

## CARRYING CAPACITY

### I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The basic consideration in the development of the Bantu Areas, is to convert them into a real home for the Bantu in the full sense. The question, therefore, arises to what extent the Bantu Areas will be capable under the proposed development plan, of accommodating in a way worthy of human beings, the existing population of these Areas, its increase, and those who desire to return. In other words, what population will the Bantu Areas be able to carry and provide for properly under the proposed plan?

2. The present pattern of the Bantu population in the South African national economy, is briefly, as follows:—

- (i) a part of the population in the Bantu Areas, makes a full living there. Their number is small and is diminishing;
- (ii) a large proportion makes a partial living in the Bantu Areas but they are compelled to supplement their incomes outside these areas. Their numbers are constantly increasing;
- (iii) some of them live in the Bantu Areas, but are exclusively dependent on the "European" areas for their existence. Their number is increasing; and
- (iv) the rest resides and makes a living in the "European" areas. Their number is also increasing.

3. The reforms in this pattern which the Commission has in mind with its proposals for development are—

- (i) the largest possible number of Bantu must make a complete and worthy living in the Bantu Areas;
- (ii) those who so desire, may, if they consider it advisable themselves, earn their income in the "European" areas, either in the border areas or deep in the "European" areas; and
- (iii) those who choose to do so, may establish themselves with their families in the "European" areas, subject to State policy.

4. With reference to the foregoing propositions, the term "carrying capacity" may be formulated as follows:—

"The size of the population which can be settled in the Bantu Areas on the basis of the possibilities of existence which these Areas themselves offer, as well as the supplementary contributions which the border areas and the rest of the Union can provide. Obviously, emphasis must be placed on the possibilities of existence within the boundaries of the Bantu Areas."

### II. FACTORS DETERMINING CARRYING CAPACITY.

5. Carrying capacity in terms of the possibilities of existence offered by a territory itself is a function of various factors, *inter alia*, the nature and quality of the natural resources, the quality of the work performed by the population, the extent of the capital resources available, the quality of the entrepreneurial talent and organising ability, the existent technical knowledge and the opportunities for trade with other regions.

6. These factors are all elastic in their nature. Thus, the extent and quality of the natural resources may be raised by rehabilitation and new discoveries, to a level which cannot be determined now and which may continually be an elastic and expanding *quantum*. This elasticity found in the natural factors, occurs to a still greater extent in connection with the other factors mentioned, as helping to determine carrying capacity. Thus the quality of the work performed by the population is a factor on which unprecedented new values may be conferred by development. The capital factor also may be continually expanded and may thus continually contribute to raise the carrying capacity of the Bantu Areas. The most dynamic of the factors determining the carrying capacity of an area is probably the level of technical knowledge. By the application of new technical knowledge, new values may constantly be bestowed on the productivity of natural and human resources, and a continual increase in carrying capacity brought about. It must also be borne in mind that the Bantu Areas will by no means develop into a closed economy. Wide opportunities of trading with other regions of the Union and for participation in the entire foreign commercial relations of the Union, also afford opportunities for the Areas to attain a high carrying capacity.

### III. POTENTIAL CARRYING CAPACITY OF THE BANTU AREAS.

7. If attention is paid to the present position in regard to the factors on which carrying capacity in these Areas depends—in particular to the low level of work performed the scanty capital resources and the general lack of enterprise and organising ability—the present small carrying capacity of 3·6 million people is only to be expected. Under the conditions mentioned the present carrying capacity cannot be raised even in terms of the present low standard of living and even with extensive supplementation from earnings by breadwinners elsewhere in the Union. But from the present backwardness in respect of these determinant factors, flows simultaneously the realisation of the great increase in carrying capacity which could be brought about if the present backwardness were removed by a programme of intensive development.

8. In contrast with this relatively favourable opinion concerning carrying capacity, however, two considerations must be taken into account. Firstly, carrying capacity is only significant with reference to an assumed standard of living. Since it was stated as a basic starting point that the Bantu must be developed to a higher level of living than their present one, carrying capacity must be considered with reference to this higher standard, and consequently this limitation imposed on potential carrying capacity, must be accepted. Secondly, it must be remembered that although no limits can be laid down as regards the increase of carrying capacity by the extension of the factors on which it rests, the tempo of the increase in carrying capacity will be limited according to the means which are to be devoted to it. These two limitations are inherent in any attempt to develop under-developed areas.

9. For various reasons set out in the Report, the maximum period acceptable for planning purposes, ought not to exceed 25-30 years. No absolute criterions exist on which an estimate of the probable population of the Bantu Areas, after a period of intensive development lasting from 25-30 years, can be based. In the main, therefore, the result must be based on judicious estimates which may, nevertheless, be related to certain clues, or guiding lines. Two of these guiding lines are the potential occupational distribution of the population after 25-30 years, and the comparative density of population in other developed areas.

10. The development programme aims at building up a diversified economy in the Bantu Areas, in other words, at building up the other occupational sectors alongside agriculture. If this is not done, the carrying capacity of these areas will be limited to that of a one-sided agricultural economy. Planning in the primary sector, will make possible a collective carrying capacity of about 2.4 million persons—agriculture 2.14 million, forestry 0.16 million, and mining 0.1 million. With this fact as basis, the total population which can be expected to result from the application of a complete development programme in all sectors of the national economy, may now be calculated.

11. In 1946, the occupational distribution of the entire economically active population of the Union, was as follows: agriculture and forestry 49.3 per cent, mining 10.2 per cent, manufacturing industry 10.7

per cent, and tertiary sector 29.8 per cent. In contrast with this, the distribution in a more highly industrialised country like Canada, was as follows in 1941: agriculture 29.2 per cent, mining and manufacture 31.8 per cent, and tertiary sector 39.0 per cent. In the light of these percentages, the question may be put, what expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors relative to the primary sector may reasonably be anticipated from a development programme in the Bantu Areas over a period of say 25-30 years. In the light of what may be considered as physically and financially practicable, the Commission gives it as its opinion that an occupational distribution similar to that of Canada in 1941, may possibly be attained, that is to say, about 30 per cent of the population in agriculture and forestry, and the remainder in secondary and tertiary activities.

12. With a population of 2.3 million engaged in agriculture and forestry, the total carrying capacity based on the *opportunities of employment provided by the Bantu Areas themselves*, would amount to a population of about 8 million. The attainment of this figure will depend upon the intensity of the development effort. To arrive at the residential carrying capacity, an addition must be made in respect of the number of people who can be maintained there by breadwinners working elsewhere in the Union. In the light of the numbers of those working in other parts of the country at present, the Commission puts the possible addition at 1.5 million dependents and retired persons. In this manner, a potential residential carrying capacity totalling 9½ million is in prospect. If migratory labourers are added, the *de jure*—population will amount to about 10 million.

13. A carrying capacity of 8 million will give a population density of 123 per square mile based on an area of 19.6 million morgen. The residential carrying capacity of 9½ million implies a population density of 147 per square mile. The density of population in the Bantu Areas, based on the *de facto* population, was 69 per square mile in 1951. A density of 147 per square mile as anticipated, would thus be approximately twice as high as in 1951. While stressing the limited conclusions which can be drawn from population densities, the Commission finds nothing in these density statistics, as compared with those of other countries, which would indicate that the carrying capacity it anticipates for the Bantu Areas within the next 25 to 30 years, is an unreasonable estimate.

## CHAPTER 46

## CONSOLIDATION OF THE BANTU AREAS

### I. THE PRESENT PATTERN.

1. On linguistic grounds (and in the main these coincide with the general ethnic bonds) the Bantu of the Union may be divided into the following main groups (some of them including recognised sub-groups) on a percentage basis (see also Map 3):

- (i) Nguni 64.04 per cent (Xhosa 31.8 per cent, Zulu 27.5 per cent, Swazi 2.8 per cent, Ndebele 1.94 per cent);
- (ii) Sotho 28.5 per cent (South-Sotho 10.1 per cent, Tswana 8.0 per cent, North-Sotho 10.4 per cent);
- (iii) Venda 1.8 per cent;
- (iv) Tsonga 3.4 per cent; and
- (v) other and unspecified 2.26 per cent.

2. The Nguni are chiefly concentrated in the eastern coastal regions of South Africa, and the Sotho in the central and western areas while the Venda and Tsonga are limited to the Northern Transvaal.

3. According to the available departmental data, the Bantu Areas of the Union comprise 110 units, 41 of which are situated in Cape Province, 37 in Natal, 30 in the Transvaal and 2 in the Free State. In addition, there are 154 "black spots", 76 of which are found in Natal, 54 in the Transvaal, 20 in Cape Province and 4 in the Free State.

4. The above-named ethnic groups with all their variety of sub-groups (see Map 5) thus live scattered over about 260 unconnected localities. Besides this, 58 per cent of the Bantu population find themselves for shorter or longer periods, in the European sector.

5. Against the background provided particularly by Chapters 1, 2 and 11, and with a view to the creation of nuclear points round which this fragmentary pattern can be woven into a unitary growth, such nuclear points are now briefly dealt with on a cultural-historical basis, in groups A to G.

#### A. GROUP A.

6. In Blocks 6, 7, 9 and 12 on Map 6, and on a number of smaller scattered patches in the neighbourhood, live Rolong, Tlhaping and Tlharo; Blocks 8, 13 and 16 and a number of smaller ones in this region are inhabited by Kwena, Kgatla and Fokeng (Block 8), Kwena, Kgatla and Ndebele (Block 13), and Kgatla and Ndebele (Block 16) respectively, while Block 5 mainly houses Hananwa, Koni, Kwena and a small number of Ndebele. With the exception of the Ndebele in particular, who although Nguni, are under strong Sotho influence, all the tribes in these three areas belong historically, linguistically and culturally, to the same complex as the inhabitants of Bechuanaland.

#### B. GROUP B.

7. Block 3 (see Map 6) is mainly inhabited by Venda in the West, by Tsonga (recent immigrants from Portuguese East Africa) in the East, and by Lobedu (Sotho) in the South.

#### C. GROUP C.

8. Block 2 is mainly inhabited by Pedi, Koni and in the East by Pulana, Kutswe and Pai—all tribes historically dominated by the Pedi.

#### D. GROUP D.

9. In the marginal areas surrounding Swaziland, from Barberton to Ermelo and also on the south side in the Pongola area, live Swazi or Swazi related groups.

#### E. GROUP E.

10. In the area north of the Durban-Pietermaritzburg line, especially in Blocks 4 and 10 with a large number of fragmentary areas around them, lies the real home territory of the Zulu.

#### F. GROUP F.

11. In the areas South of Durban, especially in Block 11, we find a transition between the Zulu and Xhosa spheres with a tendency towards gradual coalescence with the last-mentioned. In the Transkei—the real Xhosa sphere—we find the following sub-groups: Mpondo, with their kernel points at Bizana and Libode; Xesibe, with Mt. Ayliff as nucleus; Thembu, with Umtata as central point and Gcaleka with Willowvale in the core. Besides these greater groups, there are among others, the Bomvana between the Umbhashe and Umtata rivers, the Mpondomise of the Tsolo-Qumbu area and Sotho elements at isolated points from Herschel, all along the Basutoland border and in the Central Transkei. In the Ciskei there is only the Ngqika, a vaguely-defined core which is found everywhere eastwards up to the Kei River. For the rest, there are splinter groups like the Fingo, Dushane and Gqunukhwebe.

#### G. GROUP G.

12. Witzieshoek in the Free State and the southern border areas of Basutoland, are inhabited by Sotho related to the population of Basutoland, while Thaba Nchu is inhabited by Rolong more closely related to the inhabitants of Bechuanaland.

### II. WHY CONSOLIDATION IS NECESSARY.

13. Save for a few blocks like the Transkei and Vendloland, the Bantu Areas are so scattered that they form no foundation for community growth. Even if the potentiality of the existing fragmentary areas is such that it can provide the entire Bantu population with a means of living, this fragmentation can result

in nothing else than a supplementary growth attached to the European community. The fragmentary pattern also results in scattering and consequent incoherence between historically and ethnically related Bantu, and this means that cohesive forces in the social and psychological sphere are paralysed.

14. The Bantu "heartlands"\*<sup>2</sup>, the Transkei, Basutoland, Zululand, Swaziland, Sekhukhuneland, Vendlan and Bechuanaland, have always been preserved by the European. Although the High Commission Territories were artificially excluded from the Union in 1910, these territories remain the "heartlands" of Bantu inside the Territories as well as outside the Territories, in the Union. In 1913, and again in 1936, the legislators of the Union very clearly set aside the Bantu Areas, taking into account the cultural-historical bonds of the Bantu including those of the three High Commission Territories.

Quite clearly there are 8 geographical and cultural-historical complexes in the Union and its vicinity, which serve as "power stations" for particular complexes and which may be listed as follows: The Transkei for the Xhosa, Zululand for the Zulu, Basutoland for the Sotho, Swaziland for the Swazi, Sekhukhuneland for the Pedi, Portuguese East Africa for the Tsonga, Vendlan for the Venda and Bechuanaland for the Tswana complex.

16. Numerous Bantu who appeared before the Commission, referred to this fact with evident emotion. Moreover, not one of the 106 Bantu witnesses and groups who appeared before the Commission, or of the many whom the Commission interviewed during its journeys, recommended the abolition of the Bantu Areas. Even urban Bantu maintain their connections with the home areas and establish associations to keep these connections alive. Missions also organise themselves on an ethnical basis and lay their foundations with due regard to this fact.

17. In spite of the present fragmentary pattern, the Union Administration of Native Affairs, through the medium of its offices of Chief Native Commissioner, has from the beginning been established on a cultural-historical basis—Western Areas being principally for the Tswana, Natal for the Zulu, Transkei and Ciskei for the Xhosa, and Northern Areas chiefly for the Pedi, Venda and Shangaan complexes. From the point of view of the administration and especially in consequence of the provisions of the Bantu Authorities Act (Act No. 68 of 1951), consolidation is not only desirable but essential.

### III. POSSIBLE BLOCKS IN THE EVENT OF CONSOLIDATION.

18. On the basis of the background of facts thus far set out in this chapter, the Commission recommends the consolidation of the Bantu Areas into 7 blocks which can be systematically constructed around the seven historico-logical nuclei or "heartlands" serving as guiding lines. The proposed blocks A to G which now follow here (see Map 63), are consequently based on traditional nuclei:—

19. A. The Tswana Block, with Bechuanaland as nucleus of a block to which is added complexes A (1), A (2) and A (3) situated in the Western Areas.

\* Cultural-historical cores.

B. A Venda—Tsonga Block having Block 3 as its nucleus.

C. A Pedi Block, with Sekhukhuneland as its core.

D. A Swazi Block, with Swaziland as nucleus and the addition thereto of adjacent areas of the Union inhabited by Swazi.

E. A Zulu Block, with Blocks 4 and 10 as nucleus.

F. A South-Eastern Nguni Block, to serve as home area of the Nguni of Southern Natal, the Transkei and Ciskei, built up around the Transkei as nucleus, and

G. A South-Sotho Block, with Basutoland as its "heartland" and with the addition of areas in the Union (Witziesshoek and Northern Transkei).

### IV. ADMINISTRATIVE GROUPING ON THE BASIS OF BANTU AUTHORITIES.

20. With a view to complete socio-economic development, it is necessary that administrative functions should in increasing measure be exercised by the Bantu themselves. The Commission regards the foundation laid down in the Bantu Authorities Act, as a sound embryo from which healthy administrative development may be built up through adaptation and evolution in accordance with the demands of the time.

21. On the foundation of the consolidation proposed in Section III, the Commission recommends the following administrative grouping on the basis of Bantu Authorities, classified under heads A to G.

#### A. THE TSWANA BLOCK.

22. In the proposed Block A (1), either two regional authorities may be instituted among the Hurutshe and the Rolong which will respectively form the central point of a number of tribal authorities, or a tribal authority may be established for each of the sub-groups Hurutshe, Rolong, Tlhaping, Tlharo, etc., and then bound together into a single regional authority under the leadership of the Hurutshe. Again, in the proposed Block A (2), a tribal authority may be placed under the leadership of the Bakgatla бага-kgafêle which will take the tribal authorities of the Kweni, Fokeng and Hlubi under its wing. In the proposed Block A (3), a tribal authority should be established for each of the sub-groups Hananwa, Tlhalerwa, Tlokwa, etc., and a regional authority only when a leading group has crystallised out. In all three of the aforementioned regions, the Commission recommends the institution of a territorial authority only when these regions are consolidated with the mother territory—Bechuanaland.

#### B. THE VENDA—TSONGA BLOCK.

23. In the proposed Area B, there are the unrelated ethnic groups Tsonga (belonging to the Mozambique complex), Sotho, some of whom have affinities with the Venda, and the Venda themselves. As far as the Tsonga are concerned, it should suffice for a long time to establish tribal authorities under heads like Mhinga, Shikundu, Ng'Wamitwa and Thulilamahashe, Shobyana and Muhlava. Among the Venda there are two strong wings, namely those of Mphedu and Tshivhase, and a number of smaller ones like

Sinthumule, Rambuda and Mphaphuli. The establishment of tribal authorities coming under control of a territorial authority which in turn is subordinate to the strongest wing, is the appropriate way of dealing with this group. The Sotho elements—Lobedu, Phalaborwa and Khaha—can each have its tribal authority subordinate to a regional authority under leadership of the Lobedu.

#### C. PEDI BLOCK.

24. As indicated in Section I, the proposed Area C was principally under the central control of the Maroteng paramountcy. Although this paramountcy has largely lost its comprehensive grasp over this area, especially in the past 50 years, with a view to the creation of a strong central core, it is recommended that a regional authority should be established in the south-west of this area—from south of Geluks Location in the North to Nebo, and Groblersdal in the South—which will be known as the Koni Regional Authority under leadership of Maserumule; that the various tribes to the west and north of Sekhukhuneland, like Mphahlele and Tshwene, should each be placed under a tribal authority linked to a Pedi Regional Authority, that the groups to the East, like the Pulana and Kutswe should each be placed under a tribal authority, and, finally, that the regional and tribal authorities should be subordinated to a territorial authority under the paramountcy of the Pedi.

#### D. THE SWAZI BLOCK.

25. Since the centre of a territorial authority in the proposed Area D has its nucleus situated in Swaziland, it is proposed that the Swazi of the Barberton sector should be developed into a regional authority under leadership of the senior Dlamini Chief; that a tribal authority should be instituted in the Piet Retief sector and two, or at most three, similar authorities in the Ubombo sector, which will form a tribal authority along with that of Piet Retief.

A territorial authority can only be successfully instituted here, if it is under the central leadership of the House of the Paramount Chief in Swaziland.

#### E. NUCLEAR ZULU BLOCK.

26. Against the background of Zulu history, it is very clear that the core of leadership for a territorial authority in the proposed Area E, must proceed from a Zulu Paramount Chief, who will be the cohesive central factor for a number of tribal authorities such as Buthelezi, Biyela, Mthethwa and Nyuswa.

#### F. SOUTH-EASTERN NGUNI BLOCK.

27. Against the background of the ethnical-geographical description of these territories, the establishment of the following Bantu Authorities is recommended here—

- (i) a Bhaca — Khuseni — Nhangwini Regional Authority, for the area stretching across the Bantu Areas of consolidated Block F, beginning opposite Port Shepstone in the East, across Umzimkulu in the middle and Matatiele in the West;
- (ii) a Xesibe Tribal Authority, in the Mt. Ayliff sector;

- (iii) a Mpondo Regional Authority, consisting of a strong eastern tribal authority in the Bizana sector and a large tribal authority in the Libode sector in the West;
- (iv) a Thembu Regional Authority, in Thembuland with Umtata as its central point;
- (v) a Bomvana Regional Authority, for the coastal area between the Umbhashe and Umtata rivers;
- (vi) a Mpondomise Regional Authority, in the Tsolo and Qumbu sector;
- (vii) a Gcaleka Regional Authority, for the Willowvale sector; and
- (viii) a Ngqika Regional Authority, for the south-eastern Transkei and the Ciskei, including tribal authorities for groups like the Gqunukhwebe, Dushane and Ndlambe.

#### G. SOUTH-SOTHO BLOCK.

28. Since it is evident that Basutoland must eventually become the seat of a territorial authority for the proposed Area G, the maintenance of the existing Mota and Mopeli Tribal Authorities at Witzieshoek, the institution of a Sotho and Hlubi Tribal Authority in the Herschel area, and of a Zizi and Ngwana Authority in the Bergville area, is recommended.

#### V. ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CONSOLIDATION.

29. Since the entire development pattern proposed by the Commission, is directed towards the complete development of the human being and the soil, its necessary consequence was the grouping of the Bantu together in geographically complete units with the least possible transgression of ethnical bonds.

30. In order to effect this consolidation, the Commission is not thinking in terms of a summary interchange of Europeans and Bantu, but rather of its systematic and gradual accomplishment in the following ways:—

- (i) The legislative declaration of all European areas and Crown lands which may be situated within the seven Bantu Areas, as Bantu exchange land; the declaration, on the other hand, of all Bantu Areas outside the seven blocks as European exchange areas.
- (ii) As soon as this principle has been established, it should be laid down by regulation that for instance, European-owned land and Crown Lands in Blocks A (1), (2) and (3) may be exchanged against Bantu areas and black spots located in the vicinity of these three blocks.
- (iii) Where this process of exchange and interchange results in inequality on the one side or the other, it should be underwritten, with state support either in the form of Crown Land, or by way of financial support.
- (iv) Although the number of "white spots" in the Bantu Areas (the villages and village commons of the Transkei cover 68,976 morgen), is less than that of the "black spots" in the European areas, this discrepancy on both sides can to a great extent be eliminated by exchange, for example, of the white spots of the Transkei for the black spots of Natal.

- (v) The policy of the Trust in regard to the purchase of Bantu land, can be concentrated in released areas on land falling within the general boundaries of the seven proposed Bantu Areas.
- (vi) In Natal, where the worst pattern of fragmentation occurs, there are 490,655 morgen of Crown Land, great blocks of which are strategically situated with a view to rounding off Bantu Areas, for example, 278,900 morgen in Ingwavuma District, 63,526 morgen in Ubombo, 47,405 morgen in Hlabisa and 38,300 morgen in Mahlabatini; in the Cape Province, there are 2,358,246 morgen of Crown Land, of which 169,098 at Kuruman and 38,528 at Vryburg, are favourably located for the execution of this programme; in the Transvaal, there are 423,903 morgen of Crown Land, of which 118,651 at Barberton, 143,464 at Letaba, 30,051 at Pietersburg, 13,225 at Potgietersrust and 14,730 at Waterberg, are favourably located with a view to rounding off the proposed pattern.
- (vii) In addition to the total of 3,289,086 morgen of Crown Land, game reserves cover 3,655,844 morgen. Bearing in mind the seriousness and extent of the problem South Africa is confronted with, this undeveloped potential might well be applied at least partially to make a contribution to the sound evolution of both the Europeans and the Bantu.
- (viii) Where smaller ethnic groups occur, like the Ndebele who belong to the Nguni of the East Coast, but are found among the Sotho in Areas A and C, the choice should be left to them either to shift to Area D, or to identify themselves

permanently with their present environment. Where Tsonga elements are found especially in the east of Area C, and smaller Sotho elements in the south of Area B, it may be left to the discretion of the Bantu Authorities of these areas to bring about exchange or inclusion.

- (ix) As soon as Bantu authorities have been instituted on a territorial basis in each of the seven areas, it would be desirable to supplement population registration of the Bantu on a territorial basis.
- (x) As already indicated in Chapter 36, the main emphasis must be placed on development within the Bantu Areas—in this case the seven proposed areas—rather than outside them or on their margins.

31. The coming into being of the seven Bantu Areas, each surrounding a "heartland", will mean that the British South Africa of 1902 which covered 765,915 square miles, will be about evenly divided between Europeans and Bantu. 275,000 square miles of Bechuanaland, 6,705 square miles of Swaziland, 11,716 square miles of Basutoland and approximately 65,000 square miles of the Union, will then be set aside for exclusive utilisation by Bantu. The total extent of the Bantu Areas will then be 357,421 sq. miles, or approximately 47 per cent of the former British South Africa. (In arriving at this estimate, the size of the Bantu Areas of the Union has been placed at 19,611,468 morgen—see Chapter 11—or about 65,000 square miles while the whole of Swaziland and not only the Bantu portion has been included in the calculation. The 45 per cent mentioned in Chapter 12, and the approximate 47 per cent named above, must be regarded in that light.)

## CHAPTER 47

# TEMPO OF DEVELOPMENT

### I. FACTORS IMPELLING A SPEEDY TEMPO.

1. The considerations mentioned in Chapter 26 of the Report, to show the necessity for the development of the Bantu Areas—which will not be repeated here—simultaneously emphasise the need for speedy action. The fact is that the position sketched there is continually deteriorating, and the eventual task is made more difficult by further delay.

2. The concentration of economic development in a few regions, especially as regards secondary industry, continues unabated; this concentration demands continual expansion of the services, which in turn attracts more undertakings and increased population. This aggravates the backward position of the Bantu Areas, and hinders the initiation of development in those Areas.

3. If a new and better pattern for the urbanisation of the Bantu is to be brought into existence, the matter will have to be tackled as soon as possible. In Chapter 7 of the Report, it was shown how the tempo of Bantu urbanisation had continually increased during the past forty years. During the period 1946—1951, 60 per cent of the increase in population found its way to urban areas as compared with 53 per cent between the years 1936 and 1946, and 22 per cent between 1911 and 1921. At the present tempo, the Bantu population of the existing "White" urban areas is increasing by about 85,000 a year. A continuance of the present intensity of urbanisation, will ensure a Bantu population of ten and a quarter million in these urban areas by the close of the century, and the limited capacity of agriculture to accommodate increasing numbers, may even raise this figure. Provision of urban accommodation in Bantu Areas as regards both

dwellings and places of work for the increased population, is, therefore, an enormous task, the dimensions of which increase the longer it is delayed. Delay means an increase in the number who become permanently urbanised and entrenched in the existing industrial complexes.

4. The delay of action on an ambitious scale, worsens the position in respect of soil conservation. Once the land has been destroyed, it cannot be restored later. Here the time factor is of critical importance. At the same time, agricultural development cannot take place unless other opportunities of employment are provided for those who must be removed from the land. In order to feed the increasing South African population, there must also be an increase in production, not in the future, but every year.

5. The political climate also impels speedy action.

## II. FACTORS IMPELLING A SLOWER TEMPO.

6. The object is the development of people and it must be brought about by the people themselves, with external aid. The tempo of evolution will, therefore, not be able to exceed the pace at which the Bantu themselves can be developed to shoulder the task of socio-economic development, and to carry it further. The tempo will thus have to depend on how quickly they can absorb or develop technical knowledge and training, proficiency, and the ingenuity of the entrepreneur; as well as on the co-operation, thrift, industry and initiative which they will display.

7. Physical limitations also exist, such as the time taken by forest plantations to reach maturity, the period required for constructing roads, railways, dams, power stations, factories, houses by economic methods etc. Limited financial resources may also prove a hindrance. So-called "bottlenecks" may impose a slow pace if developments which serve as prerequisite for others, are delayed. The need for equilibrium in the economic life of the Union as a whole must also be taken into account; making technicians, equipment, labour gangs, etc. available from other sectors of the economy, must not lead to dislocation there. Large-scale withdrawal with detrimental effects of Bantu labour from the rest of the country, must also be avoided.

## III. THE DESIRABLE TEMPO OF DEVELOPMENT.

8. In Chapter 45 of the Report, it was anticipated that the carrying capacity of the Bantu Areas might possibly be built up over a period of 25—30 years to support about 8 million persons, on the basis of earnings within these Areas, at a higher standard of living; and that possibly a further 2 million people (including absent migrant labourers), might be housed

there on the basis of incomes earned in the border Areas or in other parts of the Union. The Commission would set as target, a programme which will not cause dislocation, which increases the percentage of the Bantu population having their dwellings and places of work in the Bantu Areas, but which will also allow for an increase in the labour forces available in non-Bantu Areas. The Commission suggests that the total number of inhabitants aimed at within the 25 year period 1956—1981, be 9 million (*de jure*-population). Of this number, 7 million will have to make a living from income earned within the Bantu Areas while the remaining 2 million live on the earnings of migrant labourers. The "economic" carrying capacity on the basis of internal development, which may amount to 8 million within the lifetime of a generation, as tentatively stated above, could be attained within four or five years after 1981.

9. According to the calculations of the Commission, this objective implies that, on an average, 50,000 opportunities of employment will have to be created in the Bantu Areas annually. The actual number will naturally be smaller at the initial stages and will increase gradually. The most important factor involved here, is that work will have to be provided for 20,000 Bantu annually in secondary industry including the construction industry. The economic activities arising from this and from agriculture, will, according to expectation, stimulate tertiary activities to such an extent that the remaining 30,000 workers will be absorbed by the latter. Mining may also quite possibly make a considerable contribution in this connection. These figures are merely an indication of the order of magnitude of the labour market for which provision must be made. It is self-evident that it is not possible to plan the employment of a precise number each year. The actual employment will also depend on the reaction of Bantu and European private enterprise, to which it is not possible to dictate.

10. At the abovementioned rate of development, the Bantu Areas will accommodate about 60 per cent of the Bantu population by 1981, and about 70 per cent by the close of the century. The Commission thinks that as far as possible the tempo in future plans of development ought even to be raised. The ideal should be that the non-Bantu areas house a swiftly shrinking portion of the total Bantu population.

11. If a programme such as the one outlined above, is not tackled, and present conditions continue, it cannot be expected that the Bantu Areas will ever contain many more people than are residing there at the present stage. The increase in population there will simply "overflow" to other parts of the country. In that case, by the close of the century the European areas will probably accommodate no less than three-quarters of the Bantu population.

In Chapter 47 of the Report, the expected population pattern is indicated graphically.

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