keep a petty cash account on the imprest system, and he shall keep a petty cash book in respect thereof.

(2) The maximum amount which may be kept on hand in petty cash shall not exceed R100 unless the departmental representative authorises the keeping on hand of a larger sum.

#### **Book-keeping**

**33.** The treasurer shall keep or cause to be kept in one of the official languages a cash book, a ledger and such other subsidiary books and registers as may be required by the particular circumstances of the authority.

**34.** (1) All receipts and payments shall be recorded daily in the cash book and balanced with the cash on hand.

(2) The cash book shall be closed off and balanced at the end of each month and reconciled with the account kept by the departmental representative in terms of regulation 23.

**35.** In addition to any other ledger accounts that may be kept, separate accounts shall be kept in the ledger for each subitem of the approved estimate of expenditure.

#### **Returns**

**36.** (1) As soon as possible after the end of the months of June, September, December and March, but not later than the 7th day of the following month, the treasurer shall submit to the authority a financial report in triplicate, in the form of Annexure F.

(2) As soon as possible after 31 March, but not later than the last day of April, the treasurer shall, after consultation with the departmental representative, submit to the authority a balance sheet of the previous financial year in triplicate, in the form of Annexure G.

(3) The authority shall consider the documents submitted in terms of subregulations (1) and (2) before the 14th day of the month concerned, and certify them as approved by the authority, whereafter —

(a) a copy shall be forwarded forthwith to the departmental representative; and

(b) a copy shall be displayed for public information on a sheltered notice-board against the outside wall of the office of the tribal or community authority



**Afskrywing van oninbare inkomste of bates**

**37.** Geen oninbare inkomste, tekorte, verlore of gesteelde geld of kwitansies, ander bates, voorraad of toerusting van 'n owerheid mag sonder die magtiging van die owerheid afgeskryf word nie.

**Aankoop van voorraad of toerusting**

**38.** (1) 'n Owerheid moet die aankoop van alle voorraad of toerusting goedkeur, maar kan aan die tesourier goedkeuring verleen om aankope tot 'n vaste bedrag wat nie R200 per item te bowe gaan nie, sonder vooraf goedkeuring aan te koop.

(2) Vir elke sodnige aankoop moet waar moontlik drie kwotasies verkry word ten einde die voordeligste aankoop te bepaal.

**Beheer oor voorraad en toerusting**

**39.** Die tesourier moet 'n voorraad- en toerusting-register in die vorm van Aanhangsel H byhou met 'n afsonderlike folio vir elke klas voorraad of toerusting.

**40.** Alle voorraad en toerusting deur die owerheid aangeskaf, moet deur die tesourier op die datum waarop die voorraad en toerusting ontvang word, in die ontvangstekolom van die voorraad- en toerustingregister aangeteken en op voorraad geneem word.

**41.** (1) Wanneer voorraad of toerusting aan enigiemand uitgereik word, moet die tesourier in die uitreikingskolom van die voorraad- en toerustingregister 'n inskrywing doen wat die datum van uitreiking toon, die naam van die persoon aan wie die voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is en hoeveel voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is.

(2) Die persoon aan wie die voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is, moet in die uitreikingskolom van die betrokke register teken.

**42.** Wanneer voorraad of toerusting aldus uitgereik aan die tesourier terugbesorg word, moet sodanige voorraad of toerusting op voorraad geneem en in die ontvangstekolom van die voorraad- en toerustingregister aangeteken word.

**43.** Wanneer 'n nuwe tesourier aangestel word, of wanneer die persoon in beheer van voorraad of toerusting uitgereik wissel, moet die tesourier of persoon in beheer van voorraad of toerusting uitgereik, die register afsluit en die nuwe tesourier of persoon wat beheer van die voorraad of toerusting uitgereik oorneem, moet die ontvangs van die voorraad of toerusting in die ontvangstekolom van die register aanteken.

**44.** (1) Die owerheid, of een of meer raadslede deur die owerheid daartoe gemagtig, moet elke jaar nie later as die end van Februarie nie 'n voorraadopname maak van alle voorraad en toerusting en 'n sertifikaat opstel, in die vorm van Aanhangsel I, dat dit gedoen is.

(2) Die sertifikaat moet vir inspeksie bewaar en 'n afskrif daarvan aan die Departementele verteenwoordiger voorgelê word.

**45.** Surplusvoorraad of -toerusting moet in die voorraad- en toerustingregister op voorraad geneem word.

**Writing off of irrecoverable revenue or assets (10)**

**37.** No irrecoverable revenue, deficits, lost or stolen moneys or receipts, other assets, stores or equipment of an authority may be written off without the authorisation of the authority.

**Purchasing of stores or equipment**

**38.** (1) An authority shall approve the purchase of all stores or equipment, but may authorise the treasurer to purchase goods to a fixed amount not exceeding R200 per item without prior permission

(2) If possible, three quotations shall be obtained for each such purchase to determine the most advantageous purchase.

**Control of stores and equipment**

**39.** The treasurer shall keep a stores and equipment register, in the form of Annexure H, with a separate folio for each class of stores or equipment.

**40.** All stores or equipment acquired by the authority shall on the date of receipt thereof be entered in the receipts column of the stores and equipment register and taken on charge by the treasurer.

**41.** (1) Whenever stores or equipment are issued to any person the treasurer shall make an entry in the issues column of the stores and equipment register, showing the date of issue, the name of the person to whom the stores or equipment are issued and the quantity of stores or equipment issued.

(2) The person to whom the stores or equipment are issued, shall sign in the issues column of the register concerned.

**42.** Whenever stores or equipment so issued are returned to the treasurer, such stores or equipment shall be taken on charge and entered in the receipts column of the stores and equipment register.

**43.** Whenever a new treasurer is appointed, or whenever there is a change of the person in charge of stores or equipment issued, the treasurer or person in charge of stores or equipment issued shall close off the register, and the new treasurer or person in charge of stores or equipment issued shall enter the receipt of the stores or equipment in the receipts column of the register.

**44.** (1) Not later than the end of February of each year the authority, or one or more councillors authorised thereto by the authority, shall take stock of all stores and equipment and prepare a certificate, in the form of Annexure I, that it has been done.

(2) The certificate shall be preserved for inspection and a copy thereof shall be submitted to the departmental representative.

**45.** Surplus stores or equipment shall be taken on charge in the stores and equipment register.

46. Die owerheid besluit oor die vervreemding op enige wyse van versleie of onbruikbare voorraad of toerusting en kan beskadigde, verouderde of oortollige voorraad of toerusting per publieke veiling of tender verkoop, en sodanige fondse gein, moet mee gehandel word ooreenkomstig regulasie 25 (2).

47. Voorraad of toerusting kragtens regulasie 46 vervreem of verkoop, word in die voorraad- en toerustingregister afgeskryf.

**Kontrolering van registers, bates, voorraad of toerusting**

48. (1) Die departementele verteenwoordiger of enigiemand anders skriftelik daartoe gemagtig deur die departementele verteenwoordiger, of die kaptein, voorsitter of enige raadsman deur die owerheid daartoe gemagtig, kan op enige redelike tyd en sonder kennisgewing die tesourier aansê om sy rekeningboeke, registers, kwitansieboeke, hulpboeke en registers, bewysstukke en kontant voorhande voor te lê ten einde die korrektheid daarvan te verifieer, en sodanige persoon moet in die teenwoordigheid van die tesourier 'n sertifikaat in die betrokke register of stuk teken waarin die uitslag van die ondersoek vermeld word.

(2) Enige sodanige persoon het toegang tot alle boeke, registers, bewysstukke, dokumente, kontant, seëls, sekuriteit, voorraad of toerusting van die owerheid en kan sodanige ondersoek as wat hy nodig ag, in verband daarmee instel.

**Rapporteur van strafbare misdrywe**

49. Enige verlies aan of tekort in enige bate, voorraad of toerusting van 'n owerheid moet onmiddellik deur die tesourier, kaptein, voorsitter of enige raadslid van die owerheid wat daarvan te wete mag kom, aan die departementele verteenwoordiger gerapporteur word.

50. Wanneer dit vir die departementele verteenwoordiger, tesourier, kaptein, voorsitter of enige raadslid van 'n owerheid skyn asof enige verlies aan of tekort in die bates, voorraad of toerusting van die owerheid, of enige ongeoorloofde of ongemagtigde uitgawe uit die fondse van sodanige owerheid plaasgevind het in omstandighede wat daarop neerkom dat 'n strafbare misdryf begaan is, moet hy die saak binne drie dae aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie rapporteer.

**Naamtekening van ongeletterde persone**

51. Wanneer van enigiemand wat nie kan skryf nie, ingevolge hierdie regulasies vereis word om sy naam te teken, is dit voldoende indien sodanige persoon sy merk of duimafdruk maak en enige persoon, behalwe die tesourier, as getuie teken van sodanige merk of duimafdruk.

**Bewaring van boeke en registers**

52. (1) 'n Owerheid moet sy joernaal as 'n permanente verslag van sy geskiedenis en bedrywighede bewaar.

(2) 'n Owerheid moet alle notuleboeke, rekeningboeke en voorraad- en toerustingregisters vir 'n tydperk van minstens sewe jaar, met ingang van die datum van die laaste inskrywing in enige sodanige boeke, in sy kantoor hou.

46. The authority shall decide on the method of disposal of worn or useless stores or equipment and may sell damaged, obsolete or redundant stores or equipment by public auction or tender, and such moneys obtained shall be dealt with in accordance with regulation 25 (2).

47. Stores or equipment disposed of or sold in terms of regulation 46 shall be written off in the stores and equipment register.

**Checking of registers, assets, stores or equipment**

48. (1) The departmental representative or any other person authorised thereto in writing by the departmental representative, or the chief, chairman or any councillor authorised thereto by the authority, may at any reasonable time and without notice call upon the treasurer to produce his account books, registers, receipt books, subsidiary books and registers, vouchers and cash on hand to verify the correctness thereof and such person shall in the presence of the treasurer sign a certificate in the register of document concerned showing the result of the investigation.

(2) Any such person shall have access to all books, registers, vouchers, documents, cash, stamps, securities, stores or equipment of the authority and may conduct such investigation in connection therewith as he may deem necessary.

**Reporting of criminal offences**

49. Any loss or deficit of any assets, stores or equipment of an authority shall be reported immediately to the departmental representative by the treasurer, chief, chairman or any councillor of the authority who may become aware thereof.

50. Whenever it appears to the departmental representative, treasurer, chief, chairman or any councillor of an authority that any loss or deficiency of the assets, stores or equipment of the authority, or any improper or unauthorised expenditure from the funds of such authority has occurred in circumstances amounting to the committing of the criminal offence, he shall report the matter within three days to the South African Police.

**Signing by illeterate persons**

51. Whenever any person who is unable to write is required in terms of these regulations to sign his name, it shall be sufficient if such person makes his mark or thumb-print and such mark or thumb-print is witnessed by the signature of any person other than the treasurer.

**Preservation of books and registers**

52. (1) An authority shall preserve its record book as a permanent record of its history and activities.

(2) An authority shall keep at its office all minute books, account books and stores and equipment registers for a period of not less than seven years, from the date of the last entry in any such book.



(3) Alle inskrywings in die boeke en registers van watter aard ook al soos voorgeskryf by hierdie regulasie, moet in permanente ink gedoen word.

(4) Elkeen wat te eniger tyd enige joernaal beskadig, vernietig of onleesbaar maak, of wat enige notuleboek, rekeningboek, boekhou-register of voorraad- en toerustingregister beskadig, vernietig of onleesbaar maak voor die verstryking van die tydperk waarvoor sodanige boek of register ingevolge subregulasies (1) en (2) gehou moet word, is skuldig aan 'n misdryf.

**Ontbinding van owerhede**

**53.** Indien 'n owerheid om een of ander rede ontbind, moet daar tydens die laaste vergadering van sodanige owerheid oor die bates en laste van die owerheid besluit word. By gebrek aan so 'n besluit moet die departementele verteenwoordiger na oorlegpleging met belanghebbende instansies die Direkteur-generaal van sy aanbeveling in die verband voorsien.

**Delegasie**

**54.** Met uitsondering van regulasies 3, 4 (1), 22 (1) en 32 (2) kan enige handeling wat 'n departementele verteenwoordiger ingevolge hierdie regulasies mag verrig deur 'n beamppte wat deur die departementele verteenwoordiger skriftelik daartoe gemagtig is, verrig word.

**55.** Enige handeling wat—

'n departementele verteenwoordiger ingevolge hierdie regulasies mag verrig, kan te eniger tyd deur die Direkteur-generaal verrig word.

die Direkteur-generaal ingevolge hierdie regulasies mag verrig, kan deur 'n beamppte wat deur hom aangewys is, verrig word.

**Herroeping van Regulasie**

**56.** Goewermentskennisgewing No. 939 van 8 Mei 1953 word hiermee herroep.

(3) All entries in the books and registers of any nature whatsoever as prescribed by these regulations shall be made with permanent ink. (101)

(4) Any person who at any time damages, destroys or renders illegible any record book, or who damages, destroys or renders illegible any minute book, account book, accounting register or stores and equipment register before the expiry of the period for which such book or register is required to be kept in terms of subregulations (1) and (2) shall be guilty of an offence.

**Disestablishment of authorities**

**53.** If an authority is disestablished for some or other reason such authority at its final meeting must decide on the assets and deficits of the authority. By failure of such a decision the departmental representative must, after consultation with persons concerned, provide the Director-General with his recommendations in this regard.

**Delegation**

**54.** With the exception of regulations 3, 4 (1), 22 (1) and 32 (2) any act which a departmental representative may perform in terms of these regulations may be performed by an official authorised in writing thereto by the departmental representative.

**55.** Any act which—

a regional representative may perform in terms of these regulations may at any time be performed by the Director-General.

the Director-General may perform in terms of these regulations may be performed by an official designated by him.

**Repeal of Regulations**

**56.** Government Notice No. 939 of 8 May 1953 is hereby repealed.

**AANHANGSEL A**

**[REGULASIE 19 (1)]**

**BEGROTING VAN INKOMSTE EN UITGAWES**

.....-BOEKJAAR

Fonds van die .....stam-/gemeenskapsowerheid

Hierby word gesertifiseer dat hierdie begroting van inkomste en uitgawes deur bovermelde owerheid oorweeg is op 'n vergadering gehou op .....en dat die bedrae getoon in kolom C van die begroting van uitgawe—  
deur die owerheid ingevolge regulasie 19 (2) goedgekeur is;

OF

deur die owerheid ingevolge regulasie 20 (1) aanbeveel word vir goedkeuring.

Handtekening ..... Kaptein/Voorsitter

Handtekening ..... Tesourier

Handtekening ..... Raadsman

Plek ..... Datum.....



Patrick Laurence looks at the role of the self-governing states in the multiparty

# The battle for the homelands

STAR 29/11/91



**T**HE meeting today of representatives of at least 20 political organisations and institutions marks the last important step before the start on December 20 of substantive negotiations for a political settlement in South Africa.

The main actors — F.W. de Klerk's governing National Party, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and Clarence Makweu's Pan-Africanist Congress — are well known, even to casual observers.

The lesser known actors, however, are not there merely as stage props. They could tip the balance on one or another, depending on how and where they align themselves in coming debate on critical issues.

Today's meeting is concerned primarily with procedural questions: who should convene the multiparty conference, how should its chairmen be chosen, what criteria should be used to determine the size of the delegations, whether decisions will be

taken by majority vote or consensus. More substantive matters will be debated at the multiparty conference which starts on December 20.

Two substantive items on the conference agenda are transitional arrangements for the governance of South Africa until the inauguration of a new constitution and the new constitution itself (including the question of whether it should be drafted by the multiparty conference or a popularly elected constituent assembly or a combination of both).

The potential importance of the lesser actors has been manifest in the concerted efforts by Mr de Klerk's NP and the ANC to woo them on to their side. The NP has talked loosely of an alliance of Christian, democratic forces. The ANC, with the help of Mr Makweu's PAC has gone a stage further: it has formed the Patriotic Front.

The lesser known organisations and institutions include the ruling parties or governments in South Africa's 10 "black homelands". The ANC seems, on the surface,

to have stolen a march on the NP in the battle for the allegiance of these largely regional forces. Representatives of governing parties or governments in six "homelands" have identified with the Patriotic Front by apparently associating themselves with a Front declaration denouncing the "De Klerk regime" as illegitimate.

The six are Transkei's Military Council, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party, Lebowa's United People's Front, Venda's Council for National Unity and QwaQwa's Dikwankwella Party.

But, with the possible exception of Transkei's Military Council, none can be assumed to be firmly in the Patriotic Front camp. The probabilities are that they are keeping their options open while outwardly going along with the Front's radical rhetoric.

Leaders from the four "homelands" which did not send representatives to the Patriotic Front conference last month — Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu and the IFP, Chief Lucas Mangope of Bo-

phuthatswana and Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Professor Hudson Ntswanisi of Gazankulu and the Ximoko Progressive Party, and Brigadier Oupa Gqoza of the Ciskei and the African Democratic Movement — are attending the constitutional talks as independent actors.

Some ANC-PAC propagandists, applying the dictum that those who are not with us are against us, have branded them government stooges. Their utterances are good propaganda but bad sociology.

Brigadier Gqoza, who took power after a coup in the Ciskei in March last year, remains an enigma. But Messrs Buthelezi, Mangope and Ntswanisi are men of independent mind. They may well find themselves on the same side as Mr de Klerk on some — perhaps even most — issues; that, however, would be because of a convergence of interests, not because they are taking orders from him.

By the same token they could vote with the ANC or the PAC on some issues, provided the Patriot-

ic Front does not adopt a hostile attitude which alienates and excludes them completely.

The battle for the allegiance of these forces has only just begun: its outcome is critical to the approaching negotiations and, beyond that, to a nonracial election for either a new government or a constituent assembly. The importance of these largely regionally based forces is manifest in calculations made by the Development Bank of Southern Africa: it reckons that of South Africa's projected total of 17.3 million voters, more than 45 percent live in the 10 "homelands".

Put another way, excluding whites, coloured and Indians, who account for nearly 20 percent of the potential voters, the "black homelands" contain well over 50 percent of the black vote. That vote is obviously crucial to the result of any nonracial election.

The NP's proposed constitution, with its emphasis on regional autonomy and its plan to boost the representation of regionally based political parties in the proposed upper chamber of the legislature

— or "house of minorities" — is clearly designed to appeal to smaller parties. None of these organisations have ever had to compete against the ANC or the PAC in a free and fair election before. No easy assumptions can be made in the contest ahead. For the immediate future, however, their votes at the negotiating table are important. In broad terms the same analysis applies to the majority parties in the coloured and Indian chambers, Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party and J.N. Reddy's Solidarity. They, too, are being wooed by the NP and the ANC as potential allies at the negotiating table. In the case of Mr Hendrickse LP, however, it is strange courtship. It is conducted amidst threats by the suitors to absorb the LP if it does not respond positively. Mr de Klerk's NP has won over some 35 MPs from Mr Hendrickse's ranks. Mr Mandela's ANC, having installed Allan Boesak as regional chairman in the coloured heartland of the Western Cape, has launched a vigorous drive to win coloured voters. □



# CONFERENCE BRIEFS

AT least one person from every organisation present at the preparatory All-Party Conference talks yesterday will be present at the Convention for the Democratic South Africa (Codesa) scheduled for December 20 and 21.

The decision that the National Party and the government would field separate delegations to Codesa was welcomed by all the delegates.

~~SECRET~~ □ □ □ □ (10/1/91)  
A LIST of nine items was compiled for the Codesa agenda, which included:

- Creation of a climate for free political participation;
- General constitutional principles;
- Constitution-making body/process;
- Transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority;
- Future of the TBVC states;
- Role of the international community;
- Implementation of decisions of Codesa; and
- Other items to be identified by a Steering Committee and decided upon by Codesa.

Parties which had been invited but did not attend the preparatory talks will also receive invitations.

□ □ □ □  
THE PAC accused the ANC and the government of supporting each other's proposals throughout the "talks about talks".

Speaking at a Press conference held separately from the joint media conference addressed by the rest of the delegates, PAC delegation leader Barney Desai said that by lunchtime a decision-making pattern had emerged.

□ □ □ □  
BOPHUTHATSWANA'S participation in the conference should not be seen as capitulation on the issue of reincorporation, said Bop Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Israel Menong.

□ □ □ □  
THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday insisted that KwaZulu be represented by additional delegations - one from the KwaZulu government and another from his Majesty, the King of the Zulus.

□ □ □ □  
THE majority of participants agreed that Justice Ismail Mahomed and Justice Petrus Schabert - present co-chairmen of the "talks about talks" - should preside over the Codesa, which would be held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. - Sapa

# Revealed: Inkatha's plan for new constitution

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee is putting the final touches to its proposals for a new constitution which will be submitted to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa next month.

A copy of the draft, obtained by the Sunday Times this week, envisages the constitution having jurisdiction over the whole of South Africa and re-incorporated TBVC states.

It also proposes a legislature similar to the two houses of Congress in the United States.

A lower house, or a National Assembly, comprising about 400 members, would be elected by universal adult suffrage by proportional representation on a common voters' roll.

A prime minister, who would appoint and head the cabinet,

would be chosen from the majority party or a coalition in this house.

An upper house, or Senate, comprising about 180 members, would represent regions or states and any special interests.

Inkatha proposed that the two houses have equal powers to initiate legislation, although the lower house would draw up the Budget.

Laws would only be passed by a majority in both houses and with assent from the state president.

The document says the Senate would be a fully functioning house, encouraging a system of constructive co-operation

between the two houses.

The draft envisages a division of executive power between the state president, who would have carefully defined powers, and the prime minister as head of the cabinet.

The president, who would also be commander-in-chief of the armed forces, would exercise some powers while other powers would be exercised in accordance with the advice and consent of the prime minister.

The draft states: "The effect will be similar to the so-called cohabitation system of the French constitution."

Inkatha proposes that the existing provinces, national states and TBVC states should be replaced by state governments formed according to economic, territorial, cultural and linguistic factors.

The draft document suggests nine states with metropolitan Johannesburg as a 10th state.

Each state, with powers entrenched in the constitution, would have a state legislature elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The states would have an executive headed by a state premier and a governor representing the central government and the state president.

The states would have sole rights to legislate on matters under their jurisdiction and the central legislature would only legislate within the constitutional competence of the states at the request of state legislatures.

The draft document says that, to encourage reconciliation and co-operation, the states' cabinets

should reflect all the parties represented in the legislature.

It also proposes an independent judiciary which would determine the validity of laws passed by the central legislature, the state legislatures and local authorities. The judiciary would have the right to interpret laws.

A proposed bill of rights, the text of which is virtually identical to the one in the Kwazulu Indaba proposals, would be justiciable and thus would form part of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

A Civil Service Commission, which would be in charge of the recruitment and supervision of public servants, would ensure that the civil service was representative of all population groups.

state security council would be responsible for the armed forces which would owe allegiance to the constitution only.

A national police force would be the responsibility of the prime minister. Provisions would be made for state and local police operating under the jurisdiction of the state governments.

The draft document states that constitutional negotiations should not be viewed as a one-off event producing a perfect constitution. A situation could arise where substantial agreement was reached with one or two aspects outstanding.

Inkatha added that, instead of delaying the implementation of a democratic constitution, the country might have to settle for a flawed one.



TALKS ABOUT TALKS - The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP's Joe Slovo share an aside at the multi-party talks  
Picture: DAVID SANDISON



4/12/91

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# No education at all in Gazankulu

NOTHING the reform-minded in our country can conjure up will dispel the distinct impression that Marx is alive and well among us - certainly where political mobilisation towards a take-over of power by the radicals is concerned.

Take just one example - black education in Gazankulu, "a self-governing state". We find that literally next to no education has taken place there over the past few years while vandalism at school hostels alone has resulted in R26-million of damage this year.

Actively involved, though mostly behind the scenes, are organisations of which revolutionary radicals are the members.

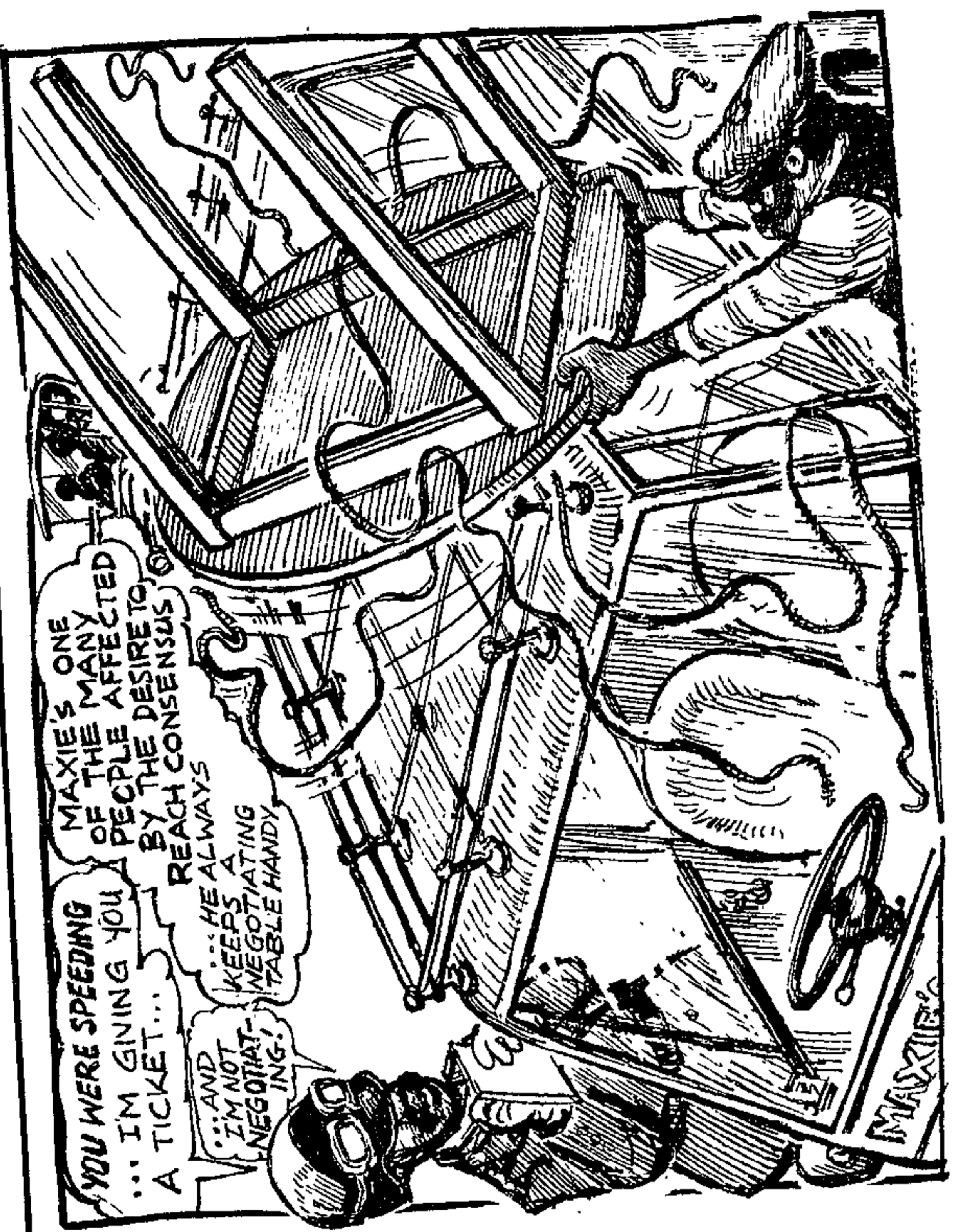
The point here is that the democratisation process in South Africa as at present must force us to the recognition that we simply cannot afford such "democracy" any longer.

In addition to the above mentioned educational losses the figure mounts - arson in Kwangwane, threats by radical organisations to make education "unworkable" (as if it would now) in KwaNdebele, well-nigh total disruption of any educational activity in Lebowa by mostly radical cadres who no doubt get their instructions directly from the communists.

Lack of supervision, corruption, theft, large-scale destruction of the tax-payer's property, political terror and intimidation, ridiculous and artificially inflated expectation of felicity around-the-corner and a multitude of other factors such as yawning chasm of cultural disparities between those who receive and destroy and those who bleed and give endlessly - all these make the problem of black education unresolvable.

The sooner our liberals accept that, the sooner will all of us be in a position to think about workable solutions.

**REALIST,**  
Pretoria.



# Chiefs should be 'liberators' too

TRADITIONAL leaders should play the "liberator role" and be defenders of people's social and political interests.

This is according to Dr Siphon Tshabalala, chief economist for the PAC, who was speaking at this weekend's first Eastern Cape regional conference of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA at the University of the Transkei.

"Traditional leaders may be members of national organisations and have to play roles of being national leaders, but it would be unfortunate for them to harass people to join organisations of their own liking," he said.

He said the emergence of a "new African state" and not a new South Africa after

the demise of apartheid was the political goal of the PAC.

In the new African state, the interests of Africans would be superior and dominant.

He said the position of the PAC was that the political struggle was not an anti-apartheid struggle but a struggle of indigenous Africans for self-determination - a struggle to "regain lost land, to regain and restore dignity".

Opening the conference, Transkei's State President, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, said it was surprising that no invitations were extended to chiefs to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. - *Eena*.

Sowetan 10/12/91

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# Political, riot cover maximum to rise by 25%

POLITICAL and riot damage cover available to businesses in SA has been lifted by 25% to a maximum of R250m per annum, the SA Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) announced yesterday.

Sasria MD Willem Swanepoel said inflationary pressure had necessitated the increase in cover, which comes into effect next year, to R250m from R200m.

31 Dec 11/12/91  
SEAN VAN ZYL

He added the increase had been approved at ministerial level and applied to holding companies and subsidiaries operating within SA's boundaries.

"Major industrial concerns will certainly be pleased with the new dispensation which takes effect from January 1 1992 irrespective of policy renewal dates."

Sasria was registered as a non-profit insurance underwriter in 1979 to provide cover for political riot risks following the major unrest-related losses

incurred from the Soweto riots in 1976. ~~101~~ sent, depending on the state concerned.

However, unlike commercial underwriters, Sasria is backed by government as the reinsurer of last resort.

Sasria cover, which can be applied for from any insurance company, covers various classes of risk, including motor vehicles in SA and the TBVC states.

Swanepoel stressed that the higher cover available from next year only applied to risks in SA and not in the TBVC states where the maximum stood at R10m per annum at pre-

The cover available in the TBVC states was lower because of Sasria's limited resources-to-liabilities.

"Sasria continues to look at ways of improving cover further, but at this stage it is simply a case of balancing our policyholders' needs with our available resources."

He added the Sasria maximum cover had been inadequate for years.

However, the problem had been exacerbated by high inflation which in turn boosted the value of the insured property.