

Black Viewpoint No. 3

APARTHEID

Hope or Despair for Blacks?

Edited by

THOKO MBANJWA

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Bantu Development

TIME LONGER THAN ROPE. Edward Roux

*THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN CIVILISATION, THE MAKING OF
MODERN AFRICA, VOL 2*. E. A. Ayandele, A. E. Afigbo, R. J.
Gavin, J. D. Omer-Cooper

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TOMLINSON COMMISSION—SUMMARY REPORT

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Foreword

Apartheid is a word used to describe a political policy of racial segregation. The word was coined as an election slogan for the National Party of South Africa, which won the 1948 general election. It actually implies racial segregation in all aspects of life: from housing to general public amenities, education, employment, recreation, social welfare and politics. In this book the contributors discuss the political aspects of apartheid. During the twenty-eight years of National Party rule in South Africa the terminology has been altered to accommodate what can be explained as 'better articulation of government policy'. The current official term is therefore 'separate development', which implies equal but separate advancement of the 'South African nations' politically, economically and otherwise.

In pursuance of this policy, the White South African Government has established institutions and platforms for the political occupation of the black population. These bodies include Tribal Authorities, Regional Authorities, Territorial Authorities, Urban Bantu Councils, Local Advisory Boards, Coloured and Indian Local Affairs Committees, Coloured Persons' Representative Council, South African Indian Council, etc.

Such bodies, although they have always been promoted by the various white regimes that have ruled South Africa in the past, have, as has been indicated above, been developed and strengthened with a greater sense of purpose by the Government of the Nationalist Party which came to power under the leadership of Dr D. F. Malan in 1948. It has since grown stronger under the astute hands of later leaders like Hendrick Verwoerd and the current Prime Minister John Vorster.

The history of government created political institutions for Blacks dates back to the British South African rule of the nineteenth century. The numerous British colonial governors had various approaches to the solution of the political question regarding the South African Blacks. The likes of Benjamin d'Urban and Harry Smith believed in conquering the African tribes and intimidating the Chiefs into checking the activities and behaviour of their own people. Later governors like George Grey who believed in economic and cultural domination of the indigenous population by the settlers, sought to bring the Europeans and the Africans into closer contact in work and in general living, so that the

latter could learn the farming practices and the culture of the former, adopt white civilisation and cease to be a threat to security. It was in pursuance of such ideas that the neutralising economic suicide of the Eastern Cape Africans was contrived; and a gradual reconstruction programme to domesticate the rebellious native communities embarked upon.

When Cecil John Rhodes came into the picture, he saw the need to develop both approaches, with a strong accent on white political control over the native Africans. He apparently believed in the redirection of African energy as well as white control of the African power which lay in chiefs. He is quoted to have said: "The natives have had in the past an interesting employment for their minds in going to war and consulting in their councils as to war. But...we have taken away all that employment from them... What one feels is that there are questions like bridges, roads, education, plantation of trees and various local questions, to which the natives might devote themselves with good results... They have human minds, and I would like them to devote themselves wholly to local matters that surround them and appeal to them. I would like them to tax themselves, and give them funds to spend on these matters in the building of the roads and bridges, the making of plantations, and other such works...."

In the implementation of his views, Rhodes proposed, in the Glen Grey Bill of 1894, the establishment of district councils... "to employ their (African) minds on simple questions in connection with local affairs..." which were called Bungas. Although the Glen Grey Act was meant for the Glen Grey district, the system became so effective that it was applied in many other 'native reserves'. Let it be noted that this was the creation of the first actual institution which fitted the description—'government created institution'. Subsequent to the days of Cecil Rhodes, there followed decades during which there was no forward movement in the development of government institutions. The main reason for this was that the white community was busy sorting out problems amongst themselves, and eventually formulating themselves into a united power that could deal with the 'native problem'.

During this period, independent black political thinking developed fast, although the various black groups continued to fight, as separate entities, political issues as they affected them. The Indian section engaged in organised political activity as early as 1894 with the formation of the Natal Indian Congress which was founded under the leadership of a young Indian lawyer, Mahatma Gandhi. The Coloured section, which had acquired the vote in the Cape Colony, formed a political party called the African People's Organisation in 1903. The African section remained for a long time largely unorganised in any unity in their efforts. However, with the unity moves in the white ranks culminating in the Union of South Africa Act, the Africans took steps to unite national opinion. In 1912, the South African Native National Congress, which

was later renamed the African National Congress, was formed. This became the main political platform for Africans in the country for many years.

Further Development of Government Created Political Platforms for Africans

In the Cape Province, some Africans, who qualified for the franchise under the old Cape colonial political system, were registered as voters. In 1936 there were some 11 000 registered voters when the Government passed the Native Representation Act which stopped further registration of Cape African voters. This provided for Africans in South Africa to elect, by indirect means, four white members of the Senate. In the Cape Provincial elections, the Africans would be placed on a separate roll and would be entitled to two white representatives on the provincial council. In addition, the Act established the South African Native Representative Council consisting of twenty-two members, including the Minister of Native Affairs as Chairman. Five of the remaining twenty-one would be white Native Commissioners.

The remaining sixteen were Africans, twelve elected and four nominated by the Governor General. The election of the twelve was vested in electoral colleges consisting of chiefs, headmen and members of district councils and urban location advisory boards.

According to the Act, this Native Representative Council had an advisory status to the government on proposed legislation affecting Africans. The NRC remained in operation until it was abolished by the Malan National Party Government which came into power in 1948.

The 1951 Bantu Authorities Act extended the institutionalisation of the control and power of tribal chiefs. It provided for the establishment of

- (a) tribal authorities which centred around chiefs and headmen of particular tribal settlements and communities;
- (b) regional authorities, composed of a number of tribal authorities of regions with chairmen appointed by the State President of South Africa; a senior or paramount chief was usually appointed as chairman;
- (c) territorial authorities appointed from among regional authorities, to liaise with the South African Government. These structures had powers to advise the Government on matters affecting their localities and they were also responsible for managing and establishing schools, building and repairing roads, bridges, dams, combating soil erosion, etc.

Subsequent to this development, the Government appointed a commission to look into economic, social, political and administrative matters affecting Africans. The report of this Commission (Tomlinson Commission) was published in 1954. The Commission said, *inter alia*,

that a choice would have to be made by white South Africa between two ultimate poles, namely that of complete integration and that of separation, with regard to 'the two main racial groups' (Europeans and Africans). It recommended the strengthening of the latter choice. It called for full scale development of the native reserves. According to its calculations the Commission envisaged the attainment of a total population of ten million people in the reserves by 1979-84. Of this number, it was estimated that eight million would be dependent for their existence on activities within the reserves, and two million on activities in the white sector.

"If the Bantu areas are not developed, the European sector will probably have to accommodate a Bantu population of about seventeen million at the close of this century", said the Commission. It therefore recommended the consolidation of the reserves into homelands on the basis of 'the principal ethnic groups.'

The report concluded: "The choice is clear, either the *challenge* must be accepted, or, the inevitable *consequences* of the integration of the Bantu and European population groups into a common society, must be endured."

This message, together with the recommendation that the reserves must be developed into political sects according to tribal affiliations, heralded the introduction of the Bantustans, which were advanced versions of the original territorial authorities. The first one, which was set up as an experiment in 1963 was the Transkei.

The pattern of composition of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, which was subsequently followed in the establishment of other Bantustans, portrayed the role of tribal chiefs as trustees of government policy. In the Legislative Assembly there was a majority of sixty-four chiefs and a minority of forty-five elected members. Paramount chiefs retained their seats indefinitely, whilst the other chiefs, according to the 1967 amendment to the Act, were elected by the chiefs themselves, to retain their seats for the duration of the Legislative Assembly, a period of five years. Because of the fact that they are on the state pay-roll the chiefs have always enjoyed the trust of the Government. It was as a result of this that they were always put in the fore-front when it came to ensuring the success of government institutions established for Africans. It shall be remembered that this came out clearly in the composition of the Native Representative Council, whose members were elected by electoral colleges composed of chiefs, headmen and members of district councils and location advisory boards. This pattern will apparently be changed when the government policy reaches its logical conclusion on the attaining of independence by Bantustans. The draft constitution of the proposed independent Republic of the Transkei allows for a Parliament of seventy-five chiefs and seventy-five elected members with no majority of elected members.

Today there are eight fully functional Bantustans in the country,

namely Transkei, Ciskei, Qwaqwa, BophuthaTswana, Kwa-Zulu, Lebowa, Venda and Gazankulu. Swazi and Ndebele Bantustans are yet to be established.

The Development of Government Created Political Platforms for Coloureds

In the Cape Colony, before the Union of South Africa was established, the Coloured community alongside Africans and Europeans exercised the franchise subject to certain economic and educational qualifications. The Cape delegates to the white national convention that resolved the Union, insisted on the entrenchment of their franchise arrangement in the Union constitution. A Hertzog move to scrap Coloured voters from the common roll and set up a separate roll was thwarted and they continued to exercise their vote. It is reported that the influence of these voters was considerable in twenty-five constituencies and decisive in seven.

When the Nationalist Party came to power with their clear-cut apartheid policy, they attempted to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll, but because the Nationalists did not have an overall majority in Parliament, they could not effect the constitutional change that needed two-thirds majority consent. In retaliation, the Government proposed to effect the decision by simple parliamentary majority, which move was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, whereupon the government set up a special court, the High Court of Parliament, with powers to override the Supreme Court. In 1956 the government inflated the number of Senators with its supporters to obtain a two-thirds majority and was able to abolish the Coloured voters from the common roll without violating the constitution. The Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1956 was passed, establishing a separate roll which returned four white members of Parliament to represent Coloureds in the Cape. It also provided for the creation of an appointed Coloured Council with advisory powers on matters affecting the Coloured community.

In 1968 the separate roll and Coloured representation by four Whites in Parliament was terminated. The Coloured Persons Representative Council was then enlarged to consist of forty elected and twenty nominated members. The term of office of the Council was five years, with its Chairman nominated by the State President. To take care of day-to-day administrative duties, provision was made for an Executive Committee of five members to be set up, the Chairman of which would be nominated by the State President. The remaining four members would be elected by the Council from amongst themselves. The South African Government had, for the first time, created a special arena for the satiation of Coloured political aspirations. Local Affairs Committees were also created to take care of local administrative problems.

The Development of Government Created Political Platforms for Indians

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Indians were brought to South Africa in large numbers, to work in the Natal sugar plantations as indentured labour. For many years, the South African rulers refused to recognise the Indians as an integral part of the South African community, although in terms of the pre-Union of South Africa franchise policy of Natal, a few tens of them qualified for the vote. In 1907 there were one hundred and fifty Indian voters in Natal. When the Union was enacted, no provision was made for Indian political representation.

The Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 and the Indian Relief Act of 1914 imposed strict controls on Indian immigration to South Africa, and at the same time introduced a system of voluntary repatriation. In 1946 the Asian Land Tenure and Indian Representation Acts were passed, providing for Indians to elect three Whites to represent them in Parliament. The Indian Community successfully boycotted these elections. Subsequently the National Party abolished this representation when it came to power in 1948.

In 1961 a Government Department of Indian Affairs was established and in 1964 the South African Indian Council was created. The latter was an appointed body which had an advisory status to act as a link between the Indian Affairs Minister and the Indian community as a whole. In 1968, the South African Indian Council was made a statutory body. It consisted of not more than twenty-five members, nominated by the Minister of Indian Affairs for a three year term on a provincial basis, in such a proportion as the Minister deemed equitable. The Council could elect its own chairman. An Executive Committee of five members would take care of day-to-day duties. Its chairman would be appointed by the Minister and the remaining four members would be elected by the Council from amongst themselves.

In 1974 the South African Indian Council was reorganised to a membership of thirty. Fifteen of these members were nominated by the Minister, and the other fifteen elected by electoral colleges consisting of Indian Local Affairs Committees. This arrangement permitted a total voting electorate of about four hundred people on behalf of the whole South African Indian Community.

Black Political Activity Outside Government Institutions

As has already been indicated, organised political action by Blacks in this country dates back to the last century, when Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress. However, there had never really been any pronounced mass opposition to government institutions created for Blacks until 1935, when the Bill for the establishment of the Native Representative Council was introduced. African opinion was

On the Indian front, the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi's grandson-in-law, Mewa Ramgobin, brought about the revival of the defunct Natal Indian Congress which came up in opposition to Indians supporting the government-created South African Indian Council. However, the Indian Congress opposed mainly the Indian Council, and offered no opposition to other government institutions created for Blacks. As a result of this, the Congress has enjoyed very healthy relations with Bantustan leaders like Gatsha Buthelezi, Hector Ncokazi, Collins Ramusi, and Coloured Labour Party leaders who operate within the Coloured Representative Council.

From the day of its birth, the Black People's Convention, which embraces under its banner all those South African citizens who are by law or tradition discriminated against socially, politically and economically in this country, resolved to fight the influence of government institutions which they believed to bring about and promote tribal divisions and ethnic loyalties at the expense of national unity. Today there are at least three streams of opinion on the question regarding government institutions roughly grouped as those of people who imbibe the separate development policy of the rulers as it is, those who are basically opposed to it, but choose to oppose it from within, and lastly those who are totally opposed to the idea and do not want to have anything to do with the institutions. Those who fall under the middle group can further be classified into at least two groups. First, those who would not like to see apartheid develop any further, but are afraid to take a strong principled stand on this issue. These are usually sympathetic to programmes designed and organised by the non-compromising lot, and they often openly declare their admiration. The second group also would not like to see apartheid flourish. They know what could reasonably be expected of them in respect of this issue—with their otherwise good leadership qualities. This lot hates the guts of the non-collaborators and will take every possible opportunity to do them down. It can perhaps be said that this group feels conscious-pricked by these often younger principled non-collaborators who keep calling on them to withdraw from the government institutions.

As has already been said, since the advent of the Black Consciousness movement, the controversy over participation in government institutions has been growing, and has often taken heights of mud-slinging. In view of this, and with the desire to have the cases for and against participation printed in black and white for posterity and the world to see and to make their own judgements, the Communications Department of the Black Community Programmes organised a symposium which was held at Koinonia Conference Centre, Botha's Hill, Natal, on 16-18 January, 1976. Some black South Africans were asked to prepare papers on their views regarding the question of government institutions, while a number of others were requested to attend for the purpose of participating in ensuing debates.

The papers that make up this book are in fact, papers that were given at Koinonia. I wish to take the opportunity at this stage, to very much thank these fellow countrymen who saw the need for their views to be aired, believing of course, that their views are to a greater or lesser extent, representative of the thinking of sections of black South Africans who make up the groupings of views referred to earlier on. I wish to thank with much feeling, all the people that took the trouble to attend the symposium and promote the discussions to the levels that they reached.

I hope that the views given in this book will be good enough food for thought, to clarify the curious minds of scholars and to give the necessary information to those who are keen to follow black political activities in South Africa.

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However, at the second general election which was early in 1975, the Labour Party came out with a massive victory of thirty-one seats, which guaranteed them majority even in the event of the Government nominating the other twenty from any other party. This victory was very significant in that the Labour Party had campaigned on a popular ticket of boycott. They promised to close down the CRC if they were elected. Immediately after the results of the election had become known Mr David Curry said that the victory of the Labour Party was an emphatic endorsement by the electorate of their militant policy of boycott and confrontation.

The whole story changed when the Coloured Affairs Minister introduced a Bill amending the CRC Act to empower the Minister in certain circumstances to exercise or perform, or cause to be exercised or to be performed, the powers, functions, or duties of the CRC or its Executive, or the Chairman of the Executive, and to provide for matters connected with it. At this stage the Labour Party leader Sonny Leon announced that in view of the contentious Bill, the party would now "stay put to destroy the CRC from within;" which was not different from the original policy of using the CRC to expose the Government's policy of separate development.

After this decision, Mr Curry became a member of the Executive Committee of the Coloured Representative Council, until early 1976 when the Executive all resigned in the wake of Chairman Sonny Leon's expulsion from his job by the Minister of Coloured Affairs. The crisis started when Mr Leon refused to pass the budget voted for the CRC by the Government. He was expected to endorse it. He refused on the grounds that it was a discriminatory budget. The Minister then announced the name of a nominated member, Mrs Alatheia Jansen, as the new Chairman of the Executive. In his paper, Mr Curry makes a case for continued participation in the constitutional institutions of Government.

J. N. Reddy

Mr J. N. Reddy, the managing director of the Indian controlled New Republican Bank, was appointed as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Council with effect from 1974.

He had been acting as Chairman since the death of Chairman A. M. Rajab in 1973. He has remained at the head of the affairs of the South African Indian Council. He believes that Indians ought to be given an opportunity to develop politically like other racial groups, within the ambit of Government policy. His paper outlines his views on this issue.

Mamphela Ramphela

Dr M. A. Ramphela is currently the Eastern Cape Branch Executive of the Black Community Programmes Ltd.—a community development agency with head-office in Durban. Dr Ramphela qualified as a medical practitioner from Natal Medical school in 1972, after a very active student life. She was one of the founder members of the South African Students' Organisation as well as the Black People's Convention. As will be evident from her paper, she represents the opinion that is totally opposed to government created institutions.

Although Dr Ramphela is a member of the Black People's Convention, and represents the political view of this organisation, she is not herself actively engaged in politics. As has been indicated above, she is engaged in community development projects in the rural and peri-urban areas of the Eastern Cape. She is medical superintendent of the Zanempilo Community Health Centre which is sponsored by the Black Community Programmes, of which she is also Branch Executive.

Bantustans

H. B. NCOKAZI

I think it is most appropriate that when we analyse the Bantustan concept we should not omit to evaluate its social economic and political variations and to study closely the activities of those who are inextricably committed to the concept and those who are partly associated with it.

Introduction

The Bantustan concept was introduced by Dr H. F. Verwoerd in 1959 by means of the Promotion of Self Government Act which brought about these Bantustans. According to Dr Verwoerd, creating these Government Councils was an attempt to develop the Bantus along their own lines, according to their customs and traditions. Furthermore, though this proved false in the final analysis, the Whites were giving Blacks the highest democratic right namely that of electing their representatives to their Government that would rule without the interference of Pretoria. They further lauded this concept as an attempt to give recognition to the parallel existence of different races that lived side by side but fully cognisant of each other's separate racial identity, culture and traditions. These were specious arguments that were used to give moral and political justification to this diabolical policy of separation. These arguments and schemes proved counter-productive because independent thinking politicians pilloried this concept and branded it as a dummy contrivance destined to perpetuate white oppression and to keep the black man under the trusteeship of the white man for ever. The political activists who were in the liberation movements before 1960 now had to be Bantustan leaders—some in total disaffection and revolt.

Origin

It is interesting to note that the initiator of these political institutions was not Verwoerd as some people erroneously believe but that arch-imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes, ex-Premier of South Africa. In moving

the Glen Grey Bill in 1894 which brought about the first Bunga and which later became Bantu Authority and finally Bantustan, he said with brutal frankness:

"We have given the natives no share in the Government and rightly too.... We don't teach them the dignity of labour, and they simply loaf about in sloth and laziness.... Now, I say the Natives are children. They are emerging from barbarism. I will only give them powers to build roads and bridges, construct dams and plant trees. This is a proposition submitted to provide them with district Councils in order to employ their minds on simple questions in connection with local affairs." (*Vindex, Cecil Rhodes—His Political Life and Speeches*)

The Whites of South Africa be they racists or imperialists should give Cecil Rhodes a special credit for formulating this iniquitous policy of "divide and rule" to protect their position of power and privilege. As a result of this dispensation the black people were dragooned to participate actively in the politics of planting trees and building dams. Furthermore this clearly illustrated the naked savagery and callous ruthlessness of British Imperialism. The basic rationale behind this policy was to keep the Africans politically in the lowest gutters of abysmal darkness and to make them scavengers that would feed on the crumbs from the white man's table. After fifty years of political evolution these Bungas became Territorial Authorities and later Bantustans. In these Bantustans Chieftainship was made the fulcrum of future political evolution and the black people were forced to live in these dry, underdeveloped homelands and were fenced in under the rehabilitation scheme. These today are reservoirs for cheap labour where misery, poverty and frustration dominate the daily life of the people. Even today in the Transkei, many people in some areas prefer to die rather than be fenced in against their will in their own country. Although these Territorial Authorities have now been elevated to self governing mini-states, nevertheless, there still is no marked deviation from Cecil Rhodes' original conception of this scheme. Trees are still planted on a large scale, dams, roads and bridges are also some of the main responsibilities of these governments. In the Transkei in particular beerhalls (Jabulani) have been built in profusion to drown the frustration of the African people. The Bantustans of today are built on the Bunga designs of yesteryear.

Politically Emasculated

By putting politically immature and sometimes illiterate tribal chiefs on the forefront of administration invariably this concept is designed to windowdress the racial policy of South Africa and ensure the perpetual domination of South Africa by the Whites. In all these pseudo-parliaments, chiefs are in the majority and this has been conveniently done because it is common knowledge that independent thinking people are against government policies. Therefore Cecil Rhodes' dream of forcing the Natives

to employ their minds on simple questions in connection with local affairs has been realized. In territories like the Transkei, the people's free political expression is curtailed by the emergency regulations under Proclamation R400 which has been keeping the Transkei under a state of emergency for fifteen years. Even this coming independence is not wanted by the people but because they cannot voice their protests without a government permit they just swallow it, bitter though it is. Permission for holding meetings must be obtained from the "chief, sub-chief, Native Commissioner or any officer of the S.A. Defence force." Furthermore in terms of this Proclamation people must not make statements verbally or in writing that will undermine existing authority or cause any person to suffer loss, disadvantage and inconvenience. Resolutions and laws passed by these parliaments must get the assent of the State President of South Africa. Judging from the recent confrontation between the Coloured Labour Party and the Government we are deeply convinced that if the parties opposed to the Government policy would win the elections, then the white Government would step in to usurp the parliamentary powers from those mandated to destroy these Councils. To prove that the Pretoria Government are not prepared to leave their puppets in the lurch, one Bantustan leader's membership of parliament was terminated by the Supreme Court because he intimidated the voters during the elections and in spite of that he was given a high influential post, specially created for him, using the house and car he used when he was still the leader of Bantustan. All this seems to fulfill the Bantustan leaders' prayers, "Give us each day our daily benefits and each month our monthly salaries, thy will is done in these Bantustans as it is in Pretoria."

Although these people are singing political lullabies for the Government, nevertheless, sullenly the people are resisting the forces of oppression and the bandwagon of the black struggle is moving with unrelenting passion towards a United Democratic South Africa where none shall prey on the weakness of the others and where the Government will be based on the will of the majority regardless of race, colour or creed.

Economically Exploited

The exploitation of the Blacks by the Whites is the reason and motivating force behind every discriminatory law and practice in South Africa. This has been pursued with so much ardour and consistency that it has brought poverty to black families who in the last generation were considered wealthy, while it has secured undeserved wealth to white families who in the last generation were termed "Poor Whites". Just as much exploitation has been the reason for discrimination so has also been the reason and motivating force for frustration and resentment on the part of the black man.

At first, it was struggle for land which is a basic commodity in any economy. Then the land question was settled mainly through violence

interlinked with subterfuge and chicanery in favour of the Whites. When the question of power—i.e. military supremacy—was decided it was then possible to buttress and fortify with laws what had in fact been acquired by force of arms. The laws went beyond issues relating to the land to cover every other aspect of economic activity in South Africa. Some of the land laws which have sought to extend physical dispossession and make it a permanent feature are Louis Botha's "Native Land Act of 1913 and Hertzog's Native Land and Trust Act of 1936". The Bantustans which constitute the basis of Separate Development are demarcated in accordance with the above Acts.

In terms of the 1936 Act, 7,250,000 morgen of land were to be acquired by the Bantu Trust. This amount of land has not yet been acquired. When all the land promised under the 1936 Act has been acquired, these Bantustans will then amount to 13% of the Republic. At that stage the Bantustans will have been properly consolidated into more cohesive blocs or "continuous homelands".

The following can serve to illustrate the difficulties faced by small struggling black business men dealing with the Xhosa Development Corporation. First of all, monies are lent out on 7% interest, which compounds the balance on a monthly basis. Hypothetically, it implies something like this: a man borrows R200 from Xhosa Development Corporation, and before he actually receives the cash, 7% is deducted. In other words he receives R186-00 instead of R200. On the first month he pays R50 instalment, trying to liquidate his balance; whereupon he is left with R135 +7% which raises the balance to ±R146. This happens every month until he finishes the account.

In the Bantustans, and in spite of official promises and propaganda to the contrary, people have become poorer over the years. All the attempts so far to undertake to develop the economic potential of these areas have turned out to be nothing else but sinister machines aimed at permanently securing the economic dependence of the Blacks on the Whites and a permanent source of labour for the Republic. Economically the Bantustans will remain non-viable client states under the control of the Republic of South Africa. Mr A. W. Maree, who was the Cabinet Minister in 1966, was reported to have said:

"The economic necessity of maintaining close ties with South Africa was the greatest guarantee that self governing Bantu Territories would follow as policy of good neighbourliness towards white South Africa, even when they achieved Independence. The Bantu realised that if they were to seek alliances with Russia or Red China, the Republic could close its borders with them and this would mean their economic undoing." (*Cape Argus*, 10.3.66)

This clearly illustrates the arrogant attitude of the architects of this design of Separate Development towards their own political creations.

In the industrial concerns run by government backed corporations

like Xhosa Development Corporation as is the case in most business establishments all over South Africa, if a man complains about anything affecting his well being as a person, he is dismissed and his place easily filled because thousands of jobless people are ever found recumbent on the verdant turf surrounding the offices of the personnel divisions of these corporations. This is a sorry situation where you find people being treated like beasts and are made pawns in economic manoeuvres to satisfy the selfishness and greed of the white man in their country.

For those who work in the big cities, trucks come regularly to collect labourers. After paying R1,00 attestation fee to the Bantustan Government for each labourer the industrialists carry these people on these trucks and as some have no canopies these poor people are exposed to the discomfort of the bad weather until they reach the industrial centres where they will work for meagre wages to maintain their families and build their own future and the future of their children.

The consequences of this kind of exploitation are vast and far-reaching on the lives of the people and have produced a hard-core of bitterness and resentment deep in our hearts. One of the consequences has been neatly expressed in a warning sounded in the editorial of the *South African Outlook* of May 1970:—

"If the fruit of economic growth in South Africa continues to go primarily to the Whites, as it has done in the past, then our country faces an explosive, not a peaceful future."

Socially Degraded

Many resettlement camps have been built in some if not all of the Bantustans where people living under appalling social conditions are dumped together in little match-box houses. Here they live in poverty and availabilities of essential amenities for normal life are below acceptable standards. These include Limehill, Sada, Dimbaza, Rooigrond and Ilinge and in such places malnutrition abounds and children die in large numbers before they reach the age of two years. This starkly reminds one of the refugee settlements in times of war. In the educational field Bantu Education policies are still being implemented and the large disparity in wages between white and black teachers still exists. Of course these Bantustans are created for us because we are supposed to be inferior as a result of being black in colour. The most specious argument used to justify this is that due to cultural diversity it is most essential that apartheid must be maintained at all costs to protect white cultural values against being adulterated by black backwardness. Among the white bloc there are French, English, Germans, Jews and Boers, but we never hear of any Frenchstan, Englishstan, Boerestan etc. They are all united against the black man and their cultural diversity is trampled underfoot. One more ironical feature in the Bantustans, is that hotels, post offices, waiting rooms and hospitals are racially segregated for the glory and comfort of the white man.

The Role of Fabians and Liberals

It is important to note that the role of the above in bringing about these Bantustans is quite magnificent by virtue of belonging to the oppressing, ruling class. They are erroneously taken by many to be champions of the black cause whereas they have social economic interest lying in the ruling class. *Through their most powerful news media they have built Bantustan personalities, and thereby shifted the public attention from the Mandelas, Tambos and Sobukwes to these Bantustan leaders who have been approved by the Government.* They have even prevailed on some, to sign declarations of faith in order to cadge up votes for their political parties. They invite these leaders to cocktail parties and also to address their academic meetings. They also cajoled the Government created leaders to accept the fact that these Bantustans have reached the point of no return and that they are irreversible. The now commonly used term of "Homeland" to describe these Bantustans was coined by these amicable-do-gooders. Note what one self proclaimed liberal said in one of his editorials in his paper about the impending Transkei Independence. "Chief Matanzima is pragmatically right, the practical benefits to the Transkei are indisputable. Costly buildings are going up. Pretoria is pumping more money into the territory than it would have done. Chief Matanzima can claim credit for these attainments." (*Daily Dispatch*: 4.10.75)

Even Cecil Rhodes and Verwoerd would not express these sentiments in favour of the Transkei so eloquently. Of course this is now clear that the prime responsibility of these liberals is to condition the oppressed to oppression. In South Africa they build these Bantustan personalities to create the false mental attitude of acceptance of the status quo by the dispossessed masses of South Africa.

Bantustan Leaders

These are the people who have tacitly and expressly accepted the balkanisation of South Africa into Bantustans by:—

1. Enjoying all the benefits that accrue in the position they hold in these Bantustan Governments and Parliaments.
2. Accepting discriminatory budgets drawn by the white Government to further their nefarious political schemes. (*N.B. all the members of these parliaments are included regardless of which side of the political spectrum they stand because they all constitute these parliaments.*)

These are the people who have decided willingly to put themselves at the service of the Government against the interests of the people. I say willingly purposely because there is no law in South Africa that forces the people to be members of these Parliaments. **To put it bluntly, these people have committed a serious crime against black humanity by operating a toy telephone, a Juggernaut that is**

grinding the poor defenceless, victims of this vicious system into smithereens. These so-called leaders are controlled in their movements by the Paramount Chief of the black people people who is the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. They must observe the rules of protocol. They operate through parliamentary machinery and as such their economic and political ventures must be approved by the State President. To say they are the puppets of the Republican Government would not be speaking derogatively of them because truly they are, and they will remain so till they move out of the political system designed to keep us in darkness.

In 1973 they called a Summit Conference at Umtata for the purpose of co-ordinating political strategies and there it was resolved that on matters of consolidation and Independence they would consult one another. Unfortunately Matanzima preferred to honour the promises of Pretoria than the ideals of his fellow Bantustanians by opting for Independence without consulting them. Now the bandwagon of solidarity which they wasted their time in building is now staggering in the shallows and on the Transkei Independence day it will ground on the rocks of political treachery. Matanzima and Mangope prefer Pretoria while the others prefer Progrefs, Liberals and Saps. The Transkei envoys have also swelled the ranks of these leaders. They are going to defend government policies abroad and are to be attached to the South African Information Department offices in London, New York, Paris, Bonn, and Pretoria. These are the leaders that are boosted by the South African Broadcasting Corporation and buttressed by the Pretoria Government to delay the moment of truth for South Africa.

Alternatives to Bantustans

What we need today is to pool our resources and to harness our energies for the political struggle of the Black man and to build a strong militant front against racial discrimination. We need today a dynamic federal organisation where the people will be knit together into a compact unit, a fighting force. We must arouse the political consciousness of our people by operating outside these dummy Parliaments. If this can be done it can only take three months for the white people to come to terms and it can beckon the beginning of the end of white domination.

I strongly recommend that all the political parties in these Bantustans must be conscientized and forced to affiliate themselves to a national movement thereby engaging in serious politics. If we grace these Parliaments by our presence then we must know we are perpetuating our slavery, and posterity will spit at our graves. We must know there is no liberation without sacrifice and no national honour without national service and by destroying these Bantustans we shall lose nothing but our chains.

The Coloured Persons Representative Council

D. M. G. CURRY

It is indeed both a pleasure and an honour to present a paper at this seminar. Needless to say, the Labour Party of South Africa, of which I am a member, is deeply involved in the controversy facing black people. We as a political party are working within the framework of separate development and our party members serve on the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

It will be necessary for me to use the word 'coloured' for the purpose of this paper so that it can be clearly seen how we as a group of people classified 'coloured' fit into the scheme of things. I regard myself as a member of the black community as I am obviously not a white person. I further abhor the word 'non-white' as I am not a 'non' of white. I am a person, a South African citizen. When using the word *black* I refer especially to all oppressed people not classified as *white*.

Confusion exists regarding the position in which black people find themselves. It is about time that we examine our society because our situation is not a closed one with no exits, for even limited situations can be transformed into avenues to freedom. We have to see how the white man still applies the maxim to divide and rule, so that black groups fight one another instead of the common enemy. Because of infighting our efforts become nullified and this prevents constructive action.

It is a fact that the 'coloured' people fit into a somewhat different position because of historical reasons. We did not create the situation but were born into it. The difference of skin colour is a fact and this affects the situation in South Africa. To argue that it is not there is to pretend that we are all engaged in a masquerade. There are differences in our society, but the real issue in South Africa is not whether there may or may not be some differences (between races or groups) but whether there are differences of an order so great that they must be considered in the operation of a democratic society.

It is my firm opinion that the differences I am speaking about are of minor importance and the things we have in common are of major importance. It is on what we have in common that we can build a new society: an open, just and truly democratic society.

It is the white man's sole purpose to emphasise and re-emphasise the differences so that black people will really begin to believe what the white man says about them. For too long have these differences been preached from the hill tops, so that they have even been legislated into the statute books. I believe that Indian, African and coloured people can take their place as leaders in a truly united South Africa. For too long others have spoken for us. It is about time that we spoke for ourselves. Often, in-fighting takes place because of misunderstanding, and because we will not approach one another with open minds.

The coloured man suffers more from loss of identity than his fellow black brothers in oppression. Coloured people come from slavery, and slavery, more than anything else, has shaped and re-shaped the personality of both black and white in this country. Nearly two hundred years of slavery have had its effects on our personality. Our persons, our minds, our very beings were subjected and conditioned into subservience. Because slaves were men of colour and slave masters white men, a new social structure was created in South Africa. The total South African nation was born with a congenital defect. Racism became a way of life and all values in this country were governed by the colour of a man's skin. It is interesting to read literature regarding the Nazi concentration camps so that it can be seen what effect these camps had in the human personality. The parallels between the concentration camp and the slave farm can be clearly pointed out. It can be seen how Nazi concentration camps, just like slavery, changed the personality of prisoners who survived. Then it also becomes clear how slavery altered the personality of the slaves who were brought here and shaped the character of slaves born in South Africa.

The concentration camp was not a perverted slave system. It was also, what is less obvious, a perverted patriarchy. Its product, consequently, was surprisingly like the nineteenth century description of the slave (and this can even be said of black people today in this country). He is dependent on the white man, dependent on guidance and direction even for the procurement of his most indispensable necessities. Apart from this protection, he has the helplessness of a child.

The most striking aspects of the concentration camp was the inmates' behaviour. What was 'characteristic' of them was their 'child-like quality'. Many inmates—among them mature, independent, highly educated adults—were transformed into fawning, servile, dependent children. This childlike behaviour, moreover, was in part a reflection or an even fundamental change in which some prisoners identified themselves with their SS Gestapo guards and accepted the Gestapo's value system. Even Jewish prisoners became anti-Semitic. To all

these men, reduced to complete and childish dependence upon their masters, the SS guards had become the father symbol, for they were in every way dependent upon the guards as infants are upon their parents. The prisoners were reminded, hour after hour, that the guards had power of life or death over them. The result was curiously to lead the prisoner to identify himself with the guard instead of hating him.

In a system as tightly closed as the slave farm or the concentration camp, the slave's or the prisoner's position of absolute dependence virtually compelled him to see the authority-figure as someone really 'good'. Indeed, all evil in his life may flow from this man—but then also must everything of any value. Here is the seat of the only 'good' he knew and to maintain his psychic balance he had to persuade himself that the 'good' is in some way dominant. Social workers dealing with maltreated children frequently have the experience of the child begging to remain with the brutal parent. Many people respond better to iron fists than velvet gloves.

Transforming the concentration camp inmates into servile children, it should be recalled, was accomplished in a matter of months or at most years. The Indian, African and the coloured has been subjected to a system designed to destroy ambition, prevent independence and erode intelligence. There can only be a master if someone is willing to be a slave. The position in South Africa must still be explained as to how it is possible for four million Whites to govern and control twenty million Blacks.

Nothing could be more foolish or more damaging to the black man's cause than to refuse to face these harsh realities. The coloured man's so-called identification with the white man is merely the old attachment of the slave to his master. The song has ended but the melody lingers on. We must face the harsh realities of what slavery or apartheid or separate development or, for that matter, the notorious pass law system has done to shape and re-shape human personality in this country. The African hates the pass law system and yet he must use it to earn his living. It is a matter of life or death. The effect on his personality can be clearly understood when he loves and hates something at the same time.

I have purposely stated these harsh realities so that oppressed people can 'see' the situation. The Coloured lives in his own heterogeneous society. He cannot claim to be a Zulu, Xhosa, Indian or even Afrikaaner or Englishman. He therefore has to find an identity. He is accused of standing next to the white man. His forefathers were slaves and the only culture he knows is the culture of subservience. His forefathers came from Madagascar, East Africa, the East Indies and Malaysia. They had their own cultures and spoke their own languages which were destroyed, such that they had no choice but to adopt the culture and language of their slave masters. The basic culture of South Africa is still one of master and servant. Although slaves were set free in 1834, the coloured people in reality have never been free.

It was the purpose of separate development to see that white baasskap was maintained under the guise of separated freedoms, through the application of the policy. Slavery therefore created the social and political patterns in South Africa, and even Africans and Indians had to fit into the social and political structure of the South African society. The whole policy of separate homelands, separate universities and councils was created in order to preserve and strengthen white rule. Social structures led to political structures and even today the white man is trying to legislate this racial system on to the statute books. The white man tried to dogmatise his whole belief into apartheid legislation and every move on his part is still an attempt to strengthen his fortress in order to preserve the system. Apartheid and separation have become the life-style of all South Africans. In order to rationalise the system, the white man called apartheid the policy of separate development.

Allow me to quote from a speech made by Dr Hilgard Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the United Nations on 21 December 1964. He said: 'Mr President, let me say first of all, that those who belong to the South African nation of European descent hold no brief for the domination of any nation over another. On the contrary, we are strongly opposed to it, with an opposition that is deeply rooted in our traditions and history. For a large section of this nation was itself, for a long time in the past, subjected to foreign domination. We are, however, not the only nation within the borders of South Africa living in a traditional territory of its own. For South Africa is in fact and, in the first place, a multinational country rather than a multiracial country. Apart from the South African nation of European descent, it includes the homelands of a number of other nations having their own identities. Each with its own undeniable right to separate nationhood in a land which has likewise been its own.

"The crucial difference (between South Africa and other countries with multiracial populations) is this, that our task in South Africa is not primarily that of solving a problem of races; it is a problem of nations, a problem of bringing about a situation where peaceful co-existence in our country will be possible. We believe that this can only be achieved by the independent development of each people towards the full realisation of separate nationhood and the recognition of the right of each nation to govern itself in accordance with its own national traditions. This, sir, is a principle fundamental in our policy of separate development—a policy which is profoundly different from the caricature of apartheid which is commonly presented by our critics. With the view that all nations in South Africa should be free to develop as they themselves may wish to develop, and taking into account the history, the culture and the psychology of each of the nations of South Africa, it is our objective to provide to every individual the fullest chance of development within his own nation, and where possible, within his

own homeland. And not only that, for it is similarly our objective to enable all our national groups to come together to consult on problems of mutual interest and concern, and on the basis of mutual equality and respect for human dignity, through the establishment of high-level consultative machinery. In this way we are confident of our ability also to eliminate discrimination among the various national groups. For when each of these groups has reached a stage of effectively administering and controlling its own affairs, both the practical and psychological basis for discrimination will rapidly disappear.

"What I have been saying, sir, is certainly nothing new. It has been stated repeatedly by my Prime Minister (then Dr Verwoerd), and by other members of the South African Government. There are, of course, those critics of our policy who, in many cases with questionable motives, reject our declarations as empty or as political propaganda."

The architect of this whole scheme of course was Dr Verwoerd. Nationalist Party spokesmen explain their policy as one having three phases. First comes the apartheid policy of Dr F. Malan, then development through separation by Dr Verwoerd and now the third phase, the ending of the process through separate freedoms under the guidance of Mr Vorster.

The political system in terms of which the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) was created has been rejected and is unacceptable to the majority of the coloured people. It is a fact that the majority of our people reject the policy of separate development. Many influential people in our community expressed their total rejection by refusing to be involved in the system at all. We in the Labour Party realised that this would not give adequate proof of our rejection and *we were left with no other means of proving our rejection than by efforts to gain control of the CRC. This was twice shown at elections but the Government has shown conclusively its policy of baasskap by first giving the Federal Party control of the Council in 1969, and now by nominating Mrs A. Jansen to the post of Chairman of the Executive.*

By instituting the CRC the government claimed that it was putting Coloured people on the road of separate freedom. The CRC had to function according to parliamentary procedure and convention, but in fact, can the CRC by no stretch of the imagination ever become a parliamentary institution.

Parliament means sovereign and the CRC will always be subservient to the white parliament. It is the task of the Labour Party to continually oppose, expose and embarrass the government regarding the implementation of separate development as far as the coloured people are concerned. We do not accept the CRC, but merely use it as a platform from which to operate. Time has proved our strategy correct. The government refuses to allow the Labour Party to control the CRC as it wishes. Even during the 1975 elections the government introduced legislation to take control of the CRC if the Labour Party proved unco-

operative. This was proved by the appointment of Mrs Jansen as the Chairman of the Executive. White officials under the direct control of the Minister of Coloured Affairs are in reality running the whole machinery of the CRC and the Department of Coloured Affairs. *The Labour Party's purpose participation in the system is to use the system to oppose the system.* We have continually to prove that the claim by the government that its policy is one of separate development is utterly a hollow one. Our critics are not unique in their loathing, contempt and rejection of discriminatory institutions such as the CRC. The Labour Party, unlike others, is not content to sit back and nurse its resentment on the political sidelines. It is harnessing its own loathing, contempt and the rejection of discriminatory institutions behind positive action to call a halt to oppression. It is not going to stand idly by and allow the Nationalists to continue unhindered in chaining the people to permanent subhuman status. The Party enters these bodies with the express purpose of making them unworkable as instruments of Nationalist oppression.

We have to counter the agents of Pretoria on their own platforms. Our critics say that these institutions are 'irrelevant' in the struggle. Just how 'irrelevant' is the Department of Coloured Affairs? This department rules over every facet and avenue that affects the lives of our people, e.g. education and social welfare.

Our critics regard the CRC and other relative institutions as farcical, and useless and consider that they offer the people nothing. *We in the Labour Party do not underestimate the power and the determination of the present rulers.* We see these separate bodies for what they really are—powerful, useful and effective instruments in the hands of the National Party for the further enslavement of the people. We ignore these bodies at our peril.

The Labour Party believes it is correct strategy to participate and its main task at this stage is to put an end to the stooge—the yes-man who is prepared to barter away the interests of the people, and of whom there are still far too many in the community. The day that oppressors can no longer find one single 'brown' face to do their dirty work for them, that day will see the departure of the Labour Party from discriminatory institutions and the end of such institutions at the same time. Until such time, the Party will do its utmost to prevent the stooge from gaining access to any position that facilitates his destructive influence. Our daily experience proves to us the tremendous and growing goodwill towards our Party from all sections of the community.

The Labour Party takes second place to nobody in their contempt and rejection of discriminatory bodies. We did not ask for them, neither do we offer them to the people. The fact is that they are part of the terrible legacy of defeats suffered by the people and which our Party inherited from failures and errors of past organizations, not least among them the boycotters. We entered a political situation in which there was pre-

cious little to build on and virtually had to start from scratch. But one thing is certain, we are determined not to repeat the mistakes and follies of the past, a cardinal one among them being transforming the tactic of boycott into an iron principle that makes it impossible to act politically and therefore leads to political death, as the facts amply prove.

We in the Labour Party can justifiably claim that our presence in the CRC has been a thorn in the flesh of the government. We have stopped the advance and success the policy might have had if we had not been present.

The strength of the present government has had a demoralising effect on all South Africans opposing the policy of separate development. The fear of the security police, especially, has had the effect that many people have withdrawn from active political life. Many have seen how easily people have been banned or arrested and kept in prison without trial, and this has silenced many. The maze of apartheid legislation has had the effect that a large portion of the South African population have accepted the situation as a way of life. New regulations proclaimed usually fit into the pattern. The government is viewed as having been made of granite and will never be dislodged.

The policy of separate development has with its implementation brought certain side effects which its creators had intended. Because inflation, in many western countries has become the order of the day, the security of any nation has become its economic strength. The policy of separate development has therefore become a serious obstacle to the economic advancement of South Africa. Government expenditure has become very heavy, especially the buying of arms and military equipment. The economic advancement of all racial groups in South Africa has become interdependent and the economic retrogression of one group leads to the slowing down of the economic progress of all groups.

Job reservation and government interference in the establishment of new industries is seriously affecting the industrial growth of South Africa. The government's policy regarding the advancement of black groups is to my mind aptly described in the book "*Jan Christian Smuts*"* written by his son, J. C. Smuts. I am quoting some paragraphs from the chapter entitled "*Native Problem*".

"The white man came to South Africa not merely to missionise and to settle in a trusteeship basis. He made it clear he had come to stay. For three hundred years he has been here and he is determined to stay indefinitely. But with the advance of civilisation and gradual evolution, the nature of the gap between white and black has narrowed alarmingly. It is doubtful whether the old master-servant relationship will be tenable for many years to come. The white man sees a grave danger to his children."

The writer says of his father: "My father had complete confidence in

*One time S. A. Prime Minister.

the intellectual and administrative superiority of the white man. He was convinced, come what will, these would see him safely through all trouble. It would also enable him to live indefinitely in a state of semi-overlordship over the blacks. He considered his mental superiority the white man's greatest asset."

The white man's traditional approach to the problem of entrenching white rule in South Africa is very well described in this quotation: "It takes into account that the white man in the Union is outnumbered by four to one. It takes into account the fact that the black man is increasing more rapidly than the white man. It assumes that two people cannot indefinitely go on side by side without some major future eruption. For this day of reckoning we must prepare. We must see that we have in our power all those things which can ensure tactical and military superiority. We must prohibit non-Europeans from possessing firearms or the training of their use. Manufacturing industries, wealth and education must be kept in the white hands. All these add up to military strength. We must frown upon trade unionism amongst the Bantu, and upon the formation of political bodies, for that leads to further potentially, dangerous consolidations."

Another quotation which aptly describes white attitudes: "The native policy of governments in South Africa is not the policy of political parties. It is the actual policy of the people upon their deep convictions. Parliament cannot change the relationship simply by the stroke of the pen. It has first to convince and convert public opinion. Mostly public opinion has been hard against too many concessions."

I have quoted at length from this book in order to create a background to what I wish to say further. White South Africa wants to remain in control of South Africa, politically, economically, and socially. White South Africa views with alarm developments which are threatening its position. The world at large has a very low opinion of white South Africa. African countries have shown their opposition and the infiltration of terrorists has caused the South African government to pile up arms and to regularly train whites in military warfare.

The sports policy has become a real dilemma and the complete isolation of South African sport, especially rugby, is something which has caused serious divisions amongst whites. The change of sports policy since the days of Dr Verwoerd has certainly contributed to the formation of the *Hersigte Nasionale Party*.

But it is the present policy of separate development and its implementation that is causing the greatest incentive to political consolidation among black people. Black power movements are growing and the spirit of non-dependence on whites is growing. The current idiom now is "Black man you are on your own". The government has always encouraged the other race groups to move amongst themselves and not to seek integration with white South Africa. The coloured people are definitely moving to a political consolidation within their own

groups. The policy of separate development is beginning to become the enemy of White South Africa. Even though Nationalists may not admit this openly, the appearance of the Labour Party and its impact on the political life of South Africa must be something that they had wished would never happen. African leaders like Chief Buthelezi have suddenly become the leaders of a new power which will become stronger in South Africa. This power, like the Labour Party, grew out of separate development.

Critics say that the government may disband the CRC. If it does so, what will it put in its place? Bantu Homelands and the CRC were established to satisfy world opinion and to give the policy of separate development a moral basis. The government has clearly shown that it has become very sensitive to world criticism. Criticism has also come from its own ranks because it has been felt that the policy of separate development has not been properly speeded up. The giving of political platforms to African and coloured leaders within the framework of separate development has given greater impetus to the growth of the black power movements. How the government will control the paths taken by the homelands and the CRC remains to be seen.

I personally think that the present government will rule South Africa for many years to come. White South Africa cannot afford to elect any new government under the present circumstances which might give the impression of moving away from the present entrenchment of white power. The United Party's own lack of direction as to how they will offer a better system than the one at present shows that one cannot consider them as a government in the foreseeable future.

The voiceless and the voteless races in Southern Africa are slowly recognising that they cannot hope for change from white South Africa. They also know that white South Africa has lost the initiative politically. Strength will come to the black groups if they strengthen their own ranks. Coloured people have shown allegiance to whites in the past but the position has now reversed, because of the policy of separate development. As confidence grows amongst the blacks and diminishes amongst the whites, the position in South Africa will change. Some pessimism is already creeping into the economic circles. How deeply this new development takes root amongst the black people and how they use it, also remains to be seen.

It is important for political parties, movements and leaders to give clear indications to oppressed people in which direction their political salvation lies. The Labour Party will not shirk its responsibility of clearly stating what the real issues are. It is our duty to completely destroy any support the government still has amongst our community. It is because of the presence of Kaizer Matanzima that the Transkei is moving into independence and it is because of the political stand of Gatsha Buthelezi that KwaZulu is not moving in that direction.

As a result of its mandate, the Labour Party recognises only one basic

long term goal in all its deliberations, viz the granting of full citizenship and political rights to all South Africans within an integrated and multi-racial South Africa. Any specific steps and proposals in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres will be judged in this context. We will not do anything that is in conflict with our major goal of full citizenship within an integrated, free and open society.

Our people's daily needs must be attended to; because we have short-term goals as well. There is a shortage of about 100 000 homes for coloured families alone. Over 2 000 teachers have to share classrooms because of the double shift system used in our schools.

The CRC or even the CRC Executive is not the final authority concerning policies nor even matters related entirely or mostly to the coloured community. The whole concept of the CRC and the CRC Executive is purely advisory and consultative. The powers delegated to the CRC are purely administrative. Any official of the Department of Coloured Affairs can carry out the functions of the CRC Executive. Mrs A. Jansen, who now holds the post of Chairman of the Executive, has in turn delegated all the administrative functions of the Executive to white officials in the Department of Coloured Affairs.

In order to make the CRC enticing to the coloured people, the government has decided to elevate the CRC executive members to cabinet status. We want power, real power, when it comes to matters affecting the lives of our people.

All power in South Africa is vested in the sovereign Parliament of South Africa. It is there in Parliament, in Cape Town, where the white cabinet has assumed all authority over the people of South Africa. Power is in turn delegated to the provincial authorities who in turn delegate authority to the local government bodies. Needless to say, all these institutions are in white hands. In the South African scheme of things all bodies serving the needs of black people are purely advisory or consultative. They exercise no direct authority.

It is this farce that must be continually exposed. The policy of the Labour Party is quite clear. We want full citizenship for all South Africans, regardless of race or colour in one united South Africa. It is the individual citizen's rights that are of importance to us. It is the individual citizen's rights, freedom, welfare, prosperity and happiness that society should cherish and that the State should serve. Each person must be treated with equal dignity and stand equal before the law. Human dignity and not colour must be the yardstick by which we measure the individual.

We recognise the complexities of the South African situation. We do not close our eyes to the dangers and difficulties inherent in a society like ours with its group loyalties, group prejudices, its differences in standards of attainment, its legacy of bitterness and division.

Our policy is one that will ensure that these differences, these loyalties and these prejudices will not be exploited by ruthless power

seekers. Our salvation depends on the co-operation of all races and groups. But co-operation will not be achieved as long as men and women, because of their race or colour, are denied the opportunity of taking part in the government of this country.

The Labour Party believes that a prerequisite to any plan for political development is a fundamental change in the nature of our South African constitution. This we must work out together so that no man in this country will ever again be relegated to the status of second class citizenship. We will work with any group whose goals are similar to ours.

Furthermore, white prejudice and discrimination are basic to the South African problem and the end of white prejudice and discrimination is a prerequisite to any solution. The fact remains also that the black advance depends on changes within the black community as well as within the white community.

If all discrimination were to end immediately, that alone would not improve the black man's position. Black people must compete with whites economically, socially and politically so as to regain the position they have lost in South Africa. Apathy on the part of black people is also part of the problem. Some people even think that apathy is just a cover up for a more basic problem—self-hatred on the part of the black man.

Far too many black people want to be white people. They imitate white value systems. They feel ashamed of their colour. They want to escape from their group and this is their dilemma—that they can never escape from their colour or from their group. And this results in frustration and self-hatred. This problem the black man must solve for himself—it is a conversion he must go through.

Many black people really believe what white people say about them. They believe that they are inferior. They believe deep in the very marrow of their beings, that they can never take their rightful place in South African society.

There comes a time in the life of any people when a new mood hits them. This mood we call Black consciousness. Call this consciousness awareness or political awakening, it is there and any person denying this fact is blind to the realities of the true situation in this country. All oppressed people, especially the Coloureds, have to go through this consciousness *so that they will cease to walk in the shadow of the white man*. They have to take their rightful place as men and women in the South African society. *Black consciousness is the black man's assertion of his full humanity, his self-liberation from the mental slavery and sense of inferiority which have been imposed upon him*. White has always been the standard in South Africa by which people are judged.

There are now two cultures in South Africa. One is white and the other black. White is the culture by which South Africa is known whilst black culture is submerged. The culture that projects the image of South

Africa is white. White consciousness dominates the South African scene. Black consciousness to me is not a colour definition. It is a way in which we define ourselves so that we can state 'who' we are and 'where' we belong. The aim of black consciousness is human consciousness because *the aim of the white man in this country is to destroy our manhood so that we cannot assume our true position as men in South Africa*. Many people call this racism. I utterly reject this, because you can only get rid of a problem if you diagnose it correctly.

Often when we speak of solutions to the South African situation, black people become pessimistic. They look at the white power structure and at their own helplessness. But this is the self-image the black man has been conditioned into and which he projects of himself every day. Black people have tremendous power that has to be canalised and put to use. This is how Ghandi reflected the situation in India: "The English have not taken India. We have given it to him. They are not in India because of their strength but because we keep them."

Black people must develop an inner strength as the source of their outer political power. Black people must 'see' the situation in which they find themselves. We must discover our true 'identity' (our humanity) so that we can build something positive out of our experience (our slavery in South Africa). The awakening of a critical consciousness leads the way to the expression of social discontent.

We are dissatisfied with our way of life in South Africa because these discontents form a real part of the oppressive situation. It is when oppressed people critically examine the oppressive situation in which they find themselves that they begin to educate themselves to liberation. Oppression distorts the human personality so that the oppressed person becomes docile and conditioned to his oppression and slavery. The most positive aspect of all this is that black South Africans have been forced by the South African experience to discover themselves and to find value in 'who' they are rather than in 'who' the white man thought they ought to be. This is the meaning of 'Black is Beautiful.' It is the black man's mature reflection on his past, his sober contemplation of his future. It is the black man's critical rediscovery of himself, who he was and who he is and his imminent satisfaction with his status as a 'person'. It is his joy in the realisation that the white man has failed, that white over black is neither normative, inevitable or a condition for the future.

To white South Africa the black man is an unlimited supply of human energy, easy to acquire and easily converted to the turning of wheels, the picking of crops and fruit, the tilling of the soil, the nursing of children, the cooking of food and so on. Black people are really extraordinary machines. A black man could think, and his thinking could be controlled. He could be programmed for loyalty. It is this image of himself in the eyes of the white man and in his own eye that must be destroyed by the black man himself. This is what I call education for liberation. A man only becomes free if freedom starts to grow within his

own person. It is this liberating consciousness that must be put into practice. This consciousness must not be merely an intellectual exercise but an organic metamorphosis from within the deep sap of the black being, blossoming to fullness and beauty. It is a state of mind, the resurrection of the real man and his will to survive as a whole man.

South Africa is going through a period of rapid change and black people must feel themselves part of this change. White people will only change when black people change. We must prepare ourselves now for the new society that will inevitably come to South Africa. We must not wait for the ideal day to dawn but create that day ourselves.

South African Indian Council

J. N. REDDY

Dr Verwoerd made a policy statement in Parliament on the future of the Indian Community in South Africa in 1961. This statement was intended to remove the uncertainty which had hung over the heads of Indians. From time to time political parties had spoken about resolving the Indian problem by the repatriation of the Indian community to India, despite the fact that our forbears arrived in this country more than 115 years ago and the Indian population comprised in the main of several generations of South African born Indians.

Dr Verwoerd, the then Prime Minister, stated that Indians henceforth will be South African citizens and that the Government would create a Department of Indian Affairs with a cabinet minister at its head to promote well-being in the Indian community.

It must be remembered that, until Indian education became the responsibility of the central government in 1966, the Indian community was responsible to a very large extent, for providing school facilities for its growing population. The Indians generally were confined to lowly paid jobs as the restrictions placed against their free movement throughout the country and an active barrier against Indians acquiring skills and obtaining employment, seriously handicapped the community's progress, as the vast majority of the Indians in South Africa were the descendants of those who came to work initially on the sugar plantations.

With the creation of the Department of Indian Affairs, the first steps were taken to constitute a body with which the Government could liaise and through which representations from the Indian community could be channelled to the Government.

The first South African Indian Council was appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs in February 1964 as a purely advisory body and in 1968 a statutory South African Indian Council was created by an Act of Parliament. This body comprised of 25 nominated members and held office for a period of three years at the expiry of which period the nominated statutory body was reconstituted to hold office for a further period of three years.

In the latter part of 1974, the third statutory South African Indian Council came into being comprising of 30 members, 15 of whom were elected by an electoral college which comprised members of Indian local authorities, local affairs committees and management committees, and the remaining 15 members were appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs.

After the third Indian statutory council took office in the latter half of 1974, the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, met with the executive committee of the South African Indian Council in Cape Town in January 1975. At this meeting the executive committee conveyed to the Prime Minister the feelings of the Indian people of South Africa. We made it known that we stand for a free society and that along with others the Indian community should have representation in Parliament.

It was only after stating the view point of the Indian community to the Prime Minister that the Executive Committee accepted the existing machinery created by the government as a channel of communication between the government and the Indian people.

The Prime Minister made it absolutely clear that in so far as his party and his government were concerned there were no plans for Indian representation in Parliament. The Prime Minister continued by stating that the intention of the government was to convert the present statutory South African Indian Council into a representative council with legislative and administrative powers.

In addition the Prime Minister indicated that he was presently considering an inter-cabinet consultative committee which, we understand, would be a permanent liason between the Indian Council and the government.

The discussions with the Prime Minister and his response to our plea for direct representation in Parliament were conveyed to a meeting of the South African Indian Council by the Executive Committee and the South African Indian Council took the following decision: "that whilst our objective is the creation of a democratic parliamentary institution, we will make the optimum use of the Council for the economic and social well-being of the Indian community. At the sametime we will be working for change by a process of evolution and not revolution in order to avoid conflict and confrontation and the grave consequences which are likely to flow therefrom."

It would be appreciated that throughout the history of the Indian community no effective or worthwhile channels of communication between the three tiers of government and the Indian community have existed. The only contacts with the authorities were at the time of crisis and this rarely brought any benefit or relief.

The community in 1961 was reeling under tremendous blows suffered as a result of wide spread displacements of Indians from areas which they had traditionally occupied. Hundreds of Indian traders were displaced and the provision of proper schooling facilities was becoming

more difficult by the day. In addition there was massive unemployment and in the Durban area alone more than 10 000 people were unemployed. In these circumstances, certain leaders within the Indian community felt that something had to be done in order to get the government of the day to appreciate the tremendous hardships being experienced by the Indian community and the need for a more humane approach on the part of the authorities.

The South African Indian Council was brought into being in 1964 and Indians from different parts of the country were appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs to serve on this body. Over the past 11 years successive Indian councils have concentrated their energies in creating for the Indian community, a broadly based infrastructure so that the community could move forward, not only in promoting its own progress but by making a larger contribution for the progress, prosperity and well-being of all the people of South Africa.

During this period, commendable progress has been made in the field of education and the Indian community has to a very large extent been relieved of the task of soliciting donations to purchase land for schools and for the erection of buildings.

The school building programme for the next five years presently stands at some 65 million rand. This task would have been well nigh impossible had the government not accepted the responsibility for Indian education. The South African Indian Council is directly involved in the diversification of the Indian education programme so that every child can obtain the maximum benefit from education in accordance with his or her ability.

Notable progress has been registered by the Indians in helping to break down traditional barriers which prevented them from entering a number of professions and from doing other skilled work. The wide range of courses now being provided at the M. L. Sultan Technical College bears testimony to the measure of success which has been achieved in recent years.

As a new generation of young, well educated people emerges, prejudices and traditional barriers still pose problems. Prejudices against the employment of non-whites are not always confined to trades but in many instances extend to professions as well.

These barriers can only be broken by a change of heart on the part of the whites and in this regard dialogue and communication help to pave the way.

In addition greater economic activity within the Non-white sector can make a contribution. Therefore the South African Indian Council is playing an active role in making representations to the government so that the maximum assistance from the state and the Industrial Development Corporation can be made available to Indian entrepreneurs who are gradually recognising the potential in industrial participation and

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the opportunities it provides for the employment of professional and other categories of highly educated people.

The South African Indian Council in fact believes that the time has now arrived for a development corporation to be created for promoting economic activity with special emphasis on industry within the Indian community. *Similar institutions already exist in the homelands and for the coloured community.*

No amount of aid and assistance can promote the progress of a people unless they themselves are willing to move forward and are prepared to equip themselves to play an active and positive role, and in this connection the South African Indian Council is directly involved.

We believe that even in a free society progress can only be registered by those who plan a programme of action and work relentlessly to achieve the desired goal.

In the process, we must afford men and women an opportunity to gain experience and expertise and become men of vision with practical and purposeful ideas which can enhance and promote the well-being of any society in the prevailing circumstances. Naturally this is no easy task but a beginning has to be made and the time to start is now. We will face many challenges and in these challenges we must find the opportunities.

We believe that a steady growth of the South African economy will result in an ever increasing demand for non-white personnel and as each year goes by many, if not all of the restrictions which for the present serve as a barrier to non-white advancement in various trades and professions will completely disappear and in its wake the irritating discriminatory practices which *even* the Prime Minister has admitted cannot under any circumstances be justified.

It is for this reason that as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Council, I stand solidly with my *reverend* friend, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, in opposing calls for the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa, irrespective of whether such calls are made by South Africans or by people and organisations overseas. What we ought to do is to accelerate the pace of economic activity and welcome foreign capital and expertise. In this connection, I firmly believe that foreign companies should enter into meaningful partnerships with the non-white people and provide job opportunities at all levels so that we too can obtain a share of the profits which flow from the starting up of these industries. An important requirement in this regard is the availability of capital.

Presently the several development corporations which exist can be the channel until the non-whites are in a position to have adequate financial resources. It is therefore heartening that an African bank has already been launched with assistance from existing white banking institutions. The launching of the bank heralds a new era and I have no doubt whatsoever that the black people have begun their march towards

Government Created Platforms

DR M. A. RAMPHELE

This paper is an attempt at analysing the whole question of government created platforms which is an issue of immense political importance in South Africa today. The approach here is to trace the historical background to the policy, examine the present position of these institutions in the political, economical and social spheres and then present the arguments against participation by Blacks in these Institutions.

Historical Background

Today in South Africa, the population is divided, in terms of Nationalist government policy, into various ethnic or racial groups. Each ethnic or race group has, created for it by the Nationalist government, a separate political platform where, in varying degrees, the population groups attempt to shape their destinies. It is the white racial group that has assumed the position of creating the most supreme political platform for itself and subservient political platforms for the other groups.

Although the present system took precise shape since the coming to power of the Nationalist government with its policy of apartheid, the origin of this system goes far back into the early history of the white settlers in this country. Needless to say, when Jan van Riebeeck arrived with his crew in 1652, the black people of South Africa had a political system of their own whose basic characteristic was self-determination and independence. In other words black people were the ones who determined where they should stay and how their country should be run, however primitive or simple this system might have been.

It was because of this characteristic that black people resisted the white man's attempts at not only grabbing their land but also attempting to dictate to them how and where they should live. The heroic wars of national resistance were a reflection of the black man's determination to remain master of both his land and destiny.

Large scale resistance to the white settlers' attempts at grabbing both the black man's land and the right to govern himself in his land,

came towards an end round about the middle of the 19th century, a little over a hundred years ago. Edward Roux in his book *Time Longer than Rope* says of this, "The conflicts of 1846 and 1850-53, though they were not exactly the end of Kaffir wars, were the last large scale attempts of the Xhosas, to turn the tide of white aggression which had been running strongly against them for half a century". (p 32)

The author here refers to Kaffirs and Xhosas, and from experience we know that the white settlers, not only in South Africa, but also in all those parts of the world that they colonised, have always refused and still refuse to identify the colonised with their country. Even today as far as they are concerned there are Xhosas, Sothos, Tswanas, etc. and all-out attempts are made to challenge the usage of African when referring to these groups as a collective unit.

As it turned out the white settlers gradually conquered the black man and his land, and right from the initial stages of contact a pattern of administration that was to culminate in present day government (white) created platforms, began to manifest itself. These platforms have been created for the economic exploitation and political subjugation of black people. The relationship that began to emerge between the white settlers and the conquered black was that of master and slave. Roux, in the same book quoted above, has this to say, "In the meantime the expansion of European settlement at the Cape and the growth of farming resulted in an increased demand for cheap labour. After 1807 the slaves could no longer be brought into the country. The price of slaves went up. The farmers naturally began to turn their attention to the Hottentots and other Natives as a possible source of supply. Pressure was accordingly brought to bear on the authorities to introduce laws which would force the Hottentots, who still made an independent living of a kind on what poor land was left to them, into the service of the white farmer. Accordingly, in 1809 the Hottentot pass law was introduced. Note that it was an English and not a Dutch government which first introduced the pass system into South Africa.

"Under the pass law all Hottentots, who were not working for white masters, were described as vagrants. Any Hottentot who was a vagrant, was breaking the law. Every white man, not only the police, had the right to demand of any passing Hottentot that he should show his pass. No Hottentot could carry a pass unless he had entered into a labour agreement with a white farmer... Those who had not made labour agreements were arrested under the pass laws and hired out among farmers. At the same time a system of child slavery, politely termed apprenticeship, was devised for Hottentot children. This provided the farmer with the supply of labour for which he did not have to pay, and at the same time tended to prevent the Hottentot parents from going away to other farms, because by so doing they would abandon their children.

"After the pass laws had come into force there were at the Cape, two

sorts of slavery existing side by side. There was chattel slavery, the old system under which slaves could be bought and sold, and there was the new system of forced labour which resulted from the pass laws and which, in practice, was very little different from chattel slavery.

"The Hottentot could not be bought and sold, but he was tied to the land in such a way that usually he could not leave it. He was certainly not a free man. The system of forced labour slavery, or 'pass law slavery' as we may call it, is the fate of the great mass of the Bantu population to this day." (pp 27-28)

From the above it is abundantly clear that the white settler never saw himself as an equal of the black man and separate laws to rule the black man by the white settler were a much earlier feature of black-white relations in this country. As a result of pressure by philanthropists the colonial administration began to gradually ease the laws that were oppressive to the black man. Slavery was abolished and all so-called non-Europeans, within the boundaries of the colony, were given the same rights before the law as the white people. Once again the spirit that led to the present system of government created platforms for various population groups manifested itself. Boers who felt that the colonial government was unjust and grossly prejudiced in favour of Blacks against Europeans, trekked away to the north to set up governments of their own where there would be 'no equality in Church or State between black and white'. (p 33)

The attitude of those most influential in the present day white oligarchy is the same as those people who trekked and who stated the above sentiments. In the Boer Republics that were subsequently established, the belief in the inferiority of Blacks was clearly manifested and entrenched in the law.

At the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa, the Cape representatives at the National Convention were expected to insist on the maintenance of the Cape vote. The press, notably *Imvo*, expressed hope that "something...will be done for our Native friends in the other Colonies in the direction of securing for them some form of representation in the Union". (p 70). Those of us who are well-versed with the history of white rule in this country will remember that black people in the Cape lost their right to sit in Parliament in terms of the new Constitution that was produced by the National Convention in 1909. The maintenance of the Cape Native vote which the Cape liberals championed and managed to have in the new Constitution was only championed because it provided them with safe seats in Parliament. From then onward a uniform policy on black people was evolved and gradually their representation in Parliament was eroded; white rulers of South Africa applied their minds to 'settling the Native question'.

1935 saw the Union Government confronting the Blacks with what were called the Three Native Bills in an attempt to settle the Native question once and for all. The Native Representation Bill, the Native

Trust and Land Bill and the Urban Areas Amendment Bill had as their roots the economic and political conditions that existed in South Africa. The country had been hit by an economic crisis and the white rulers sought to create a labouring class to produce wealth for them. The Native Representation Bill provided for the creation of the Native Representative Council and the election of three white people to represent Blacks in an all-white Parliament. The Native Trust and Land Bill deprived Africans of the right to buy land anywhere except in the so-called Reserves. It should be noted here that these Bills were piloted even before the present Nationalist government came to power. The Urban Areas Amendment Bill denied free access to the towns by Africans and created the machinery for directing black labour according to the demands of the various employers for cheap labour.

In spite of the vehement opposition by Blacks to these Bills, they were passed and became law. With the coming to power of the Nationalist party in 1948 and its apartheid or segregation policy, the evolution of separate political platforms for the various population groups began to take definite shape. While initially the white government of South Africa created advisory bodies for Blacks to advise their representatives in Parliament, legislation was later framed and passed which created the various homelands and their so-called Legislative Assemblies, the South African Indian Council and the Coloured People's Representative Council.

Black people resisted the establishment of these institutions but the government harassed and treated with brutality all organisations and individuals who so resisted. Ever since the creation of these government platforms there have been differing opinions between people and organisations as to the advisability of participating in these platforms.

Among those people who advocated participation by black people in these government created platforms are those people who wholly accept the policy of separate development as advocated and practised by the Nationalist government. These include people like Kaizer Matanzima of the Transkei and Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei. There are also those who, although participating in these government created platforms, are nevertheless sceptical of the white man's sincerity and in fact verbalise rejection of separate development. People like Gatsha Buthelezi, Sonny Leon and Hector Ncokazi fall into this category. It is in this group that we find those who claim that they are only participating in these sectional politics in order to expose the fraudulence of the policy of separate development.

On the other hand there are those individuals and/or organisations which believe in the national unity of all those for whom these government platforms have been created and are, as such, opposed to participation by black people in these institutions.

Present Position of Government Created Platforms

The past few years have seen the consolidation of these institutions into what the white South African Government calls governing units with respect to Bantustans, and more 'responsibilities' have been given to the SAIC and the CRC. All this is aimed at convincing the critics of the whole policy of separate development, of the sincerity of the white government to allow each ethnic group to have full say in the running of its affairs.

Political Position

The granting of additional responsibilities to the various Bantustans culminated in the announcement that the Transkei would be granted 'independence' in October 1976 and a general encouragement of other Bantustan leaders to follow suit and ask for the same from Pretoria—this has been rewarded by Chief Lucas Mangope's recent announcement that he too will follow suit. Other Bantustans are being given additional departments to run in the hope that sooner or later they will also be ready for 'independence'.

When one looks at the actual position with regard to those institutions one finds that in spite of all the talk about self-government, Pretoria still runs them through seconded white secretaries whilst Blacks in the departments hardly know the intricacies involved in their management.

On the question of 'parliamentary' representation, one finds that although some of the members are supposed to be elected, the chiefs, who are nominated and are paid civil servants, constitute the majority and can therefore guarantee Pretoria the loyalty it needs. With respect to the Transkei this was ensured by the Transkei Authorities Bill of 1965, which limited the number of elected officials on the local and regional authorities to not more than a third of the total voting strength.

In addition the chiefs' authority has been entrenched by Proclamation 400 of 1960 which makes it an offence to challenge the authority of the chiefs, to boycott official meetings or to show disrespect to chiefs/headmen. The above powers just indicate the extent to which Pretoria is prepared to go and has gone to impose these institutions on black people.

The 1974 Act, which gave the Bantustan governments powers to ban or restrict any individuals within their areas of authority whose activities endanger the security of the Bantustan concerned, confirmed the view that Pretoria was bent on using Bantustan leaders to further its own aims. The white government can then wash its hands of any oppressive measures taken against opponents of the system in the 'homelands'.

Confusion still reigns with respect to SAIC and CRC on the question of how far the policy of separate institutions can be carried out, because

the Indian and Coloured communities are said to be an integral part of the broad South African Community. The feasibility of these communities being completely separated from whites is far fetched to the point that even Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister, admitted that this is a problem to be left to future generations to solve. Confrontations that were being planned by the Coloured Labour Party in the context of the CRC were defused by the 1975 CRC Act which gave the Minister of Coloured Affairs powers to ensure the smooth running of this institution in times of crises.

Economic Position

The economies of all Bantustans were never intended, by the designers of these governments, to be viable and independent of Pretoria's own economic plan; this is quite logical if one examines the South African capitalist system which is labour intensive. The prosperity that white capitalists enjoy can only be made possible by the availability of a pool of cheap labour with little or no say in their conditions of employment. The envisaged goal of the policy of separate development is to have all Africans at some future date being residents of one Bantustan or the other, only being allowed into white South Africa to provide the labour required to boost the latter's economy.

The situation is guaranteed by the following features in Bantustan economies:

1. **Land**, which is the basis of any economy, has been given stingily to these governments. In terms of the 1936 Land Act, all the Bantustans combined are allowed only 13% of the total surface area of South Africa; most of this 13% consists of arid pieces of land which cannot be used for any productive agricultural purposes. It should be borne in mind that in spite of the meagreness of this allocation in relation to the population which is supposed to survive on it (1974 estimates: 18 million Africans as opposed to 4 million Whites occupying 87%), the total quota has yet to be transferred to the various Bantustan governments.

Another feature relevant to the land issue is the fact that most of the areas under the authority of these governments are disjointed pieces of land which make centralised economic planning and administration such a nightmare that even the most loyal of the Bantustan leaders have made this publicly known.

Chief Matanzima even attempted to make the consolidation and granting of all the promised land a condition for independence, but failed because of the uncompromising stand Pretoria took on the issue.

This just illustrates that these governments can never hope to feed their 'citizens' let alone export their produce to earn foreign exchange. The only result is extreme poverty for most of the inhabitants of these Bantustans, thus making them readily available as cheap labour on a

migratory basis to lubricate the South African economic machinery. This is borne out by the flourishing recruiting trade, which the mining sector in particular is engaged in, in these Bantustans with the assistance of local authorities. The particular Bantustan 'benefits' from this trade in the form of a levy paid to it by the recruiting company.

2. Industry

Industrialisation of South Africa, as a whole, has been to a large extent centred around major cities at the expense of small towns which only acted as shopping centres for surrounding farmers and residential areas for white civil servants employed by the various local authorities. With the new drive by the South African government to decentralise industry to accommodate its policy of separate development, border industries have now been established and are being heavily campaigned for by the South African Government.

The rationale behind this is:

(a) To create some jobs for the 'citizens' of the Bantustans near their homes to reduce the problem of the influx of Africans with their families in search of work. "According to the latest calculations, approximately 120 000 Bantu men enter the labour market annually. Of these, about 60 000 have to be provided with employment in the homelands." (*Homelands, the Role of the Corporations*, published by Chris van Rensburg Publications, p 129)

(b) To show the outside world that all attempts are being made to develop the Bantustans for the benefit of their inhabitants.

This system of border industries can only work if industrialists are guaranteed protection by the government against losses that can arise because of the distance from major cities with the resultant high transportation costs for both raw materials and finished products.

The following incentives have been provided by the South African Government:

(a) Exemption from any minimum wage determination by the Wage Act of 1957. Any wage can therefore be paid with impunity. This leaves the workers totally at the mercy of these industrialists. This is manifested by the starvation wages that are paid by such industries, e.g. Babelegi in Bophuthatswana was paying R3 per week to their workers (1972 figures).

(b) Low interest loans.

(c) Buildings leased at reasonable rentals.

(d) Income tax exemption for a maximum period of 10 years.

(e) Preferences with regard to tender prices on government contracts.

(f) Transport rebates in certain cases.

The above factors ensure that massive profits accrue to the companies involved in border industries, but do nothing to improve the lot of the people living in these areas.

To further 'boost' the industrial development of the Bantustans the South African Government has created development agencies starting with the general Bantu Investment Corporation ramifying to the various 'ethnic' development corporations which are government backed. Examples of these corporations are the Xhosa and Coloured development corporations. Their operation is to:

...provide loans to members of respective ethnic groups to provide them with capital for businesses in their 'own' areas. This plan in practice, turns out to be heavily loaded against the individuals concerned who operate under the direct supervision of these corporations, purportedly to ensure that the money is well used. The interest charged is high which puts a further strain on the recipient of the loan.

...establish industries in the Bantustans and other areas so as to promote general economic activity and create job opportunities for blacks; the long term aim is said to be the handing over of these industries at a price to the inhabitants of these areas when they are in a position to run them themselves. The activities of these corporations even extend to essential services like transportation, where shares are made available to favoured people like Bantustan politicians as is the case in the Ciskei and Transkei.

...market products of cultural value produced by rural folk supposedly for the benefit of these folk who are paid very little for their products which are then sold at inflated prices to tourists and even exported. These corporations have in fact monopolised marketing in these fields in most rural areas and all the profits go into their coffers.

To add to the burden of running Bantustans with meagre resources, the Bantustan governments are further faced with capital development schemes to provide essential services which have always been ignored by Pretoria: e.g. the Transkei had to expand and modernise Umtata Hospital with 1 100 beds at a cost of R7 million. To 'alleviate' the general economic problem the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, announced in Parliament this year that each 'homeland' was entitled to its share of sales, income and other taxes as well as customs dues, generated by them. This is supposed to cover the deficit in revenue of these Bantustans.

Social Position

This policy of separate development is affecting the black man socially especially through the encouragement of migratory labour with its disruptive effect on the family unit and the consequent suffering by all concerned. The creation of 'resettlement townships', like Dimbaza and Rooigrond, with no hope for employment, and lack of essential services, can only lead to the emergence of a frustrated, dehumanised community, that cannot take the initiative in any sphere or matter affecting it because of the immensity of the problems it faces.

Rejection of Government Created Platforms

This has been voiced from as early as 1936 (see historical background above) but has only been recently articulated strongly by Blacks who are politically conscious and have the courage of their convictions. They are mainly Blacks belonging to the Black Consciousness Movement. Their rejection is based on the following points.

4. "White racists of this country and white racists alone are the sole architects of these platforms". Black people are being regarded as a problem that has to be dealt with by the white settlers, and not as indigenous people who have therefore a birthright to decide on how the country must be governed for the benefit of all.

"They are created for the express purpose of diverting the energy of black people from the true struggle for liberation to racialist, tribalist and generally divisive political undertakings which at best keep the real and true goal of total liberation out of immediate sight and attention by black people and at worst serve to bolster the white racist regime that created them. The above point is clearly illustrated by the petty tribal and even intra-tribal differences that are propagated by the system. People are encouraged to seek 'independence and liberation' as Xhosa, Zulus and Coloureds. The fact of the matter is that no single group can enjoy real freedom in an "unfree" country, even the Whites do not fully enjoy the privileges they have because of the thought of what the unprivileged masses might do to topple them.

The noises that people like Gatsha Buthelezi make with regard to total liberation are always tinged with a Zulu emphasis precisely because of the platforms from which they operate. It is sheer arrogance to think that Blacks can accept the leadership of a person or group that accepts the premise of a tribe or a section of the black community. The same goes for the Labour Party who call for Blacks to join them in their struggle against the system. Blacks are oppressed as a group and not as individual tribes or sections hence their struggle must be a united one from the beginning. The mentality of the Transkei people who believe that something will come out of independence is a tragic illustration of a deluded community which is delaying the moment of truth by allowing the white racists to buy time.

● They are built-in safety valves in the balloon of black frustration through which steam is let out so that the balloon should not explode in the face of the oppressor. Historical facts bear this point out, because one clearly remembers that the Transkei was put on the road to 'self-determination' in 1963 to defuse the impatience that Blacks had clearly displayed early in the sixties with a political system that denied them rights as citizens. The Matanzimas were brought in as leaders to be looked up to at the time when Blacks had chosen their own real leaders who did not compromise with the system. Even today people of reason in the black community are constantly searching for solutions outside

these platforms which are recognised as death traps for the black community.

● They are designed to cheat the black man into participating in his own oppression because of built-in safeguards that make it impossible for any person using them to liberate himself.

It is common cause that no intelligent man can devise a system which is aimed at destroying him, especially if one takes into consideration the desperation of the white racists in this case. Pretoria has it all worked out to entrench white rule for as long as possible; it is therefore naive to think that the white racists will sit back and allow themselves to be destroyed by their own creation. The likes of Sonny Leon are deluding themselves and have been told that much by Pretoria, e.g. during the so-called budget crisis the Minister of Coloured Affairs came out the winner because he had a ready measure to apply to defuse the situation and all Sonny Leon could do was to step down powerless.

● The creation of these separate development platforms is aimed at hood-winking the international community into accepting the racist policy of the white regime as a sincere programme designed in the interest of the black people and any participation in them by Blacks can only give credibility to the fraudulence to the detriment of the black people.

This has been borne out by the confusion that reigns on the international scene generated by people like Gatsha Buthelezi who are seen and allowed to criticise the South African government from their Bantustan platforms with no action being taken against them. The black community must resent these tactics by Gatsha which do more harm than good to their cause of total liberation. He is one man who has given credibility to these fraudulent platforms and confused the world by expressing 'revolutionary ideas' from a platform most men of reason reject.

● They are designed so that those black people who participate in them are the ones who soil their hands by doing the dirty work designed and planned by white racists. An illustration of this fact has been alluded to above with respect to the 1974 Act which gave Bantustans the power to ban opponents and will become clearer as the white community becomes more and more insecure in their position of privilege. It is not far fetched to envisage a day when Bantustan leaders will be made by Pretoria to force Blacks to lay their lives in defence of this country where they are normally regarded as sub-humans with no rights as citizens.

The black community must reject these platforms unequivocally now, and work out their own plans and strategies for change as an oppressed group and strive relentlessly for real freedom.