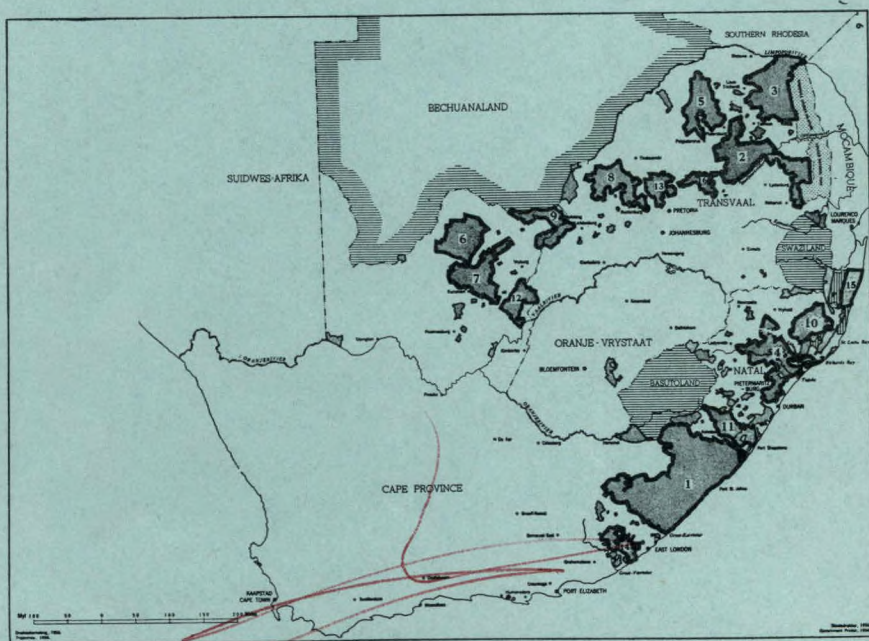


BANTUSTAN BLUFF



6^D

THE 'BANTUSTAN' FRAUD

For many years the Government of the Union has been talking and behaving as if the changes which are going ahead so rapidly in other parts of Africa did not exist, or at any rate as if they did not affect this country at all. In fact the Government has been trying feverishly to put back the clock, to reverse here the currents which are flowing so strongly elsewhere, to destroy any vestige of democratic rights for non-whites which might still exist in South Africa.

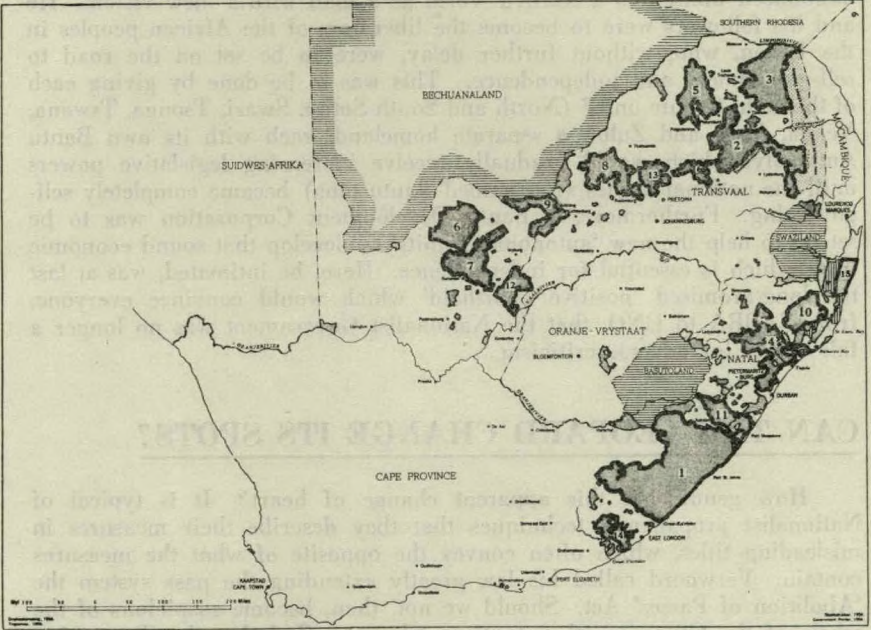
But all of a sudden something very strange has happened — the leaders of the Nationalist Party seem to have undergone a miraculous conversion from the dogma of 'white baasskap' to a new religion of 'freedom for the black man.' When Parliament opened this year, Dr. Verwoerd announced himself to a startled world as a man with a 'new vision'. He and his followers were to become the liberators of the African peoples in the Union, who, without further delay, were to be set on the road to self-government and independence. This was to be done by giving each of the eight 'ethnic units' (North and South Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xosa and Zulu) a separate homeland, each with its own Bantu Authority, which would gradually receive increasing legislative powers until the national homes (nicknamed Bantustans) became completely self-governing. Furthermore, a Bantu Development Corporation was to be set up to help the new 'autonomous units' to develop that sound economic basis which is essential for independence. Here, he intimated, was at last the long-promised 'positive apartheid' which would convince everyone, from SABRA to UNO, that the Nationalist Government was no longer a fair target for adverse criticism.

CAN THE LEOPARD CHANGE ITS SPOTS?

How genuine is this apparent change of heart? It is typical of Nationalist propagandist techniques that they describe their measures in misleading titles, which often convey the opposite of what the measures contain. Verwoerd called his law greatly extending the pass system the 'Abolition of Passes' Act. Should we not, then, become suspicious of the whole of the Government's intentions when we find that the 'Promotion of Bantu Self-Government' Bill starts off by decreasing the abolition of the tiny token representation of Africans in Parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council? This was something threatened by Verwoerd long before he became the self-appointed champion of those millions of Africans who, he asserts, are thirsting for a chance to 'develop along their own lines'. To take away an established right is surely a strange way of introducing a Bill of Rights! The removal of the Native Representatives was the aspect of the new legislation which received the lion's share of attention in the Parliamentary debates, and the significance of the main part of the Bill was never fully brought out even by its most sincere opponents, handicapped as they were by the shameful 'guillotine' imposed by the Government. So let us examine the rest of the measure in other aspects so as to determine the true shape of the edifice behind the showy facade.

For many years the Government of the Union has been talking and promising in the changes which are being made in regard to other parts of Africa. It has been an attempt to show that it is not a party to the fraud. In fact the Government has been trying to put forward a claim to the stock to reserve for the various things which are being done in order to bring about a change in the financial position of the Union. It has been a fraud which has been carried out in South Africa.

The Reserves as they really are



MAP 1

The map shows the distribution of reserves in the Union of South Africa. The reserves are numbered 1 through 15, and are located in various parts of the country. The map also shows the provinces of South Africa: BECHUANALAND, SUIDWES-AFRIKA, ORANJE-VRYSTAAT, NATA, and CAPE PROVINCE. The map includes a scale bar and a north arrow.

How the Government deceives the world



MAP 2

THE NATIONAL HOME-LANDS

MAP 1 above shows the actual location and extent of the Native Reserves, outside of which no African may own land. Even in the reserves the overwhelming proportion of the land is unavailable for individual ownership, being held on a tribal basis. The area of the Union occupied by white farmers is 71 per cent.; the area of the reserves is less than 13 per cent.; the remaining area, 16 per cent. consists of urban districts, game reserves and Government land. Yet the number of whites living in rural areas is only about $\frac{1}{2}$ million, while the number of rural Africans is about 7 million. Of the latter, however, ONLY $3\frac{1}{2}$ MILLION LIVE IN THE RESERVES; the other $3\frac{1}{2}$ million are labourers or squatters on farms occupied or unoccupied by white owners. The remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ million of our total African population of about $9\frac{1}{2}$ million are in urban areas.

As is well-known, and as the Nationalists' own Tomlinson Commission fully confirmed, the reserves are nothing more than 'distressed areas', shockingly congested, and completely unable to sustain even their present population, which consists largely of old people and women with young children. The inhabitants are always on the verge of starvation and have to rely almost entirely on money sent home by their adult menfolk who are forced by the scarcity of land and the pressure of taxation to seek work in the towns, mines and European-owned farms. Furthermore, to quote the Commission: "Save for a few blocs like the Transkei and Venda-land, the Bantu areas are so scattered that they form no foundation for community growth."

YET IT IS THESE SAME RESERVES, WITHOUT THE PROMISED ADDITION OF A SINGLE MORGEN, WHICH ARE NOW TO BE SPLIT UP INTO EIGHT SO-CALLED BANTU NATIONAL UNITS; AND, MARK IT WELL, NOWHERE OUTSIDE THESE UNITS WILL A SINGLE ONE OF THE $9\frac{1}{2}$ MILLION AFRICANS BE CONSIDERED A CITIZEN OF SOUTH AFRICA.

"All the Bantu have their permanent homes in the reserves and their entry into other areas and into the urban areas is merely of a temporary nature and for economic reasons. In other words they are admitted as work-seekers, not as settlers."

— Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. (Article in *Optima*, March, 1959).

MAP 2 above was recently published in the "Digest of South African Affairs", which is issued by the State Information Office for overseas consumption. The caption read: "A map indicating the approximate areas covered by the five Bantu territorial and/or ethnic units, announced by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel." It is obviously designed deliberately to create the impression

that the Bantu Authorities are going to get complete control of the vast areas surrounded by the heavy lines including every major town in three provinces with the exception of Pretoria. Comment is superfluous!

(2) WHAT BANTU SELF-GOVERNMENT MEANS

It has been made perfectly clear by Verwoerd himself that the bodies which are to govern the new "autonomous units" will be, in all that matters, the identical Bantu Authorities which the Government has been endeavouring for some time to impose on the African people and which have everywhere met with bitter resistance from all but the more venial Chiefs and their henchmen. It was the forcible imposition of this system which led to the recent upheavals in Sekhukuniland, and, according to Mr. Walter Stanford, Natives' Representative for the Transkei, this area, too, is seething with revolt.

There are two essential elements to self-government, as the term is used and understood all over the modern world. They are:

- (a) DEMOCRACY. The organs of Government must be representative. That is to say, they must be the freely-chosen leaders and representatives of their people, whose mandate must be renewed at periodic democratic elections.
- (b) SOVEREIGNTY. The Government thus chosen must be free to legislate and act as it deems fit on behalf of the people, and must not be subject to any limitations upon its powers by any external authority. Now, neither of these two essentials is present in the Nationalist plan.

The Bantu National Units will each be given a Commissioner-General chosen by the Government, whose function will be to "give guidance and advice" to the Chief and his council of headmen, all of whom must be approved of, or directly appointed by the Bantu Administration Department, by whom they will be paid, and to whom they will be responsible. If they do not behave as the B.A.D. wants them to, then they get the sack, like any Government employee. (We all know fully well that Chiefs who sought the interest of their people before position and self-advancement have, like Chief Albert Luthuli already been deposed. Nowhere is provision made for elections — the Nationalists contend that Africans do not want to choose their own rulers, because that is "not in their tradition". Thus, the proposed Bantu Authorities will not be, in any sense of the word, representative or democratic.

As for sovereignty, that is a mirage. In his notorious (and thoroughly dishonest) article in "Optima" Dr. Eiselen draws a far-fetched parallel implying that the relations between the future Bantustans' and the Union will ultimately be of the same nature as those between Britain and the self-governing members of her Commonwealth. And then, in the same article, he comes right out into the open and declares:

"The utmost degree of autonomy in administrative matters which the Union Parliament is likely to be prepared to concede to these areas will stop short of actual surrender of sovereignty by the European trustee, and there is therefore no prospect of a federal system with eventual equality among members taking the place of the South African Commonwealth . . ."

What "Bantu Self-Government" amounts to then, is this: Bantu Authorities, under strict control by the B.A.D., will gradually assume the sort of functions exercised in white areas by local councils — more specifically, the Government White Paper anticipates that they will be given limited powers to levy taxes, administer education (Bantu Education, it is emphasized), undertake public works, carry out soil conservation projects, and so on.

(Footnote: The Nationalists' objectives here are: firstly, to throw the responsibility and expense of providing their own public services upon the inhabitants of the reserves; secondly, to split off from the masses the better educated Africans by creating for them a certain number of comparatively well paid jobs as civil servants, whose livelihood will be dependent upon their subservience to the B.A.D.) Otherwise the Chiefs and their hand-picked Councillors will simply administer, under supervision, THE LAWS OF THE UNION FRAMED BY ITS ALL-WHITE PARLIAMENT, from which even the handful of Natives' Representatives will have been banished.

(a) WHAT OF THE AFRICANS OUTSIDE RESERVES?

Today there are millions of Africans who were born and have their permanent homes outside the reserves, have never seen the reserves and have no desire to go there. At one fell swoop the "Bantu Self-Government" measures render these people aliens in the white areas of the Union. Urban Africans — the workers, business men and professional men and women, who have completely repudiated tribalism and who form the educated, progressive, politically conscious vanguard of their people — are now to be denied any vestige of a claim to democratic rights in the places where they live. Instead, the Government has stated that steps will be taken to "link" all Africans working in urban areas with their National Homes by conferring powers on Bantu Authorities to nominate persons as their representatives in the towns. This means in effect that efforts will be made to place urban Africans under the control of tribal Chiefs, a retrograde step in line with other attempts of the Government to 'divide and rule', such as the enforced ethnic grouping in locations and Bantu Education schools. As for the millions of African families long established on farms owned by whites, Verwoerd has still not evolved a plan to "link" them with their appropriate Bantustans, so that they are, for the present, just human waifs and strays — a postwar group of 'displaced persons', one might call them — tolerated only because their labour is indispensable.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that one of the main objects of the Bantustan legislation is to attempt to stem the rising tide of African demands for freedom and human rights, and for a fair share of the riches which have been built up largely by their toil. The growing Congress Movement, and the increasing support being given for African demands by progressive whites in the Union itself, together with the pressure of world opinion, have made it necessary for the Nationalists to stage a gigantic bluff, which they hope will weaken the solidarity of the African vanguard and, at the same time, bamboozle both their own supporters and their internal and external opponents.

(4) THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

Politically, the talk about self-government for the reserves is a swindle. Economically, it is an absurdity.

It was never claimed or remotely considered by the previous Governments of the Union that these reserves could become economically self-sufficient "national homes" for all the African people of this country. That final lunacy was left to Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Eiselen and the Nationalist Party.

Consider the facts. The total area of European farms in 1954 was over 100 million morgen, while the rural white population was about $\frac{1}{2}$ million. *This gives a farming area of 200 morgen per head.* The total area of the reserves was $17\frac{1}{2}$ million morgen and the population (even if we allow only $\frac{1}{2}$ million for members of reserve families away working at the time the figures were compiled) was 3 million. *This gives a farming area of only 6 morgen per head.* The land in the reserves was never better than average, and today because of congestion, it is shockingly eroded and impoverished. Even if tens of millions were spent on reclamation works, and even if every male adult could stay at home, be fully trained in agriculture and be provided with modern machinery, it is hard to see how even the present population could live comfortably off the land, let alone a greatly increased population.

In his article in "Optima" referred to above, Dr. Eiselen bluntly admits: "In fact not much more than a quarter of the community (in the reserves) can be farmers, the others seeking their livelihood in industrial, commercial, professional or administrative employment."

Where are they to find such employment? In the reserves? To anyone who knows these poverty-stricken areas, almost completely devoid of modern communications and other needed facilities, the idea of industrial development seems far-fetched indeed. The beggarly £500,000 voted to the so-called "Bantu Investment Corporation" by Parliament is mere eyewash and window-dressing: it would not suffice to build a single decent road, railway line or power station. The amount is less than Johannesburg's profit from its beerhalls in any one year. The Zwelitsha mills needed £500,000 for that one enterprise alone.

The acid tests of all development plans is how much will be available to pay for them. The Tomlinson Commission recognized the extreme poverty of the Africans and proposed that, of the £104 million which it considered the minimum necessary investment in the first 10 years, £55 million should come from private investment by whites and the remainder from public funds. But the Government White Paper of April, 1956, stated categorically that no investment by whites would be allowed. Minister de Wet Nel, who, before he was elevated to the Cabinet, was a member of the Commission, asserts that Africans have more than enough money to pay for their own development!

The Government is, of course, fully aware of the facts. It has not the slightest intention of creating African areas which are genuinely self-supporting (and which could only then have a real possibility for self-

government). IF SUCH AREAS WERE INDEED SELF-SUPPORTING, WHERE WOULD THE CHAMBER OF MINES AND THE NATIONALIST FARMERS GET THEIR CHEAP LABOUR? The Government is already busy trying to bring down the wages of Africans in industry by encouraging factories to move to the borders of the reserves, where Wage Determinations do not apply, regardless of the fact that this is creating unemployment in the cities even for white workers. Such factories can only drain the man-power of the reserves still further.

It is abundantly clear, then, that economically the 'Bantustan' concept is as big a fraud as it is politically.

THE UNITED PARTY AND 'BANTUSTANS'

The leaders of the United Party opposed the 'Bantustan' legislation in Parliament, but most of their criticisms were superficial and gave little useful information and no concrete lead to the public. One can hardly be surprised at this for the policy of the United Party is equally designed to uphold the system of white supremacy. They are not as extreme as the latter, and they do not want to go backwards, but they are not prepared to take even one significant forward step. Fundamentally, their aim is to preserve the 'status quo' — a single integrated system based upon the exploitation of cheap black labour by whites. At their last caucus meeting the mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse — they decided in favour of the extension of the present system of white Natives' Representatives to the other Provinces! Truly, between "Bantu Self-Government" as intended by the Nationalists, and "white leadership with justice" as intended by the United Party, there is not much to choose in the matter of dishonesty.

DO THE AFRICANS WANT 'BANTUSTANS'?

Let us state clearly the facts of the matter, with the greatest possible clarity and emphasis.

NO SERIOUS OR REPRESENTATIVE LEADER, GATHERING OR ORGANISATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE ACCEPTS SEGREGATION, SEPARATION OR THE PARTITION OF THIS COUNTRY IN ANY SHAPE OR FORM.

At Bloemfontein in 1956, under the auspices of the United African clergy, perhaps the most widely-attended and representative gathering of African delegates of every shade of political opinion which has ever been held unanimously and uncompromisingly rejected the Tomlinson Report, on which the Verwoerd plan is based, and voted in favour of a common society.

The leading organisation of the African people, the African National Congress, has repeatedly denounced apartheid, and has time and again endorsed the Freedom Charter, which claims South Africa "FOR ALL

ITS PEOPLE, BLACK AND WHITE."

Even in the rural areas, where dwell the "good" (i.e. simple and ignorant) "Bantu" of the imagination of Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Eiselen, attempts to impose apartheid have met, time after time, with furious, often violent resistance. Chief after Chief has been deposed or deported for resisting "Bantu Authorities" plans. Those who, out of shortsightedness, cowardice or corruption, have accepted these plans have earned nothing but the contempt of their own people.

SELF-DETERMINATION

It is high time that certain fundamental facts were understood by the Nationalists, whether of the Verwoerd wing or the allegedly "liberal" group of SABRA, by the United Party, and indeed by everyone else who is seriously concerned with the peaceful solution of the problems of our country.

Firstly, and most importantly, White Africa must get it firmly and clearly fixed in its head that no plan or scheme whatsoever decided and dictated by the present exclusive electorate alone will ever be voluntarily accepted by the African people, or by any self-respecting and representative spokesmen of theirs.

This basic and elementary concept, without which there can be no serious thought or discussion about "negotiations" or "peaceful solutions" seems to be the most difficult to get any sizeable group of White South Africans to understand and accept. Yet this is not a very difficult proposition to explain and to grasp. No people on earth could agree to have its future decided for them by others; it runs counter to the principles of self-determination and natural justice. One-sided solutions cannot be negotiated, they can only be imposed by force, and maintained by force. Such solutions can never be "peaceful" or stable: they will be met by those upon whom they are imposed either by sullen submission, for the time being, to superior force, or, if they get the chance, by active revolt. These are the simple truths which, if they would only open their eyes and use their intelligence, our rulers would see have faced every ruling Power in Asia and Africa over the past ten years; we can think of no reason why they should imagine they should not apply in this country as well.

We raise these questions now, not because we doubt the bona fides of those who talk of negotiations, or because we reject the possibility of peaceful solutions in South Africa. On the contrary. The responsible leaders of the African people have never refused to negotiate, and they repeatedly warn against the use of violence. If violence comes, the blame will lie squarely on those who persist in the present blind, provocative and potentially suicidal policy of insisting on minority rule.

TIME TO AWAKE

We do not think that Dr. Verwoerd himself believes in 'Bantustans'. He cannot, either, seriously believe that his fraud will deceive public opinion north of the Limpopo or anywhere else abroad. Nor, unless he is madder than we think, and mistakes the plaudits of his paid clique in the Bantu Administration Department for genuine expressions of African opinion, can he imagine that non-whites take his talk of independence seriously. Why, then, does he bother with this talk at all? Whom does he hope to impress?

The answer was given, in a phrase of fine penetration, by Mr. Stanford, the Liberal Party M.P., in Parliament. "The bluff of giving these people (the Africans) political development and in reality taking it away, is . . . deluding the white people of South Africa." And there is the same wickedness, of men like Verwoerd and Graaff. The whole future of the white minority, for whom they claim to speak, depends on its facing the truth; on its abandoning the absurd illusion (which manifestly flies in the face of every present reality) that it can continue alone to dominate and dictate the future of this country. Instead of summoning the courage and the responsibility to express this truth, these men are wilfully and recklessly encouraging their people in their terribly dangerous delusions.

What they are failing, so lamentably, to do must be undertaken by others. Let the SABRA Professors, if they are in earnest, go out among the Afrikaans-speaking people and jolt them into reality. Let the progressive newspaper editors, the public-spirited Churchmen, the courageous women of the Black Sash, the Liberal Party and the Labour Party join with the Congress of Democrats and go out on a powerful and united crusade among the white population for democracy, freedom and a halt to apartheid. Let the African National Congress and its non-white allies, the Indian and Coloured Peoples' associations and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, receive the fullest support in their great new campaign of massive political action, a campaign that will make it clear beyond doubt that the people are determined upon change.

Thus, and only thus, can the democratic forces of our country hold open the road to a peaceful transition to freedom, and wrest the initiative from those who are steering straight towards disaster.

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