

THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 7 OF 1973

Various Sections of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act were designed to speed up planning for the partial consolidation of the homelands.

1. The Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 as amended laid down that any area might by resolution of both Houses of Parliament be added to the released areas, within which the Trust or Africans may purchase land, as long as a total of 7 250 000 morgen (6 209 857 hectares) of released land was not exceeded.

In terms of the 1973 amendment, broad plans for the partial consolidation of the homelands would be put before Parliament. If approved, all the land to be added to the homelands in terms of these plans would become areas in which released areas could be proclaimed by the State President. The broad plans could then be implemented by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in stages, without further recourse to Parliament.

2. The Bantu Administration Act of 1927 as amended provided that, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, the Minister may, without prior notice to any persons concerned and subject to such conditions as he may determine, order any tribe, portion thereof, or individual African to move from one place to another within the Republic.

The new measure specifies that a removal order may be served on a Bantu community as well as on a tribe or portion thereof. Before issuing an order, the Minister must consult with the tribe or community and the Bantu government concerned. (During the second reading debate in the Assembly, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development conceded¹ that there might be cases where a tribe or a government would not consent after consultation. Parliament, and not the Africans, would have the final say, he stated.)

It was, previously, provided that if a tribe refuses or neglects to withdraw, no removal order shall be of any force or effect until a resolution approving of the withdrawal has been adopted by both Houses of Parliament. The amending Act inserts the words "unless or" before "until". The effect is that if Parliament has approved a broad plan for con-

¹ 13 February, Hansard 2 col. 499.

solidation which involves the removal of Africans from certain areas, tribes which are subsequently ordered to leave such areas will be unable to appeal to Parliament.

Both the United Party and the Progressive Party objected very strongly to this clause, and opposed the second reading of the Bill mainly for this reason. The Deputy Minister indicated that the previous procedure had been considered too time-consuming.²

3. The new measure empowered the Minister to have an investigation made of the desirability of reserving, for African occupation or ownership, land in an urban area which is surrounded by or adjoins a scheduled³ or released area. Following the investigation, the State President may, by proclamation, reserve the land or part of it for Africans, and may provide for the constitution of a body to administer the area. Existing restrictions on the use of the land concerned, including group areas proclamations, will then fall away.

EXTENT OF LAND TO BE ADDED TO THE HOMELANDS, AND THE QUESTION OF FUTURE INDEPENDENCE

As mentioned on pages 32 and 34 of last year's *Survey*, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima stated several times in 1972 that he would not ask for independence for the Transkei until the white-owned districts he claims have been incorporated into the area under his government's control. Other homeland leaders have, since, also said that a prerequisite for independence is the allocation of adequate land.

The Prime Minister made his attitude clear in the Assembly on 25 April.⁴ "If a homeland does not want to become independent as a result of the fact that I do not want to give it more land, then that is its affair", he said. It would remain at the stage of self-government that it had attained.

During May,⁵ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development reiterated most forcefully that the Government would not cede more land than that which was promised in 1936.

The Government plans to achieve a greater degree of consolidation of the homelands not only by adding outstanding land in released areas between existing Reserves, but also by exchanging land as between whites and blacks.

BLACK SPOTS⁶

On 16 February, in reply to a question in the Assembly,⁷ the Minister said that, since 1948, 175 788 Africans had been removed

² Col. 394.

³ "Scheduled areas" are those set aside in 1913 for African occupation.

⁴ Hansard 11 col. 4995.

⁵ Assembly, 18 May, Hansard 14 col. 6914.

⁶ "Black spots" are isolated African-owned farms, surrounded by White-owned land.

⁷ Hansard 2 col. 128.

from black spots, small scheduled areas, and outlying parts of other scheduled areas, and resettled in Bantu homelands.

Answering another question on 26 April,⁸ he stated that the following areas of land were acquired from Africans during 1972:

	Hectares		Total
	Purchased	Expropriated	
Black spot land	404	799	1 203
Outlying parts of homelands ...	14 584	—	14 584
	<hr/> 14 988	<hr/> 799	<hr/> 15 787

The compensatory land added to the homelands measured 14 579 hectares, the Minister said. (In cases where a farm is owned by a tribe, the Department must offer alternative land of at least equivalent agricultural or pastoral value, but not necessarily of equal area. Individual land-owners may sell to the Department or to whites, but only those of them who owned 17 hectares or more are entitled to buy compensatory land in a released area.)

PLANS FOR THE PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE HOMELANDS

(The Government's plans are illustrated by maps contained in the text of a booklet entitled *The African Homelands of South Africa*, published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in 1973.)

Transkei

The Government's intentions in so far as the Transkei is concerned were described on page 34 of last year's *Survey*.

Ciskei

See 1972 *Survey*, page 169. No details of the extent of land or population movements involved have been published, but, according to a Press report,⁹ the Department furnished the Opposition M.P. for King William's Town with a copy of a "priority programme for the consolidation of the Ciskei", stretching over a period of five years (the full plan may take two or three times as long to carry out). Priorities for 1973 were the elimination of two small black areas near to Port Elizabeth, and the resettlement of the Africans concerned on prepared ground near Keiskammahock. Ground would be purchased for Africans south of Whittlesea, in the Queenstown area, to which the people at Goshani would be moved in 1974.

It was officially announced on 12 October¹⁰ that a com-

⁸ Hansard 11 col. 727.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 April.

¹⁰ Government Notice R1882 of 12 October.

mittee had been appointed to investigate whether certain small towns in or adjoining homelands should be set aside for occupation or acquisition by Africans. Among them were five in the Ciskei — Braunsweig, Frankfort (Berlin area), Keiskammahoek, Lady Frere, and Peddie.

The newly-elected Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr. Lennox Sebe, said in May¹¹ that his government would work within the framework of separate development provided that the homeland was consolidated into a single territory (instead of five widely separated areas, as planned), and its land area increased fourfold.

KwaZulu

Draft plans for the consolidation of KwaZulu were described on page 171 of last year's *Survey*. As mentioned, these were discussed with representatives of the Whites and of the Africans.

In a statement issued in January,¹² all six of the KwaZulu executive councillors said that Richards Bay, all the Zululand game reserves, and all State land in Zululand, should form part of KwaZulu. If whites wanted the consolidation plan that had been officially proposed, then they should impose it unilaterally and not try to pretend that it was a negotiated settlement.

But an alternative plan was suggested. The S.A. Government should give the disputed areas, including Richards Bay, to KwaZulu, allowing white property-owners there to remain, under a black government, if they wished. The S.A. Government was invited to test its consolidation plan by a referendum among all races in Natal and KwaZulu.

Final consolidation plans, recommended by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs, were released on 27 April. It was stated in an accompanying memorandum that about 28 pieces of land owned by white farmers or the State were to be added to KwaZulu with the object of rounding off boundaries or joining smaller Reserves to one another. Some 40 small isolated Reserves or outlying parts of scheduled areas would be excised: this would, in time, imply the removal of approximately 132 000 Africans (the number of Whites who would be affected was not stated). In terms of the 1936 Act, there were 57 197 ha of quota land still to be acquired in Natal. According to the plans, a net total of some 27 000 ha would be added to the African areas, leaving a balance of about 30 000 ha which would be used for future corrections and minor adjustments of boundaries. (The total area of KwaZulu at the end of 1972 is stated¹³ to have been 3 165 656 ha.)

The effect of the Select Committee's plan would be to consolidate about 44 scattered Reserves and some 144 black spots

¹¹ *Star*, 22 May.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 and 19 January.

¹³ *Bantu*, February.

into 10 areas. Richards Bay is to remain "white", a small Reserve to the south of it being retained for the residence of Africans whose breadwinners will work in and around this growth-point.

Africans will gain the State-owned Makatini Flats in the extreme north, which it is planned to irrigate from the Jozini dam across the Pongola River. This area includes the Ndumu Game Reserve.

Townships established for Africans within KwaZulu will be administered by the homeland government, which in time may also take over some of the small "white" towns within its area. (The committee appointed to investigate the future of certain small towns, mentioned under the Ciskei, was directed to recommend whether Nqutu, Nkandhla, and Somkele should be set aside for occupation or acquisition by Africans.)

Africans will be removed from a Reserve in the north, near Paulpietersburg, and the deproclamation of various smaller Reserves will widen various "white" corridors, for example the one inland from Richards Bay, which is to be linked with Eshowe. It was stated in the official memorandum that Africans will not be moved from the excised areas until compensatory land has been acquired and the necessary services provided.

The Select Committee recommended, and the Government accepted, that no final decision be made for the time being on the future of the Upper Tugela Reserve and Drakensberg Reserves No. 1 and 2.

Chief Buthelezi stated¹⁴ that the Government's plan was meaningless in terms of the creation of a consolidated and viable State, and was totally unacceptable to the Zulu people. His government would not co-operate in the proposed removal of the many thousands of Africans who would be affected. He urged that the whole consolidation scheme be abandoned for the time being. A few days¹⁵ later, the KwaZulu Government claimed 17 "white" towns, including Richards Bay, Empangeni, Eshowe, Melmoth, Stanger, and Mtunzini, as part of its territory.

On 7 June, the Natal Provincial Council, too, rejected the consolidation proposals.

A few days earlier, on 4 June, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development moved in the Assembly that the official proposals be adopted.¹⁶ The declaration of final plans for released areas, he said, would make possible a systematic purchase of the remaining land promised in 1936, at the same time promoting the consolidation of Bantu areas. Furthermore, all those concerned would know, well in advance, what land the Government proposed to purchase in the years ahead.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 30 April.

¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May.

¹⁶ *Hansard* 17 cols. 8134-41, 8275.

It was not possible, the Minister continued, to achieve the ideal, which would be to provide one single territory for each homeland. But, within the limits of the 1936 Act, the number of scattered areas would, as far as was feasible, be reduced. Because the areas would be scattered, both White and Bantu would have to respect and acknowledge the principle of good neighbourliness, allowing transit through their territories, and reaching agreement on matters such as telegraphs, electricity, and railway lines, national roads, and the use of rivers that served both groups. The Government would spend very large sums of money in paying compensation to those who had to move, and in providing services in new areas allocated to the Bantu. It hoped to devise means of acquiring land more rapidly than had been done in the past.

Referring to the Ndumu Game Reserve, the Minister said the Government's standpoint was that it should remain a nature reserve.

In cases where mining operations were in progress on land to become a released and eventually a Bantu area, the Minister announced, concessionaries would be allowed to continue these operations on the agency basis. Their rights to land, but not their mineral rights, would in due course be taken over by a corporation or the homeland government concerned. White farmers would eventually have to leave the new released areas, but projects such as afforestation schemes, sugar plantations, etc. would where possible be maintained by the responsible authorities.

As mentioned later, the Select Committee's proposals for the consolidation of homelands in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal were presented to Parliament together with the plans for Natal. Representatives of the United Party had withdrawn from the proceedings of this committee, on the grounds that the plans submitted to it differed from those originally placed before the Bantu Affairs Commission and debated at public hearings. The Select Committee should have been given access to representations made by people affected by the changes, it was maintained. Such people should have been permitted to give evidence to the Committee. Certain farmers' associations were deeply concerned about this.¹⁷ The Chairman of the Select Committee replied¹⁸ that representations could have been made through the United Party's members of the Committee.

The United Party opposed the consolidation proposals for the same reasons as it had during 1972 rejected those for the Ciskei. Parliament was not bound by the quotas decided upon in 1936, it was maintained. Circumstances had changed. In view of the population explosion and the need for increased food production, it would be unwise to place further agricultural land in the hands of

¹⁷ Cols. 8152, 8165-6.

¹⁸ Col. 8192.

tribal people who might not farm it to the best advantage. It might be preferable to add to the homelands land in the neighbourhood of natural growth points, where employment opportunities would be available or could be created, and where home ownership rights would be granted.¹⁹

Speaking for the Progressive Party, Mrs. Helen Suzman reiterated that this party stood for the complete fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by the then government in 1936. She again stated that more land than the amount then promised was needed, to make feasible the concept of ultimate independence that had since been introduced. But she opposed the Select Committee's proposals because they involved extremely large-scale movements of people, the vast majority of them black, against the wishes of the homeland leaders, and without achieving full consolidation. She described the scheme as "a hotch-potch of excisions and additions".

In terms of the Progressive Party's policy, Mrs. Suzman said, there would be a geographic federation. The various regions would have local autonomy in certain matters, but on a non-racial basis: people would not be moved against their will. Until such time as Africans were able to move freely around the country and purchase land anywhere, the existing Reserves would be retained and augmented by the land promised in 1936.²⁰

The Select Committee's proposals for Natal and the Northern and Eastern Transvaal were adopted by 89 votes to 38.

Questioned on 30 May about the future of the Dunn people,²¹ the Minister of Coloured Relations said that they lived on land falling under the S.A. Bantu Trust which was occupied, as well, by many African squatters. After land had been acquired for the resettlement of these Africans and they had been moved, the Dunns could be granted title deeds to their land.

Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, and South Ndebele

Draft plans for the consolidation of Lebowa, Venda, and Gazankulu, and for the creation of a South Ndebele homeland, were described on page 173 of last year's *Survey*. These were discussed at a series of meetings convened by the Bantu Affairs Commission, after which the plans were revised and considered by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs.

Final proposals for the consolidation of the areas were published during April. It was stated in an accompanying memorandum that six large black spots and a number of outlying parts of existing Reserves were to be excised. Compensatory land would be made available, together with about 355 000 ha of quota land.

¹⁹ Cols. 8143-51.

²⁰ Cols. 8207-16.

²¹ Assembly Hansard 16 col. 7955.

A balance of some 187 000 ha of the Transvaal quota land promised in 1936 would remain, and would be used for the partial consolidation of BophuthaTswana. For the first time a homeland would be created for the South Ndebele people, consisting of a small area near Groblersdal at present forming part of Bophutha-Tswana.

The excisions, it was stated (including those from Swazi, described later), would imply the removal of approximately 231 000 Africans. (The number of whites who would be affected was not indicated.)

Lebowa is to lose a large Reserve in the north-west, together with three isolated areas (including Matok and Ramakgopa's locations); but its two large blocks of land are to be considerably enlarged. Its homeland will be reduced from fifteen to five separate areas. A new capital town, called Lebowa-Kgoma, is being built at Chuniespoort, to the south of Pietersburg. The University of the North is situated to the north of the capital, near Mankweng.

The plan for consolidation was rejected by the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. Several chiefs, from areas to be excised, stated that they would refuse to co-operate in the removal of their people. The Assembly demanded more land than was offered, including the "white" towns of Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Marble Hall, Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Belfast, Groblersdal, Burgersfort, Witbank, and Mooketsi.²²

Venda is to lose a large black spot, and a strip of land about 5 km wide along the Rhodesian border. According to Press reports,²³ this strip is virtually uninhabited by Africans and is used as a military exercise area. But Venda will gain large areas to the west of its existing territory, including an irrigation project. In terms of the plan (which may be revised) it would be consolidated from three to two areas, separated by a strip of land falling under the Gazankulu government.

The boundaries of Gazankulu are to be altered, but it will consist of four separate areas, adjoining homelands of other groups. (There are at present five Gazankulu areas.) The Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, stated in the Legislative Assembly²⁴ that the scheme was detrimental to the interests of his people and totally unacceptable. The Assembly unanimously rejected the plan. It resolved that if consolidation were to be meaningful, the "white" towns of Tzaneen, Phalaborwa, Mica, Hoedspruit, Komatipoort, and White River should be incorporated into its area.²⁵

Certain of the representations made by the governments of these homelands in the north are conflicting. When introducing

²² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May and 9 June.

²³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 April; *Star*, 27 April.

²⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 16 May.

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 May.

the consolidation proposals in the House of Assembly,²⁶ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there could, in the future, be mutual arrangements between the various homelands to transfer land from one to another, in order to adjust boundaries. Plans for the future must be financially feasible, he stated. It would be impossible, for example, to declare a town like Pietersburg black: in terms of municipal valuations alone this would cost more than R100-million.

As mentioned earlier, the Bantu Affairs Commission's proposals were adopted by the Assembly by 89 votes to 38. At the Commission's suggestion, the future of a few small areas has not as yet been decided, for example a small Reserve near the Pongola River.

The Lebowa Cabinet appointed its own commission to inquire into the land question. The Cabinet, headed by the recently-elected Chief Minister, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, sought and was granted an interview with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. It was reported²⁷ that one of the points on which agreement was reached was that the Mabopane - Ga Rankuwa - Winterveld complex, just to the north-west of Pretoria, would not fall under the BophuthaTswana Government, as had originally been envisaged, because large numbers of Northern Sotho people lived there as well as people of Tswana origin. The area would be administered by the central government department, and people of all ethnic groups (and not only Tswana, as in the past) would have the right to own businesses and houses there.

There is reported²⁸ to be a dispute in the Bushbuckridge area of the Eastern Transvaal, where Lebowa claims some of the land that has been allocated to Gazankulu.

Gazankulu has been disputing certain decisions about land in the far Northern Transvaal. The Chief Minister, Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, is said²⁹ to have announced during October that, following negotiations with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the "finger" of mainly Shangaan land to the east of Louis Trichardt would be allocated to Gazankulu instead of to Venda, as would the farms on which the Elim Mission and the Lemana College were situated.

The Minister met the Venda Cabinet members too, led by the Chief Minister, Chief Patrick Mphephu. They pleaded, *inter alia*, for the retention by Venda of the farm at Tshakhuma and the area around Tshikonelo, and the Minister promised to reconsider these matters.³⁰

Most of the South Ndebele people who live in homelands are

²⁶ Hansard 17 cols 8139, 8136.

²⁷ *Rand Daily Mail Townships* edition, 28 August.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 September.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 October.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25 August.

at present scattered in those under the BophuthaTswana or the Lebowa Governments, many having become citizens of these areas. According to reports,³¹ once their own homeland has been established, such people may elect to move and to change their citizenship. Other people of this group live in black spots which are to be eliminated. There are four South Ndebele tribal authorities, headed by chiefs, who met during July to discuss the creation of a regional authority as a first step towards the eventual formation of a homeland government.

Chief A. Mampuru Makopole and his 2 000 people had lived for several generations on a farm in the Groblersdal district, which was declared to be a black spot. They were given until the end of August to move to a prepared site 60 km away in Sekhukhuneland (part of Lebowa), where more than 600 temporary galvanized homes, and tents for storage, had been provided until permanent dwellings had been built. The usual compensation would be paid. However, the people refused to move: the chief said that, while the land offered had richer agricultural potential, it was too small for all his people. Early in September police arrived and used loud speakers to inform the people that they had to move. The police are said to have dragged the chief from his old home and to have temporarily arrested him and four others. Teargas was used to disperse an angry crowd. When the arrested men were released and taken to their new homes they found that the others had been moved there too, and heard that their old homes had been bull-dozed.³²

Swazi

A tentative plan for the consolidation of Swazi, announced towards the end of 1972, was confirmed during April. According to a memorandum by the Bantu Affairs Commission, the Swazi are to lose the Nsikazi Reserve to the east of White River and Nelspruit, measuring about 70 850 ha, and the Reserve to the south of Swaziland, which is some 68 200 ha in extent. They will retain the Nkomazi Reserve on the borders of Swaziland and Mozambique, and compensatory land approximately 170 750 ha in extent will be made available, adjoining the Nkomazi Reserve and running along the north-western boundary of Swaziland.

According to an article by Mrs. Jean le May, published in *The Star* on 22 February, none of the three Swazi regional authorities was consulted before these plans were published in the Press. After seeing the report, the Nsikazi Regional Authority sent a memorandum to the Commissioner-General for their group, objecting strongly to the proposed excision of their area — the most developed of all the Swazi homelands. The official plan apparently

³¹ Official Press release 283/73 (P) of 14 September, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July.

³² *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 and 8 September.

is that the three rapidly-developing dormitory towns in this Reserve should remain, as black townships in white areas, Kabokweni serving White River, Lekazi serving Nelspruit, and Matsulu serving Kaapmuiden. But there are many other daily commuters in other parts of the Reserve, working on farms, plantations, and sawmills. Many women find seasonal employment on farms. These people will be removed from the warm lowveld to a remote, mountainous area, with very cold winters, and land unsuitable for agriculture. Many of them will be unable to commute daily to their work.

The consolidation plan was adopted by the House of Assembly on 5 June, together with the plans for other homelands, described earlier.

BophuthaTswana

Provisional plans for the partial consolidation of the eight large and eleven smaller Tswana Reserves in the Transvaal and northern Cape were published in December 1972. There were various alternatives, to allow flexibility: the end result would be to consolidate the homeland into a minimum of three and a maximum of six irregularly-shaped areas.

In an interview with the Political Correspondent of *The Star* on 26 January, the Chief Minister, Chief Lucas Mangope, suggested that all the areas that are predominantly occupied by Tswana should be handed over to his government. Whites owning property in these areas would be free to remain if they were willing to live under the authority of a black government.

On 9 April the Government announced revised, "semi-final" plans for the consolidation of BophuthaTswana, on the basis of land still available in terms of the 1936 Act. These were discussed at meetings convened by the Bantu Affairs Commission in various parts of the region.

The proposals were rejected unanimously by the territory's Legislative Assembly. The Assembly produced its own plan, which would consolidate the homeland completely and double its size, taking in entire magisterial districts, a number of "white" towns, and lucrative mining areas near Rustenburg. According to *The Star* of 10 April, more than half a million whites would be affected. The "white" towns claimed by BophuthaTswana were Kuruman, Taung, Warrenton, Vryburg, Delareyville, Lichtenburg, Mafeking, Koster, Zeerust, Rustenburg, Brits, and Swartruggens.

Following the public hearings, the official plans were amended and submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs. For the same reasons as it had advanced previously, representatives of the United Party withdrew from the Committee's proceedings. The report of the National Party members was tabled in the Assembly on 5 June.

In terms of this plan, BophuthaTswana would consist of six

Cape, and Eastern Cape. But the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that this would be in conflict with the Republican Government's policy of separate development. It would be tantamount to creating electoral divisions outside the Assembly's area of control. There was nothing to prevent a Transkeian citizen living in a white area from standing for election to the Assembly in the electoral division from where he or his forefathers originated.¹

It was reported last year that the control of health and hospital services within its area of jurisdiction had been transferred to the Transkeian Government. In terms of Proclamation R84 of 30 March, a Department of Health was created, the number of members of the Cabinet being increased from six to seven.

Proclamation R173 of 20 July provided for the establishment of a High Court with a Chief Justice and other judges. It would have the powers of a provincial division of the Supreme Court, appeals lying to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. Mr. Justice G. G. A. Munnik of the Republic was appointed Chief Justice.² The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced on 16 February³ that four magistracies in the Transkei were being administered by African magistrates. There were eleven African assistant magistrates.

When opening the 1973 Session of the Legislative Assembly on 23 March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced⁴ that, despite an approximate 60 per cent expansion of the establishments of the then six government departments between 1963 and 1973, the percentage of posts occupied by officials seconded from the Republic had dropped from some 20 per cent to below 8 per cent over the same period. Paramount Chief Mantanzima is reported⁵ to have said in October that all Whites in the Department of Education were being replaced by Africans. A similar complete change-over would take place, next, in the Department of the Interior.

At the elections for elected members held in 1968, two parties succeeded in obtaining representation, the Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) led by Paramount Chief Matanzima, and the Democratic Party (DP) led by Mr. Knowledge Guzana. Very briefly, the TNIP endorsed the policy of separate development and the system of chieftainship. The DP considered that the homelands should be regarded merely as provinces of the Republic, that their citizens should have a voice in the government of the country as a whole, and that the chiefs would gradually have to surrender their powers to the democratic will of the

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 April.

² *Ibid.*, 14 April.

³ *Assembly Hansard* 2 cols. 124-5.

⁴ *Debates*, page 1.

⁵ *Sunday Times*, 14 October.

people. The composition of the Assembly just previous to its dissolution on 24 October 1973 was:

	<i>Chiefs</i>	<i>Elected members</i>	<i>Total</i>
TNIP	56	30	86
DP	8	14	22
Independent ...	—	1	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	64	45	109

New elections were held on 24 October. In one constituency, Umzimkulu, the election of two candidates had to be postponed because of the death of one of the men who was standing. In the other 43 seats the results were:

TNIP ...	25
DP ...	10
Independent ...	8

The affiliations of the chiefs, as possibly modified by recent developments, will not be known until the Legislative Assembly meets in 1974.

A meeting of the Assembly was held on 19 November to elect a Chief Minister. Paramount Chief Matanzima was re-elected with an increased majority. He received 78 votes as against 11 cast for the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Knowledge Guzana, and 10 for Mr. Curnick Ndamse.

The Ciskei

The Ciskei Constitution Proclamation was described on page 180 of last year's *Survey*.

The first elections for the elected members of the new Assembly were held during March. No political parties had emerged. Campaigns were led by Chief Justice K. M. Mabandla (a Fingo, Chief Minister of the first-stage Legislative Assembly which was created in 1971) and Mr. Lennox Sebe (a Rarabe, Minister of Agriculture in the first Assembly). Mr. Sebe's group won 13 of the 20 seats. At that stage, the attitudes of the chiefs had not been made public.

Chief Mabandla said* that after the new Assembly met to elect a Cabinet, political parties might emerge. His policy was to work for an independent Ciskei, containing no white "patches", and to preserve the office of chieftainship.

Before the Assembly met, however, the chief announced the formation of a Ciskei National Party, which he was to lead. It stood, *inter alia*, for a fair and just settlement of the land question; for a society in which there would be equal treatment of all men without discrimination; and for co-operation between black states in South Africa, and their ultimate federation.

* 16 March.

When the Assembly met on 21 May, Mr. Lennox Sebe was elected Chief Minister by 26 votes against 24 cast for Chief Mabandla. The chief's party decided not to nominate representatives for the other Cabinet seats, nor for the posts of Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Assembly. These officials were all, in consequence, drawn from Mr. Sebe's group.

On the following day Mr. Sebe announced the formation of the Ciskei National Independence Party. One of its main aims was to obtain more land. It would work for the promotion of the unity of Ciskeian citizens and the preservation of friendly relations with other homeland governments and the Republic. Emphasis was placed on the need for the development of the educational system.⁷

KwaZulu

The constitution decided upon for KwaZulu was described on page 181 of the 1972 *Survey*. A date for the first general election has not been determined at the time of writing. The new constitution has, thus, not come into effect, KwaZulu remaining at the first stage of self-government, in accordance with Chapter I of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971.

It was reported⁸ that the reason for this is that for some time the KwaZulu Executive Council refused to agree to the Republican Government's proposal that reference books should be used to identify voters, since these books (containing entries governing residence, employment, etc.) were regarded as a symbol of oppression. The Council stood out for the prior preparation of a normal voters' roll. However, it appears from a report in the *Rand Daily Mail's* Townships edition on 26 October that the Executive Council had recently decided to hold a general election, with citizenship cards being used to identify voters.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi continues in office meanwhile as the Chief Executive Councillor.

The future capital is to be sited at Ulundi. For the time being the government is operating from temporary premises in Nongoma and elsewhere.

It was announced during May⁹ that the Paramount Chief, Prince Goodwill, had dissolved his Royal Council. The Legislative Assembly passed a motion of appreciation to him for his "wisdom and graciousness" in doing so, since the council had caused "unnecessary strife between His Majesty and his Government."

During a visit overseas in December 1972, Chief Buthelezi attended a conference in Switzerland of Lay Ecumenical Associations of Europe. The Swiss churches are reported to have

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Townships edition, 5 October.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 May.

offered him the services of a white woman secretary. However, the S.A. Government refused a visa to the woman concerned, stating it was felt that the Chief should be assisted by one of his own people.¹⁰

According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 27 October, an opposition party called Umkhonto wa Shaka (Shaka's Spear) has been formed in KwaZulu. It is led by Chief C. Hlengwa, who resigned his post as chairman of the Legislative Assembly in order to do so. In a speech made in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi alleged that the new party was being financed by certain White National Party members. Chief Hlengwa denied this.

Lebowa

The Lebowa constitution, too, was described in last year's *Survey*, on page 184.

The first elections were held in April. No political parties had as yet emerged.

During the following month a first session was held of the newly-constituted legislative assembly. One of the elected members, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, was elected Chief Minister by 45 votes as against 40 cast for the previous Chief Minister, Chief Maurice M. Matlala (there were ten spoilt papers). Another commoner, Mr. Collins Ramusi, was elected to the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior (the other four members being chiefs). Both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker were commoners.

Mr. Phatudi told the Press on 9 May that the land question would be one of his government's first priorities. Other priorities would be combating discriminatory practices against Lebowa citizens in white South Africa; working for adequate job opportunities for his people; and obtaining more capital and loans for development.

On 8 June Chief Matlala announced in the Legislative Assembly that he had formed the Lebowa National Party as the official opposition. It would work towards independence, in co-operation with the Government of South Africa. After a short adjournment of the Assembly, Mr. Phatudi announced the formation of his own party, the Lebowa People's Party.

It was reported on 28 November that Mr. Phatudi had been granted an interview with the Prime Minister, and had expressed his government's desire to add the portfolio of industrial development to its Cabinet, and to establish more trade and technical schools. He stressed the need for larger funds for development.

Venda

Venda received self-governing status in terms of Proclamation 12 of 26 January. Its seat of government is Sibasa, and Venda is recognized as an official language.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 July.

Its Legislative Assembly has 60 members, consisting of 25 chiefs, 2 headmen of community authorities, 15 members designated by chiefs acting with their councillors, and 18 elected members.

The Assembly elects a Chief Minister, who must be a chief.¹¹ He appoints to his Cabinet five other ministers, three of whom must be chiefs. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected by the Assembly.

The first elections were held during August. Chief Patrick Mphephu, a conservative who had headed the previous territorial authority, had not created a political party, but an opposition party, the Venda Independence Party (VIP) had been formed under the leadership of a commoner, Mr. Baldwin Mudau (a sociologist from Johannesburg).

The VIP won 13 of the 18 seats for elected members. The attitudes of chiefs and headmen were not known until October, when they met with the elected members, as members of the new Legislative Assembly. Chief Mphephu was then elected Chief Minister by 42 votes as against 18 cast for his VIP opponent, Chief Frank Ramovha. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker were also elected from the "traditionalist" group.

Chief Mphephu said that he hoped to introduce legislation to ban the VIP. Mr. Mudau stated that even if this were done, the party would still operate in urban areas.¹²

Gazankulu

Gazankulu was declared a self-governing territory within the Republic in terms of Proclamation R14 of 26 January. Its seat of Government is Giyani, and Tsonga was recognized as an additional official language.

The Legislative Assembly consists of 68 members, 42 of them consisting of the chiefs of all the tribes in the homeland, and the headmen or other members of regional, tribal, or community authorities, designated by the regional authorities. The remaining 26 members are elected.

The Chief Minister is elected by members of the Assembly, by secret ballot. He appoints five other Cabinet Ministers, of whom not less than two or more than three must be chiefs or their deputies. The Assembly elects a chairman and deputy chairman.

The first elections were held during October. The Chief Minister of the previous governing body, Professor Hudson W.

¹¹ Some of the other homeland governments have deleted similar proviso from their constitutions.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 October.

E. Ntsanwisi, did not need to stand because he had been designated as a member by a regional body. It was reported¹³ that a section of the Shangaan people was anxious that Mr. Christopher K. Mageza, a Johannesburg Urban Bantu Councillor, should challenge his leadership. He obtained the highest number of votes in the election. However, Mr. Mageza stated that he fully supported Professor Ntsanwisi. The latter was unanimously re-elected.

BophuthaTswana

The BophuthaTswana constitution, and Chief Lucas Mangope's election as Chief Minister, were described on page 183 of last year's *Survey*. Like certain of the other homeland leaders,¹⁴ Chief Mangope has emphasized¹⁵ that he will not negotiate for independence until the land question has been satisfactorily settled. He has added that another prerequisite must be the adequate compensation of the Tswana people for their contribution to the growth of South Africa as a whole. The development funds thus far made available to his government have been utterly inadequate, he maintains.

It was reported in May¹⁶ that BophuthaTswana has obtained a loan of R4-million from the S.A. Government for the building of its new capital at Heystekrand. The municipalities of Randfontein, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, and Westonaria are to help with the erection of houses.¹⁷

Other homelands and ethnic groups

Thus far, Basotho Qwaqwa's Legislative Assembly has merely the limited powers of a territorial authority. The Swazi group has three regional authorities but no central body. Amongst the South Ndebele there are merely four tribal authorities.

VIEWS ON A POSSIBLE FUTURE FEDERATION OF TERRITORIES

During 1972, both Paramount Chief Matanzima and Chief Buthelezi suggested that the homelands and the independent states of Southern Africa should come together in a confederation. Chief Buthelezi has described his dream of a non-racial federation.

Both chiefs said during February¹⁸ they had agreed in principle that, for a start, their two countries should be linked in a federation, under a joint Assembly. In the Paramount Chief's view, this could be done even before either territory became completely independent. But the Minister of Bantu Administra-

¹³ *Ibid.*, 21 August.

¹⁴ In the Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, and Lebowa.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 August.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Townships edition, 23 May.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20 October.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 and 19 February.

tion and Development indicated to the Press that the assent and co-operation of the S.A. Government would be necessary.

Chief Mangope has expressed reservations about the idea of a federation with the Transkei and KwaZulu. It might, instead, be to his people's advantage to federate with Botswana, he has said. The implications would need to be examined.¹⁹

SUMMIT MEETING OF HOMELAND LEADERS

A summit meeting of homeland leaders took place in Umtata on 8 November. It was attended by all the leaders except Chief Wessels Mota of Basotho Qwaqwa, Chief Mphephu of Venda, and Mr. Cedric Phathudi of Lebowa. Mr. Phathudi was overseas, but his Minister of the Interior, Mr. Collins Ramusi, deputised for him.

No official statement was issued, but according to Press reports,²⁰ it was resolved in principle that a future federation of homelands in South Africa was vital to the unity of the black people. It was reported, however, that Chief Mangope said he still had the feeling that a federation with Botswana might be more in the interests of his homeland. Delegates then suggested that the concept be widened, to include white South Africa and neighbouring black states.

The following were stated to have been among the resolutions passed.

1. A deputation of the leaders should visit Cape Town early in 1974 to discuss with the Cabinet the amount of land to be allocated to the various homelands. The "white patches" that divided each homeland into separated areas should be abolished. Strong disapproval was expressed of the forced removal of black people from their lands.
2. When a self-governing homeland was constituted, the central government should transfer to it all the departments that usually constituted a state.
3. The sums of money allocated to homeland governments by the S.A. Government were not commensurate with the indirect taxes and services rendered by blacks to the gross national product of the country as a whole.
4. Homeland governments should be granted unfettered rights to seek financial and other assistance from agencies of the United Nations, foundations, and church bodies.
5. The homeland governments viewed any form of racial discrimination as an assault on the human dignity of black people.
6. The central Government should repeal pass laws and influx control regulations to enable blacks to sell their labour as they wished.

¹⁹ *Star*, 10 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 September.

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 and 9 November.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is reported to have told a crowd of Africans who gathered outside the hotel where the meeting was held that none of the architects of separate development could ever have dreamed that their policy would be used as a platform on which to build black solidarity. Paramount Chief Matanzima was stated to have said, "My dream has come true. This fascinating historic occasion . . . is the renaissance of the United Nations of black South Africa".

After the summit meeting, the representatives from the Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, and Lebowa went to East London to attend the conference on federalism, described on page 47.

RESETTLEMENT TOWNSHIPS

As described on page 203 of last year's *Survey* and in the chapter of this edition dealing with African housing, there are a number of modern townships in the homelands, close to centres of employment. This particular section deals exclusively with resettlement townships, remote from centres of employment, that were established some years ago to accommodate Africans endorsed out of urban areas, or landless people removed from "black spots", or those sent away from the farms of whites. This last category includes old people, and former labour tenants who have not become full-time farm workers together with their families, as well as the families of sons of farm labourers. Some of the townships also accommodate ex-prisoners from Robben Island who have not been allowed to return to towns. In the early stages, rudimentary housing and services only were available in these townships. The Department has, since, been providing housing and improved social conditions, but great poverty persists.

Three of these townships, Sada, Ilinge, and Dimbasa, are in the Ciskei. Mr. F. O. Joseph, the Regional Secretary in East London of the Institute of Race Relations, visited them in 1972 and early in 1973, and, unless otherwise stated, the accounts that follow are based on his reports.

Sada is about 32 km from Queenstown. Its official population was 13 000 towards the end of 1972, but an estimated additional 2 000 to 3 000 homeless people lived there illegally. Some 1 600 families received rations.¹ The Government had provided schools to the secondary level and some sports fields. There was, then, local employment for about 380 men and women in growing vegetables, at a brickyard, at a dressmaking concern established by the Moravian Mission, and at a handicraft centre administered by the Ciskeian Government.² The Xhosa Development Corporation

¹ See 1972 *Survey*, page 206.

² Information based, in part, on a letter from the Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development dated 20 December 1972 to the National Council of Women of S.A.

(XDC) has, since, established a small factory to manufacture carpets, which at the end of 1972 was employing 10 men and 190 women, at wages of R25 to R40 a month for men, and R15 to R35 a month for women. Unemployed people in the township then numbered 290 men and 170 women.³ (At Sada, as in the other resettlement townships, most of the able-bodied men and many of the women are forced by economic circumstances to leave their homes for long periods, entering into employment as contract workers.)

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said on 22 May⁴ that 2 485 dwellings had by then been completed.

Ilinge is about 16 km from Queenstown. Residents are reported to have built some quite good houses there, but many people still live in the original small houses provided by the Department, built partially of wood. Many are damp because the site was never properly drained. Water supplies were limited early in 1973, but new boreholes were being provided. By then, there were a few sports fields but only one shop, although another store was not far off.

The National Council of Women of S.A. reported in its *News* for September that the population of Ilinge had grown to about 12 000. The Government was operating a well-equipped clinic. Inter-Church Aid had established a small knitting concern, employing about 83 women, which was being taken over by the XDC. This Corporation was providing a handicraft centre. The N.C.W. sponsored a sewing class which had 135 members. Between 200 and 300 women were employed by the Camp Supervisor, at very low wages, to weed and clean the roadsides, and there was employment for some men on road maintenance. According to the report by the Deputy Minister, quoted above, 190 men and 50 women were unemployed at the end of 1972.

Dimbasa is further to the south, some 19 km from King William's Town. Its official population towards the end of 1972 was 7 400, but the actual figure was nearer 10 000. A few women were employed in a sewing school and a beadcraft group. The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk was planning to start a small textile factory in a building made available by the XDC, which would eventually provide employment for about 400, and the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly was to establish a handicraft centre. The Deputy Minister stated in May that 1 248 dwellings had by then been completed. He said, in June, that 160 men and 145 women were unemployed at the end of 1972.

No recent reports are available about the Limehill complex, to the south-east of Dundee and Glencoe, adjoining the Msinga Reserve. Here, as in the Ciskei, the main problem is the lack of

³ Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Assembly 11 June, Hansard 18 cols. 987-8.

⁴ Assembly Hansard 15 col. 906.

adequate employment opportunities within reasonable distance. A much smaller resettlement village, where about 100 families live, is Vulamehlo near Nqutu. Breadwinners try to find employment as contract workers, but there is reported to be considerable unemployment and great poverty.⁵

There are other such villages where little development appears to have taken place, and about which there is no available published information. Their names and location were given in the publication *The African Homelands of South Africa*, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1973.⁶

THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THE HOMELANDS

No comprehensive information has been published about the amount of money to be available for development work in the homelands in 1973-4.

Homeland governments receive annual grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund which correspond to the State's expenditure on services transferred to the control of the governments concerned during the year preceding the date of transfer. They may receive additional grants appropriated by Parliament, on the recommendation of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in consultation with the Minister of Finance, after these Ministers have scrutinised the estimates of expenditure that the homeland governments submit annually. At present, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development incurs additional expenditure, *inter alia*, in paying the salaries of White officials who are temporarily seconded to the service of the homeland governments. According to the official Estimates of Expenditure,¹ these amounts will be as follows during 1973-4:

	<i>From Consolidated Revenue Fund</i>	<i>Additional grants</i>	<i>Salaries of seconded personnel</i>	<i>Totals</i>
	R	R	R	R
Transkei	17 808 000	26 764 000	2 610 000	47 182 000
Ciskei	6 904 000	4 838 000	1 227 000	12 969 000
KwaZulu	20 073 000	13 703 000	2 218 000	35 994 000
Lebowa	8 188 000	7 638 000	1 182 000	17 008 000
Venda	3 417 000	1 098 000	533 000	5 048 000
Gazankulu	2 739 000	2 585 000	565 000	5 889 000
BophuthaTswana	8 177 000	6 429 000	1 649 000	16 255 000
Basotho Qwaqwa	62 000	445 000	177 000	684 000
Additional amount ²	—	1 961 000	—	1 961 000
	67 368 000	65 461 000	10 161 000	142 990 000

⁵ *Financial Mail*, 15 June.

⁶ Pages 153 *et seq.*

¹ R.P. 2/1973, Vote 16, pages 85-99.

² Supplementary Estimates, R.P. 6/1973, Vote 16.

The Department will, itself, continue to meet the expenditure in Reserves which are not yet controlled by one or other of these governments, e.g. the Swazi areas, and to cover the expenses of certain services which have thus far not been transferred to the control of homeland governments. It will, furthermore, cover central administrative costs. It is not clear from the published accounts how much will be spent in these ways.

To the amounts voted by the central government, the homeland governments add sums derived from their own resources, e.g. the proceeds of local taxes, general and tribal levies, quitrent, other rents, fines, stock rates, townships revenue, interest on investments, etc. (Amounts paid by citizens of the homelands in general and graded taxes are included in the grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.) The amounts derived in the ways described by all the governments are not known, but in the case of the Transkei are likely to total R9 212 000 in 1973-4.³

Reports indicate that the amounts shown in the second column of the table set out above are much smaller than the sums for which the homeland governments budgeted when preparing their estimates. Chief Mangope of BophuthaTswana, in particular, has complained about this. His government's proposed expenditure on essential development work was cut by about R11 000 000, he stated.⁴

The salaries of White seconded personnel, reflected in the table, accrue to 2 641 persons.

The Revenue Vote of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, quoted above, makes provision for the following additional items of expenditure:

- (a) R2 420 000 as an annual contribution to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund;
- (b) R36 507 000 for the administration of health services and hospitals (to which will be added R2 816 000 derived from hospital fees, etc.);
- (c) R1 053 000 in payments to provincial administrations for the construction of access roads to African areas.

(Besides this last amount, the Department of Transport plans to spend R1 980 000 on the construction and maintenance of national roads in and around the Transkei.⁵)

The Loan Account of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development reflects the following anticipated expenditure in 1973-4:⁶

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 and 11 April.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 March.

⁵ Vote 5, page 17 of Estimates, R.P. 2/1973.

⁶ R.P. 3/1973 Vote N., pages 84-5.

		R	
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund			8 525 000
Development of Bantu areas by the S.A. Bantu Trust:			
		R	
Establishment of townships	13 997 000		
Hospital buildings	6 300 000		
University buildings	1 500 000		
Share capital for Corporations	17 126 000		
Miscellaneous	8 034 000		
	<hr/>		
	46 957 000		
Less funds available from the Trust's own resources	1 570 000		
	<hr/>		
	45 387 000	45 387 000	
Compensation to Whites in the Transkei			2 625 000
			<hr/>
<i>Total</i>			56 537 000
			<hr/>

It is not clear, from the published Estimates, how much the Government intends to spend on land purchase during the current financial year.

Certain other government departments besides those mentioned incur expenditure in the homelands, for example, Interior, Prisons, Agricultural Technical Services, Public Works, Audit, Police, and Transport, also the S.A. Railways and Harbours and the Postal Administrations. Numbers of local authorities contribute towards the development of townships. Expenditure by the Corporations is described later.

FARMING IN THE HOMELANDS

Planning of the areas

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 20 February,⁷ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that at the end of 1972 the following percentages of the areas of the homelands had been planned, that is, divided into arable lands, grazing camps, and residential areas:

	<i>Percentage planned</i>
Transkei	57,5
Ciskei	78,8
KwaZulu	49,1
Lebowa	65,0
Venda	77,6
Gazankulu	99,0
BophuthaTswana	54,7
Basotho Qwaqwa	100,0

⁷ Hansard 3 col. 158

Agriculture

On 27 February⁸ the Minister stated that 930 agricultural advisers were being employed by his department and the homeland governments. When opening a session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly on 24 May, the Prime Minister said that until recently the highest post open to Africans had been that of Agricultural Extension Officer Grade I, but that some men had, since the establishment of the Legislative Assembly, been promoted to the posts of Agricultural Officers. A few were serving as Senior Agricultural Officers.⁹ The Minister stated on 27 February that the numbers of agricultural officers in training then were:

Transkei	...	...	...	...	...	104
Ciskei	...	...	...	...	...	80
KwaZulu	...	...	...	...	...	117
Lebowa	...	...	...	...	...	110
BophuthaTswana	...	...	...	...	...	64

Yields of traditional crops in the homelands, as compared with those in white farming areas, continue to be very low. Some comparative figures, in the main calculated by Professors J. A. Lombard and P. J. van der Merwe,¹⁰ were quoted on pages 85-6 and 89 of the booklet *The African Homelands of South Africa*, mentioned earlier.

Citrus is being grown on various Trust farms. For the time being the estates are managed by Departmental officials, but Africans are being trained in various aspects of the work. It was stated in the issue of *Bantu* for March that 50 000 boxes of citrus were being supplied to the S.A. market annually, and about 20 000 boxes to Britain. Other fruit is grown mainly for home consumption or sale at small country markets.

Fibre-growing schemes are undertaken on Trust farms as semi-industrial undertakings to provide work for non-farming Africans. According to the latest Departmental report, for 1969,¹¹ there were then 8 510 352 ha in various homelands under sisal and about 2 414 000 ha under phormium tenax. In the Transkei the latter crop, valued in 1972 at more than R100 000 a year,¹² is to be used by a grain bag factory at Butterworth. In other areas, most of the fibre is sold to factories in white areas.

Sugar cane is a major cash crop in KwaZulu, grown on a dryland basis. A start has been made at growing it on irrigated land in a Swazi area. The S.A. Sugar Association has organized short courses for African producers, and for African extension officers in the identification of cane diseases. Recently the Asso-

⁸ Assembly Hansard 5 col. 248.

⁹ State Information Office News Release.

¹⁰ Published in the *Finance and Trade Review of Volkskas, Ltd.*, June 1972.

¹¹ R.P. 41/1973.

¹² *South African Digest*, 19 January.

ciation established a R5-million fund to provide low-interest loans and help in procuring fertilizers and equipment for African, Indian, and Coloured small growers who lack access to normal credit facilities.¹³

Tea plantations in the Transkei are being extended. The tea is processed at a factory at Lambasi, then blended with imported tea by packing firms.

In 1969 there were 441 696 ha under cotton in African areas of the northern Transvaal and in KwaZulu and BophuthaTswana, the total yield that year being 161 391 kg.

According to the 1969 Departmental report, coconuts are being grown in the Ingwavuma district of northern KwaZulu, being planted together with cashew nuts in order to achieve efficient soil utilization.

Experiments with coffee-growing are in progress in various areas.

Irrigation schemes

In reply to questions in the Assembly in May,¹⁴ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that there were about 21 939 ha under irrigation in the homelands.

Among the crops grown on irrigated land are maize, wheat, groundnuts, cowpeas, potatoes, sugar, lucerne hay, legumes, sweet potatoes, vegetables, and fruit trees.

According to the issue of *Bantu* for March, during the previous year officials started a scheme of project farming, on a purely voluntary basis, on irrigation schemes. An account is opened for each farmer who joins the scheme. He receives a cash advance every month, and obtains seed and fertilizer at cost price. Private African contractors do the ploughing. The Department organizes the marketing, thereafter paying to each farmer his net profit. In a project farming scheme in Venda, it was stated, the production of wheat per hectare had been stepped up from 3,5 to 26,9 bags.

Livestock

Available recent statistics indicating the livestock in homelands of the Republic (excluding the Transkei), as contained in Departmental reports,¹⁵ are as follows:

				<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Small stock</i>
1968	...	...	...	2 233 368	2 686 858
1969	...	...	...	2 263 727	2 661 177
1970	...	...	...	2 253 052	2 988 653
1971	...	...	...	2 287 490	3 097 022

¹³ *Fiat Lux*, March.

¹⁴ Hansard 12 cols. 819-20.

¹⁵ R.P. 58/1971 and 41/1973.

In some years there were considerable losses due to drought. In order to control numbers, the Trust (or homeland governments) organizes stock auctions: according to preliminary figures, 519 sales were held in 1971, a which 38 165 cattle were sold, realizing an average of R61 per head. (The number of small stock sold was not stated.) Besides this, 88 858 head of cattle and 112 268 head of small stock were slaughtered by butchers in the homelands or by African farmers for their own consumption.

There were 77 co-operative dairy schemes in 1971, with 1 675 participants, the average gross revenue per participant being R47.

In order to promote stock improvement, approved bulls and rams are sold to African farmers at subsidized prices: 878 bulls were sold in 1971. (It was stated in the issue of *Bantu* for March 1973 that the subsidy in Venda was then 25 per cent of the current purchase price.) Some of these are bred from Trust herds, while others are bought from white breeders. However, a few African farmers are now able to supply well-bred animals to their fellow-farmers.

Co-operative shearing schemes are promoted in wool-producing areas, and farmers receive assistance in classing and marketing the wool, enabling them to increase their income.

Forestry

In May the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly¹⁶ that the extent of forests in the homelands was:

	<i>Hectares</i>
Covered with indigenous forest	223 669
On which commercial plantations had been established	91 993
Planted with non-commercial woodlots	24 203

Much of the forest land has been managed by the Department of Forestry on behalf of the S.A. Bantu Trust, but homeland governments are undertaking increased control. Forests in the Transkei, for example, are administered by the government of that territory.

The plantations consist mainly of conifers, used for saw-timber for building, joinery, furniture, fruit boxes, etc., and of eucalyptus used for poles, fencing and firewood. The poles are creolised. Non-commercial woodlots are planted to produce timber for fencing and firewood.

Some of the largest plantations are in parts of the Transkei, KwaZulu, and Venda. Forestry is one of the main sources of local revenue in the Transkei, yielding about R1,37-million a year.¹⁷

¹⁶ Hansard 12 cols. 819-20.

¹⁷ *South African Digest*, 19 January.

The Minister stated that early in 1973 the following mills and plants had been established in the homelands:

<i>Operated by:</i>	<i>Sawmills</i>	<i>Creosoting plants</i>
The Department	—	1
Development Corporations	4	—
Bantu Authorities or individuals: about	97	15

Further sawmills have been established in various areas by white entrepreneurs, on the "agency" basis. Much of the wood is, however, still sent to sawmills outside the African areas.

MINING IN THE HOMELANDS

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 4 May¹⁸ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the following numbers of prospecting and mining leases were held in the homelands:

	<i>Prospecting</i>	<i>Mining</i>
By White persons	12	8
By White-controlled companies ...	98	81
By African companies or persons ...	2	—

Six of the mining leases, and a few of the prospecting leases, had been granted in homelands of South West Africa.

During 1972, the Minister added, a sum of R313 227 accrued to the Trust from royalties and prospecting fees. He was unable to say what amount accrued to African governments.

The Minister gave details of the precious stones and ores in respect of which mining leases had been granted in each of the homelands. His information, supplemented from other sources, is set out on page 96 of the booklet *The African Homelands of South Africa*. The Minister stated that the Bantu Mining Corporation had established a stone-crushing plant in the Gazankulu area near Giyani, sand removal schemes in Gazankulu and KwaZulu, and a small tourmaline mine in KwaZulu. It was assisting an African to operate a stone crusher in Lebowa and a White man to extract limestone in BophuthaTswana.

Some years ago the BaPhokeng (Tswana) tribe in the Rustenburg district entered into an agreement with Union Corporation, Ltd., in respect of the Impala platinum mine which is situated in its area. The tribe and the S.A. Bantu Trust would receive rent for surface rights (the tribe's share is about R20 000 a year¹⁹). In addition, 13 per cent of the mine's taxable income would be paid in royalties when the mine began to make a profit. Thus far, however, the company has shown a loss for taxation purposes

¹⁸ Hansard 12 cols. 818-9.

¹⁹ *Financial Mail*, 29 June.

because capital expenditure is allowed as a cost in computing the taxable income. This high capital expenditure is likely to continue for some time. Considering the arrangement to be inequitable to the tribe, the mining company decided to make advance payments on future royalties, the tribe's share in 1973 being about R50 000. As from the beginning of 1974, however, the company will pay 10 per cent of its dividends in advance payments. Of this amount, 85 per cent (probably worth more than R600 000 a year) will be paid to the tribe, and the rest to the Trust.²⁰ As Tswana tribesmen have, traditionally, not offered themselves in large numbers for employment as mine labourers, nearly all the African underground workers employed in the Impala and other platinum mines near Rustenburg are recruited from other parts of South Africa and neighbouring territories.

The partial relaxation of the colour bar on mines in the homelands was described on page 125 of the 1971 *Survey* and page 194 of the issue for 1972.

It was reported in April²¹ that 19 African mining assistants at the Atok platinum mine in Lebowa had already passed examinations in mining regulations, drilling and blasting, and testing for gas. Where necessary, they had been taught to read and write. Others were in training. Each of the qualified men supervised his own gang of drillers and labourers, and earned between R80 and R100 a month (depending on fathomage broken), plus free food and accommodation. The wages of other African employees had been improved. A new compound had been built, with an African manager, and a village erected for workers who were married. There was a store, opened by an African, and a primary school.

The White supervisors were earning between R660 and R700 a month (about R100 more than they did previously). Safety had improved, and production increased.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 29 May,²² the Minister of Mines said that 21 Africans were then being employed as mining assistants at the Atok mine. The only other exemption granted from the mining regulations had been to the KwaZulu Sand Company, to allow an African to be employed as manager of a sand digging concern.

The total numbers of persons employed in mining concerns in the homelands as at 31 December 1972 were 43 677 Africans and 3 351 Whites, the Minister added. It was stated in the issue of *Bantu* for June that the 57 productive mines in the homelands of the Republic and South West Africa that were operated by the private sector provided 43 029 Africans with a cash income of R10 054 711 during 1971-2 (other benefits being paid in kind).

The Bantu Mining Corporation has established seven scholar-

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 25 April.

²² Hansard 16 col. 935.

ships to enable Africans to study geology at a university, with a view to the employment of graduates in prospecting work.

It assisted the Bantu Education Department in introducing a course of training for geological technicians at the Mmadikoti technical college at Seshego, near Pietersburg. By mid-1973, nine young men had completed the course satisfactorily.²³

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

General

See also the section on the decentralisation of industries.

In February the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 2 671 loans worth R16 527 916 had been granted by the various Bantu development corporations thus far.¹ The amounts allocated to and standing to the credit of the Bantu Investment Corporation over the last five years were²:

		<i>Allocated</i>	<i>Balance</i>
		<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
1968/69	... ..	2 100 000	3 928 965
1969/70	... ..	4 750 000	4 261 908
1970/71	... ..	4 300 000	4 038 165
1971/72	... ..	7 530 000	3 305 886
1972/73	... ..	7 000 000	3 145 510

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March, 1972, the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C.) stated that between 1959/60 and 1971/72 it had granted 1 283 loans worth R8 735 075 to African businessmen: 1 056 were original loans while 227 were for additional loans.³ Of the original loans granted, 906 were for commercial enterprises, 129 for service industries, and 21 for industries.

By the end of March 1972, the B.I.C. had erected 334 buildings for leasing to African businessmen at a cost of R2 237 258⁴ and a further 23 costing R169 394 were in the course of erection. Since 1962, when the housing loan scheme was initiated, 428 housing loans worth approximately R900 000 had been made to Africans.

The share capital of the B.I.C. as at 31 March 1972 amounted to R31 780 000, an increase of R9 730 000 in a year representing additional shares at R1.00 each taken up by the S.A. Bantu Trust. The fixed assets of B.I.C. increased by R8 365 320 to R21 105 939 between 1970/71 and 1971/72. On the other hand, deposits received from Africans at B.I.C. savings accounts decreased by

²³ *Bantu*, June.

¹ Hansard 3 col. 145, 20 February.

² Hansard 5 col. 375, 9 March.

³ This is an increase over the 1970/71 data of 151 loans and R1 203 860. These figures include South West Africa (Namibia) but since 1968, when the Xhosa Development Corporation took responsibility for the Transkei and Ciskei, exclude figures for these areas.

⁴ An increase over 1970/71 data of 21 buildings and R210 728.

R489 611 to R9 922 300 as at 31 March 1972. The corporation showed a net loss of R452 771 in 1971/72 compared with a net profit of R170 233 the previous year.

In May, Mr. Barney Dladla, the KwaZulu Minister for Community Affairs, said that there were too many strings attached to B.I.C. aid to Zulus.⁵ Criticism was also expressed in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly.⁶ B.I.C. officials later agreed to recommend to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development the Lebowa Cabinet's proposals for the formation of a Lebowa Development Corporation.⁷

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1972, the Xhosa Development Corporation (X.D.C.) which is the development agency for the Transkei and Ciskei, stated that 688 business and housing loans worth R4 798 626 had been made to African businessmen by March 1972.⁸ Employment figures directly attributable to the X.D.C.'s activities were 7 006 Africans (an increase of 1 755 over the 1970/71 figure). The issued share capital of the corporation increased by R7 700 000 to R27 700 000 by the end of March 1972.

Commercial concerns in the African homelands

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said⁹ that 496 retail trading stations previously owned by Whites in the Transkei had been taken over by official corporations or bodies, while 350¹⁰ had been taken over by African people or companies. In other African areas of the Republic official bodies had acquired 18 such businesses while African people or companies had acquired 139. Of those businesses acquired by official bodies, five were being run by Whites as training schools while Africans were managing 144.¹¹

The figures for the number of hotels or motels acquired from Whites in the Transkei given on page 197 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey* have remained constant. Hotels or motels in other African areas of the Republic have been acquired or built for Africans at Bushbuckridge, Garankuwa, Umlazi, Zwelitsha, Mount Coke, Debe Nek, Mdantsane, Khorixas, Manyeleti, and Chalumna.¹²

Information on existing commercial concerns controlled by B.I.C. was given on page 222 of the 1971 issue and pages 196-7 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*. Similar information on the X.D.C.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail* (Township Edition), 31 May.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 June.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3 August.

⁸ An increase over the 1970/71 figures of 180 loans worth R1 511 272.

⁹ Hansard 18 cols. 999-1000, 13 June.

¹⁰ If this figure is correct it shows a startling increase over the previous year's figure of 335.

¹¹ This figure, if correct, would indicate an alarming drop of 94 in the number of businesses being managed by Africans.

¹² Hansard 12 cols. 821-2, 4 May.

was also given in those issues. In the financial year 1971/72 the X.D.C. started a project to market hides and skins, established one new wholesale warehouse at Umtata and another at Butterworth, took over a further 52 shops from Whites and handed 89 over to Africans (267 shops are now controlled by Africans while a further 228 are controlled by the corporation). The X.D.C.'s garage section consists of 19 garages, two fuel storage depots, a panel-beating undertaking, and a used car undertaking.

Industry in the African homelands

General

The Prime Minister announced that the Government was to set up machinery to enable the homelands to accept foreign aid. This announcement was welcomed by Chiefs Buthelezi and Matanzima.¹³ It was rumoured that a development bank to channel white capital into the homelands was in the process of establishment.¹⁴

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that private entrepreneurs had invested the following amounts on the agency basis in the homelands¹⁵:

<i>Homeland</i>	<i>Amount R</i>	<i>No. of jobs created</i>
Transkei	2 326 000	1 410
Ciskei	2 000	180
BophuthaTswana	17 436 000	3 984
KwaZulu	804 000	847
Basotho-Qwaqwa	86 000	109
Lebowa	2 513 000	866
Gazankulu	275 000	122
Venda	280 000	226
Swazi	78 000	114
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	23 800 000	7 858

In 1970 the managing director of the B.I.C. announced a five-year plan for the financial years 1969/70 to 1973/74 in terms of which R104 000 000 would be spent on the industrial development of the homelands. Of this amount R86 000 000 would be spent in the Republic, including the Transkei, while R18 000 000 would be spent in South West Africa. The Minister said¹⁶ that in three years capital expenditure and expenditure on infrastructure under this plan amounted to R27 484 438. Some of this amount had been expended in the following ways:

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 and 25 January; *Financial Mail*, 26 January.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March.

¹⁵ Hansard 14 cols. 868-9, 15 May.

¹⁶ Hansard 5 cols. 306-310, 5 March.

	<i>KwaZulu</i>		<i>Bophutha-Tswana</i>		<i>Lebowa</i>		<i>Venda</i>		<i>Gazankulu</i>		<i>Swazi</i>		<i>Basotho-Qwaqwa</i>		<i>Eastern Caprivi</i>		<i>South West Africa</i>	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Industrial undertakings ...	1 001 911	3 696 276	342 047	140 681	372 342	—	49 499	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.I.C. concerns ¹⁷ ...	2 449 556	1 358 963	648 140	29 565	61 900	7 427	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Business loans ¹⁷ ...	1 381 888	1 743 168	587 525	80 810	70 115	86 456	70 700	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Housing loans ...	268 547	60 535	39 818	19 908	11 500	25 408	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
African savings banks ...	199	13 444	1 046	—	630	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9 577
	5 102 101	6 872 386	1 618 576	270 964	516 487	119 291	120 199	44 042	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 306 777

¹⁷ These amounts are estimated expenditure.

This expenditure had created an estimated 1 009 new African employment opportunities in KwaZulu, 73 in Basotho-Qwaqwa, 2 235 in BophuthaTswana, 343 in Lebowa, 178 in Venda, 544 in Gazankulu, 14 in Swazi areas, 5 in the Eastern Caprivi, and 768 in South West Africa.

In the three years up to the 1971/72 financial year¹⁸ the X.D.C. had spent R564 000 on the economic development of the Ciskei and R19 658 000 on the Transkei. Some of these amounts had been expended in the following ways:

	<i>Ciskei</i> R	<i>Transkei</i> R
Industrial undertakings ...	2 000	4 273 000
X.D.C. concerns	22 000	6 919 000
Business loans	463 000	2 559 000
Housing loans	47 000	271 000
	<u>534 000</u>	<u>14 022 000</u>

An estimated 275 new African employment opportunities in the Ciskei and 4 718 in the Transkei had been created as a result.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development¹⁹ gave the following information on further expenditure by the State and official agencies at various homeland growth points. In BophuthaTswana the State had spent R534 069 on the development of the industrial township at Babelegi and R83 023 on water schemes. The BophuthaTswana Government had spent a further R2 923 525 on the industrial township, R796 032 on water schemes and R44 826 on electricity while the I.D.C. had spent R747 315 on housing for key white personnel. R5 134 603 had also been spent on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

In KwaZulu the State had spent R2 778 336 on the industrial township at Sithebe, R108 373 on water schemes, and R392 733 on electricity. The I.D.C. had spent R324 000 on housing for key white personnel. R621 602 had been spent on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

The Basotho-Qwaqwa Government had spent R287 296 on development of the industrial township of Witzieshoek, R55 170 on water schemes, and R29 256 on electricity. R34 462 had also been spent on factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

The Transkeian Government had spent R1 026 856 on water schemes while the X.D.C. had spent R621 461 on the industrial township at Butterworth, R213 023 on water schemes, R97 956 on electricity, and R3 133 653 on housing for key white personnel. R2 239 746 had been spent on factories for leasing to entrepreneurs at Butterworth. At Umtata the X.D.C. had spent R86 510 on the industrial township, R50 147 on water schemes, R12 510 on elec-

¹⁸ Hansard 15 cols. 909-910, 22 May.

¹⁹ Hansard 12 cols. 769-772, 3 May.

tricity, and R1 953 989 on housing for key white personnel. R221 196 had been spent on factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

The B.I.C. had also spent R210 000 on housing for key white personnel.

The corporations, white agents assisted by the corporations, and African loanees were employing 289 Whites, 79 Coloured people, and 8 375 Africans.

Transkei and Ciskei

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1972, the X.D.C. stated that its construction section in the Transkei employed 776 Africans during that financial year. Under its housing scheme 641 houses had been completed and a further 650 were under construction. A cement block-making unit with a production capacity of 11 000 blocks a day, as well as a carpentry unit were also controlled by the corporation. The X.D.C.'s northern area had the following concerns under its control: bakeries at Cala, Flagstaff, and Qumbu, a cold drink bottling factory, a furniture removal business, a weaving mill, a stone quarry, a metalworks and a school furniture factory. Umtata Metal works was handed over to an African on 1 April 1972. Its southern area controlled a sweet factory, an electrical contracting concern, a cartage concern, a stone quarry, a dry cleaning business, a butchery, two phormium tenax fibre production plants, a roller mill, an advertising agency, a brewery, a handwork centre, a metalworks, a printing establishment, and a transport unit.

The following concerns had established themselves in the Transkei on the agency basis: Transkei Textiles and Plastics (a bag factory); H. Lewis and Co. (milling); Sentraal Westelike Koöp Maatskappy Beperk (milling); Transkei Industries (clothing); Chet Industries (match manufacturing); Mediterranean Woollen Mills; Hercules Shoes; Transkei Sawmills.

Butakem is establishing a tartaric acid plant at Butterworth.²⁰

In his policy speech the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, gave estimates of employment creation for Xhosa men by institutions in the Transkei over the period 1972/73 - 1976/77. This indicated that there would be an employment potential of 15 700 Xhosa men each year over this five-year period. By 1976/77 the public sector and private building contractors would be employing some 57 163 of these male workers. (In 1971/72 these sectors were employing 36 171 Xhosa males and were expected to absorb a further 20 992 by 1976/77.) There would, consequently, be a gap between the number of entrants to the labour market and the number of employment

²⁰ *Financial Mail*, 7 September.

opportunities created in this way of some 57 508 workseekers. The Chief Minister said that his Government would have to direct its efforts towards reducing this gap. He also said that the total investment of the X.D.C. in factories amounted to R2 647 873 while investment by White agents (including X.D.C. participation) amounted to R11 620 000.²¹

The X.D.C. erected a business building in Mdantsane in the Ciskei. Provision was made in this building for two banks, a restaurant, a chemist, a furniture shop, two consulting rooms for doctors, offices for two attorneys, a conference hall, general offices, facilities for a watchmaker and for an insurance company. Buildings for leasing to African entrepreneurs had been erected in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha. At Sada the X.D.C. has a handicrafts centre and a clothing factory which manufactures women's clothing with indigenous Xhosa motifs. An undertaking manufacturing hand-knotted woollen carpets was also established there.

Other African Homelands²²

Babelegi industrial township in BophuthaTswana covers 176 ha and consists of 102 sites of which approximately 50 have railway siding facilities. By September 1972, 18 factories had been built to the specific requirements of entrepreneurs, 11 temporary and 17 permanent factory units had been erected, and eight factories were being constructed.

Sithebe industrial township in KwaZulu which is about 100 kilometres from Durban and 95 kilometres from Richard's Bay consists of 44 industrial sites varying in size from 0,8 ha to 2,1 ha. About half of these sites are to have railway siding facilities. Two industrialists have located themselves at Sithebe and employ about 100 African workers. A Swiss industrialist decided to establish a R1 000 000 plant in KwaZulu.²³

Other growth points are currently being developed at Seshego in Lebowa near Pietersburg, Letaba in Gazankulu near Tzaneen, and Basotho-Qwaqwa (Witsieshoek) where 420 employment opportunities have been created to date.

The establishment of industries on the agency basis in the homelands in areas not earmarked as growth points is also receiving attention. In these areas 1 537 employment opportunities have been created. Examples are the sawmills at Bulwer, Salique, Tate Vondo, and Bushbuckridge; brickworks at White River; a factory at Keat's Drift (part production of shoes); a mill near Burgersfort; a steel window factory and a factory which produces stationery at Madadeni; garages at Giyani and Sibasa, as well as a carpet factory at Bushbuckridge.

²¹ Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1973, pages 165-171.

²² Information taken from the report of B.I.C. for the year ended 31 March 1972 unless otherwise stated.

²³ *Sunday Tribune*, 11 November.